Intelligence Reform:

A Legislative History of the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, Public Law No. 108-458 (2004)

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INTRODUCTION

The Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 was signed into law by President George W. Bush on December 17, 2004. Lawmakers passed this critical legislation in response to the attacks on 9/11, in an effort to make America's intelligence community more effective and to respond to national terrorism and security threats. In his signing remarks, the president called this law "the most dramatic reform of our Nations' intelligence capabilities" since the close of World War II.

The Act reorganizes executive branch agencies charged with keeping America safe in a post-9/11 world. It does so by giving government officials the resources and personnel to meet the tasks of countering terrorism, safeguarding domestic security, and providing intelligence to the military. Prominent among these measures is the creation of the position of Director of National Intelligence, empowered to integrate the intelligence community and control the national intelligence budget. Also built into the Act are oversight and accountability measures, such as the establishment of a Privacy and Civil Liberties Board.

The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, popularly known as the "9/11 Commission," issued a report to the nation, in July 2004, noting failures across the government "of imagination, policy, capability, and management." The 9/11 Commission charged government leaders with failure to understand the gravity of the threat America faced prior to 9/11 and to perceive the threat of terrorism as an overriding national security concern. It noted that the United States defense capabilities were geared more to Cold War threats and not emerging foreign enemies, such as *al Qaeda*. Finally, the Commission identified "management issues" among various agencies that hampered the sharing of critical information and impeded mobilization of the intelligence community.

Based on these findings, the 9/11 Commission made recommendations to protect the nation in this new era of terrorism. It called for a global strategy to attack terrorists and terrorist organizations, reach out to prevent the growth of Islamist terrorism, and safeguard America from terrorist attacks. To accomplish these goals, the Commission proposed wholesale government reorganization, through "unity of effort" in five areas: establishing a National Counterterrorism Center; appointing a National Intelligence Director; reforming interagency information sharing; enhancing congressional oversight; and improving collection, analysis and assessment functions by the FBI and homeland defenders.

Immediately following the release of the 9/11 Commission report, Congress held, over the course of several months, hearings on the intelligence restructuring proposals offered by the 9/11 Commission. In September 2004, both houses of Congress introduced legislation to reform the intelligence community—H.R. 10 and S. 2845. The House bill was ambitious in expanding the executive's law enforcement powers. Unlike S. 2845, H.R. 10 contained substantial provisions for combating illegal immigration—which would prove to be a sticking point when the matter went to conference.

Both bills passed in their respective chambers with strong bipartisan support. The two pieces of legislation went to conference, and committee members reached tentative agreement on a compromise bill. Late in the conference process, however, negotiations broke down and leaders in the House pulled the conference report, objecting to the exclusion of certain provisions that were contained in H.R. 10 on battlefield intelligence sharing and immigration restrictions on the issuance of drivers' licenses. Congressional and White House negotiators worked through these issues. While the final conference report did not contain all of the immigration-related provisions contained in H.R. 10, necessary compromise provisions on intelligence sharing and immigration reform were included to gain sufficient support among the conferees to send the bill to a vote in both chambers. The House passed H.R. 10 (later renamed S. 2845) by a vote of 336 to 75. The Senate passed S. 2845 with an 89 to 2 vote. President Bush signed S. 2845 into law on December 17, 2004.

Public Law 108-458 reforms the intelligence community and seeks to prevent terrorism with the following key provisions:

- Establishes a Director of National Intelligence, who advises the nation's leaders on intelligence matters related to national security.
- Establishes a National Intelligence Council to produce national intelligence estimates and evaluate the collection and production of intelligence.
- Establishes the National Counterterrorism Center to analyze and integrate intelligence on terrorism and counterterrorism.

- Establishes the Joint Intelligence Community Council to develop and implement measures for a unified national intelligence.
- Establishes a Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight Board to monitor policies of the Executive branch in fighting terrorism.
- Combats terrorism in the area of transportation safety through aviation, air cargo, and transportation security.
- Increases border protection on both the northern and southwestern borders of the United States by tightening immigration requirements.
- Implements 9/11 Commission recommendations, in the areas of assessing terrorism activity in foreign countries, border security and terrorist travel, public diplomacy and outreach, foreign assistance programs, and national preparedness.

National security in this post-9/11 era requires vision, vigilance, and dedication on the part of government officials. The American public expects no less. The Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Protection Act of 2004 offers a dramatic overhaul of the intelligence community at this critical juncture in history. Time will show its efficacy.

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- **Doc. No. 88** Denying Safe Havens to International and War Criminals Act of 1999, S. 1754, 106th Cong. (1999) (reported in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 89** Denying Safe Havens to International and War Criminals Act of 1999, S. 1754, 106th Cong. (1999) (engrossed as agreed to or passed by Senate)

Doc. No. 90 Denying Safe Havens to International and War Criminals Act of 1999, S. 1754, 106th Cong. (1999) (referred to House committee after being received from Senate).

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- **Doc. No. 91** Anti-Atrocity Alien Deportation Act, H.R. 1449, 107th Cong. (2001) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 92** Social Security Number Privacy and Identity Theft Prevention Act of 2001, H.R. 2036, 107th Cong. (2001) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 93** Emergency Securities Response Act of 2001, H.R. 3060, 107th Cong. (2001) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 94** Emergency Securities Response Act of 2001, H.R. 3060, 107th Cong. (2001) (reported in House).
- **Doc. No. 95** Emergency Securities Response Act of 2001, H.R. 3060, 107th Cong. (2001) (engrossed as agreed to or passed by House).
- **Doc. No. 96** Emergency Securities Response Act of 2001, H.R. 3060, 107th Cong. (2001) (referred to Senate committee after being received from House).
- **Doc. No. 97** Anti-Hoax Terrorism Act of 2001, H.R. 3209, 107th Cong. (2001) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 98** Anti-Hoax Terrorism Act of 2001, H.R. 3209, 107th Cong. (2001) (reported in House).
- **Doc. No. 99** Anti-Hoax Terrorism Act of 2001, H.R. 3209, 107th Cong. (2001) (engrossed as agreed to or passed by House).
- **Doc. No. 100** Anti-Hoax Terrorism Act of 2001, H.R. 3209, 107th Cong. (2001) (referred to Senate committee after being received from House).
- **Doc. No. 101** Freedom Promotion Act of 2002, H.R. 3969, 107th Cong. (2002) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 102** Freedom Promotion Act of 2002, H.R. 3969, 107th Cong. (2002) (reported in House).
- **Doc. No. 103** Freedom Promotion Act of 2002, H.R. 3969, 107th Cong. (2002) (engrossed as agreed to or passed by House).
- **Doc. No. 104** Freedom Promotion Act of 2002, H.R. 3969, 107th Cong. (2002) (referred to Senate committee after being received from House).

IV. Congressional Bills continued

D. 107th Congress *continued*

- **Doc. No. 105** Anti-Atrocity Alien Deportation Act of 2001, S. 864, 107th Cong. (2001) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 106** Anti-Atrocity Alien Deportation Act of 2001, S. 864, 107th Cong. (2001) (reported in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 107** Social Security Number Privacy and Identity Theft Prevention Act of 2001, S. 1014, 107th Cong. (2001) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 108** Presidential Appointments Improvement Act of 2001, S. 1811, 107th Cong. (2001) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 109** Presidential Appointments Improvement Act of 2002, S. 1811, 107th Cong. (2002) (reported in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 110** To Exclude United States Persons from the Definition of "Foreign Power" Under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 Relating to International Terrorism, S. 2586, 107th Cong. (2002) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 111** To Exclude United States Persons from the Definition of "Foreign Power" Under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 Relating to International Terrorism, S. 2586, 107th Cong. (2002) (reintroduced in Senate).

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- **Doc. No. 112** Social Security Number Misuse Prevention Act, H.R. 637, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 113** Emergency Securities Response Act of 2003, H.R. 657, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 114** Emergency Securities Response Act of 2003, H.R. 657, 108th Cong. (2003) (reported in House).
- **Doc. No. 115** Emergency Securities Response Act of 2003, H.R. 657, 108th Cong. (2003) (engrossed as agreed to or passed by House).
- **Doc. No. 116** Emergency Securities Response Act of 2003, H.R. 657, 108th Cong. (2003) (referred to Senate committee after being received from House).
- **Doc. No. 117** Anti-Atrocity Alien Deportation Act of 2003, H.R. 1440, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in House).

- **Doc. No. 118** Anti-Hoax Terrorism Act of 2003, H.R. 1678, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 119** Anti-Hoax Terrorism Act of 2003, H.R.1678, 108th Cong. (2003) (reported in House).
- **Doc. No. 120** Surveillance Oversight and Disclosure Act of 2003, H.R. 2429, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 121** Weapons of Mass Destruction Prohibition Improvement Act of 2003, H.R. 2939, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 122** Social Security Number Privacy and Identity Theft Prevention Act of 2003, H.R. 2971, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 123** Pretrial Detention and Lifetime Supervision of Terrorists Act of 2003, H.R. 3040, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 124** Terrorism Transcending National Boundaries Correction Act of 2003, H.R. 3046, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 125** Obstruction of Justice and False Statements in Terrorism Cases Penalty Enhancement Act of 2003, H.R. 3086, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 126** Anti-Terrorism Intelligence Tools Improvement Act of 2003, H.R. 3179, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 127** Faster and Smarter Funding for First Responders Act of 2003, H.R. 3266, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 128** Faster and Smarter Funding for First Responders Act of 2004, H.R.3266, 108th Cong. (2004) (reported in House).
- **Doc. No. 129** 9/11 Recommendations Implementation Act, H.R. 10, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House).

IV. Congressional Bills continued

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Doc. No. 130 To Provide Criminal Penalties for False Information About the Status of a Member of the Armed Forces Engaged in Armed Conflict, H.R. 3314, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House).

- **Doc. No. 131** Security and Freedom Ensured Act of 2003 (SAFE) Act, H.R. 3352, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 132** To Provide for Additional Responsibilities for the Chief Information Officer of the Department of Homeland Security Relating to Geospatial Information, H.R. 3367, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 133** To Amend the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 to Cover Individuals, Other than United States Persons, Who Engage in International Terrorism Without Affiliation with an International Terror Group, H.R. 3552, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House)
- **Doc. No. 134** Bureau of Engraving and Printing Security Printing Act of 2004, H.R. 3786, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 135** Bureau of Engraving and Printing Security Printing Act of 2004, H.R. 3786, 108th Cong. (2004) (engrossed as agreed to or passed by House).
- **Doc. No. 136** Bureau of Engraving and Printing Security Printing Act of 2004, H.R. 3786, 108th Cong. (2004) (referred to Senate committee after being received from House).
- **Doc. No. 137** Commercial Aviation MANPADS Defense Act of 2004, H.R. 4056, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 138** Commercial Aviation MANPADS Defense Act of 2004, H.R. 4056, 108th Cong. (2004) (reported in House).
- **Doc. No. 139** Commercial Aviation MANPADS Defense Act of 2004, H.R. 4056, 108th Cong. (2004) (engrossed as agreed to or passed by House).
- **Doc. No. 140** Commercial Aviation MANPADS Defense Act of 2004, H.R. 4056, 108th Cong. (2004) (referred to Senate committee after being received from House).
- **Doc. No. 141** Intelligence Transformation Act of 2004, H.R. 4104, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 142** American Schools Abroad Support Act, H.R. 4303, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 143** Directing Community Integration Act, H.R. 4584, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 144** Independent National Security Classification Board Act of 2004, H.R. 4855, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 145** 9/11 Commission Recommendations Implementation Act of 2004, H.R. 5024, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House).

- **Doc. No. 146** 9/11 Commission Report Implementation Act of 2004, H.R. 5040, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 147** Weapons of Mass Destruction Prohibition Improvement Act of 2004, H.R. 5066, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 148** Prevention of Terrorist Access to Destructive Weapons Act of 2004, H.R. 5118, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 149** National Intelligence Reform Act of 2004, H.R. 5150, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 150** Homeland Security Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Protection Act of 2004, H.R. 5182, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 151** To Direct the Attorney General and Secretary of Homeland Security to Conduct a Pilot Study Under Which the Secretary May Issue Public Warnings Regarding Threats to Homeland Security Using an AMBER Alert System, H.R. 5238, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in House).
- **Doc. No. 152** Providing for Consideration of the Bill (H.R. 10) to Provide for Reform of the Intelligence Community, Terrorism Prevention and Prosecution, Border Security, and International Cooperation and Coordination, and for Other Purposes, H. Res. 827, 108th Cong. (2004) (reported in House).
- **Doc. No. 153** Resolved, that at Any Time After the Adoption of this Resolution the Speaker May, Pursuant to Clause 2(b) of Rule XVIII, Declare the House Resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for Consideration of the Bill (H.R. 10) to Provide for Reform of the Intelligence Community, Terrorism Prevention and Prosecution, Border Security, and International Cooperation and Coordination, and for Other Purposes, H. Res. 827, 108th Cong. (2004) (Engrossed as Agreed to or Passed by House).
- **Doc. No. 154** Waiving Points of Order Against the Conference Report to Accompany the Bill (S. 2845) to Reform the Intelligence Community and the Intelligence and Intelligence-Related Activities of the United States Government, and for Other Purposes, H. Res. 870, 108th Cong. (2004) (reported in House).
- **Doc. No. 155** Resolved, that upon Adoption of this Resolution It Shall Be in Order to Consider the Conference Report to Accompany

the Bill (S. 2845) to Reform the Intelligence Community and the Intelligence and Intelligence-Related Activities of the United States Government, and for Other Purposes, H. Res. 870, 108th Cong. (2004) (engrossed as agreed to or passed by House).

- **Doc. No. 156** To Exclude United States Persons from the Definition of "Foreign Power" Under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 Relating to International Terrorism, S. 113, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 157** To Exclude United States Persons from the Definition of "Foreign Power" Under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 Relating to International Terrorism, S. 113, 108th Cong. (2003) (reported in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 158** To Amend the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 to Cover Individuals, Other than United States Persons, Who Engage in International Terrorism Without Affiliation with an International Terrorist Group, S. 113, 108th Cong. (2003) (engrossed as agreed to or passed by Senate).
- **Doc. No. 159** To Amend the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 to Cover Individuals, Other than United States Persons, Who Engage in International Terrorism Without Affiliation with an International Terrorist Group, S. 113, 108th Cong. (2003) (referred to House committee after being received from Senate).

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- **Doc. No. 160** To Exclude United States Persons from the Definition of "Foreign Power" Under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 Relating to International Terrorism, S. 123, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in Senate)
- **Doc. No. 161** Air Cargo Security Act, S. 165, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 162** Air Cargo Security Improvement Act, S. 165, 108th Cong. (2003) (reported in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 163** Air Cargo Security Improvement Act, S. 165, 108th Cong. (2003) (engrossed as agreed to or passed by Senate).

- **Doc. No. 164** Air Cargo Security Improvement Act, S. 165, 108th Cong. (2003) (referred to House committee after being received from Senate).
- **Doc. No. 165** Social Security Number Misuse Prevention Act, S. 228, 108th Cong. (2003) (placed on calendar in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 166** Anti-Atrocity Alien Deportation Act of 2003, S. 710, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 167** Anti-Atrocity Alien Deportation Act of 2003, S. 710, 108th Cong. (2003) (reported in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 168** To Provide for Additional Responsibilities for the Chief Information Officer of the Department of Homeland Security Relating to Geospatial Information, S. 1230, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 169** Homeland Security Geographic Information Act of 2004, S. 1230, 108th Cong. (2004) (reported in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 170** Protecting the Rights of Individuals Act, S. 1552, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 171** Pretrial Detention and Lifetime Supervision of Terrorists Act of 2003, S. 1606, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 172** Private Security Officer Employment Authorization Act of 2003, S. 1743, 108th Cong. (2003) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 173** Private Security Officer Employment Authorization Act of 2003, S. 1743, 108th Cong. (2003) (reported in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 174** Private Security Officer Employment Authorization Act of 2003, S. 1743, 108th Cong. (2003) (engrossed as agreed to or passed by Senate).
- **Doc. No. 175** Private Security Officer Employment Authorization Act of 2003, S. 1743, 108th Cong. (2003) (referred to House committee after being received from Senate).
- **Doc. No. 176** Stop Terrorist and Military Hoaxes Act of 2004, S. 2204, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 177** Homeland Security Geospatial Information Act of 2004, S. 2390, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 178** Aviation Security Advancement Act, S. 2393, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 179** Aviation Security Advancement Act, S. 2393, 108th Cong. (2004) (reported in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 180** Homeland Security Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Protection Act of 2004, S. 2536, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in Senate).

- **Doc. No. 181** Homeland Security Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Protection Act of 2004, S. 2536, 108th Cong. (2004) (reported in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 182** Information Sharing Improvement Act of 2004, S. 2599, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 183** Prevention of Terrorist Access to Destructive Weapons Act of 2004, S. 2664, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 184** Weapons of Mass Destruction Prohibition Improvement Act of 2004, S. 2665, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 185** Independent National Security Classification Board Act of 2004, S. 2672, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 186** Tools to Fight Terrorism Act of 2004, S. 2679, 108th Cong. (2004) (placed on calendar in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 187** 9/11 Commission Report Implementation Act of 2004, S. 2774, 108th Cong. (2004) (placed on calendar in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 188** 9-11 Act, S. 2811, 108th Cong. (2004) (introduced in Senate).

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E. 108th Congress continued

- **Doc. No. 189** National Intelligence Reform Act of 2004, S. 2840, 108th Cong. (2004) (placed on calendar in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 190** National Intelligence Reform Act of 2004, S. 2845, 108th Cong. (2004) (placed on calendar in Senate).
- **Doc. No. 191** National Intelligence Reform Act of 2004, S. 2845, 108th Cong. (2004) (public print).

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Doc. No. 192 9/11 Recommendations Implementation Act, S. 2845, 108th Cong. (2004) (engrossed amendment as agreed to by House). **Doc. No. 193** Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004, S. 2845, 108th Cong. (2004) (enrolled as agreed to or passed by both House and Senate).

V. Presidential Papers

- **Doc. No. 194** Remarks on Intelligence Reform and an Exchange with Reporters (Aug. 2, 2004).
- **Doc. No. 195** Statement on Senate Passage of the "National Intelligence Reform Act" (Oct. 6, 2004).
- **Doc. No. 196** Letter to Congressional Leaders on the Proposed "National Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Protection Act of 2004" (Dec. 6, 2004).
- **Doc. No. 197** Statement on Congressional Passage of the "National Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Protection Act of 2004" (Dec. 8, 2004).
- **Doc. No. 198** Remarks on Signing the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (Dec. 17, 2004).
- **Doc. No. 199** Statement on Signing the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (Dec. 17, 2004).

VI. Debate

- **Doc. No. 200** 142 Cong. Rec. H11135-37, H11245-46 (daily ed., Sept. 25, 1996) (House consideration and passage of H.R. 2092); 142 Cong. Rec. E1708 (daily ed., Sept. 26, 1996) (remarks by Rep. Martinez on H.R. 2092).
- **Doc. No. 201** 143 Cong. Rec. H5857-60 (daily ed., July 28, 1997) (House consideration of H.R. 103).
- **Doc. No. 202** 144 Cong. Rec. S12612-20 (daily ed., Oct. 15, 1998) (Senate consideration of S. 2536).
- **Doc. No. 203** 145 Cong. Rec. S14007-13 (daily ed., Nov. 4, 1999) (Senate consideration of S. 1754).
- **Doc. No. 204** 147 Cong. Rec. H8065-67 (daily ed., Nov. 13, 2001) (House consideration of H.R. 3060).
- **Doc. No. 205** 147 Cong. Rec. S6129 (daily ed., June 12, 2001) (Senate consideration of S. 1014).
- **Doc. No. 206** 147 Cong. Rec. H9189-92 (daily ed., Dec. 11, 2001) (House consideration of H.R. 3209); 147 Cong. Rec. H9309-10 (daily ed., Dec. 12, 2001) (House consideration and passage of H.R. 3209).

- **Doc. No. 207** 147 Cong. Rec. S13052-57 (daily ed., Dec. 12, 2001) (Senate consideration of S. 1811).
- **Doc. No. 208** 148 Cong. Rec. S5252-54 (daily ed., June 7, 2002) (Senate consideration of S. 864).
- **Doc. No. 209** 148 Cong. Rec. H5040-48 (daily ed., July 22, 2002) (House consideration and passage of H.R. 3969).
- **Doc. No. 210** 148 Cong. Rec. S10425-32 (daily ed., Oct. 15, 2002) (Senate consideration of S. 2586).
- **Doc. No. 211** 149 Cong. Rec. H1341-43 (daily ed., Feb. 26, 2003) (House consideration and passage of H.R. 657).
- **Doc. No. 212** 149 Cong. Rec. S4436-40 (daily ed., Mar. 26, 2003) (statement by Sen. Leahy on S. 710).
- **Doc. No. 213** 149 Cong. Rec. S5838 (daily ed., May 7, 2003) (Senate consideration of S. 113).

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- **Doc. No. 214** 149 Cong. Rec. S5929-39 (daily ed., May 8, 2003) (Senate consideration of S. 165).
- **Doc. No. 215** 149 Cong. Rec. S5899-907, 5914-5928, 5974-77 (daily ed., May 8, 2003) (Senate consideration and passage of S. 113).
- **Doc. No. 216** 149 Cong. Rec. S11353 (daily ed., Sept. 10, 2003) (Senate consideration of S. 1606).
- **Doc. No. 217** 149 Cong. Rec. S14969-70 (daily ed., Nov. 17, 2003) (Senate consideration of S. 1743).
- **Doc. No. 218** 149 Cong. Rec. E1710 (daily ed., Sept. 5, 2003) (remarks by Rep. Shaw on H.R. 2971).
- **Doc. No. 219** 150 Cong. Rec. S14969-70 (daily ed., Nov. 17, 2003) (Senate consideration of S. 1743).
- **Doc. No. 220** 150 Cong. Rec. H1382-84, H1493-94 (daily ed., Mar. 24-25, 2004) (House consideration and passage of H.R. 3786).
- **Doc. No. 221** 150 Cong. Rec. E469 (daily ed., Mar. 29, 2004) (remarks by Rep. Abercrombie on H.R. 3786).
- **Doc. No. 222** 150 Cong. Rec. E504 (daily ed., Apr. 2, 2004) (remarks by Rep. Harman on H.R. 4104).
- **Doc. No. 223** 150 Cong. Rec. S4026-27 (daily ed., Apr. 8, 2004) (statement by Sen. Edwards on S. 2393).

- **Doc. No. 224** 150 Cong. Rec. S4998-99 (daily ed., May 6, 2004) (statement by Sen. Akaka on S. 2390).
- **Doc. No. 225** 150 Cong. Rec. S5000-02 (daily ed., May 6, 2004) (statement by Sen. Rockefeller on S. 2393).
- **Doc. No. 226** 150 Cong. Rec. S7003-05 (daily ed., June 17, 2004) (statement by Sen. Collins on S. 2536).
- **Doc. No. 227** 150 Cong. Rec. H4880 (daily ed., June 23, 2004) (statement by Rep. Woolsey on H.R. 4104).
- **Doc. No. 228** 150 Cong. Rec. S7477-78 (daily ed., June 24, 2004) (statement by Sen. Chambliss on S. 2599).
- **Doc. No. 229** 150 Cong. Rec. E1431 (daily ed., July 20, 2004) (remarks by Rep. Cramer on H.R. 4855).
- **Doc. No. 230** 150 Cong. Rec. H6503-08, H6613-14 (daily ed., July 21-22, 2004) (House consideration and passage of H.R. 4056).
- **Doc. No. 231** 150 Cong. Rec. E1435 (daily ed., July 21, 2004) (remarks by Rep. Boswell on H.R. 4855).
- **Doc. No. 232** 150 Cong. Rec. H6678 (daily ed., July 22, 2004) (explanation by Rep. Kirk on H.R. 4056).
- **Doc. No. 233** 150 Cong. Rec. S8234-37 (daily ed., July 15, 2004) (statement by Sen. Wyden on S. 2672).
- **Doc. No. 234** 150 Cong. Rec. S8864-70 (daily ed., Sept. 7, 2004) (statement by Sen. McCain on S. 2774).
- **Doc. No. 235** 150 Cong. Rec. E1613 (daily ed., Sept. 14, 2004) (remarks by Rep. Pelosi on H.R. 5024).
- **Doc. No. 236** 150 Cong. Rec. S9700-20, 9756-59 (daily ed., Sept. 27, 2004) (Senate consideration of S. 2845).
- **Doc. No. 237** 150 Cong. Rec. S9778-805 (daily ed., Sept. 28, 2004) (Senate consideration of S. 2845).
- **Doc. No. 238** 150 Cong. Rec. S9873-909 (daily ed., Sept. 29, 2004) (Senate consideration of S. 2845).
- **Doc. No. 239** 150 Cong. Rec. S9997 (daily ed., Sept. 30, 2004) (Senate consideration of S. 2845).
- **Doc. No. 240** 150 Cong. Rec. S10055 (daily ed., Sept. 30, 2004) (remarks by Sen. Domenici on S. 2845).
- **Doc. No. 241** 150 Cong. Rec. S10197-254 (daily ed., Oct. 1, 2004) (Senate consideration of S. 2845).
- **Doc. No. 242** 150 Cong. Rec. H7947-48 (daily ed., Oct. 4, 2004) (House consideration of H.R. 10).
- **Doc. No. 243** 150 Cong. Rec. S10296-346 (daily ed., Oct. 4, 2004) (Senate consideration of S. 2845).

- **Doc. No. 244** 150 Cong. Rec. E1797 (daily ed., Oct. 4, 2004) (remarks by Rep. Dreier on H.R. 10).
- **Doc. No. 245** 150 Cong. Rec. S10384-94, 10400-01 (daily ed., Oct. 5, 2004) (Senate consideration of S. 2845).
- **Doc. No. 246** 150 Cong. Rec. S10476-88, 10512-43 (daily ed., Oct. 6, 2004) (Senate consideration and passage of S. 2845).
- **Doc. No. 247** 150 Cong. Rec. H8658-62, H8664-704, 8726-851 (daily ed., Oct. 7, 2004) (House consideration and passage of H. Res. 827 and consideration of H.R. 10).
- **Doc. No. 248** 150 Cong. Rec. H8863-73, 8874-978 (daily ed., Oct. 8, 2004) (House consideration and passage of H.R. 10).
- **Doc. No. 249** 150 Cong. Rec. H8978-86, H8993 (daily ed., Oct. 8, 2004) (authorization on the engrossment of H.R. 10 and consideration of the motion to instruct conferees on S. 2845).
- **Doc. No. 250** 150 Cong. Rec. S10879 (daily ed., Oct. 8, 2004) (modification to S. 2845).
- **Doc. No. 251** 150 Cong. Rec. S10980-81 (daily ed., Oct. 9, 2004) (statement by Sen. Leahy on abuse of foreign detainees).
- **Doc. No. 252** 150 Cong. Rec. S11068 (daily ed., Oct. 10, 2004) (statement by Sen. Frist on S. 2845).
- **Doc. No. 253** 150 Cong. Rec. E1851 (daily ed., Oct. 10, 2004) (remarks by Rep. Maloney on H.R. 10).
- **Doc. No. 254** 150 Cong. Rec. S11232-33 (daily ed., Oct. 11, 2004) (appointment of conferees to S. 2845).
- **Doc. No. 255** 150 Cong. Rec. S11300-03 (daily ed., Oct. 11, 2004) (statement by Sen. Kennedy on H.R. 10).
- **Doc. No. 256** 150 Cong. Rec. E1884 (daily ed., Oct. 11, 2004) (remarks by Rep. Meeks on S. 2393).
- Doc. No. 257 150 Cong. Rec. E1917, E1927-28, E1946-47, E1951-54, E1958-61, E1967 (daily ed., Oct. 11, 2004) (remarks by Rep. Gallegly, Rep. Lowey, Rep. Roybal-Allard, Rep. Ruppersberger, Rep. Jackson-Lee, Rep. Udall, Rep. Brady, Rep. Langevin, Rep. Sherman on H.R. 10).
- **Doc. No. 258** 150 Cong. Rec. E1977 (daily ed., Nov. 16, 2004) (remarks by Rep. Farr on H.R. 10).
- **Doc. No. 259** 150 Cong. Rec. E2135 (daily ed., Nov. 24, 2004) (remarks by Rep. Cox on H.R. 10).
- **Doc. No. 260** 150 Cong. Rec. H10921 (daily ed., Dec. 6, 2004) (statement by Rep. Jackson-Lee on H.R. 10/S.2845).

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- **Doc. No. 261** 150 Cong. Rec. H10993-1029, H11044-45, H11057 (daily ed., Dec. 7, 2004) (consideration of the conference report to accompany S. 2845).
- **Doc. No. 262** 150 Cong. Rec. S11939-2010 (daily ed., Dec. 8, 2004) (consideration of the conference report to accompany S. 2845)
- **Doc. No. 263** 150 Cong. Rec. S12022 (daily ed., Dec. 8, 2004) (vote explanation by Sen. Frist).
- **Doc. No. 264** 150 Cong. Rec. S12095 (daily ed., Dec. 20, 2004) (enrolled S. 2845 signed).
- **Doc. No. 265** 150 Cong. Rec. E2204, E2207-11 (daily ed., Dec. 11, 2004) (remarks by Rep. Udall, Rep. Maloney, Rep. Hunter, Rep. Hoekstra, Rep. Norton on conference report to accompany S. 2845).

VII. Related Materials

- **Doc. No. 266** First Public Hearing of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, Day 1 (Mar. 31, 2003).
- **Doc. No. 267** First Public Hearing of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, Day 2 (Apr. 1, 2003).
- **Doc. No. 268** Second Public Hearing of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, Day 1 (May 22, 2003).
- **Doc. No. 269** Second Public Hearing of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, Day 2 (May 23, 2003).
- **Doc. No. 270** Third Public Hearing of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (July 9, 2003).
- **Doc. No. 271** Fourth Public Hearing of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (Oct. 14, 2003).

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Doc. No. 272 Fifth Public Hearing of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (Nov. 19, 2003).

Sixth Public Hearing of the National Commission on
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Seventh Public Hearing of the National Commission on Ter-
rorist Attacks upon the United States, Day 1 (Jan. 26, 2004).
Seventh Public Hearing of the National Commission on Ter-
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Doc. No. 283	Twelfth Public Hearing of the National Commission on Ter-
	rorist Attacks upon the United States, Day 1 (June 17, 2004).
Doc. No. 284	Twelfth Public Hearing of the National Commission on Ter-
	rorist Attacks upon the United States, Day 2 (June 17, 2004).
Doc. No. 285	First Interim Report of the National Commission on Ter-
	rorist Attacks upon the United States (July 8, 2003).
Doc. No. 286	Second Interim Report of the National Commission on Ter-
	rorist Attacks upon the United States (Sept. 23, 2003).
Doc. No. 287	Public Statement, Release of 9/11 Commission Report, the
	Hon. Thomas H. Kean and the Hon. Lee H. Hamilton (July
	22, 2004).
Doc. No. 288	National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United
	States, Monograph on Terrorist Financing, Staff Report of
	the Commission (2004).

VII. Related Materials continued

- **Doc. No. 289** 9/11 and Terrorist Travel, Staff Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (2004).
- **Doc. No. 290** Entry of the 9/11 Hijackers into the U.S., National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, Staff Statement No. 1, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (2004).
- **Doc. No. 291** Three 9/11 Hijackers: Identification, Watchlisting, and Tracking, Staff Statement No. 2, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (2004).
- **Doc. No. 292** The Aviation Security System and the 9/11 Attacks, Staff Statement No. 3, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (2004).
- **Doc. No. 293** The Four Flights, Staff Statement No. 4, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (2004).
- **Doc. No. 294** Diplomacy, Staff Statement No. 5, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (2004).
- **Doc. No. 295** The Military, Staff Statement No. 6, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (2004).
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- **Doc. No. 298** Law Enforcement, Counterterrorism, and Intelligence Collection in the U.S. Prior to 9/11, Staff Statement No. 9, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (2004).
- **Doc. No. 299** Threats and Responses in 2001, Staff Statement No. 10, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (2004).
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- **Doc. No. 302** Emergency Preparedness and Response, Staff Statement No.13, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (2004).
- **Doc. No. 303** Crisis Management, Staff Statement No. 14, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (2004).
- **Doc. No. 304** Overview of the Enemy, Staff Statement No. 15, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (2004).
- **Doc. No. 305** Outline of the 9/11 Plot, Staff Statement No. 16, National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (2004).
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- **Doc. No. 307** Statement by Thomas H. Kean, Chair, and Lee H. Hamilton, Vice Chair of the 9/11 Commission (2004).
- Doc. No. 308 The 9/11 Commission Report, Executive Summary (2004).
- **Doc. No. 309** The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (2004).