The Commission held 12 public hearings during the course of its investigation, convening for a total of 19 days and receiving testimony from 160 witnesses. The following is a list of hearings and witnesses in order of their appearance. All witnesses appearing during the 2004 calendar year testified under oath.

**FIRST PUBLIC HEARING**  
*Alexander Hamilton Customs House, New York, N.Y.*  
*March 31–April 1, 2003*  

The Honorable George Pataki, Governor, State of New York  
The Honorable Michael R. Bloomberg, Mayor, City of New York

**The Experience of the Attack**  
Harry Waizer, survivor, Cantor Fitzgerald, LP  
David Lim, Police Department, Port Authority of New York and New Jersey  
Lee Ielpi, Fire Department of New York (retired)  
Lieutenant Colonel Brian Birdwell, United States Army  
Craig Sincock, United States Army (retired)

**Representatives of the Victims**  
Stephen Push, Families of September 11  
Mary Fetchet, Voices of September 11  
Mindy Kleinberg, September 11 Advocates  
Allison Vadhan, Families of Flight 93

**The Attackers, Intelligence, and Counterterrorism Policy**  
Daniel Byman, Georgetown University  
Abraham D. Sofaer, Hoover Institution  
Brian Jenkins, RAND Corporation  
Magnus Ranstorp, University of St. Andrews
Borders, Money, and Transportation Security
Glenn Fine, Inspector General, U.S. Department of Justice
Lee Wolosky, Boies, Schiller & Flexner LLP
Gerald Dillingham, Director, Civil Aviation Issues, General Accounting Office

Law Enforcement, Domestic Intelligence, and Homeland Security
Michael Wermuth, RAND Corporation
Steven Brill, Author, *After: How America Confronted the September 12 Era*
Zoë Baird, Markle Foundation
Randy Larsen, ANSER Institute for Homeland Security

Immediate Response to the Attacks
Shawn Kelley, Assistant Chief, Arlington County Fire Department
William Baker, American Society of Civil Engineers
Ken Holden, Commissioner, New York City Department of Design and Construction

SECOND PUBLIC HEARING
*Congress and Civil Aviation Security*
Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.
May 22–23, 2003

Congressional Oversight
Representative Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.)
Senator John McCain (R-Az.)
Senator Joseph Lieberman (D-Conn.)

Intelligence Oversight and the Joint Inquiry
Senator Bob Graham (D-Fla.)
Senator Richard Shelby (R-Ala.)
Representative Porter Goss (R-Fla.)
Representative Jane Harman (D-Calif.)

Affected Constituencies
Senator Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.)
Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.)
Senator Jon Corzine (D-N.J.)
Senator Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.)
Representative Jerrold Nadler (D-N.Y.)
Representative Christopher Shays (R-Conn.)

State of the System: Civil Aviation Security on September 11
Jane Garvey, former Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration
Kenneth Mead, Inspector General, Department of Transportation
James May, Air Transport Association of America
Bogdan Dzakovic, Civil Aviation Security Inspector, Transportation Security Agency

**September 11, 2001: The Attacks and the Response**
The Honorable Norman Mineta, Secretary of Transportation
Major General Craig McKinley, Commander, 1st Air Force and the Continental United States NORAD Region (CONR)
Lieutenant General Mike Canavan (retired), former Associate Administrator for Civil Aviation Security, Federal Aviation Administrator

**Reforming Civil Aviation Security: Next Steps**
Stephen McHale, Deputy Administrator, Transportation Security Agency
Major General O.K. Steele (retired), former Associate Administrator for Civil Aviation Security, Federal Aviation Administration
Mary Schiavo, former Inspector General, Department of Transportation

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**THIRD PUBLIC HEARING**
*Terrorism, al Qaeda, and the Muslim World*
*Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.*
*July 9, 2003*

**Al Qaeda**
Rohan Gunaratna, Institute for Defence and Strategic Studies
Mamoun Fandy, United States Institute of Peace
Marc Sageman, University of Pennsylvania

**States and Terrorism**
Laurie Mylroie, American Enterprise Institute
Judith Yaphe, National Defense University
Murhaf Jouejati, Middle East Institute and George Washington University
Mark Gasiorowski, Louisiana State University

**The Challenge within the Muslim World**
Rachel Bronson, Council on Foreign Relations
Steven Emerson, The Investigative Project
Gilles Kepel, Institute of Political Studies, Paris
Dennis Ross, Washington Institute for Near East Policy

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**FOURTH PUBLIC HEARING**
*Intelligence and the War on Terrorism*
*Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.*
*October 14, 2003*

**Leadership of U.S. Intelligence**
James R. Schlesinger, former Director of Central Intelligence and Secretary of Defense
John M. Deutch, former Director of Central Intelligence and Deputy Secretary of Defense

**Intelligence and National Security Policy**
James B. Steinberg, The Brookings Institution and former Deputy National Security Advisor

**Warning of Transnational Threats**
Richard Kerr, former Deputy Director of Central Intelligence
Mary O. McCarthy, former National Intelligence Officer for Warning, Central Intelligence Agency
John Gannon, Staff Director, House Select Committee on Homeland Security

**FIFTH PUBLIC HEARING**

*Private/Public Sector Partnerships for Emergency Preparedness*

*Drew University, Madison, N.J.*

*November 19, 2003*

**Highlights of New Jersey’s Public/Private Sector Partnerships**
The Honorable James E. McGreevey, Governor, State of New Jersey

**The Challenge of Private Sector Preparedness**
John Degnan, The Chubb Corporation

**Skyscraper Safety Issues from 9/11 Family Members**
Monica Gabrielle, Skyscraper Safety Campaign
Sally Regenhard, Skyscraper Safety Campaign

**Public/Private Initiatives Since 9/11**
Michael F. Byrne, Director, Office of National Capital Region Coordination, Department of Homeland Security
Dennis J. Reimer, Oklahoma National Memorial Institute for Prevention of Terrorism
Richard A. Andrews, National Center for Crisis and Continuity Coordination

**Private Sector Experience on 9/11**
William Y. Yun, Fiduciary Trust Company International

**Standards for Emergency Management and Business Continuity**
Glenn Corbett, John Jay College of Criminal Justice
Randall Yim, Director, National Preparedness Team, General Accounting Office

**Future Strategies for Private Sector Preparedness**
William G. Raisch, Greater New York Safety Council
Peter R. Orszag, The Brookings Institution
James Haviaris, Rockefeller Group Development Corporation
Thomas Susman, Ropes & Gray
SIXTH PUBLIC HEARING

Security and Liberty
Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.
December 8, 2003

Intelligence Collection within the United States
Larry D. Thompson, former Deputy Attorney General of the United States
Philip B. Heymann, former Deputy Attorney General of the United States
Stephen J. Schulhofer, New York University, School of Law

Protecting Privacy, Preventing Terrorism
Judith A. Miller, former General Counsel, Department of Defense
Stewart A. Baker, former General Counsel, National Security Agency
Marc Rotenberg, Electronic Privacy Information Center

Preventive Detention: Use of Immigration Laws and Enemy Combatant Designations to Combat Terrorism
Jan Ting, Temple University
Khaled Medhat Abou El Fadl, UCLA School of Law
David Martin, University of Virginia School of Law and former General Counsel, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice

Government Organization and Domestic Intelligence
The Honorable William P. Barr, former Attorney General of the United States
John J. Hamre, former Deputy Secretary of Defense
John MacGaffin, former Associate Deputy Director for Operations, Central Intelligence Agency

SEVENTH PUBLIC HEARING

Borders, Transportation, and Managing Risk
Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.
January 26–27, 2004

The Border Security System Prior to September 11
Mary A. Ryan, former Assistant Secretary for Consular Affairs, Department of State
Doris Meissner, former Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice

An Incident in Florida
Jose E. Melendez-Perez, Inspector, Customs and Border Protection, Department of Homeland Security

Visas and Watchlisting Today
Maura Harty, Assistant Secretary for Consular Affairs, Department of State
Russell E. Travers, Deputy Director, Information Sharing and Knowledge
Management Department, Terrorist Threat Integration Center, Central Intelligence Agency
Donna A. Bucella, Director, Terrorist Screening Center, Federal Bureau of Investigation

The Response to September 11 on the Borders
James Ziglar, former Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice
Robert C. Bonner, Commissioner, Customs and Border Protection, Department of Homeland Security
Peter F. Verga, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Homeland Defense, Department of Defense

Aviation Security on 9/11: The Regulators
Jane F. Garvey, former Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration
Cathal L. “Irish” Flynn, former Associate Administrator of Civil Aviation Security, Federal Aviation Administration
Claudio Manno, Assistant Administrator for Intelligence, Transportation Security Administration

Aviation Security on 9/11: The Airlines
Edmond L. Soliday, former Vice President of Safety, Quality Assurance, and Security, United Airlines
Andrew P. Studdert, former Chief Operating Officer, United Airlines
Gerard J. Arpey, Chief Executive Officer, American Airlines
Timothy J. Ahern, Vice President–DFW Hub, and former Vice President of Safety, Security, and Environmental, American Airlines

Acts of Courage in the Sky
Nydia Gonzalez, Manager, Southeast Reservations Center, American Airlines

Risk Management after September 11
James M. Loy, Deputy Secretary, Department of Homeland Security

EIGHTH PUBLIC HEARING
Counterterrorism Policy
Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.
March 23–24, 2004

Diplomacy
The Honorable Madeleine K. Albright, former Secretary of State
The Honorable Colin L. Powell, Secretary of State

The Military
The Honorable William S. Cohen, former Secretary of Defense
The Honorable Donald H. Rumsfeld, Secretary of Defense

Intelligence Policy
The Honorable George J. Tenet, Director of Central Intelligence
National Policy Coordination
The Honorable Samuel R. Berger, former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
Richard A. Clarke, former National Coordinator for Counterterrorism, National Security Council
Richard L. Armitage, Deputy Secretary of State

NINTH PUBLIC HEARING
Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.
April 8, 2004
The Honorable Condoleezza Rice, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

TENTH PUBLIC HEARING
Law Enforcement and Intelligence
Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.
April 13–14, 2004
Law Enforcement, Counterterrorism, and Intelligence Collection in the United States Prior to 9/11
The Honorable Louis J. Freeh, former Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
The Honorable Janet Reno, former Attorney General of the United States

Threats and Responses in 2001
Thomas J. Pickard, former Acting Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Ambassador J. Cofer Black, former Director, Counterterrorism Center, Central Intelligence Agency
The Honorable John Ashcroft, Attorney General of the United States

The Performance of the Intelligence Community
The Honorable George J. Tenet, Director of Central Intelligence

Preventing Future Attacks Inside the United States
John O. Brennan, Director, Terrorist Threat Integration Center, Central Intelligence Agency
Lieutenant General Patrick M. Hughes, Assistant Secretary for Information Analysis, Department of Homeland Security
John S. Pistole, Executive Assistant Director for Counterterrorism and Counterintelligence, Federal Bureau of Investigation
James L. Pavitt, Deputy Director of Operations, Central Intelligence Agency

FBI Leadership and Initiatives Post-9/11
The Honorable Robert S. Mueller III, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Maureen Baginski, Executive Assistant Director for Intelligence, Federal Bureau of Investigation
ELEVENTH PUBLIC HEARING

Emergency Response
New School University, New York, N.Y.
May 18–19, 2004

Alan Reiss, former Director, World Trade Center, Port Authority of New York and New Jersey
Joseph Morris, former Chief, Port Authority of New York and New Jersey Police Department
Bernard B. Kerik, former Commissioner, New York Police Department
Thomas Von Essen, former Commissioner, Fire Department of New York
Richard Sheirer, former Director, New York City Office of Emergency Management
Raymond W. Kelly, Commissioner, New York Police Department
Nicholas Scoppetta, Commissioner, Fire Department of New York
Joseph F. Bruno, Director, New York City Office of Emergency Management
The Honorable Rudolph W. Giuliani, former Mayor, City of New York
Dennis Smith, Author, Report from Ground Zero
Jerome M. Hauer, former Commissioner, New York City Office of Emergency Management
Edward P. Plaugher, Chief, Arlington County Fire Department
The Honorable Michael R. Bloomberg, Mayor, City of New York
The Honorable Thomas J. Ridge, Secretary of Homeland Security

TWELFTH PUBLIC HEARING

The 9/11 Plot and National Crisis Management
National Transportation Safety Board Conference Center, Washington, D.C.
June 16–17, 2004

Al Qaeda
Mary Deborah Doran, Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Patrick J. Fitzgerald, U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Illinois
CIA Officials

Outline of the 9/11 Plot
Jacqueline Maguire, Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation
James N. Fitzgerald, Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation
Adam B. Drucker, Supervisory Special Agent, Federal Bureau of Investigation
CIA Officials

Military Response on 9/11
General Richard B. Myers, United States Air Force, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
Admiral (select) Charles Joseph Leidig, United States Navy,
  Deputy Director for Operations, National Military Command Center
General Ralph E. Eberhart, United States Air Force, Commander,
  North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) and
  United States Northern Command
Major General Larry Arnold, United States Air Force (retired),
  former Commander, Continental United States NORAD Region (CONR)

**FAA Response on 9/11**
Monte R. Belger, former Acting Deputy Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration
Jeff Griffith, former Deputy Director, Air Traffic Control,
  Federal Aviation Administration
John S. White, former Facility Manager, Air Traffic Control Systems
  Command Center, Federal Aviation Administration
Benedict Sliney, Operations Manager, New York Terminal Radar Approach Control, Federal Aviation Administration