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A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of

TERRORISM
Special Studies, 2002–2003
Fifth Supplement

DEFINITION OF TERMS FOR HOMELAND DEFENSE & HOMELAND SECURITY
Northern Command has established a set of definitions for the missions related to homeland security and defense. Northern Command defines homeland security as the prevention, preemption and deterrence of attacks against the United States territory, domestic population and critical infrastructure, as well as the management of the consequences of any such attack. Northern Command defines homeland defense as the prevention, preemption and deterrence of attacks against the United States territory, domestic population and critical infrastructure from attack by military forces from outside of the United States.

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SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

*Terrorism, Special Studies, 2002–2003, Fifth Supplement* brings together a large number of documents on terrorist attacks and organizations, as well as the U.S. and international response to terrorism and efforts both to prevent and prepare for terror attacks. The main emphasis of the collection is on the events that led up to and followed the September 11, 2001, air attacks on the United States.

The documents in the collection come primarily from federal executive departments and agencies, the Congress and congressional research organizations, military colleges and research agencies, and selected private or international sources, including the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the UK House of Commons.

Prominent individuals and groups covered include President George W. Bush, Russian President Vladimir Putin; British Prime Minister Tony Blair; then-National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice and Secretary of State Colin L. Powell; al Qaeda and its leader Osama bin Laden; the Taliban in Afghanistan; Hizballah in Lebanon; Iraq President Saddam Hussein; 9/11 hijackers and conspirators Mohamed Atta, Marwan Alshehhi, Khalid Shaykh Mohammed; and Zacarias Moussaoui. The collection also covers the Baader-Meinhof Gang; the Irish Republican Army; the Asian terrorist groups Jemaah Islamiyah, Kumpulana Mujahideen Malaysia, Moro Islamic Liberation Front, and Laskar Jihad; the Japanese terror organization Aum Shinrikyo; and scholars such as military theorist Carl von Clausewitz and theologian Reinhold Neibuhr.

The following sections outline the major topics covered by this collection.

9/11 and Other Attacks on the United States

The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States were, of course, the central events in the nation’s experience with terrorism. In one way or another, most of the documents in this collection base much of their significance on these horrific events and their aftermath.

Collection documents, including the transcripts of a number of public hearings by the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, provide chilling detail on the first responders’ tragic efforts to save victims in the World Trade Center towers, as well as first-hand accounts by several survivors who barely escaped with their lives. Commission hearings also include the somber testimony of people involved in the recovery efforts at the World Trade Center site. One witness, a firefighter involved in recovery efforts for nine months after September 11, notes that only 292 whole bodies were found at Ground Zero, whereas 19,934 body parts were recovered.

The massive volume *Joint Inquiry into the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001: Report of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence* (Reel 6, Frame 0001) describes the series of events leading up to the attacks, beginning with the arrival and training of the hijackers in the United States. The committees reconstruct many of the mistakes made by U.S. intelligence agencies, such as insufficient intelligence gathering and analysis, the lack of intelligence coordination, the lack of state-of-the-art information and communications technology, and the failure by the CIA or others to properly use watchlists that had identified some of the hijackers as suspected terrorists. In a major part of the volume, the committees examine issues arising from the attacks. These issues include intelligence agency funding, personnel shortages, and competition; the benefits and disadvantages of using foreign intelligence and security services (“liaison services”); strategies for disrupting terrorist
funding; a Phoenix, Arizona, FBI agent’s communiqué to counterterrorism units at FBI headquarters on al Qaeda operatives’ flight training in the United States and the failure of headquarters to act promptly on this information; the inadequacy of information sharing among intelligence agencies and among federal, state, and local agencies; and the recent anthrax mail attacks.

Many other documents in this collection analyze intelligence deficiencies as well as other factors that may have contributed to the federal government’s failure to become aware of and prevent the 9/11 attacks. The Justice Department, for example, identifies mistakes made by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in its processing of the student status applications by Mohamed Atta and Marwan Alshehhi, who took pilot lessons in the United States and piloted the hijacked airliners that destroyed the World Trade Center towers in New York City (Reel 3, Frame 0150).

A number of reports relate the September 11 events to earlier attacks such as the 1993 bombing at the World Trade Center, the attack on U.S. military barracks in Saudi Arabia in 1996, the destruction of two U.S. embassies in Africa in 1993, and the 2000 bombing of the USS Cole in Aden, Yemen.

U.S. and International Responses: The War on Terror

Collection documents provide detailed information on and analyses of the international war on terror that began in October of 2001. These documents cover the U.S.-led coalition that attacked the Taliban and al Qaeda in Afghanistan, as well as the war in Iraq that the U.S. launched as a preemptive strike in March 2003. Many authors either praise or criticize the coalition’s strategies, tactics, and operations.

A particular concern of a number of authors is the Bush administration’s apparent belief that Osama bin Laden’s al Qaeda and Saddam Hussein’s Iraq form a single, undifferentiated terrorist threat. According to the author of one analysis, “This was a strategic error of the first order because it ignored critical differences between the two in character, threat level, and susceptibility to U.S. deterrence and military action” (Reel 14, Frame 0620). The result has been an “unnecessary” war in Iraq that has diverted resources away from protecting the United States against further attacks by al Qaeda. The same author contends that “most of the [war on terror]’s declared objectives, which include the destruction of al Qaeda and other transnational terrorist organizations, the transformation of Iraq into a prosperous, stable democracy, the democratization of the rest of the autocratic Middle East, the eradication of terrorism as a means of irregular warfare, and the (forcible, if necessary) termination of WMD proliferation to real and potential enemies worldwide, are unrealistic and condemn the U.S. to a hopeless quest for absolute security.”

Another common concern is with the status under international and military law of preemptive strikes ordered or threatened by President Bush, in particular the invasion of Iraq after Saddam Hussein refused to leave the country.

Various writers present strategies for defeating al Qaeda and other terrorist groups. These authors typically seek to identify possible vulnerabilities of the terrorists and suggest ways to attack them through military interventions, as well as through political or diplomatic policies such as holding responsible for terrorist actions those countries (including Iran, Syria, and North Korea) that sponsor or provide sanctuary to terrorist organizations. Authors repeatedly warn against turning the war on terror into a war on Islam.

Authors express other concerns about the role of the U.S. military in the war on terror. Authors advocate or warn against assigning primary responsibility for counterterrorism to special forces, as well as giving the navy the mission of protecting worldwide shipping from terror attacks, or using airpower to attack terrorists inside countries with which the United States is not at war. Several authors express the view that the detainees at Guantanamo Bay have no legal status whatsoever,
and that they should either be accorded prisoner of war status or given due legal protections under
the U.S. criminal justice system.

Other writers propose strategies for the post-conflict reconstruction of Iraq or urge U.S. leaders
to consider carefully and define the desired "end-state" of the Iraq war, the point at which U.S.
forces can be deemed to have accomplished their mission—not necessarily a complete cessation
of hostilities—and can be withdrawn. A recurring worry is that the United States may find it difficult
to extricate itself from Iraq. Some authors express concerns that seem prescient in light of the
course of the war since 2003. U.S. Senator and Vietnam veteran Max Cleland states in July 2003,
"Young Americans are being killed every day. And it seems like in a few weeks, more Americans
will have been killed after the president, in effect, declared victory than during the actual combat.
And this seems to be unending. That seems to me to look more like Vietnam and Somalia than
Desert Storm…. How many Americans are we going to lose before this thing gets cleared up?"
(Reel 12, Frame 0558)

Terrorists and Their Organizations

This collection includes a large number of reports focusing on the causes of terrorism as well
as the origins, popular appeal, structure, and tactics of al Qaeda and other terrorist organizations.
Tracing the history of modern terrorist groups, writers variously identify their sources as alienated,
angry youth in societies with large Muslim populations; political and economic problems in Arab
countries, including unemployment, poverty, too-rapid population growth, poor educational
systems—many of which teach anti-Americanism—and the failure of governments to stimulate
economic growth and reduce corruption and social inequality; the Palestinian problem and U.S.
support for Israel; and the utopian desire to build a society that restores the imagined ideal
conditions of life in seventh-century Arabia.

Collection documents devote considerable emphasis to the study of al Qaeda and its leader
Osama bin Laden. Interesting and sometimes disturbing documents cover al Qaeda’s tactics,
training methods, and effective use of mass media to spread its messages of fear, on the one
hand, and religious and moral justification, on the other. A number of authors express concern
about the group’s interest in and capability of using weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Authors
attempt to identify the ultimate goals of bin Laden, with one writer speculating that al Qaeda
attacked the United States “to provoke an American retaliatory attack, which Bin Laden calculated
he could use to remove American interests from Egypt and the Gulf, and then turn on the
destruction of Israel” (Reel 4, Frame 0742).

A number of authors examine terrorist organizations and activities in areas outside the Middle
East, including Europe, Chechnya, Southeast Asia, Somalia, Yemen, and Latin America. Other
recurring topics include the question of state support of terrorist groups in countries such as
Afghanistan, Iran, and Syria; and the modes of attack used by terrorists, including airliners, bomb-
laden vehicles, chemical and biological warfare, nuclear weapons, so-called “dirty bombs” that
cause widespread radioactive contamination, and suicide attacks.

Homeland Security

The 9/11 attacks provoked immediate responses not only by the U.S. military and its coalition
partners, but also by the U.S. government at all levels. Collection authors describe and assess
efforts by the federal government as well as its state and local “partners” to devise effective
systems to respond to terror attacks on the U.S. homeland, as well as to prepare for and prevent
such attacks.

In July 2002, the Bush administration presented the National Strategy for Homeland Security
(Reel 5, Frame 0001). The strategy contains the following major components: intelligence and
warning, border and transportation security, counterterrorism operations, information and
infrastructure protection, defense against catastrophic threats, and emergency preparedness and
response. This collection includes many documents on each major component of homeland security.

Collection authors devote considerable attention to various aspects of this vital topic, including the organization and responsibilities of the newly established Department of Homeland Security (DHS), the military’s relation to DHS, the reorganization of and coordination among the nation’s intelligence services, intelligence and customs officials’ use of State Department and other watchlists containing information on suspected terrorists, government-private and federal-local partnerships, the *Posse Comitatus* Act and the use of the military to perform functions usually performed by civilian law enforcement agencies. A large number of authors focus on attack preparedness and prevention in specific areas including aviation and airports, borders and coastlines, food, transportation, energy, and the protection of military assets. A great concern of federal and other officials is the vulnerability of the nation to bioterrorism, which came into the spotlight with the anthrax mail attacks in the fall of 2001.

Many authors express the fear that as homeland security, intelligence, and law enforcement agencies prosecute the domestic war on terror, civil liberties will be compromised. One author notes in July 2003 that a national public opinion poll found that only 22 percent of U.S. citizens favor allowing the federal government to monitor their personal telephone calls and e-mails.

Perhaps the central theme running through this collection is the conviction that if the United States wishes to defeat terrorism internationally and protect the U.S. homeland, everyone must work together: intelligence agencies, DHS, state and local governments, the military, U.S. allies abroad, private businesses and organizations, and U.S. citizens. One survivor of the September 11 attack on the World Trade Center, an employee of the Port Authority, describes the efforts by himself and his colleagues to dig out from the collapsed building (they were among the few to escape after the towers collapsed): “There was a total of twelve firefighters, Josephine and myself in that stairwell. And for five hours, we fought to get out of there. When I say fought, we fought as a team” (Reel 8, Frame 309).
ISSUING AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

Air Force Institute of Technology
The Air Force Institute of Technology (AFIT) traces its roots to the early days of powered flight when it was apparent that the progress of military aviation depended upon special education in this new science. AFIT’s graduates have made valuable contributions to national security in the fields of engineering, science, technology, medicine, logistics, and management.

Air Force Research Laboratory
Located at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Ohio, the Air Force Research Laboratory conducts research aimed at finding new technologies for U.S. aerospace forces.

Air University
Established in 1946, Air University offers courses on air and space power both to enlisted personnel and air force officers. Schools within Air University include the Air War College; Air Command and Staff College; School for Advanced Air and Space Studies; College of Aerospace Doctrine, Research, and Education; and Community College of the Air Forces. Air University students and faculty conduct research on air and space power, as well as on education, leadership, and management. Air University is located at Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama.

Center for Contemporary Conflict, Naval Postgraduate School
The Center for Contemporary Conflict (CCC) conducts research on current and emerging security issues and conveys its findings to U.S. and Allied policy makers and military forces. Launched by the Naval Postgraduate School's Department of National Security Affairs in 2001 and propelled by a seasoned staff with ready access to military and academic circles, the CCC is uniquely positioned to develop security research of high quality and relevance. Through aggressive outreach highlighted by its Regional Security Education Program (RSEP), the CCC ensures that its analyses benefit the makers and executors of U.S. defense policy. Active in the academy and in the field, the CCC bridges the gap between the security researcher and the warfighter.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), located in Atlanta, Georgia, is an agency of the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). The mission of the CDC is to promote health and quality of life by preventing and controlling disease, injury, and disability. Divisions of the CDC include the National Center on Birth Defects and Developmental Disabilities; National Center for Chronic Disease Prevention and Health Promotion; National Center for Environmental Health; National Center for Health Statistics; National Center for HIV, STD, and TB Prevention; National Center for Infectious Diseases; National Center for Injury Prevention and Control; National Immunization Program; National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health; Epidemiology Program Office; Public Health Practice Program Office; and the Office of the Director.

Central Intelligence Agency
The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is the keystone of the U.S. intelligence community. Its mission consists of supporting the president, the National Security Council, and all who make and
execute U.S. national security policy by providing accurate, evidence-based, comprehensive, and timely foreign intelligence related to national security. The CIA also conducts counterintelligence activities, special activities, and other functions related to foreign intelligence and national security as directed by the president.

**Congressional Research Service**

The Congressional Research Service (CRS) is the public policy research arm of the U.S. Congress. Located within the Library of Congress, CRS provides nonpartisan, objective analyses of issues to members of Congress.

**Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency**

The Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) is the central research and development organization for the Department of Defense (DoD). DARPA manages, directs, and engages in basic and applied research and development projects for DoD. The agency pursues research and technology where risk and payoff are both very high and where success may provide dramatic advances for traditional military roles and missions. DARPA conducts prototype projects embodying technology that may be incorporated into joint programs, programs in support of deployed U.S. forces, or selected military department (army, navy, and air force) programs. On request, DARPA assists the military departments in their research and development efforts.

**Department of Defense**

After World War II, the U.S. military services were reorganized. In 1947, Congress, under the National Security Act, created the position of a civilian secretary of defense. A new military department, the National Military Establishment, and a new service, the air force, were also created as a result of that act. At the same time, the War Department was renamed the Department of the Army. The secretary of defense was placed in charge of the Departments of the Navy, Air Force, and Army. The armed services were further reorganized in 1949 when the National Military Establishment became the Department of Defense (DoD). At this time, the secretary of defense became a member of the president’s cabinet.

The major role of the DoD is to train and equip the army, navy, and air force. These three departments, in turn, are responsible for performing the war fighting operations of the United States. They also engage in peacekeeping and humanitarian disaster/assistance tasks.

**Department of Health and Human Services**

The U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) is the lead government agency for protecting the health of all Americans and for providing essential human services. Among the key programs and initiatives of the department are Medicare and Medicaid, assistance to low-income families, health services for Native Americans, and combating infectious diseases. The agencies of HHS include the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Food and Drug Administration, National Institutes of Health, Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, and Administration for Children and Families.

**Department of Homeland Security**

The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was established by the Homeland Security Act of 2002. Pursuant to this legislation, the department came into existence on January 24, 2003, and is administered under the supervision and direction of the secretary of homeland security. DHS consolidates functions from twenty-two federal agencies under one umbrella with the single, critical mission of protecting the United States using state-of-the-art intelligence information. The secretary is charged with developing and coordinating a comprehensive national strategy to strengthen the United States against terrorist threats or attacks. In fulfilling this effort, the secretary
advises the president on strengthening U.S. borders, providing for intelligence analysis and infrastructure protection, improving the use of science and technology to counter weapons of mass destruction, and creating a comprehensive response and recovery division.

A primary reason for the establishment of DHS was to provide the unifying core for the vast national network of organizations and institutions involved in efforts to secure our nation. In order to do this better and to provide guidance to the 180,000 DHS men and women who work every day on this critical task, the department has developed its own high-level strategic plan. The DHS vision and mission statements as well as strategic goals and objectives provide the framework guiding the actions that make up the daily operations of the department. DHS plans a six-point agenda to ensure that the department's policies, operations, and structures are aligned in the best way to address the potential threats, both present and future, that face the nation. This six-point agenda will guide the department's efforts to increase overall preparedness, particularly for catastrophic events; create better transportation security systems to move people and cargo more securely and efficiently; strengthen border security and interior enforcement and reform immigration processes; enhance information sharing with DHS partners; improve DHS financial management, human resource development, procurement and information technology; and realign the DHS organization to maximize mission performance.

Department of Justice

The central mission of the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) is to enforce the laws of the United States, to prevent and control crime, to seek the punishment of criminals, and to administer the nation’s immigration laws. Among the components of the DOJ are the Civil Rights Division, Criminal Division, Community Relations Service, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Office of the Attorney General, U.S. attorneys, and U.S. marshals.

Federal Bureau of Investigation, Department of Justice

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is part of the Department of Justice, and is charged with investigating all crimes that have not been assigned by Congress to another federal agency. The primary categories of investigations carried out by the FBI involve civil rights, counterterrorism, foreign counterintelligence, organized crime and drugs, violent crimes, and financial crimes. The FBI also works in cooperation with federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies.

Department of State

Within the executive branch, the State Department is the lead U.S. foreign affairs agency, and the secretary of state is the president’s principal foreign policy adviser. The department advances U.S. objectives through its primary role in developing and implementing the president’s foreign policy. The department also supports the foreign affairs activities of other U.S. government entities including the Commerce Department and AID. It also provides an array of important services to U.S. citizens and to foreigners seeking to visit or immigrate to the United States.

Environmental Protection Agency

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) was established by President Richard M. Nixon in July 1970 amid a growing public awareness of the importance of cleaner air, water, and land. The EPA’s chief mission is to protect the natural environment and the health of the American public.

Federal Research Division, Library of Congress

Since 1948, the Federal Research Division, the Library of Congress’s principal fee-based research service, has provided U.S. government agencies with the research and analysis needed to carry out their national and international missions. Using the unparalleled collections of the
Library of Congress, the research staff of the Federal Research Division provides information in tailor-made formats based on specific agency requirements. Services range in complexity from document delivery to database development and comprehensive studies and reports.

General Accounting Office
The General Accounting Office (GAO) is the investigative arm of Congress and is charged with examining all matters relating to the receipt and disbursement of public funds. The GAO was established by the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921 to independently audit government agencies. Over the years, Congress has expanded the GAO’s audit authority, added new responsibilities and duties, and strengthened GAO’s ability to perform independently.

Supporting Congress is the GAO’s fundamental responsibility. In meeting this objective, the GAO performs a variety of services, the most prominent of which are audits and evaluations of government programs and activities. The majority of these reviews are made in response to specific congressional requests. Other assignments are initiated pursuant to standing commitments to congressional committees, and some reviews are specifically required by law. Finally, some assignments are independently undertaken in accordance with the GAO’s basic legislative responsibilities.

House of Commons, United Kingdom
In the United Kingdom and Canada, the House of Commons is the elected lower legislative body of Parliament. Members of Parliament (MP) are elected for a term of office of up to five years, or until Parliament is dissolved. MPs represent legislative districts called constituencies, which are analogous to U.S. congressional districts. Founded during the fourteenth century, the House of Commons was initially inferior in power to the House of Lords, but has since assumed the predominant legislative authority in the United Kingdom.

John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
The Kennedy School of Government was established in 1978 when the school’s Institute of Politics and Master in Public Policy Program were brought together. Its predecessor institutions date back to 1936 when the School of Public Administration was founded at Harvard University. The mission of the school is to strengthen democratic governance by training students for public leadership and to deal with public policy problems. The school offers master’s programs in public policy and public administration and Ph.D. programs in public policy, health policy, social policy, and political economy and the government.

Joint Chiefs of Staff
The Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) consists of the chairman, the vice chairman, the chief of staff of the army, the chief of naval operations, the chief of staff of the air force, and the commandant of the Marine Corps. The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is the principal military adviser to the president, the secretary of defense, and the National Security Council. Since the Goldwater-Nichols DoD Reorganization Act of 1986, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff has also been identified as the senior ranking member of the armed forces.

Joint Forces Staff College
The Joint Forces Staff College (JFSC), a component of the National Defense University, educates joint and multinational warfighters to plan and lead at the theater- and major-joint-task-force operational level. Military operations increasingly require the armed services to work jointly and JFSC provides students the tools to operate in a joint environment.
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) is a private research university located in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The mission of MIT is to advance knowledge and educate students in science, technology, and other areas of scholarship that will best serve the nation and the world in the 21st century. MIT is committed to generating, disseminating, and preserving knowledge, and to working with others to bring this knowledge to bear on the world's great challenges. The university is dedicated to providing its students with an education that combines rigorous academic study and the excitement of discovery with the support and intellectual stimulation of a diverse campus community.

Military Operations Research Society

Under the sponsorship of the army, navy, air force, Marine Corps, the Office of the Secretary of Defense, and the Joint Staff, the objective of the Military Operations Research Society (MORS) is to enhance the quality and effectiveness of military operations research in order to better support decision making in the DoD. During its thirty-eight years, MORS has expanded its services. In addition to conducting a classified symposium, MORS holds several other meetings annually. The Society also publishes abstracts, monographs, brochures, the quarterly bulletin *PHALANX*, and a refereed journal—Military Operations Research—for professional exchange and peer criticism among students, theoreticians, practitioners and users of military operations research.

National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States

The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States (also known as the 9/11 Commission), an independent, bipartisan commission created by congressional legislation and the signature of President George W. Bush in late 2002, was chartered to prepare a full and complete account of the circumstances surrounding the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, including preparedness for and the immediate response to the attacks. The Commission was also mandated to provide recommendations designed to guard against future attacks. On July 22, 2004, the Commission released its public report. The Commission closed on August 21, 2004.

National Defense University

The mission of the National Defense University (NDU) is to ensure excellence in professional military education and research in the essential elements of national security. The NDU consists of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, the National War College, and the Armed Forces Staff College. The curricula emphasize the development and implementation of national security strategy and military strategy, mobilization, acquisition, management of resources, information and information technology for national security, and planning for joint and combined operations. In addition to mission-specific education, the colleges emphasize developing executive skills and improving competency. The NDU faculty and students conduct short-range and long-range studies of national security policy, military strategy, the allocation and management of resources for national security, and civil-military affairs.

National Infrastructure Protection Center

The National Infrastructure Protection Center (NIPC), created by Attorney General Janet Reno and FBI Director Louis Freeh in February 1998, addresses the growing threat of illicit computer activity, particularly as it affects critical national infrastructures. The mission of NIPC is to assess, warn of, respond to, and investigate illegal acts involving computer and information technologies, and unlawful acts that threaten or target our critical infrastructures. The NIPC does not merely respond to attacks after they occur; it concentrates equally on prevention, and the collection,
analysis, and dissemination of information to law enforcement partners, other government agencies, and the private sector. The NIPC issues warnings based on its analyses of possible incidents and vulnerabilities. It relies on the assistance and cooperation of its partners, including federal agencies, the private sector, and the state and local law enforcement agencies that often respond first to attacks.

**Naval Postgraduate School**

The Naval Postgraduate School, located in Monterey, California, is an academic institution with an emphasis on study and research programs relevant to the navy’s interests, as well as to the interests of the other arms of the DoD. Students come from all service branches of the U.S. defense community, as well as from the Coast Guard, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and the services of more than twenty-five allied nations. The school provides more than forty programs of study, ranging from the traditional engineering and physical sciences to the rapidly evolving space science programs. The faculty, the majority of whom are civilians, are drawn from a broad range of educational institutions.

**Naval War College**

The mission of the Naval War College is to enhance the professional capabilities of its students to make sound decisions in command, staff, and management positions in naval, joint, and combined environments; to provide a sound understanding of military strategy and operational art; to instill joint attitudes and perspectives; and to serve as a center for research and war gaming that will develop advanced strategic, war fighting, and campaign concepts for future employment of maritime, joint, and combined forces.

**Office of Management and Budget**

The predominant mission of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is to assist the president in overseeing the preparation of the federal budget and to supervise its administration in Executive Branch agencies. In helping to formulate the president's spending plans, OMB evaluates the effectiveness of agency programs, policies, and procedures; assesses competing funding demands among agencies and sets funding priorities. OMB ensures that agency reports, rules, testimony, and proposed legislation are consistent with the president’s budget and with administration policies. In addition, OMB oversees and coordinates the administration's procurement, financial management, information, and regulatory policies. In each of these areas, OMB’s role is to help improve administrative management, to develop better performance measures and coordinating mechanisms, and to reduce any unnecessary burdens on the public.

**Office of Homeland Security, the White House**

The Office of Homeland Security was created in October 2001 by President George W. Bush following the events of September 11, 2001. The office is charged with creating and implementing a comprehensive plan to protect the United States from terrorist attacks.

**Strategic Studies Institute, U.S. Army War College**

The Strategic Studies Institute (SSI) traces its origin to the establishment in 1947 of the Advanced Studies Group by General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, then chief of staff. The initial mission of this group was to develop concepts of national security in light of the revolution in warfare brought about with the onset of the atomic age. The group was elevated to the joint level with the creation of the DoD. When the Army War College was reestablished in 1950, an Advanced Studies Group was chartered to consider strategy and land power. The group evolved into the Advanced Studies and Doctrine Division within the faculty of the college.
As part of an army-wide reorganization in 1962, the division became the U.S. Army Combat Developments Command Institute of Advanced Studies, addressing strategic questions as well as those of organizing, equipping, and preparing the army to fight. The mission became exclusively strategic in 1971, and the institute received its present name.

Another army reorganization in 1973 brought both the U.S. Army War College and SSI under the deputy chief of staff for operations and plans, and SSI became a War College department. SSI continues to provide an analytical capability within the army to address strategic and other issues to support army participation in national security policy formulation.

Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences
The Uniformed Services University of the Health Sciences (USUHS) is located in Bethesda, Maryland. The university was created by Congress in 1972 under the Health Professions Revitalization Act of 1972. Studies at USUHS are devoted to military medicine as well as public health. The university serves both the Department of Defense and the U.S. Public Health Service.

U.S. Army War College
The mission of the U.S. Army War College (USAWC) is to prepare selected military, civilian, and international leaders to assume strategic responsibilities in military and national security organizations; to educate students about the employment of the U.S. Army as part of a unified, joint, or multinational force in support of the national military strategy; to research operational and strategic issues; and to conduct outreach programs that benefit the USAWC, the U.S. Army, and the nation.

U.S. Army Command and General Staff College
The mission of the Command and General Staff College (CGSC) is to educate leaders in the values and practice of the profession of arms, to act as the executive agent for the army’s Leader Development Program, to develop doctrine that guides the army, and to promote and support the advancement of military art and science. CGSC training, education, and professional military activities prepare officers for wartime duties.

U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command
The U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC) operates thirty-two schools at fifteen army installations. The schools include the Adjutant General, Command and General Staff College, Army War College, Logistics Mangement College, Warrant Officer Career Center, and School of Advanced Military Studies. The mission of TRADOC is to train and educate the army’s soldiers, to develop the army’s leaders, and to establish doctrine and standards for the army.

School of Advanced Military Studies
The School of Advanced Military Studies at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College educates and trains officers at the graduate level in military art and science to develop commanders and general staff officers with the abilities to solve complex problems in peace and war.

White House
The White House, or the Executive Office of the President, includes the Council of Economic Advisors, National Security Council, Office of the United States Trade Representative, Office of Management and Budget, National Economic Council, White House Military Office, and Council on Environmental Quality.
SOURCE NOTE

This microfilm collection includes materials on terrorism from selected holdings of a variety of U.S. government departments, agencies, and commissions; federal government contractors; U.S. military educational institutions and organizations; university research centers; and several think tanks that provided research commentary and analyses under contract to the federal government.

EDITORIAL NOTE

_Terrorism: Special Studies, 2002–2003 Fifth Supplement_ consists of research studies that became available, either through declassification or public dissemination, during the period 2002 through 2003 from the sources listed above. LexisNexis has microfilmed all of these reports in their entirety.
# ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used throughout this guide.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired immunodeficiency syndrome</td>
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<tr>
<td>CDC</td>
<td>Centers for Disease Control and Prevention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIA</td>
<td>Central Intelligence Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>DHS</td>
<td>Department of Homeland Security</td>
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<td>DoD</td>
<td>Department of Defense</td>
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<td>EPA</td>
<td>Environmental Protection Agency</td>
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<td>FBI</td>
<td>Federal Bureau of Investigation</td>
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<td>FTO</td>
<td>Foreign Terrorist Organizations</td>
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<td>GAO</td>
<td>General Accounting Office</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>INS</td>
<td>Immigration and Naturalization Service</td>
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<tr>
<td>9/11</td>
<td>Terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMD</td>
<td>Weapons of mass destruction</td>
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# REEL INDEX

The following index is a guide to the documents in this microfilm edition. The four-digit number on the far left is the frame number at which a particular document begins. This number is followed by the document title, the originating institution and author, and the date. A brief abstract follows.

## Reel 1

**Frame No.**

**2002**

The State Department provides brief accounts of 252 terrorist actions that killed, injured, or posed threats to U.S. citizens and property, or protested against U.S. policies, both in the United States and worldwide. The department includes a special section on the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. |
The FBI presents an overview of terrorist incidents in the United States and its territories, as well as preventions of terrorist acts. In addition, the agency discusses FBI investigations of terrorist activities targeted at U.S. citizens or interests overseas. Finally, the FBI includes special discussions of terrorist acts related to animal rights and environmental extremism, as well as the implementation of the USA PATRIOT Act, which strengthens the abilities of the FBI and other law enforcement agencies to investigate and prosecute terrorists. |
| 0090 | Answering the Call: Communications Lessons Learned from the Pentagon Attack.  
The Public Safety Wireless Network examines the communications activities among fifty public safety agencies and approximately nine hundred radio users following the terrorist aerial attack on the Pentagon on September 11, 2001. The network assesses the degree to which communications systems utilized interoperable wireless platforms and recommends improvements to increase interoperability during and after future public safety crises. |
| 0166 | Defeating Terrorism: Strategic Issue Analyses.  
The editor of this volume has compiled a number of short papers that present strategies and tactics for the military to use in its initial operations in the war on terror. The papers cover various topics, including the historical context of terrorism, the distinction between a war on terror and a war on Islam, state-supported terrorism, homeland security issues, the role of the U.S. military in domestic security, the implications of this role for civil-military relations, army force structure, ethical issues in |
counterterrorism operations, public support for the war, and U.S. enlistment of international allies including Pakistan, India, Central Asia, Russia, Southeast Asia, and China.

The CDC reviews emergency room and inpatient medical records at five hospitals that treated injured victims of the attacks on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. The CDC finds that respiratory and ocular injuries occurred most frequently, and that 18 percent of the injured persons required hospitalization.

The author of this thesis examines the military’s potential use of intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities to help safeguard the United States from attacks by terrorists using chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear, or enhanced high explosive (CBRNE) weapons. The author presents recommendations for the commanders in chief of the five geographic commands.

0324 Terrorism Insurance: Rising Uninsured Exposure to Attacks Heightens Potential Economic Vulnerabilities.
The author of this testimony before a congressional subcommittee discusses the economic difficulties caused by the determination by insurance companies that terrorism is not an insurable risk. Some industries, such as real estate and banking, face greater financial risks from terrorist attacks. The author explores the practicability of proposals for actions by the government to help induce insurance companies to provide terrorism insurance.

0344 Strategic Insight: Current WMD Challenges in the Middle East.
The authors of this paper present a summary assessment of the interest of Osama bin Laden and the al Qaeda network in using WMD and their capacity to develop such weapons. The authors present an analogous assessment for Iraq’s Saddam Hussein.

0347 Strategic Insight: Russia’s Military and Operation Enduring Freedom.
The author of this paper discusses the ways in which Russian President Vladimir Putin has directed his country to cooperate with the United States in the war on terror, especially with regard to Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan. The author notes that high-ranking Russian military officers harbor reservations about this new partnership.
0351 Strategic Insight: Will the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict Impede the War on Terrorism?
The author of this paper argues that the current resurgence of conflict between Palestinians and Israelis could significantly complicate U.S. strategy for the war on terror in the Middle East, and perhaps thwart it almost completely.

0354 Combating Terrorism: Critical Components of a National Strategy to Enhance State and Local Preparedness.
The author of this testimony before a congressional subcommittee reviews possible programs by which the federal government could provide leadership, training, and funding assistance to local governments and their police, fire departments, emergency medical services, and public health agencies, which would almost certainly be the first responders in the event of a terrorist attack. The author examines various preparedness issues and presents some provisional recommendations for a strategy by which state and local governments, in cooperation with the federal government, might substantially increase their preparedness for a major terrorist attack.

0376 Combating Terrorism: Enhancing Partnerships Through a National Preparedness Strategy.
The author of this testimony before a congressional subcommittee reviews possible programs by which the federal government could provide leadership, training, and funding assistance to local governments and their police, fire departments, emergency medical services, and public health agencies, which would almost certainly be the first responders in the event of a terrorist attack. The author examines various preparedness issues and presents some provisional recommendations for a strategy by which state and local governments, in cooperation with the federal government, might substantially increase their preparedness for a major terrorist attack.

0399 Combating Terrorism: Intergovernmental Partnership in a National Strategy to Enhance State and Local Preparedness.
The author of this testimony before a congressional subcommittee reviews possible programs by which the federal government could provide leadership, training, and funding assistance to local governments and their police, fire departments, emergency medical services, and public health agencies, which would almost certainly be the first responders in the event of a terrorist attack. The author examines various preparedness issues and presents some provisional recommendations for a strategy by which state and local governments, in cooperation with the federal government, might substantially increase their preparedness for a major terrorist attack.

0421 Combating Terrorism: Key Aspects of a National Strategy to Enhance State and Local Preparedness.
The author of this testimony before a congressional subcommittee reviews possible programs by which the federal government could provide leadership, training, and funding assistance to local governments and their police, fire departments, emergency medical services, and public health agencies, which would almost certainly be the first responders in the event of a terrorist attack. The author examines various preparedness
issues and presents some provisional recommendations for a strategy by which state and local governments, in cooperation with the federal government, might substantially increase their preparedness for a major terrorist attack.


The author of this testimony before a congressional subcommittee assesses the degree to which the several different national strategies for preventing and combating terrorism can be organized into a hierarchical framework that is cohesive and comprehensive. The author analyzes the strategies in terms of their plans for conducting military operations, controlling WMD, preventing money laundering, assuring computer security, and protecting physical infrastructure.


This transcript of two hearings before a congressional subcommittee contains the oral and written statements of a number of witnesses, including federal officials and private experts on terrorism. The hearing witnesses present threat assessments on the overall vulnerability of the U.S. population and institutions to terrorist attacks and offer recommendations for the formulation and implementation of a coherent national anti-terrorism strategy. Witnesses additionally note specific critical areas of vulnerability, such as the general absence in communities of medical surge capacity to treat mass casualties, and continuing problems with security procedures at airports, seaports, and border crossing points. In addition, witnesses discuss obstacles hindering the development of an effective anti-terrorism strategy, such as public complacency, agency program overlap and fragmentation, and the lack of a prioritization of risks and needed programs. Some witnesses argue that the Administration is channeling too much budgetary resources in areas which, they believe, the risk of attack is smaller, such as a missile defense system to defend the United States from attacks by rogue nations.


This transcript of an Albuquerque, New Mexico, hearing before a congressional subcommittee contains the oral and written statements of twenty-six witnesses, including federal officials as well as local and state officials and prominent researchers from the Los Alamos and Sandia National Laboratories and other institutions. The hearing witnesses present a wide variety of assessments of the degree to which the federal government as well as state and local governments are preparing for possible terrorist attacks using WMD. In addition to expressing concern about the nation’s multifaceted vulnerability to terror attacks, witnesses present recommendations for needed legislation and program development. Many witnesses describe specific programs for preventing or reducing WMD threats to persons as well as public infrastructure, computer and financial systems, and industrial and military facilities.


The author of this thesis examines the rising costs of anti-terrorism and force protection in the U.S. Navy. The author demonstrates the employment of a cost estimation model to help ship commanders forecast the costs of installing or implementing new systems for anti-terrorism and force protection, including equipment
acquisition and maintenance, personnel, training, services during port visits, and assistance from the Coast Guard. The author suggests areas for further research.

**0920 Information Management and the Biological Warfare Threat.**
*Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, Calif. Antonio Martinez II. March 2002. 82pp.*

The author of this thesis analyzes the dangers involved in distributing research information gained by projects funded or partially funded by the federal government. The author uses a case study of the Human Genome Project to examine the risks inherent in information transfer between government sources and private industry, as well as the implication of these risks for the proliferation of WMD. In particular, the author seeks to identify areas of information sharing that create a potential for the development of biological warfare agents. In addition, the author offers suggestions for increasing the involvement of medical professionals and scientists in U.S. non-proliferation initiatives.

**Reel 2**

**0001 Strategic Insight: The War on Terrorism in Southeast Asia: Searching for Partners, Delimiting Targets.**

The author of this paper assesses the degree to which Southeast Asian countries, especially Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand, have cooperated and are cooperating with the United States in the war on terror, as well as factors that have complicated cooperation efforts.

**0007 Training for Terror: A Case Study of Al-Qaida.**

The author of this thesis presents a detailed analysis of the training methods of the al Qaeda terrorist group, using as source material a translated copy of an al Qaeda training manual. The author examines the manual from four perspectives. The first perspective is that of the organization’s structure. In the second perspective, the author examines the organization’s human resources management. The third perspective covers organizational myths, rituals, and religion, including al Qaeda’s rationalization of the rightness of its actions. In the fourth perspective, the author examines the strategies by which al Qaeda hopes to achieve its political goals. The author notes that al Qaeda members view themselves as “freedom fighters,” not terrorists, and suggests ways that the United States could cooperate with world Muslim leaders to re-educate and re-assimilate al Qaeda members into the Islamic community “in a peaceful, face-saving manner.”

**0139 America’s Food: Does Anthrax Pose a Threat?**

The author of this thesis examines the potential use of anthrax to contaminate U.S. food supplies and cause fatal food poisoning. The author concludes that anthrax contamination would probably not cause high numbers of deaths, but could well incite social and political instability. In addition, the author finds that both agriculture and the food processing industries remain highly vulnerable to contamination, because of factors including the large number of lethal and contagious agents against which livestock are not immune, and the proliferation of food processing plants that lack sufficient security measures.
0195  **An Interagency Command for Homeland Security.**  

The author of this thesis advocates the establishment of a federal interagency command for homeland security, under the Office for Homeland Security. The command would consist not only of military components but also of other governmental and non-governmental groups. The author argues that these different organizations must be organized with a military type of command structure to ensure that the individuals involved will work together not just at the highest levels of the command but also at the lower levels. In the author’s view, this command structure is the only one that will create a “boundaryless” organization and prevent bureaucratic competition and infighting.

0314  **Bioterrorism: Medical Preparedness.**  

The author of this thesis examines the threat to the United States posed by bioterrorist attacks such as the recent anthrax attack through the mail. The author then assesses the current state of preparedness of the public health community, in particular its ability to respond quickly and effectively to attacks. The author recommends ways in which the Defense Department can assist local and state authorities in their attempts to plan for responses to mass attacks.

0354  **Christian Realism’s Response to International Terrorism.**  

The author of this thesis examines the writings of theologian Reinhold Neibuhcr as they might apply to military chaplains who seek to advise Christian commanders on moral issues involved in the war on international terrorism. After an introduction to Neibuhcr, who sought to explain how humans are attracted to extreme political movements such as Nazism, the author argues that the universal quest for power, fundamental to human nature, makes conflicts between individuals, groups, and nations inevitable. The author believes that Islamic extremists “mistakenly believe they can convince God of their own righteousness by condemning and attacking the unrighteousness of others."

0392  **Combating Terrorism: Intergovernmental Cooperation in the Development of a National Strategy to Enhance State and Local Preparedness.**  

The author of this testimony before a congressional subcommittee examines ways in which the federal government could provide terrorism preparedness assistance to local governments and their police, fire departments, emergency medical services, and public health agencies, which will almost certainly be the first responders in the event of a terrorist attack. The author examines various preparedness issues and presents some provisional recommendations for a strategy by which state and local governments, in cooperation with the federal government, might substantially improve their abilities to respond to a major terrorist attack.

0415  **Counter-Bioterrorism vs. Intelligence Challenges.**  

The author of this thesis examines challenges that the U.S. intelligence community faces as it attempts to prevent acts of bioterrorism against the nation. The author notes that bioterrorist groups tend to have differing compositions and goals from other terrorist organizations and categorizes them as fundamentalist and religious groups, racist and antigovernment groups, millenarian cults, and “amateur” terrorists. Unlike other terrorist organizations, bioterrorist groups often have little interest in influencing governments and
their policies, but simply wish to carry out “apocalyptic acts” of mass destruction. The author argues that to deal with this type of “bizarre” terrorism, intelligence agencies must learn to work together more unselfishly than they currently do.

0504 **Defining and Achieving Decisive Victory.**  
The author of this paper analyzes the reemerging interest in decisive military victory, which had lapsed into dormancy during the cold war. Noting that the United States has, in the past decade, grown accustomed to decisive victories (except in Somalia), the author argues that the changing conditions of modern warfare demand that strategists recognize that decisive victory may not always be possible. Instead, war planners should accept “strategic advantage” as an acceptable outcome in conflicts in which U.S. superiority in areas such as information management and precision weaponry are not sufficient to achieve clear-cut victory; in conflicts where the enemy’s motivation and will are formidably high; and in an era in which U.S. allies may well be averse to decisive victories over nations that they do not wish to antagonize.

0556 **Fighting Terrorism with Strategy: Revisiting Competing Visions.**  
The author of this thesis defines four “grand strategies” available to the United States in the post–September 11 era and examines the utility of each strategy in the war on terror. The author distinguishes these strategies on the basis of their primary aims: “neo-isolationism”; selective engagement to ensure certain conditions (for example, WMD nonproliferation and access to Middle East oil); international cooperative security; and U.S. “primacy” or superiority in military, political, and economic affairs. The author finds that the terror threat has so far not induced fundamental changes in the grand strategies, that proponents of each strategy differ significantly in their views on counterterrorism, and that information superiority will play a paramount role in the war on terror. The author believes that the neo-isolationist strategy offers the most broad-based approach, but may conflict with other national interests.

0685 **Identifying Threats: Improving Intelligence and Counterintelligence Support to Force Protection.**  
The author of this thesis examines and evaluates current intelligence and counterintelligence programs to protect air force personnel, their families, and their dependents from terrorist and other threats. Among other recommendations, the author believes that the air force must produce comprehensive counterintelligence doctrine as well as increase the presence of counterintelligence personnel in major U.S. cities and key foreign areas.

0729 **New England Bioterrorism Preparedness Workshop.**  
The authors of this report have compiled presentations delivered at a workshop on preparedness for biological weapons attacks. The presentations cover both preparation at the national, state and local levels. Topics covered by the presentations include military biological weapons programs, including programs of United States, Iran, and Iraq; anthrax and smallpox attack or outbreak characteristics; U.S. civil defense and public health sectors preparedness for bioterrorism; local government surveillance systems for bioterrorism and mass casualty events; laboratories for microbiological analysis of toxic agents; urban biodefense systems; biological agent sensors; emerging
technologies in sample analysis; risk analysis techniques; imaging and measuring techniques. Many presentations include graphics such as diagrams, charts, maps, and photographs.

Reel 3

0001 **New Tool of Terrorism: Airliners.**

The author of this thesis, a Hungarian air force officer, examines the potential for future terror attacks using aircraft after the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, in which aircraft were the weapons. The author identifies initiatives needed to prevent further attacks, including improved intelligence collection and airport security programs.

0032 **Responding to the Threat of Weapons of Mass Destruction After September 11, 2001.**

The author of this monograph examines the threat to the United States posed by WMD following the September 11, 2001, attacks and the subsequent anthrax attacks directed at congressional and media offices. The author focuses on the risks of attacks using chemicals, biological agents, and radiological weapons. The author assesses governmental response to these attacks, with special focus on the role that reserve military forces can play.

0065 **Strategic Insight: Enduring Freedom for Central Asia?**

The author of this paper analyzes the impact on U.S. relations with the central Asian republics and with Russia of the U.S. concentration of forces in Uzbekistan as the staging area for U.S. military operations in Afghanistan.

0070 **Strategic Insight: Iraq: Next Phase of the Campaign?**

The authors of this paper speculate when and under what conditions the United States will attack the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq.

0073 **Facing the Hydra: Maintaining Strategic Balance While Pursuing a Global War Against Terrorism.**

The author of this paper discusses changes in force structure that the armed services will need to make in order to ensure that they maintain the resources and readiness required to perform their traditional missions of warfighting, peacekeeping, and deterrence, at a time when they will be called upon to devote substantial resources to the war on terror. Among other conclusions, the author believes that DoD must revise the allocation of forces between the active and reserve components.

0103 **Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear Terrorism: The Threat According to the Current Unclassified Literature.**

National Defense University presents an annotated bibliography of recent literature (excluding newspaper articles) on the threats of terrorist acts using chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear materials, as well as the response to these attacks. Specific
topics receiving extensive coverage include recent attacks, state-sponsored terrorism, terrorists’ capabilities to develop or procure weapons, the nature of terrorist groups, their selection of agents, and terrorists’ goals, including the infliction of mass casualties versus the attraction of mass media coverage.

0150 The Immigration and Naturalization Service’s Contacts with Two September 11 Terrorists.


The OIG presents the detailed results of its investigation of INS actions in its processing of the student status applications by Mohamed Atta and Marwan Alshehhi, who entered the United States legally, took pilot lessons at Huffman Aviation International, and on September 11, 2001, piloted the hijacked airliners that destroyed the World Trade Center towers in New York City. The OIG reaches several key conclusions. First, although the evidence does not show that the INS inspectors who admitted Atta and Alshehhi violated agency policies and practices, the INS as a whole did not, prior to September 11, closely scrutinize aliens entering the United States to become students or consistently require them to possess the required documentation. Second, concerning Atta and Alshehhi’s applications, the INS’s adjudication and notification process was far too slow, because the INS assigned a low priority to processing these kinds of applications. The INS failed to consider the forms and so failed to notify the FBI of them. Third, the INS’s current paper-based system for monitoring and tracking foreign students in the United States is inadequate. Noting that the INS will soon implement an automated tracking system, the Student and Exchange Visitor Information System (SEVIS), the OIG contends that although SEVIS will address many of the shortcomings of the current tracking system, it will not solve all the problems, and the OIG presents recommendations to correct the deficiencies in INS’s current practices.


The State Department reviews worldwide terrorist activity during 2001, as well as the international effort to prevent acts of terror, destroy terrorist organizations, and track down and prosecute their leaders. The focus is on the anti-terrorist programs of the United States and the U.S.-led coalition against terror that the Bush administration and officials from many countries formed after the September 11, 2001, attacks against the United States. The document begins with an overview of terrorist acts and counterterrorist initiatives arranged by world region. Following this overview is a discussion of state-sponsored terrorism in countries such as Cuba, Iran, North Korea, and Sudan. Appendixes include background information on terrorist groups, statistics, terrorist extraditions to the United States, U.S. counterterrorist policies, the UN role in fighting terrorism, the U.S.-coalition military campaign against the Taliban in Afghanistan, and the response to the September 11 attacks by multinational organizations including NATO, the Organization of American States (OAS), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and the Organization for African Unity (OAU).
0562 **Protect and Defend: Adequacy of the Department of Defense Role Prescribed in the Federal Response to a Chemical or Biological Terrorist Attack Against the Homeland.**


The author of this thesis assesses the appropriateness of the role assigned to DoD in the national response to a chemical or biological attack on the United States. The author argues that the Federal Emergency Management Agency, which has the responsibility to coordinate the response of twenty-seven federal agencies and departments, inadequately addresses the role of the military in its *Federal Response Plan*. The author identifies critical functions not assigned to DoD which are suitable and feasible for the military to carry out. These functions include protection of population from chemical and biological agents, disease surveillance and epidemiological reporting, laboratory analyses, veterinary services, mental health services, control of civil disturbances, disease containment, and overall operations coordination. The author contends that it is possible for DoD to fill these roles while maintaining its warfighting capabilities. The author includes an extensive bibliography.

0814 **Strategic Insight: NORTHCOM to Coordinate DoD Role in Homeland Defense.**


The author of this paper describes the mission and functions of the recently established Northern Command, or NORTHCOM, which has the responsibility for the defense of the land, sea, and air of the continental United States (CONUS).

0817 **What are the Legal and Policy Implications of Conducting Preemption and Interdiction Against a Weapon of Mass Destruction?**


The author of this thesis explores the international ramifications of a preemptive strike against, or interdiction of, a nuclear weapon that is found to be possessed by a terrorist organization in the sovereign territory of another nation. Arguing that the development of a state-sponsored, terrorist-delivered nuclear weapon is “only a matter of time,” the author reviews the legal and strategic history of anticipatory self-defense, as exemplified by President John F. Kennedy’s naval blockade of Cuba during the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962 and the Israeli air strikes on an Iraq nuclear reactor in 1962. In addition, the author presents a primer on nuclear materials, explosions, and devices releasing plutonium into the atmosphere, commonly called “dirty bombs.” The author discusses the difficult tradeoffs facing decision-makers and military strategists who must decide whether to make a pre-emptive strike.

0886 **Airpower’s Role in Homeland Defense: A Western Hemisphere Perspective.**


The author of this thesis examines the role of military airpower in homeland security, as well as issues related to the command and control of airpower. Taking a broad view of airpower’s defense not only of the United States but also of North America and even the entire Western Hemisphere, the author traces the history of U.S. airpower defense through operations such as attacks on German U-boats during World War II and recent counternarcotics efforts in Latin America. The author recommends several actions and strategies, including closer cooperation with Canada and Mexico, changes to the North American Air Defense System (NORAD), and a revision of the *Posse Comitatus* Act to
allow the U.S. military to take counterdrug and counterterrorist police actions in other countries.

1026 Choosing a Moral Framework for the War on Terror.  

The author of this thesis examines what he views as the two moral frameworks within which the United States can fight the war on terror. The two frameworks are criminal justice and "just war." According to the author, criminal justice "denies terrorist groups all legitimacy, but has serious drawbacks in that it is designed specifically to protect the rights of those whom the government intends to prosecute." In the just war framework, the United States would adopt existing standards that apply to warfighting. The author argues that the United States should not adopt an ad hoc framework like the one within which the administration is apparently operating in its treatment of the detainees at Guantanamo Bay. The detainees are not given legal rights under the criminal justice system, yet neither are they accorded prisoner of war status. The author believes that the just war framework will give the United States more freedom of movement as well as more domestic and international support.

Reel 4

0001 "Complex” Targeting: A Complexity-Based Theory of Targeting and Its Application to Radical Islamic Terrorism.  

The author of this thesis explores the following question: What are the concepts and principles of a targeting theory based on complexity theory? Complexity theory is an emerging body of theory that attempts to explain the behavior of complex adaptive systems. The author is particularly interested in why a major terrorist target that is also a complex adaptive system—the world financial system headquartered in and symbolized by the World Trade Center—was able to recover so quickly from the devastation of the September 11, 2001, attack. Beginning with a discussion of the principles of complexity theory and its predecessors, systems theory and chaos theory, the author then reviews these theories' recent impacts on military thought, theory, and doctrinal development. Finally, the author presents a targeting theory based on complexity theory. The author concludes that a targeting theory that incorporates concepts and principles similar to a theory attempting to capture the dynamics of living, adaptive systems may provide a more nuanced and less mechanistic targeting theory than is currently available to military strategists.

0170 Department of Homeland Security.  

President George W. Bush outlines the organization and mission of the proposed Department of Homeland Security. The president describes the four main functions of the department: border and transportation security; emergency preparedness and response; chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear countermeasures; and information analysis and infrastructure protection.

0199 Fact Sheet: International Contributions to the War on Terror.  

DoD provides information on the specific contributions that forty-nine countries have made as part of the international coalition supporting the war on terror that the United States started on September 12, 2001.
0212 Historical Perspective on Developing and Maintaining Homefront Morale for the War on Terrorism.
The author of this thesis uses two case studies to illustrate effective and ineffective ways for government to maintain domestic morale in the United States during the war on terror. The first case study covers the UK’s sustainment of morale during World War II, and the second covers U.S. morale problems during the Vietnam War. The author believes that the war on terror has more parallels with Vietnam. In particular, the protracted, yet limited, nature of the Vietnam conflict is likely to be repeated in the war on terror. The author singles out mistakes made after the 1968 Tet offensive that turned the tide of public opinion against the war, and provides recommendations for avoiding the repetition of these errors in the war on terror.

0288 The Law Enforcement Approach to Combating Terrorism: An Analysis of U.S. Policy.
The author of this thesis examines U.S. efforts to use laws, courts, and law enforcement personnel to prosecute suspected perpetrators of terrorist crimes during the period 1988–2000, with a view to determining whether this law enforcement approach is currently the most effective approach for responding to terrorist attacks on the United States. The author uses five case studies: the bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988; the World Trade Center bombing in 1993; the bombings of two U.S. embassies in Africa in 1993; the attack on U.S. military barracks in Saudi Arabia in 1996; and the bombing of the USS Cole in Yemen in 2000. The author concludes that the law enforcement approach “did not meet the needs of the United States for a policy to combat terrorism” and, further, “presents absolutely no deterrence” to terrorists.

The author of this thesis argues that, in the current climate in which the international community is nearly unanimous in its opposition to terrorism, the United States can and should establish stronger military-to-military relations with China through cooperation in the war on terror. Such cooperation, the author believes, would in addition help resolve problems with North Korea and lead to greater political stability in the Far East.

0410 The New Terrorism: The Nature of the War on Terrorism.
The author of this thesis seeks to determine the degree to which terrorism has changed in recent years. The author outlines an analytical framework within which to examine the composition, external support, operations capability and lethality, goals, and strategies of specific groups. The author then compares the strategies of older terrorist groups such as the Red Army Faction, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Irish Republican Army, to newer groups in the militant Islamic movement. According to the author, this movement should be view not only as terrorist but also as a “global insurgency that gradually builds strength for a final takeover of the world.” The author presents complex recommendations for the war on terror by the anti-terrorist coalition of countries whose national security is at stake. The author maintains that the coalition must build and sustain its strength and resolve more effectively than the insurgency, gradually cutting off moral and material support for the terrorists.
0547 **Responding to Bioterrorism: Individual and Community Needs.**

The editor of this report has compiled a set of research papers from a conference on government response to mental health and behavioral problems that are likely to arise in the U.S. population following a mass terrorist attack using biological weapons. Referring to the period of anthrax attacks in October 2001, the editor notes that “the psychological aspects of biological warfare are often far more effective against us than other aspects of this weapon.” The papers cover lessons learned from the 1918 influenza pandemic, the dimensions of the bioterrorist threat, community responses to biological agents of terror, state and local government public health agency contingency plans, the experience of New York City following the September 11, 2001, airliner attacks, and the subsequent anthrax mail attacks. Authors and conference participants devote much emphasis to the response of the mass media and its effects on public perceptions and behavior. One author provides a first-hand account of the psychological and behavioral responses to 9/11 of New York medical workers and other New Yorkers.

0742 **Strategic Provocation: Explaining Terrorist Attacks on America.**
*Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala. Ronald E. Zimmerman Jr. June 2002. 82p*

The author of this thesis presents a theory that explains why Osama bin Laden and the al Qaeda organization attacked the United States on September 11, 2001. After an introduction to the history of terror and an evaluation of a wide variety of alternative definitions, the author appears to endorse the definition of Bruce Hoffman (*Inside Terrorism*), who defines terrorism as “the deliberate creation and exploitation of fear through violence or the threat of violence in the pursuit of political change.” The author believes that the terrorists attacked the United States “to provoke an American retaliatory attack which bin Laden calculated he could use to remove American interests from Egypt and the Gulf, and then turn on the destruction of Israel.”

0825 **Combating Terrorism: Preliminary Observations on Weaknesses in Force Protection for DoD Deployments Through Domestic Seaports.**

The author of this testimony before a congressional subcommittee identifies two major weaknesses in DoD’s system for protecting personnel and equipment during deployments through major U.S. seaports. These shortcomings are related to DoD coordination and control of certain aspects of deployments, such as when at some points DoD relinquishes control over military equipment to non-military persons or entities.

0838 **Developing a Rapid Situation Awareness: Understanding the Challenges Faced by First Responders to Biological and Chemical Events.**

The authors of this report present research findings on the cognitive and behavioral factors that affect the ability of first responders, such as public health officials and emergency medical service providers, to recognize, respond, and adapt to the rapidly changing events that typically occur during a terrorist attack using biological or chemical weapons. The authors note striking differences between responses to the two types of attacks.
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The Office of Homeland Security describes the Bush administration’s plan for safeguarding the United States from acts of terrorism and minimizing the damage from attacks that do occur. The office begins with an analysis of the critical mission areas of intelligence and warning, border and transportation security, counterterrorism operations, infrastructure protection, defense against catastrophic threats, and emergency preparedness and response. The office then discusses the current status and needed strengthening of key underlying systems and sectors, including law, science and technology, information sharing and systems, and international cooperation. The office concludes with an examination of the costs of homeland security.

0087 State and Local Actions for Homeland Security.

The Office of Homeland Security describes the efforts of state and local governments to provide security for citizens, maintain public safety, protect public and private infrastructure, and respond to the multifaceted damage caused by terrorist attacks through disaster relief and public health agencies. The programs involve the combined efforts of governors, mayors, county leaders, legislators, Indian tribal leaders, law enforcement officers, firefighters, emergency medical service personnel, public utilities employees, civil servants, reserve military personnel, and individual and private organization volunteers. After a narrative summary of state activities, the office presents a state-by-state description of homeland security initiatives, including programs involving cooperation among state, local, federal, and private agencies and organizations, as well as anti-terror legislative packages. The office then profiles the security activities of selected counties and cities throughout the United States.

0288 Strategic Insight: Beijing and the American War on Terrorism.

The author of this paper discusses the ambivalence of China toward participation in the war on terror. In particular, the author notes, Beijing fears the increasing deployment of U.S. military assets to countries on or near the periphery of China.

0291 Strategic Insight: The Role of Foreign Aid in the War on Terrorism.

The author of this paper views U.S. long-term aid as an investment in countries who currently are at risk of losing young people to terrorist organizations because of lack of economic opportunity.

0296 Strategic Insight: WMD Proliferation and Conventional Counterforce: The Case of Iraq.

The author of this paper forecasts a preemptive U.S. military strike against Iraq to prevent the Saddam Hussein regime from developing WMD.


Noting that the last major war in the Western Hemisphere was the Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay seventy years ago, the author of this paper argues that future threats to countries in both North and South America are not likely to come from
antagonistic nations but from internal and transnational nonstate actors involved in terrorism, narcotrafficking, arms smuggling, violent crime, insurgency, money laundering and other corruption, as well as “murky business and political dealings that cross borders, regions, continents, and the world.” To respond quickly to these threats, the author advocates the establishment of multinational rapid-deployment brigades: one formed from soldiers from Canada, the United States, and Mexico, and the other from troops from Argentina, Brazil, and Chile.

0356 **Hizballah: Terrorism, National Liberation, or Menace?**  
The author of this monograph reviews the terrorist history of the Hizballah organization, or “Party of God,” in Lebanon since its founding in 1982, as well as its role in the recent political upheaval in Lebanon. The author examines the formation and development of Hizballah in the context of the Lebanese confessional political system, which rests on a precarious *modus vivendi* among the country’s Christian, Muslim Sunni, and Muslim Shiite religious sects. As the Shiites grew to become Lebanon’s largest religious group, its ever-increasing political demands led to civil war, Israeli occupation, and the formation of Hizballah. In addition, the author notes, “Hizballah’s ideological culture...divides the world between oppressors and oppressed. Politically, the United States and Israel are viewed as having a symbiotic relationship, and regarded as oppressors and evil.” Nevertheless, the author argues that the United States should not engage Hizballah militarily.

0415 **Strategic Insight: Economic Costs to the United States Stemming from the 9/11 Attacks.**  
The author of this paper presents estimates of the direct and indirect economic costs, including loss of jobs and the destruction of physical property, that resulted from the September 11, 2001, terror attacks on the United States.

0419 **Strategic Insights: “Illegal Combatants” and the Law of Armed Conflict.**  
The author of this paper examines the historical evolution and current international legal interpretation of the concept of “combatant,” with reference to the U.S. detention at Guantanamo, Cuba, of “illegal combatants” from the Afghanistan military action, and the question whether these prisoners should be afforded prisoner of war status.

0423 **Strategic Insights: Intelligence and the Department of Homeland Security.**  
The author of this paper discusses issues related to the organization of the Department of Homeland Security to utilize existing intelligence assets as well as to generate new sources and types of intelligence.

0427 **Combating Terrorism: Department of State Programs to Combat Terrorism Abroad.**  
The GAO describes State Department activities to prevent terrorist attacks against U.S. diplomatic posts and U.S. citizens abroad, as well as to help disrupt or destroy terrorist organizations and respond to terrorist incidents. The department additionally outlines efforts to coordinate U.S. government anti-terrorist programs abroad. The report contains both a narrative discussion and a detailed directory of department programs and activities.
0463 The Intelligence Community’s Knowledge of the September 11 Hijackers Prior to September 11, 2001.

The author of this testimony before a congressional committee discusses knowledge by intelligence community officials of the hijackers, in particular three of the five persons who hijacked Flight 77, which crashed into the Pentagon, prior to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. The author confirms that “there were missed opportunities” by intelligence officials, even though certain officials recognized the significance of the prior knowledge and tried, without success, to get organizations within the community to do the same.


The White House outlines U.S. national security strategy in the post-9/11 era. The White House summarizes primary objectives to achieve security, including defending human rights, working with other world powers and strengthening international alliances, settling regional conflicts, safeguarding the United States from WMD attacks, working toward global free trade, helping developing countries build democratic institutions, and making needed reforms to U.S. agencies involved in national security.

0519 Strategic Insights: Assessing Al Qaeda’s WMD Capabilities.

The author of this paper believes that the al Qaeda terrorist organization is working to develop both nuclear and radiological devices but has so far not succeeded. In addition, the author notes efforts by al Qaeda to buy nuclear materials and technology, but doubts that the organization obtained whole nuclear weapon assemblies.


The author of this paper argues that a strategy of U.S. aid to Pakistan for educational development would be an effective way to help ensure that Pakistan, a key U.S. ally in the war on terror, both remains stable and develops the type of prosperous, democratic economic and social systems that do not provide breeding grounds for terrorists.

0529 Strategic Insights: Comparing Threats from Saddam and bin Laden.

The author of this paper notes that while Osama bin Laden seeks to pursue his holy war against the United States, Israel, and their allies all over the globe, Saddam Hussein seeks to build Iraqi power “without ideological baggage,” through the development and the use or threatened use of WMD. Saddam views his enemy as the U.S. military and Bush administration, not U.S. civilians.

0534 Strategic Insights: Constituting the Uyghur in U.S.-China Relations: The Geopolitics of Identity Formation in the War on Terrorism.

The author of this paper assesses concerns in some quarters that China may be falsely labeling Uyghur freedom fighters in the province of Xinjiang as part of the global terrorist threat. The author additionally reviews concerns on the part of central Asian countries, especially Kyrgyzstan, that Uyghurs affiliated with Islamic terrorist organizations might be infiltrating the country’s borders.
0543 Strategic Insights: The Geneva Conventions, POWs, and the War on Terrorism.
The author of this paper explores the question of how international law or military law should govern the treatment of prisoners, such as those the United States has detained in Guantanamo, Cuba, who are alleged to be terrorists but are not recognized military personnel.

0546 Strategic Insights: Surprise and Intelligence Failure.
The author of this paper argues that, “for reasons those who study intelligence failure will find familiar, 9/11 fits very much into the norm of surprise caused by a breakdown of intelligence warning.”

0550 Strategic Plan for Homeland Security.
The EPA outlines the agency’s plan to protect the United States against the environmental and health consequences of terrorist attacks. The agency discusses programs to secure drinking water and wastewater infrastructures, prevent attacks on the chemical industry and hazardous materials sector, and respond to and assist in the recovery from acts of biological, chemical, radiological, and other terror attacks. The EPA additionally describes plans for communicating key information about environmental and human-made contaminants to partners at all levels of government and throughout industry.

The chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff provides information on techniques and habits that U.S. citizens can learn and use to help protect themselves in the event of terrorist attacks. The guide contains family and home security checklists, tips for safe ground and air travel, survival tips in the event of being taken hostage, and instructions for surviving chemical or biological attacks. The chairman additionally provides a code of conduct for military personnel captured by terrorists.

The GAO examines the changes that the State Department has made in the process for issuing visas since the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States. The agency analyzes the significant elements involved in a visa decision, including policies guiding consular officers, pressures on these officers to issue visas, and federal agencies’ procedures for checking visa applicants against security and intelligence data. The GAO finds that while the State Department has instituted some changes to tighten the visa-issuing process, the department needs to develop more comprehensive, risk-based guidelines and standards for consular officers to use in order render the visa process a better screen against potential terrorists.

0731 Combating Terrorism: Actions Needed to Improve Force Protection for DoD Deployments through Domestic Seaports.
The GAO presents the results of a review of DoD’s system for protecting personnel and equipment during deployments through major U.S. seaports. Based on a review of six strategic seaports, the GAO identifies several major weaknesses. These shortcomings are related to DoD coordination and control of certain aspects of
deployments, such as the points at which DoD relinquishes control over military equipment to non-military persons or entities. In addition, vulnerability assessments of the security of seaport infrastructure have not been performed for all ports and, where they have been conducted, the assessments were not based on standardized approaches. The GAO notes that the Coast Guard has since completed vulnerability assessments for all the strategic seaports.

**0767** Dragon on Terrorism: Assessing China’s Tactical Gains and Strategic Losses Post-September 11.

The author of this paper, an Australian scholar, examines the impact of the U.S.-led international war on terror on China’s influence abroad. After reviewing the gains that China has made with its foreign policy during the past decade, the author argues that despite some short-term enhancements to China’s image that resulted from its support for the anti-terrorist effort after September 11, 2001, China believes that the United States has emerged stronger, at the expense of China, Russia, and other major nations. Perhaps more significantly, China perceives the U.S. military expansion in central and south Asia as part of a strategy to “encircle and contain China.” In addition, China views the increasing U.S. penchant for unilateral action as a clear indication that the United States has not given up its demand for world hegemony. The author urges the United States to hold periodic consultations with China to allay its security concerns and misconceptions about the increased U.S. military presence in Asia.

**0835** Strategic Insights: Deterrence and Preemption.

The author of this paper analyzes the concepts of defensive strategy in war from a historical perspective and argues that the traditional inclination of the United States to wait as long as possible to enter major wars is necessarily changing as a result of terrorist attacks.

**0839** Strategic Insight: Problems in Using Trade to Counter Terrorism: The Case of Pakistan.

The author of this paper evaluates the Bush administration’s decision to grant liberalized trading terms with Pakistan to reward the country for its support for the U.S. military campaign against the Taliban and al Qaeda in Afghanistan. The author discusses the reasons for the failure of this policy, including resistance by the U.S. textile industry.

**0846** Combating Terrorism: Actions Needed to Guide Services’ Antiterrorism Efforts at Installations.

The GAO examines the risk management framework that each branch of the military has established to implement antiterrorism programs at military bases and posts. The GAO finds that the armed services and commands may not be efficiently allocating resources currently applied to antiterrorism efforts, or effectively measuring the progress of these efforts.

**0879** Combating Terrorism: Funding Data Reported to Congress Should Be Improved.

The GAO examines trends in federal agency funding for domestic and overseas counterterrorism programs, and evaluates spending data that the agencies report to Congress. The GAO also examines the executive departments’ strategies to use
counterterrorism funds most effectively and identifies areas in which the programs of different agencies overlap. The GAO finds, among other things, that funding data are not adequate for effective congressional oversight. The GAO additionally finds that the executive branch’s announced anti-terrorism strategies provide neither clearly defined federal and national performance goals and assessment instruments nor clear funding priorities.


The National Infrastructure Protection Center outlines the structure and capabilities of a model to help both government and private sector organizations allocate resources to counter threats such as terrorist attacks. The center presents a risk management model that not only identifies and assigns weights and probabilities to assets, threats, and vulnerabilities but also contains a continuous assessment capability.


The author of this paper examines and assesses efforts since the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks to track financial assets and transactions of the al Qaeda organization. In particular, the author describes the difficulty in reaching the core of the terror group’s financial network, a Muslim system of unregistered, unlicensed money exchange called “hawala.”

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The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence present The Report of the Joint Inquiry into the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001. The volume consists of four parts. In part one, the committees present the findings and conclusions of the inquiry, as well as policy recommendations. The committees arrive at the following general conclusion: “In short, for a variety of reasons, the Intelligence Community failed to capitalize on both the individual and collective significance of available information that appears relevant to the events of September 11. As a result, the Community missed opportunities to disrupt the September 11 plot by denying entry to or detaining would-be hijackers; to at least try to unravel the plot through surveillance and other investigative work within the United States; and, finally, to generate a heightened state of alert and thus harden the homeland against attack…. The important point is that the Intelligence Community, for a variety of reasons, did not bring together and fully appreciate a range of information that could have greatly enhanced its chances of uncovering and preventing Usama Bin Laden’s plan to attack the United States on September 11, 2001.”

In part two, the committees narrate the series of events leading up to the attacks, beginning with the arrival and training of the hijackers in the United States. The committees reconstruct many of the mistakes made by U.S. intelligence agencies, such as insufficient intelligence gathering and analysis, the lack of intelligence coordination, the lack of state-of-the-art information and communications technology, and the failure
by the CIA or others to use watchlists which had identified some of the persons as suspected terrorists, as well as other information on the persons.

In part three, the committees examine issues arising from the attacks. The issues consist of the adequacy of counterterrorism resources, including intelligence community funding, personnel shortages at the main intelligence agencies, competition among these agencies for resources, and reliance on supplemental appropriations to fund counterterrorism operations; the benefits and disadvantages of using foreign intelligence and security services (“liaison services”); opportunities for and constraints against covert action or overt military actions against Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda; strategies for disrupting terrorist funding; the role of and search for Khalid Shaykh Mohammed, chief planner of the September 11 attacks; FBI investigation of Zacarias Moussaoui before September 11; a Phoenix, Arizona, FBI agent’s communiqué to counterterrorism units at FBI headquarters on al Qaeda operatives’ flight training in the United States and the ineffective use of this information at headquarters; the absence or ineffectiveness of strategic analysis by intelligence community agencies; outside experts’ views on the performance of intelligence agencies; the inadequacy of information sharing among intelligence agencies and within the federal government and among federal and state and local agencies; the separation of FBI law enforcement from counterterrorism functions; the creation of a new federal counterterrorism agency; technology gaps in the National Security Agency (NSA) and elsewhere; the collection of intelligence information by the NSA, CIA, DIA, and FBI; and the recent anthrax mail attacks. In part four, the committees review evidence on possible foreign government or other foreign support for the September 11 terrorists. Most of this review has been deleted for national security reasons. The report also includes additional views by members of the joint inquiry, as well as appendices including joint inquiry rules, witnesses list and schedule, description of counterterrorism units in federal agencies, terrorism timelines, and a GAO report analyzing the October 2001 anthrax mail attacks.


The authors of this paper present a strategy they call Broad Biological Deterrence (BBD) for reducing the threat of terrorist attacks by groups that operate outside of national governments, such as al Qaeda.


The author of this paper argues that U.S. intelligence agencies’ incomplete sharing of, as well as ineffective use of, prior intelligence on principals and groups involved in the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks are clear indications that the civilian and military intelligence organizations need fundamental reforms.


The author of this paper examines the economic challenges facing Pakistan at a time when the country is a front-line state in the war on terror. Noting that the Musharraf government’s reforms, introduced to address the country’s massive poverty and economic stagnation, have had limited success thus far, the author assesses the previous and likely future impacts of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) programs in the country, which tie financial assistance to policy reforms.
0857 **Strategic Insight: Trouble.**  
The author of this paper compares the preconditions and consequences of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, to the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001.

0860 **Terrorist Nuclear Attacks on Seaports: Threat and Response.**  
The author of this report discusses issues related to the threat of a terrorist nuclear attack on a U.S. seaport. The author makes recommendations including the safeguarding of foreign nuclear material and improving of port security.

2003

0866 **Political Violence Against Americans, 2002.**  
The State Department provides brief accounts of terrorist incidents worldwide during 2002 that killed, injured, or posed threats to U.S. citizens and property, or protested against U.S. policies, arranged by world region.

0893 **Homeland Security and Counterterrorism Research and Development: Funding and Organization.**  
The author of this report analyzes fiscal year 2003 funding for counterterrorism functions in the Office of Homeland Security and the Office of Science and Technology, both in the White House, as well as in other federal agencies. The author discusses consolidation of some programs within the new Department of Homeland Security (DHS).

0899 **Homeland Security: Intelligence Support.**  
The author of this report describes provisions within the bill establishing the DHS that provide for an information analysis office. The bill does not transfer to DHS existing government intelligence and law enforcement agencies, but envisions an analytical office that uses the products of other agencies to provide warning of terrorist attacks, assessments of vulnerability, and recommendations for corrective measures.

0905 **Law Enforcement Officers Guide for Responding to Chemical Terrorist Incidents.**  
The U.S. Army Soldier and Biological Chemical Command, which prepared this report for the Justice Department, provide a quick reference guide for law enforcement personnel on chemical warfare agents and attacks. The guide covers indicators of a chemical incident, chemical agent information, initial response to an incident, the dispatcher’s role, notifications, scene control, decontamination, incident investigation (including interviewing witnesses), and evidence collection.
0937 State and Local Bioterrorism Preparedness.  
At the request of the Centers for Disease Control (CDC), the author of this work reports on the capacity of state and local health departments to detect and respond to bioterrorist attacks. The CDC has worked with and funded state bioterrorist preparedness efforts since 1999. The author finds that although state and local departments are not prepared to detect or respond to bioterrorist attacks, almost all departments are upgrading their programs significantly.

0968 Reconstructing Iraq: Challenges and Missions for Military Forces in a Post-Conflict Scenario.  
The authors of this paper present a plan for identifying the postwar missions to be accomplished following a victory over the Hussein regime. The authors additionally suggest a time frame for the accomplishment of specific tasks after the cessation of conflict. The authors hope that their plan will help both U.S. military and civilian officials avoid the problems and mistakes made in the postwar reconstruction of Kuwait after Operation Desert Storm in 1991. The authors assert that while most Iraqis are likely to be initially grateful to the United States for removing the Hussein dictatorship, “U.S. forces...need to complete occupation tasks as quickly as possible and must also help improve the daily life of ordinary Iraqis before popular goodwill dissipates.”

0992 Strategic Insight: Financing Wars on Terrorism and Iraq.  
The author of this paper attempts to arrive at an estimate of the rough magnitudes to which U.S. defense and homeland security expenditures must be increased in order to successfully prosecute the war on terrorists and rogue states. Although the author is primarily interested in defense expenditures, he believes that private sector reallocation of resources to security functions is not likely to have major effects on the economy, contrary to the predictions of many.

1001 Strategic Insight: The Return of Strategy.  
The author of this paper argues that “because force is now being considered not just to deter war but also to wage war, there is a need to revive the fine art of strategy.” One of the most difficult aspects of strategic planning in the new environment of rogue states and non-state terrorists is the decision whether to conduct quick, decisive, often pre-emptive military operations against these antagonists without generating the perception that the United States is acting unilaterally.

The director of central intelligence reports on the acquisition by foreign countries of dual-use and other technology that can be used in the production of WMD as well as advanced conventional munitions. Dual use exports are products that can be used for both military and non-military purposes, such as computers and telecommunications equipment.
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The State Department describes activities and accomplishments in the Antiterrorism Assistance (ATA) Program, which provides counterterrorism and training and assistance to U.S. coalition partners in the war on terror. The training covers areas such as crisis management, cyberterrorism, protection of officials, bomb detection, airport security, border control, kidnapping intervention, pipeline security, and response to WMD incidents.

0026 Fish Out of Water: Applying Counterinsurgency Doctrine in the War on Terrorism.

The author of this thesis draws upon the experience of the Philippines to argue that the United States in the war on terror should apply lessons learned in counterinsurgency operations. In particular, the author examines strategies for breaking the link between insurgents or terrorists and the local population, in order to deny sanctuary.

0047 In Search of an Operational Doctrine for Maritime Counterterrorism.

The author of this thesis argues that the U.S. Navy is not adequately prepared for the critical task of ensuring the safety of world shipping routes from maritime terror attacks by al Qaeda or other, country-based groups. The author offers recommendations for the drafting of operational doctrine to guide effective operations against terrorists. The author would base this doctrine on the principles of objectives, unity of effort, security, restraint, perseverance, and legitimacy.

0069 National Strategy for Combating Terrorism.

The White House describes the administration’s plan for fighting terrorists at home and abroad. The White House begins with a review of the nature of terrorist threats as currently assessed, including the interconnection of terrorist groups and the availability of WMD. The White House then outlines the objectives of the war on terror, including defeating terrorist organizations, denying sponsorship and sanctuary to terrorists, ameliorating the social and economic problems that terrorists try to exploit, and defending U.S. citizens as well as government and private interests.

0101 The National Strategy for the Physical Protection of Critical Infrastructures and Key Assets.

The White House presents the administration’s strategy to protect from terrorist attack the key national infrastructure systems and facilities that the administration deems most critical to public health and safety, government, social institutions, and the economy. The administration focuses on the following infrastructure sectors: agriculture and food, water supply and wastewater systems, public health and emergency services, government facilities, the defense industrial base, information and telecommunications, energy, transportation, banking and finance, chemicals and hazardous materials, and postal service and shipping.

0197 The National Strategy to Secure Cyberspace.

The DHS presents the set of policies and programs by which the federal government, in cooperation with state and local governments, businesses, and the U.S. public, can
protect the nation’s “cyberspace,” which DHS defines as “the hundreds of thousands of interconnected computers, servers, routers, switches, and fiber optic cables that allow our critical infrastructures to work” and that are “the control system of our country.” DHS describes the strategy’s five major components, or priorities. The first priority focuses on improving the nation’s response to actual cyber attacks and reducing the damage from them. The second, third, and fourth priorities concern programs to reduce threats from, as well as national vulnerability to, cyber attacks. The fifth priority is to prevent cyber attacks on military and other national security organizations, as well as to improve the cooperative international response to such attacks.


The author of this thesis argues that the U.S. military must identify the war on terror as basically a counterinsurgency operation against an enemy that is essentially a “global Islamic insurgency” with the explicit or tacit support of millions of Muslims. If the military fails to do so, then the commanders of U.S. geographic commands will not be able to formulate properly the strategies and tactics necessary to conduct successful anti-terrorist operations.

0295 New Vision for SOUTHCOM in the War on Terror.  

The author of this thesis reviews the Bush administration’s National Security Strategy guidelines on the war on terror and compares them to existing U.S. Southern Command theater strategy. As a result of this comparison, the author asserts that the command’s strategy focuses on U.S. concerns with human rights abuses and counterdrug operations but so far has neglected to incorporate the anti-terror elements of the National Security Strategy.


The GAO reviews the effects of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on financial market facilities and telecommunications, especially in New York City, as well as the degree to which the markets were prepared for a major disaster. The GAO additionally assesses the plans for business continuity and information security that participants had in place after the attacks, as well as regulatory efforts to improve preparedness and oversight of market participants’ risk reduction efforts. Among other things, the GAO finds that many financial organizations have not developed procedures to ensure that personnel capable of conducting critical operations would be available if a disaster incapacitated workers at their primary sites. The GAO presents various recommendations on initiatives that the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) should undertake to help financial institutions strengthen their disaster preparedness.


The author of this testimony before a congressional subcommittee examines the effects of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on financial market facilities and telecommunications, as well as the degree to which the markets were prepared for a major disaster. The author identifies a number of deficiencies in market preparedness.
and presents various recommendations on institutional preparedness initiatives that the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) should undertake.

0453 **Reconstructing Iraq: Insights, Challenges, and Missions for Military Forces in a Post-Conflict Iraq.**

The authors of this paper present a plan for identifying the postwar missions to be accomplished following a victory over the Hussein regime. Discussing lessons learned from past U.S. military occupations and peacekeeping operations, the authors note that even when the army plans and performs well in a post-crisis environment, as it did in Haiti, a successful aftermath is not guaranteed. Haiti “quickly reverted back to chaos” when the army left. The authors present a prioritized array of 135 tasks that must be accomplished for the creation and sustainment of a viable post-Saddam state in Iraq. The authors hope that their plan will help both U.S. military and civilian officials to avoid the problems and mistakes made in the postwar reconstruction of Kuwait after Operation Desert Storm in 1991.

0537 **Shifting the Gun Tube in the War on Terrorism: Combined Joint Task Force Horn of Africa.**
*Naval War College, Newport, R.I. February 2003. 30pp.*

The author of this thesis examines the U.S. Central Command’s overall strategy and operational planning in its new campaign against al Qaeda forces in the Horn of Africa countries, especially Yemen and Somalia. The author argues that U.S. planners should seek to exploit al Qaeda’s “critical weaknesses,” including its limited personnel numbers, lack of heavy weapons, inability to conduct sustained operations against U.S. and coalition forces, and vulnerability to electronic communications interception.

0567 **Strategic Insight: Failed Economic Take-Offs and Terrorism: Conceptualizing a Proper Role for U.S. Assistance to Pakistan.**

The author of this paper questions current predictions by the Pakistan government that the country will benefit from increasing amounts of foreign and domestic investment, with subsequent faster economic growth. The author argues that Pakistan must control domestic terrorism if it hopes to attract substantial foreign investment.

0576 **Strategic Insight: A Strategic Response to Terrorism: A Framework for U.S. Policy.**

The author of this paper contends that many current proposals for combating terrorism are tied to currently perceived threats and call for “short-term responses” that may not fundamentally reduce or deter al Qaeda or other terrorist groups. The author calls for a “war of ideas” to isolate the terrorists and enlist the support of moderate Muslims.

0581 **Surgical Counterterrorism: Targeting Individuals as an Operational Tool.**

The author of this thesis debates the advantages as well as the disadvantages of using assassination of targeted terrorist leaders as an operational tool in the war on terror. The author argues that the assassination of a targeted individual is not fundamentally different from the legal killing of other enemy personnel during war, as well as that terrorists such as Osama bin Laden are properly considered enemy combatants, not civilians (who cannot be assassinated).
0612  Waging Ancient War: Limits on Preemptive War.  
The author of this paper argues that “war on terror” does not make sense because terror is a tactic, not an enemy. The author proposes instead that the United States and its anti-terrorist coalition partners conceive of and execute the war as an “international guerrilla war.” The author contends that a model for this type of warfare can be found in the guerra warfare that the Romans waged against marauding tribes from Asia. The author stresses that strategists and commanders must prevent this conflict from spilling over into a wider “war with Islam.”

0673  Why Attacking Terrorist Groups in Iraq Should be a Conflict-Termination Objective in the Coming War.  
The author of this thesis argues that if the United States invades Iraq, American forces should be tasked to destroy terrorist cells within the country before the operation can be deemed successful. Removal of the Saddam Hussein regime alone will not ensure order and prosperity if the seeds of new threats—terrorists—are left undisturbed. These groups have the potential to attract disaffected elements from within Iraq as well as from neighboring countries like Syria.

The author of this technical monograph believes that modeling and simulation technology can and should be used by navy commanders to test “what-if” scenarios of tactical plans. The author describes and demonstrates a model using web-based open-source software packages that provides advanced analytical and visualization capabilities for commanders to use to protect navy ships from surface-borne terrorist threats. The author includes a case study that shows how model users can not only develop a force protection plan but also identify potential deficiencies in current operational plans. The scenarios for tactical plans can be generated, viewed, analyzed, and manipulated by end users with a minimum of computer expertise beyond that generally required for the operation of desktop personal computers. The document includes numerous graphics.

The authors of this report review the threat that shoulder-fired surface-to-air missiles pose to commercial airliners. The authors note that no single solution is likely to eliminate completely the threat and suggest that Congress consider phasing in combinations of technological options such as missile countermeasure systems on aircraft, as well as improvements to airport security.

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0001  The Impact of the September 11, 2001, Terrorist Attacks on U.S.-China Relations.  
The author of this thesis examines the impact of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the strategic relations between the United States and the People’s Republic
of China. The author argues that the attacks did not affect China’s strategic posture. For the United States, on the other hand, 9/11 reordered strategic priorities. After 9/11, the war on terror became the preeminent strategic concern in Asia, whereas before the attacks the top priorities had been U.S.-China relations and the containment of North Korean aggression as well as that country’s development of WMD.

0075 **Iraq: Weapons for Mass Destruction (WMD) and Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs).**  
The author of this paper believes that Iraq has both missiles and jets capable of delivering either nuclear weapons or chemical/biological weapons.

0080 **NATO’s Response to the 11 September 2001 Terrorism: Lessons Learned.**  
The author of this thesis, a Bulgarian army officer, examines NATO’s decisions and actions in response to the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States and assesses the likelihood that the alliance can play a leading role in the war on terror. The author notes that in the fall of 2001 the United States chose to lead a coalition of partner countries in military operations in Afghanistan rather than cede the initiative to NATO. The author concludes that NATO, with its reliance on large-scale military forces and conventional warfare strategy and tactics, will probably not be able to play more than a limited and supportive role in the war on terror.

0161 **Nuclear Power Plants: Vulnerability to Terrorist Attack.**  
The author of this report reviews the soundness of concerns about the vulnerability of nuclear power plants to terrorist attacks. The author supports the contention that measures to increase security at power plants since September 11, 2001, have been ineffectual. The author additionally expresses concern about the failure of the U.S. Congress to pass legislation to strengthen power plant protection.

0166 **President’s Homeland Security Advisory Council: Statewide Template Initiative.**  
The White House describes the evolution and structural principles of a basic framework (“template”) that can be used to coordinate state, local and tribal government plans for responding to terrorist attacks and natural disasters. The document contains an extensive list of questions designed to aid state and local planners in adapting the framework for their areas.

0181 **National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States: Public Hearing.**  
The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States presents a transcript of a public hearing held in New York City on March 31, 2003. The commission held the hearing to hear testimony from survivors of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States and from families of victims. Others who testified include the first responders to the attacks, including police, fire, and emergency medical personnel, as well as public officials in the New York City area and the New York State government who coordinated the responses to the attacks. The hearing includes graphic accounts of escaping from the World Trade Center towers by persons with first-hand knowledge, such as Harry Waizer, a Cantor Fitzgerald employee (the firm lost over 600 employees in the attack), as well as by David Lim, a Port Authority official who helped many people evacuate one of the towers and was caught in its collapse, escaping with a
group of fire and police department and port authority colleagues after hours of digging. Another witness, a firefighter involved in recovery efforts for nine months after September 11, notes that only 292 whole bodies were found, while 19,934 body parts were recovered. Witnesses additionally include experts who discuss the attackers, intelligence prior to the attacks that may or may not have helped to predict or prevent it, and national counterterrorism policy. Family members of persons who died in one of the airliners or on the ground often express the belief that the attacks could and should have been prevented.


The authors of this paper argue that the military is currently so focused on accomplishing near-term objectives in the war on terror that it is neglecting long-term planning. Contending that fundamental transformations must take place during the next fifty to one hundred years in order to shape successfully the “global security environment” of the future, the authors propose that defense planners begin now to plan for and invest in long-term innovations in certain areas including weapons systems, information systems, military education, and development of doctrine.


The author of this paper explores the applicability of lessons learned during the denazification of Germany after World War II to the predicted reconstruction of Iraq after the removal of the Saddam Hussein regime. The all-important precondition for the rehabilitation of the Iraq government, in the author’s view, will be the thorough discrediting of the Baathist regime.


The author of this paper argues that even if the United States and its partners defeat the forces of Saddam Hussein, there will be a continuing need for inspections to uncover WMD sites.


The author of this thesis begins with a review of the history of terrorism, its modern manifestations, and government counterterrorist operations. The author classifies modern terrorism into three categories: domestic terrorism, international regional terrorism, and international global terrorism. The author presents examples of each type, with special attention to the government-terrorist interactions within each category. The author then describes in detail an abstract conflict model “to understand the aggregate-level terrorist and government activities that provide significant insight into the dynamic system of terrorist-government interaction.” According to the author, such a model demonstrates the usefulness of the discipline of system dynamics for government officials who wish to develop a policy that can actually obstruct terrorists’ freedom of movement and ability to mount terror attacks. The author has designed the model to emphasize offensive action against terrorists rather than defensive reaction.
0748 **Bioterrorism: Preparedness Varied Across State and Local Jurisdictions.**

The GAO reviews state and local governments’ preparedness to respond to bioterrorist attacks. The GAO finds deficiencies in every locality, such as workforce shortages, inadequate disease surveillance and laboratory systems, and a lack of regional coordination and compatible communications systems. The GAO finds that state and local jurisdictions lack guidance from the federal government. The GAO specifically recommends that the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), in cooperation with the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), develop specific benchmarks that define adequate preparedness for a bioterrorist attack and can be used by jurisdictions to guide their preparedness efforts.

0801 **Causes of Terrorism in [the] Arab World.**

The author of this thesis, a Qatari air force officer, examines from an Arabic perspective factors that may be responsible for the spurt of terrorism in Arab states. After a review of the history of terrorism in the Arab world, the author analyzes the impacts of propaganda and mass media coverage of terror attacks. The author presents a variety of suggestions for both understanding and combating terrorism.

0830 **Defense Budget: Tracking of Emergency Response Funds for the War on Terrorism.**

The GAO reviews DoD’s management of emergency appropriations for various purposes related to the war on terror during fiscal years 2001–2003. The GAO finds that while DoD followed Office of Management and Budget (OMB) guidelines for the allocation of funds in ten functional categories, DoD cannot fully track the specific uses of the funds. GAO notes, however, that DoD is in the process of improving its emergency funding controls. The GAO consequently makes no recommendations at this time.

0860 **Environmental Security: A Strategy for the Mitigation of Regional Instabilities.**

The author of this thesis examines the contribution of “environmental issues” such as population overcrowding, food and water shortages, water contamination, drought, poor farming practices, inadequate shelter, unemployment, and contagious disease epidemics to the spread of unrest and political instability in developing countries, and how they sow the seeds for the growth of terrorist organizations. The author believes that helping countries deal with these problems is more cost-effective than the wars to combat the resulting terrorist activity.

0905 **Information Technology: Terrorist Watch Lists Should Be Consolidated to Promote Better Integration and Sharing.**

The GAO examines issues surround federal agencies’ use of watch lists, which are databases with identifying information on individuals who are known or suspected to be terrorists or criminals. Agencies use these lists to help prevent undesirable persons from entering the United States or to facilitate their apprehension while in the United States or when attempting to leave the country. The GAO identifies watchlists and the agencies that use them, and assesses the degree to which the lists are exchanged among federal agencies and between federal agencies and state, local, and certain private agencies. The GAO recommends that the secretary of the DHS, in collaboration with the heads of
other agencies that use the lists, begin an effort to consolidate and standardize the
government's watch list structures and policies.

0989 The Interagency Process and America's Second Front in the Global War on
Terrorism.
The author of this thesis seeks to identify initiatives that military planners can
implement in order to enhance military and civilian interagency cooperation, as well as
cooperation among U.S. coalition partners, at the military operational and tactical levels
in the war on terror. After an introductory review of interagency cooperation at the U.S.
national level, the author presents a case study of effective interagency coordination by
Pacific Command (PACOM) commanders during Operation Enduring Freedom's second
front in the Philippines.

1045 Islam: A Victim of Terrorism.
The author of this thesis, a Saudi military officer, argues that Islam is not the cause of
violence and terrorism carried out in the name of God, as many in the Western media
contend. The author examines the history and tenets of Islam in order to demonstrate
that Islam is a victim of terrorism, not its cause. The author asserts that primary Islamic
texts indicate that Islam values tolerance among Muslims, Christians, and Jews, not
intolerance and violence.

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0001 Patterns of Global Terrorism, 2002.
The State Department describes worldwide terrorist activity during 2002, as well as
the international effort to prevent acts of terror, destroy terrorist organizations, and track
down and prosecute their leaders. The department notes achievements in the war on
terror, including the defeat of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan; the disruption of
al Qaeda, including the destruction of their terrorist training infrastructure; and the
installation of a more democratic transitional government. The document begins with an
overview of terrorist acts and counterterrorist initiatives arranged by world region.
Following this overview is a discussion of state-sponsored terrorism in countries such as
Iran, North Korea, Sudan, and Syria. Appendices include a chronology of terrorist
incidents as well as information on designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOs)
and other terrorist groups, U.S. counterterrorist policies, the UN role in fighting terrorism,
the U.S. military's counterterrorism campaign in 2002, terrorism, and Iraq. The appendix
also includes a statistical overview.

0190 The September 11 Detainees: A Review of the Treatment of Aliens Held on
Immigration Charges in Connection with the Investigation of the September 11
Attacks.
The OIG presents the results of a review of the treatment of persons arrested and
detained in connection with the Justice Department's investigation of the September 11,
2001, terrorist attacks on the United States. The OIG conducted the review in part to
respond to allegations by various detainees and lawyers and organizations representing
them that detainees had been mistreated during processing or confinement and denied
their civil rights. Focusing on the treatment of aliens who were held on federal
immigration charges in connection with the investigation, the OIG review covered the initial identification, arrest, and processing of detainees; the length of detainees' confinement, including the procedures that the FBI and other agencies took to either implicate or clear individuals of connections to the September 11 attacks or to terrorism in general; bond determinations for detainees, and the department’s “no bond” and “hold until cleared” policies for detainees; the processing and timing of deportations; and confinement conditions experienced by detainees, including their access to legal counsel. The OIG additionally assesses the sometimes conflicting actions of senior managers at the department, the INS, the FBI, and the Bureau of Prisons, who established the broad policies and led the investigation after the attacks. For example, the OIG concludes that the FBI put the INS in “the untenable position of opposing bond unless it obtained a sign-off from FBI Headquarters stating that the FBI had no interest in a detainee, which was exceedingly hard to come by in the months immediately after the terrorist attacks. Thus, the INS still had to argue for ‘no bond’ even when it had no information from the FBI to support that argument.” Throughout the report, the OIG makes assessments, cites lessons to be learned, and recommends revised policies and procedures.

0431 The Sources of Radical Islamic Conduct: Understanding and Neutralizing a Transnational Ideological Threat.

The author of this thesis theorizes that the growth of terrorist and other radical Islamic transnational movements such as al Qaeda has been facilitated by the failure of secular state institutions in Muslim countries to provide effectively for the basic needs of their citizens. This failure has led disaffected and needy people in these societies to turn to radical Islam groups for survival and security. The author believes that the United States should endorse and assist efforts by Arab countries to broaden the secular structures of their governments, which should lead eventually to the de-politicization of Islam, thereby marginalizing radical groups including terrorists.

0489 The Terrorist Threat: Are United States Diplomatic Facilities Overseas Safe?

The author of this thesis examines issues bearing upon the vulnerability of overseas U.S. embassies and consulates to terrorist attacks. Noting that during the decade 1987–1997 terrorists carried out over ninety attacks on U.S. diplomatic facilities, the author assesses the adequacy of physical security programs for the protection of U.S. missions, as well as improvements that must be made to ensure the safety of the U.S. diplomatic corps abroad.

0525 Al Qaeda After the Iraq Conflict.

The author of this paper examines a number of alternative views on the current status of al Qaeda and the threat it poses to the United States. The author views the key question to be whether al Qaeda is now capable of launching additional coordinated major attacks like those on September 11, 2001, or if it is largely relegated to low-level tactical operations, such as attacks on “soft targets” like undefended tourist resorts. The author presents evidence that supports the view that al Qaeda is probably undergoing a major transition, possibly in an effort to bring junior cadres into senior leadership positions. The author presents the interesting view that al Qaeda sometimes acts like a “foundation,” making grants to local terrorist groups who present promising plans for attacks that serve al Qaeda’s purposes.
0531 An Analysis of Australia’s National Strategy in the War Against Terror.
The author of this paper, an Australian military officer, examines his country’s political and military actions in response to international terrorism since September 11, 2001. Concerned about domestic and international criticism of Australia’s support for the U.S.-led coalition in the war on terror, the author identifies several strategic risks of continuing participation. The author recommends that while Australia should maintain its broad support for the coalition, the country should restrict its commitment in the global terror war while asserting itself more aggressively in regional issues.

0564 Answering Al-Qaeda: The Battle for Hearts and Minds in the Middle East.
The author of this thesis examines media attacks by Osama bin Laden on the United States and its allies in the war on terror. The author feels that the United States has left these accusations mostly unanswered, leaving the Muslim public, especially young people, with access only to a radical point of view. The author outlines recommended U.S. messages responding to al Qaeda pronouncements on the Israeli-Arab conflict, Iraqi civilian deaths in the U.S. war, U.N. sanctions, alleged U.S. “crusades” against Muslims, perceived U.S. support for corrupt Middle East governments, and the U.S. military presence on the Arabian peninsula.

The GAO reviews federal information systems that are intended to support public agencies’ abilities to respond to public health emergencies, including acts of bioterrorism. The agency identifies approximately seventy such systems in the areas of detection of potential biological agents, ongoing disease and public health surveillance, early warning and other information communications to first responders as well as decision makers, and supporting technology. The GAO notes that the various systems are not built using a common set of standards, and recommends the development of a cooperative interagency strategy as well as a set of common standards to make the systems interoperable, and thus more useful.

0732 Coercive Airpower in the Global War on Terror: Testing Validity of Courses of Action.
The author of this monograph acknowledges that U.S. airpower played a decisive role in recent wars such as the 1991 Persian Gulf War and the conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo. The author nevertheless questions whether and in what ways airpower can coerce fluid, elusive, highly mobile terrorist networks to forego attacks. The author believes, however, that airpower can, with certain restrictions, be employed to coerce nations that sponsor or support terrorist groups to change their policies.

0795 Combating Terrorism: Interagency Framework and Agency Programs to Address the Overseas Threat.
The GAO presents the results of a comprehensive review of federal government activities to combat terrorism overseas, encompassing political, diplomatic, legal, law enforcement, financial, military, and intelligence activities. Chapter 1 is an introductory overview. In Chapter 2, the GAO identifies the extent and types of interagency
cooperation in the antiterror effort, especially in the formulation of counterterrorism strategies. In Chapter 3, the agency inventories programs to detect terrorist activity, protect U.S. citizens and facilities, affect public opinion through diplomacy, help other countries improve their antiterrorism programs, and prevent terrorists from entering the United States. In Chapter 4, the GAO describes diplomatic, military, law enforcement, and covert efforts to disrupt and destroy terrorist organizations and attack the regimes that harbor them, as well as efforts to apprehend and prosecute terrorists and disrupt terrorists’ financial support networks. In Chapter 5, the GAO describes systems for responding to international terrorist attacks, as well as for preventing future attacks. In report appendices, the GAO provides detailed matrices of the anti-terrorism programs of the Departments of Defense, Homeland Security, Justice, State, and Treasury, as well as a summary of UN protocols, conventions, and resolutions related to terrorism.

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0001 The Conflict in Iraq.

The authors of this paper chronicle the events leading up to the invasion of Iraq by the U.S.-led coalition, as well as the debate within the UK over military action, the issue of whether more time should be allowed for inspections for the presence of WMD, UN Security Council actions, and the George W. Bush ultimatum to Saddam Hussein and his sons to leave Iraq. The authors additionally describe the Coalition military campaign, written from the British perspective. The authors, writing at a time when it had been declared that major combat operations had been successfully completed, then provide a “post-conflict assessment.” This assessment includes information on casualties, friendly fire incidents, and costs.

0090 Counter-Terrorism Technology Assessment and Methodology Study.

The authors of this report describe and assess the possible effectiveness of various technologies that can be used in counterterrorism operations, such as explosives detectors, weapons detection systems, and body cavity contraband systems. The authors devote considerable space to a discussion of a “radar flashlight” as well as various types of sensors.

0162 Covering the Seams: Unifying Effort to Defeat Transnational Terrorism.

The author of this thesis believes that a key problem for the United States in the war on terror is that the U.S. military is attempting to apply a regionally based operational command and control structure against a globally distributed threat. Viewing the need for sanctuary as both the critical requirement and operational vulnerability for international terrorists, the author proposes that DoD create a single command and control organization for counterterrorism. This organization can apply a unified effort to deny terrorists sanctuary and then destroy them.
A DHS medical agency presents information for medical personnel and other first responders to use in treating people who have been subjected to external radiation exposure or radioactive contamination from a terrorist attack. The group presents medical guidelines including radiological protection for first responders, patient evacuation and sheltering, immediate medical management, patient decontamination, patient contamination measurement, and handling of mass casualties and deaths. The group additionally presents guidelines for selection and administration of medical countermeasure agents, as well as handling of psychological problems affecting rescue workers.

0303 Focusing the Interagency Effort in Homeland Security: The Terrorism-As-War Paradigm.  
*Naval War College, Newport, R.I. William E. Clements. May 2003. 31pp.*  
The author of this thesis argues that viewing antiterrorism programs within the United States as an anti-crime effort is characterized by a “reactive” approach to events, which yields the initiative to terrorists. The author argues that the same “terrorism-as-war” conception that the military uses in offensive operations overseas will also yield more effective results domestically.

0334 The Global War on Terrorism: A Policy of Containment.  
The author of this thesis argues that although the strategic environment in the post–cold war era has changed fundamentally from that of previous eras, the policy of U.S. administrations continues to be one of containing threats, as is illustrated by the 2002 National Security Strategy on the war on terror. The strategy presented in this report, however, calls for proactive rather than reactive measures. The author suggests ways that the United States can operate in a preemptive manner against terrorism without moving off the moral high ground of a primarily defensive strategy.

0384 The International Terrorism.  
The author of this thesis, a Jordanian military officer, warns that the United States must take care in the war on terror not to incite more support for Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda in predominantly Muslim countries. To reduce sympathy for the terrorists, the author argues, U.S. policy makers should avoid making the war a West versus Islam struggle. The United States should additionally press for a solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in a way that supports Palestinian statehood as vigorously as it demands security for Israel.

0442 Maritime Command and Control for U.S. Coastline Protection Against Terrorists.  
*Naval War College, Newport, R.I. Roy J. Kelley. May 2003. 26pp.*  
The author of this thesis observes that the U.S. Navy, Coast Guard, Customs Service, Joint Forces Command, Pacific Command, Southern Command, North American Aerospace Defense Command, DoD, the Treasury Department, and the Department of Transportation lacked a structured command and control system to protect 95,000 miles of U.S. coastline. Reviewing the major changes that occurred with
the establishment of DHS as well as the Northern Command (NORTHCOM) within DoD, the author proposes a single command and control system that integrates into a hierarchy the civilian and military components. This system would place primary responsibility on the Coast Guard.

0468 **Operation Nigerian Angel: Fighting AIDS to Fight Terrorism.**  

The author of this report links the spread of human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS) to terrorism in Africa. Using Nigeria for a case study, the author argues that the epidemic is decimating populations, creating millions of orphans, straining government services to the breaking point, causing a shortage of healthy young people for military service, and causing public desperation and discontent with government. These conditions taken together, the author believes, create a fertile environment for lawless behavior, including terrorism, to grow. The author predicts that the United States may be forced to provide assistance to Nigeria and other African countries.

0490 **Hearing of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States**  

The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States provides the transcript of a hearing in Washington, D.C., on May 22, 2003. The witnesses include members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives, as well as officials from federal or private aviation agencies. In this hearing, the witnesses focus primarily on two topics. The first topic is the proper role of the Congress in overseeing the federal agencies who are responsible for gathering intelligence and ensuring homeland security in the war on terror. The second topic deals with the current status of airport and aviation security as well as the adequacy of reforms made since the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks and the long-term impact of the attacks on the U.S. airline industry. Witnesses additionally provide opinions on whether and how the September 11 attacks could have been prevented, as well as on new or changed policies and programs that might prevent future attacks.

0635 **Reorganizing to Meet the Homeland Security Challenges of 2010.**  

The author of this thesis examines the reorganization of federal entities involved in homeland security. The author assesses the functions of the recently established Northern Command, or NORTHCOM, which has the responsibility for the defense of the land, sea, and air of the continental United States. The author additionally assesses the realignment of twenty-two civilian and military agencies under the DHS, and explores the question of whether the Federal Emergency Management Agency needs to be restructured. Finally, the author analyzes existing laws to determine whether grants of authority to military forces operating in the United States may violate civil liberties or the Constitution.

0677 **Report to Congress Regarding the Terrorism Information Awareness Program.**  

The Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) describes the mission, organization, and accomplishments of a set of research programs that will form an advanced counterterrorism information system. DARPA notes that the system will provide an order-of-magnitude increase in access to information on terrorism, provide
focused warnings within an hour after a triggering event occurs, and automatically alert
analysts based on partial pattern matches from a database that contains patterns
covering at least 90 percent of all known previous foreign terrorist attacks. The system
will additionally support collaborative research in which analysts can test theories of
possible counterterrorist strategies.

0778 Strategic Insight: Economic Stress and Instability in the Arab World.
The author of this paper identifies economic factors that may help explain the social
discontent and political instability in many Arab countries. These factors include
inequality of income and opportunity, declining income and wages, poverty,
underemployment and unemployment, high levels of illiteracy, and low levels of
industrialization.

0782 Strategic Insight: The Moscow Hostage Crisis: An Analysis of Chechen Terrorist
Goals.
The author of this paper analyzes the motivations of the Chechen terrorists, calling
themselves the Islamic Suicide Squad, who took more than 800 theatergoers hostage in
Moscow, Russia, in October 2002. The author contends that although the terrorists
succeeded in gaining widespread international media attention and perhaps bolstered
the morale of compatriots in Chechnya, the group’s prediction that the action would force
President Vladimir Putin to negotiate an end to the war on Chechnya backfired. Putin
ended up receiving sympathy, while a backlash of public anger hurt the terrorists.

0786 Terrorist CBRN: Materials and Effects (U).
In this updated report, the CIA summarizes current knowledge on the effects of and
treatment for terrorist attacks using chemical, biological, radiological (“dirty bomb”), or
nuclear weapons (CBRN). The CIA additionally notes terrorist group interest in these
weapons and intelligence on their attempts to develop them.

0791 The United States and Colombia: The Journey from Ambiguity to Strategic Clarity.
The author of this paper argues that Colombia is a prime example of “a recurring
global geopolitical reality,” that of a weak state with ungoverned space. Attacked by
violence and corruption from both the terrorist left and right, as well as from organized
narcotics trafficking and its associated crime, the country has fought back. The current
and preceding administrations have strengthened the police and armed forces,
aggressively eradicated narcotics, tried to establish the sovereignty of the state across
its national territory, and built international support, including a more comprehensive
relationship with the United States to supplant the one narrowly focused on
counternarcotics. The author contends, however, that both the United States and the
international community must provide substantially more aid to Colombia in order to
prevent the country as well as its Latin American neighbors from becoming
“ungovernable.”

0879 Usama bin Laden and Al Qaeda’s Operational Design.
The author of this thesis examines al Qaeda chief Osama bin Laden’s strategy and
tactics from a military operational point of view. The author believes that bin Laden
seeks to create a global “pansurgency” to weaken and ultimately overthrow
governments. To accomplish this goal, bin Laden uses various concepts of military operational art such as anticipation, leverage, and center of gravity.

**0901 War Termination and the Global War on Terrorism.**  

The author of this thesis argues that the Bush administration’s National Strategy for Combating Terrorism represents a good starting point in the war on terror. The author believes, however, that the plan’s unlimited objective of ridding the world of global terrorism needs specific measures of success as well as a clearly defined end state at which point the war will have been considered won.

**0919 Airpower versus Terrorism: Three Case Studies.**  

The author of this thesis assesses the effectiveness of the use of airpower against terrorists. The author presents case studies of the U.S. air action against Libya in 1986, the cruise missile attacks on Afghanistan and Sudan terrorist facilities in response to the 1998 al Qaeda bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, and the current Israeli use of airpower against the Palestinians. The author articulates the lessons learned in each case. In the Libyan example, the massiveness of the joint navy–air force air raid apparently sent a clear message to Libyan leader Muammar Qadhafi that his support of terrorism would have high costs. The 1998 attack demonstrates the usefulness of cruise missiles, as well as their high cost. The author believes that although Israel’s use of air and ground power to fight terrorists has had success, military power alone will not stop terrorism. At some point, “diplomacy must prevail.”

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**0001 An Analysis of the Emergence of Transnational Terrorism in Southeast Asia.**  

The author of this thesis, a military officer from Singapore, assesses the threat of transnational terrorist groups to the security of Southeast Asian countries, as well as the social, political, and economic conditions that may make some countries fertile beds for the growth of terrorist groups. The author notes that governments in the region have become increasingly alarmed by evidence of al Qaeda’s presence, as well as by the close links among extremist groups in the region. Problems such as porous borders and economic inequality within countries exacerbate the threats. The author examines the history, goals, strategy, and operations of four strategically important Islamic fundamentalist groups: Jemaah Islamiyah, Kumpulana Mujahideen Malaysia, Moro Islamic Liberation Front, and Laskar Jihad. The author devotes particular emphasis to understanding the reasons that these groups, once country-based, have turned toward transnational terrorism.

**0075 Antiterrorism and Force Protection Applications in Facilities.**  

The author of this thesis describes in general the type of terrorist attack in which a bomb-laden vehicle is driven to a government or industrial facility and detonated. The author explains the physical properties and impact force of a bomb blast. The author then develops a bomb defense plan for an urban structure and describes measures that can prevent the progressive collapse of a structure. The author draws from case studies
of explosions such as the attack on the World Trade Center in 1993 and the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City in 1995.

0139 The Bush Administration’s “Global War on Terrorism” and the Long-Term Security Goals of the United States.  

The author of this thesis, a Norwegian army officer, expresses a number of concerns about the Bush administration’s approach to the war on terror. Among other criticisms, the author argues that the United States, while touting its worldwide “coalition” against terror, is actually little more than a unilateral military action with help from a few allies, and little support from NATO, whose forces do not fit into the U.S. command structure for operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. The author believes that in the long run, the increasingly isolated United States may lose more security than it gains through the war on terror.

0206 Combating Transnational Terrorism and Southeast Asia.  

The author of this thesis assesses the degree to which the Bush administration’s National Security Strategy applies to the fight against transnational terrorism in Southeast Asia. The author finds that the strategy will help defeat near-term terrorist operations in the region. The strategy will not, however, remove the social conditions that will foster the growth of future terrorists. In particular, the author proposes that the United States take steps to convince authorities in Southeast Asian countries with large Muslim populations to address blatant anti-Americanism in Muslim religious schools.

0283 Security Assistance in the War on Terrorism.  

The authors of this thesis contend that the current U.S. military/security assistance, in which 77 percent of the aid goes to Israel and Egypt, is outdated and must be restructured. The authors argue that military assistance should be channeled primarily to countries that directly support the United States in the war on terror, including nations that participate as military coalition partners, provide basing, or grant overflight rights.


The author of this paper examines differences in the international security policies and outlooks of Europe and the United States. The author concludes that while the two camps agree on the main security challenges affecting the Atlantic alliance, such as terrorism and WMD proliferation, they have significant disagreements about the appropriate diplomatic and military strategies for responding to these threats.


The author of this report provides a summary assessment of international terrorist threats, the motivations and transnational nature of major terror groups, and U.S. military and diplomatic policies in the war on terror. The author observes that “looming over the entire issue of international terrorism is a trend toward proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD)” among rogue states like North Korea and Iran.
0336 **Terrorist Approach to Information Operations.**

The authors of this thesis examine the ways in which terrorist groups use information and communications strategies and technologies to achieve their objectives. Asserting that terrorists fight an attrition-based “war of the will,” rather than the traditional one of manpower and physical resources, the authors present case studies of al Qaeda and the Provisional Irish Republican Army. The authors observe that terrorist organizations compete in what is essentially a battle of information, one that involves sending terrifying information to one audience, while seeking support from another. Thus terrorists first conduct violent attacks in the physical environment to provide highly visible operations in the information environment. Through these operations, terrorists attempt to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the world, attract sympathy and active support from uncommitted or mildly supportive Muslim constituencies, and intimidate and demoralize opposing populations and consequently put pressure on their governments to capitulate or negotiate.

0497 **The Rise and the Fall of Terrorist Organizations in Post-Dictatorial Greece: The Role and the Lessons for the Intelligence Services.**

The author of this thesis, a Greek air force officer, examines the origins, ideologies, and activities of the two most notorious leftist terrorist groups operating in Greece during the period 1975–2002, the “November 17” group and “Revolutionary People’s Struggle.” The author describes the organization, control, and operations of the Greek National Intelligence Service, as well as roles that both Greek and foreign intelligence services played in providing the information that led finally to the destruction of both groups.

0568 **U.S. Army Special Forces Training for the Global War on Terror.**

The author of this thesis explores the questions whether U.S. Army Special Forces is the most appropriate force to employ in the war on terror and, if so, whether the soldiers possess adequate training and skills. Concluding that the threat posed by al Qaeda requires both an aggressive counterterrorist campaign and a simultaneous “pre-emptive counterinsurgency” operation, the author argues that the special forces are logical choices for both types of campaigns and are well prepared for it. The author notes one major skill deficiency: foreign language proficiency.

0626 **Agricultural Bioterrorism: Why it is a Concern and What We Must Do.**

The author of this thesis examines the vulnerability of the U.S. agricultural and food sector to biological attacks. The author argues that such an attack could have several disastrous effects, including the illnesses or deaths of a large number of Americans, as well as loss of confidence in the food system, loss of confidence in government, and possibly even mass panic. The author believes that current U.S. preparedness for such an attack is deficient and proposes a variety of policy and program initiations or changes.

0680 **Al-Qaeda: Center of Gravity and Decisive Points.**

The author of this thesis analyzes the conflict between al Qaeda and the United States from the framework advanced by German military philosopher Carl von
Clausewitz that a fundamental strategy in war is finding the enemy’s “center of gravity” and its supporting “decisive points.” The center of gravity for al Qaeda is Osama bin Laden’s extremist ideology and the decisive points are leadership, financial resources, state sponsorship, communications networks, and terrorist cells. The author suggests ways to attack these points.


The author of this study examines Asian organized crime syndicates, such as the Big Circle Boys, that use Canada as a base from which to launch criminal activities in the United States. The author believes that these groups, whose activities include heroin trafficking, trafficking of women, and financial crimes, use many of the same techniques as terrorists. The author finds, however, that few examples so far exist of cooperation between crime syndicates and terrorists.

0764 Assessing National Guard Readiness to Respond to Weapons of Mass Destruction Terrorist Events.

The author of this thesis argues that the National Guard’s traditional homeland security role suggests that it can play a key role in assisting civilian authorities in responding to a terrorist attack involving WMD. Therefore, a wholesale reorganization of the guard is not necessary. The author notes, however, that some functions, such as the disposition of human remains, are better suited to other forces such as the army reserve.


The author of this monograph contends that various war games, as well as the recent anthrax mail attacks and their aftermath, indicate that the United States currently lacks the capabilities to prevent or effectively respond to an attack of bioterrorism. The author asserts that careful risk assessments of bioterrorism must be conducted, as well as that the Department of Homeland Security should take the responsibility for biological defense funding, research, and coordination.

0830 Can We Deter Terrorists from Employing Weapons of Mass Destruction on the U.S. Homeland?

The authors of this thesis explore the question whether deterrence can be used to prevent a terrorist-launched WMD attack on the United States. Countering the prevalent view that terrorists cannot be deterred, the authors use a model to identify tactics for deterring a WMD attack. The authors believe that the analytic power of the model can help policy makers discover vulnerable components of a terrorist system upon which deterrence can be effective. One such component is the state or states from which terrorists buy either their WMD or their precursor materials. By publicly announcing that such states will be held accountable, U.S. officials might be able to deter an attack, or may have already deterred attacks.

0913 Combating Terrorism with Preparation of the Battlespace.

The author of this thesis examines “operational preparation of the battlespace,” a concept developed in the U.S. special forces which refers basically to “training activities conducted in a foreign country during peacetime and prior to a crisis that help shape the security environment and prepare for future operations in that country.” The author
explains how military planners can use the battlespace concept to help conduct antiterrorism operations.

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0001 Countering Terrorism in the Heartland: Can We Afford Posse Comitatus Any Longer?
The author of this thesis argues that the conditions that existed when the Posse Comitatus Act was passed no longer pertain. The act prohibits the use of the U.S. military for domestic law enforcement. Contending that “the neat dichotomy between law enforcement and national security has blurred,” the author believes that the military should be used under certain circumstances to counter a threat by terrorists and protect national security, which is the military’s fundamental function.

0038 Counterterrorism: Policy of Preemptive Action.
The author of this thesis examines the question whether the U.S. military should conduct preemptive strikes against terrorists. The author explores issues such as historical precedents, objectives, risks, benefits, unilateral versus multilateral action, and international opinion on the justifiability of preemptive action, and concludes with recommendations on its use under certain conditions.

0070 The Emerging Threat of Illicit Drug Funding of Terrorist Organizations.
The author of this thesis examines the “symbiotic relationship” between drug trafficking and terrorism. The author reviews recent information on the channeling of illegal drug trafficking profits into terrorist groups, as well as the trading of narcotics to procure military weapons and the upsurge of illegal drug use by U.S. military personnel. The author additionally cites evidence that DoD may be exploring the use of amphetamines or other performance-enhancing substances to enable military personnel to operate without sleep for up to seven days.

The author of this thesis reviews the threats of WMD not only in the hands of rogue nations and terrorist groups but also WMD acquired by “rational” countries who seek to enhance prestige and power through the possession of WMD. The author proposes that the Defense Threat Reduction Agency begin conducting WMD inspection programs with cooperating countries as well as adversarial inspections in uncooperative countries backed up by UN-sanctioned threats of military force.

0165 Forging a National Strategy for Combating Terrorism.
The author of this thesis assesses the effectiveness of the National Strategy for Combating Terrorism that the Bush administration announced in February 2003. The author argues that although the United States has effectively implemented the military part of the strategy, national planners have not devoted sufficient attention to the potential usefulness of the strategy’s diplomatic, information, intelligence, and economic components in attacking the root causes of terrorism in the countries that produce terrorists.
0220 Homeland Security: Can It Be Done?

The author of this thesis evaluates the Bush administration’s National Strategy for Homeland Security, promulgated on July 16, 2002. The author views the strategy as a “long list of things that need to be done” rather than as a traditional strategy that provides a coherent framework for articulating and integrally relating objectives and the means to achieve them. The author argues for the implementation of a revamped deterrence program that prevents terrorists and their materials from entering the United States.

0258 Identifying and Eliminating Sources of Anti-Americanism and Terrorism.

The author of this thesis examines the results of recent public opinion polls in the Arab/Muslim world and elsewhere on attitudes toward the United States. Attempting to identify the sources of anti-Americanism revealed in these polls, the author finds, among other things, that U.S. support for Israel with respect to the Palestinian issue is a strong contributing factor, as is perceived U.S. arrogance and desire for spreading American values over the globe.

0296 Intelligence Reform: The “Phoenix” of 9/11?

The author of this thesis examines various issues related to the failure of the U.S. intelligence community to alert national leaders to the imminence of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. The author covers the cold war and post–cold war national security intelligence environments, the inadequacy of cold war era warning systems, the coordination or lack thereof between agencies such as the FBI and CIA, and recommendations for the centralized control of national intelligence functions. The author proposes, among other things, that the FBI should be freed of the responsibility for the analysis of domestic intelligence and should remain primarily a law enforcement agency.

0349 Intelligence: Terrorism and Homeland Defense.

The author of this thesis identifies a number of shortcomings in U.S. intelligence gathering and analysis agencies that have contributed to the failure of the intelligence community to provide adequate warning of attacks such as the ones on the World Trade Center in 1993 and September 11, 2001. The author recommends ways in which the White House can better coordinate the efforts of intelligence agencies. In particular, the author supports the immediate establishment of an interagency Terrorist Threat Integration Center.

0381 Is the U.S. Policy on Global Terrorism Effective Against Osama bin Laden and his Asymmetrical War on the United States?

The author of this thesis contends that the U.S.-led war on terror has not been particularly effective against Osama bin Laden and his al Qaeda organization. The author insists that to successfully hunt down and eliminate terrorists, the U.S. and its allies will need to increase greatly their use of covert organizations and operations, despite the likely outcry in some quarters that such operations violate human rights.
0414 Maintaining the Legal High Ground: The Legal Implications of Using Armed Force
to Combat Terrorists.
The author of this thesis surveys treaty law, general international law, and case law to
determine the legal space in which the United States can use its military forces to attack
terrorist groups. Citing the limitations of relying on criminal law to prosecute terrorists,
the author delineates conditions under which one nation’s military may be legally used to
attack terrorists within another state’s sovereign territory, even if that state provides
harbor to terrorists.

0462 Nuclear Power Plants: Vulnerability to Terrorist Attack.
The author of this report reviews security measures and governing regulations in
place at nuclear power plants to prevent or significantly reduce the possibility of terrorist
attacks, as well as security-related legislative and regulatory proposals since September

0467 Operational Art and the Incident Command System: Public Health’s Bridge in
Bioterrorism Preparedness and Response.
The author of this thesis notes that although the U.S. public health system has the
ability to provide first response in terrorist attacks using biological agents, the system
lacks the necessary experience in the command and control of crisis management
operations to enable it to lead mass casualty response teams. The author proposes the
implementation of a nationwide system to train public health personnel within the
framework of the already-established Incident Command System. The training would
incorporate specific health care issues such as epidemiological surveillance, patient
grouping for isolation, and laboratory operations.

0526 Preventing Terrorism Through Nation-Building: A Viable Way?
The author of this thesis examines the success of U.S. efforts in nation-building to
support failing states through regime changes, or to help establish a new state to restore
order to the chaos of a failed state. The author argues that such efforts do not fit well as
a part of the U.S. war on terror because the United States does not possess the
resources or the time to build a “global community of nations allied against terrorism.”

0558 Public Hearing.
National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, Washington, D.C.
The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States provides the
transcript of a hearing in Washington, D.C. on July 9, 2003. The witnesses include
experts from universities and private research organizations. In this hearing, the
witnesses focus on several related topics, including the origins, popular appeal,
psychology, and methods of operation of al Qaeda, as well as the personalities and
actions of some of its members; the position of Arab states on terrorism; the U.S. military
operation in Iraq and its dilution of world support for the United States; Syrian support of
terrorist groups, as well as instances of assistance to the United States in the war on
terror; and the causes of the deepening of anti-American feeling in the Muslim world,
including violence against non-Muslims being espoused in many Muslim schools.

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The Role of the National Guard in Homeland Security.

The author of this research paper examines the changes in homeland security strategy necessitated by the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States. The author states that the National Guard can and does contribute to homeland defense. The author argues, however, that to assign to the Guard the primary mission of homeland security rather than warfighting could potentially destroy the Guard as an institution. The author recommends a thorough examination of the size and organization of both the active and reserve forces to fit the requirements of new types of conflict such as Iraq and the war on terror.

Socio-Economic Roots of Radicalism? Towards Explaining the Appeal of Islamic Radicals.

The author of this thesis traces the appeal of Islamic radicalism to the alienation of large numbers of Muslim youth. The author attributes this deep discontent to high unemployment and poverty rates caused by economic, social, and political factors such as rapid population growth, troubled educational systems, the Palestinian problem, and the failure of governments to formulate policies to stimulate economic growth and reduce corruption and economic and social inequality. The author warns, however, that it is unrealistic to expect Muslim societies to make the transition from largely poor and uneducated cultures to affluent, educated, industry-based societies without the trauma and “grotesque violence” that has traditionally accompanied this transition in Europe, Asia, and even the United States.


The author of this thesis argues that the most important factor in the U.S.-led war on terror is the will of the people. National leaders, in the author’s view, cannot make the mistake of abrogating civil liberties in order to prevent terrorist attacks or attack terrorists, either at home or abroad. The author cites a recent national public opinion poll that found that only 22 percent of U.S. citizens favor allowing the federal government to monitor their personal telephone calls and e-mails. The author insists as well that the civilian leadership maintain firm control of the military and expresses misgivings over the increasingly single-party (Republican) identification of military officers.

Strategic Targeting and the War on Terror.

The author of this thesis expresses concern over the “bureaucratic fragmentation and...lack of communication that characterizes the current national security structure.” The author proposes the establishment of an interagency board on an equal footing with the National Security Council to assume the responsibility for executing the strategic plans as well as choosing the primary targets in the war on terror.

Terrorist and Organized Crime Groups in the Tri-Border Area (TBA) of South America.

The author of this report examines the operations of organized crime groups, terrorists, and narcotics trafficking organizations in the free trade Tri-Border Area (TBA) of Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay since 1999. According to the author, Islamic
fundamentalist groups in the TBA and similar free trade areas in South America send hundreds of millions of dollars in crime profits to radical Islamic groups in the Middle East. Efforts by the governments of the TBA countries to eliminate criminal activities in the area have been largely unsuccessful because of corruption, inadequate pay and training of law enforcement personnel, inadequate penal codes, human rights abuses, weak anti-money-laundering laws and enforcement, and the strong secrecy provisions of banking laws.

0893 Xinjiang and China’s National Security: Counter-Terrorism or Counter-Separatism?

The author of this thesis examines the separatist struggle by Islamic fundamentalists in China's Xinjiang province, as well as the crackdown by the Chinese government in the name of anti-terrorism and the role of the United States. The author contends that most of the separatists are not terrorists and that the government is repressing the religious freedom of minorities. The author argues that the United States has subordinated its advocacy of religious freedom in China to other political and economic objectives, and recommends a combination of diplomacy and economic incentives to induce China to respect religious freedom in Xinjiang and elsewhere.

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0001 A Military Guide to Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century.

The Army Training and Doctrine Command presents information for military commanders and planners to use in understanding the nature of terrorism and the threat it poses to their units. The document contains chapters covering the history and changing nature of terrorism; terrorist behaviors, motivation, and characteristics; terrorist group structures, capabilities, cooperation, and communication; the terrorist threat to U.S. forces; and the evolution and future of terrorism. Report appendices include discussions of terrorist threats to the U.S. geographic commands, with listings of specific terror groups and their estimated strengths; terrorist planning and tactics; and terrorist weapons, including firearms, improvised explosive devices (IEDs), conventional military munitions, and WMD. One of the document's key generalizations is that terrorist violence has changed from an attention-getting tool of the politically weak to a distinct method of asymmetric conflict employed against adversaries of greater economic, military, and political strength.

0217 Terrorists and Suicide Attacks.

The author of this report examines the threat of terrorist suicide attacks to the United States, both within national borders and abroad. The author examines terrorist group goals for such attacks and identifies the groups most likely to launch them. The author concludes with a discussion of a range of strategies for countering the threat of suicide attacks.
0242 2003 Report to Congress on Combating Terrorism.
The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) presents information on government
spending on anti-terrorist activities. The OMB includes data and analysis on
expenditures by Executive Branch departments as well as in the strategic mission areas
of intelligence and warning, border and transportation security, domestic
counterterrorism, protection of critical infrastructure, defense against catastrophic
threats, and emergency preparedness and response. The OMB additionally assesses
the progress made by and the challenges facing the DHS in its efforts to protect the
United States from terrorist attacks.

0317 Catastrophe Insurance Risks: Status of Efforts to Securitize Natural Catastrophe
and Terrorism Risk.
The GAO examines the market for “catastrophe bonds,” which have been issued by
some insurers to cover the risk of natural disasters. GAO finds that no catastrophe
bonds related to terrorism have been issued covering potential targets in the United
States. Insurance experts contacted by the GAO stated that issuing such securities is
not practical because of their excessively high risk as well as the impossibility of
predicting the frequency of and damages caused by future terrorist attacks on the United
States.

0393 Closing the Gaps: A Strategy for Gaining the Initiative in the War on Terror.
A group of navy officer students at the Naval Postgraduate School argue for a series
of proposals to improve the effectiveness of U.S. special forces personnel involved in the
war on terror. The group recommends improved interpersonal networking within the
special forces community, as well as strengthened military relationships with foreign
militaries and increased autonomy for special forces units.

0427 Combating Bioterrorism: Actions Needed to Improve Security at Plum Island
Animal Disease Center.
The GAO reviews concerns about the Plum Island Animal Disease Center in New
York State. The center is responsible for protecting the United States against animal
diseases that could be accidentally or deliberately introduced into the country. The GAO
notes that physical security at the center is inadequate, as well as that the center’s
incident response plan does not consider the possibility of a terrorist attack. The GAO
recommends various actions to remedy the deficiencies.

0478 Combating Terrorism: Improvements Needed in European Command’s
Antiterrorism Approach for In-Transit Forces at Seaports.
The GAO examines the measures taken by the U.S. European Command to ensure
the safety of military personnel and physical assets traveling through foreign seaports
within the command’s area of responsibility. The GAO notes certain vulnerabilities
related to host-nation support of DoD security measures, as well as flaws in the process
by which civilian crew members are screened for chartered vessels. The GAO makes
several recommendations for increasing security, including revised crew screening
procedures and the development of a new port security protocol.
Decline in EPA Particulate Matter Methods Development Activity May Hamper Timely Achievement of Program Goals.


The EPA notes that it is behind schedule in developing and evaluating the methods the agency uses to measure particulate matter (PM) in outdoor air. Noting that the delay could result in millions of persons being exposed to excess PM, the EPA explains recommendations that the agency’s Office of Air and Radiation implement a comprehensive methods development strategy that will allow state and local agencies to develop emissions control plans to comply with PM standards.


The EPA’s Office of Inspector General proposes that the agency develop specific quantifiable performance indicators and goals to measure and establish baseline data for the effectiveness of programs to ensure water supply security.

EPA Needs to Assess the Quality of Vulnerability Assessments Related to the Security of the Nation’s Water Supply.


The EPA’s Office of Inspector General recommends that the agency analyze the vulnerability assessments submitted by large public utilities under the Public Health Security and Bioterrorism Preparedness and Response Act to determine whether the assessments adequately and comprehensively address terrorist threats.


The author of this thesis explores different strategies to solve a dilemma that the United States faces in the post–September 11 era: the need to increase border security measures versus the need to maintain open trade flows and the unrestricted movement of legitimate traffic and people across the nation’s borders. The author contends that the primary threats to Western Hemisphere nations are not other states but rather transnational problems that elusively cross national boundaries. The author reviews current arguments about North American border security and examines the impact of increased U.S. government funding and personnel on the level of illegal immigration during the period 1994–2003, as well as its impact on national security threats including terrorism and drug smuggling. The author then provides a detailed analysis of the technological systems currently being used to counter these threats, as well as promising systems under development. The author concludes by discussing types of initiatives that have been or could be developed between governments and the private sector to prevent the flow of dangerous persons and cargo over land borders into the United States.


The GAO reviews the response of local and state officials in the areas affected by the anthrax mail attacks in the fall of 2001. Among other conclusions, the GAO finds that the capacities of both the public health workforce and clinical laboratories was limited and that their responses would have been difficult to sustain if the attacks had been more broad-based. The GAO reports that officials have identified lessons for future
preparedness, including more effective communication among responders and with the general public, as well as the importance of a strong public health infrastructure. The GAO additionally notes difficulties faced by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC).

The author of this report examines ways in which current information technology management processes may expose computer systems to attacks by terrorists. The author explores questions such as whether DoD is prepared to mount an information warfare response to a cyberterror attack and whether the need to identify possible terrorist activity infringes on the right of privacy of individuals. The author recommends strategies for government-civilian coordination to prevent cyberterrorism. The author includes a step-by-step description of a typical attack on a computer system.

0886 The “FTO List” and Congress: Sanctioning Designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations.
The author of this report reviews the Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTO) list, consisting of terrorist groups designated by the secretary of state. The thirty-six organizations currently on the FTO list are subject to financial and other sanctions such as the freezing of assets, refusal of visas, and deportation of members. The author evaluates the usefulness of the list as a U.S. counterterrorism tool, as well as the merits of proposals to change the structure and administration of the list.

The authors of this report review the Bush administration’s request to Congress for $87 billion in supplemental appropriations to fund military operations in Iraq as well as in the war on terror in Afghanistan and elsewhere. The authors analyze issues related to specific components of the funding request, such as whether the postwar reconstruction of Iraq should be funded with grants or loans. The authors additionally analyze long-term costs of specific proposals and identify congressional amendments or bills that may arise during the course of congressional consideration of the request.

0957 A Method for Allocating Financial Resources to Combat Terrorism: Optimizing the Reduction of Consequences.
The authors of this technical paper present a mathematical model to use in allocating resources to reduce the vulnerability of the United States to terrorist attacks. Noting that the nation cannot possibly monitor and protect all of its extensive infrastructure continuously, the authors have developed a formalized decision procedure to guide investments that provide the greatest possible protection for the population as a whole.
0974 Public Hearing.

The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States provides the transcript of a hearing in Washington, D.C., on October 14, 2003. The witnesses include former directors and other officials with the CIA and DoD. In this hearing, the witnesses consider the role of intelligence services in the war on terror. The witnesses discuss the organization of and coordination among intelligence agencies, as well as reasons for the failure of the intelligence community to provide warning before the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. The witnesses additionally present suggestions for improving the performance of intelligence agencies, and offer opinions on current proposals to reorganize federal intelligence gathering and analysis, perhaps under a single agency.

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0001 The Scientific Response to Terrorism.

A science and technology committee of the UK House of Commons describes efforts to research and develop countermeasures to chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear (CBRN) weapons that terrorist groups have used or may use. The committee describes overall government programs and policies, as well as specific initiatives in governmental or economic sectors including the military, universities and research councils, public health agencies, fire departments, customs and ports, transportation, food and water, postal service, environmental pollution and protection, emergency medical services, and police. The committee additionally discusses security measures for research facilities, export controls, and national security and the media.

0094 Bioterrorism: A Threat to Agriculture and the Food Supply.

The author of this testimony before a congressional committee identifies several areas in which the U.S. food supply is vulnerable to deliberate contamination by terrorists or others. The author finds, among other things, that the staff of available inspectors is insufficient to handle the magnitude of international passengers and cargo, as well as that federal overseers at food processing plants lack clear authority to impose requirements related to food security.

0113 DoD Roles and Missions in Homeland Security, Volume I.

DoD describes the military’s mandated responsibilities for ensuring homeland security. Noting that the capabilities required to accomplish this mission are “still immature,” DoD explains six areas in which the department is devoting significant effort: developing situational awareness of threats wherever they arise across the world; strengthening information and intelligence sharing; building and protecting the military’s critical infrastructure, including its computer systems; preventing attacks, especially those using ships, cruise missiles, and low-flying aircraft; developing a high degree of emergency preparedness; exporting military skills to other agencies which may be assigned to work with the military; and adding powers and responsibilities to the U.S. Northern Command, which has the responsibility to protect the continental United States.

In this transcript of a hearing before a congressional subcommittee, hearing witnesses and committee members focus on the efforts of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) to train and assist officials of state and local governments to anticipate, prevent, and respond to acts of terrorist groups. Particular emphasis is on congressional bills that would change the formulas used by DHS’s Office of Domestic Preparedness to allocate grants to states and localities for the development of both preparedness and response plans. Witnesses and members additionally devote significant attention to the needs, including the need for federal assistance, of law enforcement agencies that respond to and investigate terrorist attacks.

Public Hearing.

The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States provides the transcript of a hearing in Washington, D.C., on November 19, 2003. The witnesses include federal and state officials, representatives of private organizations, and business persons. In this hearing, the witnesses consider key issues involved in developing the partnerships between government at every level and the private sector that will be needed to protect the U.S. homeland from terrorist attacks. These issues include terrorism risks and consequences for the private sector, insurance companies’ payment of claims arising from the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, public-private initiatives since 9/11, the overall private sector’s experience on 9/11, skyscraper safety, business continuity in emergencies, and private sector preparedness efforts.


The GAO examines the methods that terrorist groups use to earn, move, and store financial assets, as well as difficulties the federal government confronts in attempting to identify and monitor terrorist use of unconventional methods. The GAO finds that terrorists earn money by selling drugs and other goods in the black market, as well as by diverting funds collected by certain charitable organizations. Terrorists transfer funds and launder money by concealing assets through mechanisms such as charities, informal banking systems, and commodities such as precious stones and metals.

An Enhanced Graphical User Interface for Analyzing the Vulnerability of Electrical Power Systems to Terrorist Attacks.

The author of this technical thesis, a Greek army officer, describes a graphical user interface (GUI) to represent electric power grids that are vulnerable to terrorist attacks. The author demonstrates how the GUI displays areas of system vulnerability as well as and shows details of the restoration of power to systems after attacks. The author intends the GUI as an enhancement to an existing software program called VEGA (Vulnerability of Electrical Power Grids Analysis).
0620  **Bounding the Global War on Terrorism.**  
The author of this monograph presents a critical assessment of the Bush administration’s conception of the war on terror. The author expresses particular concern about the administration’s view that al Qaeda and Saddam Hussein’s Iraq form a single, undifferentiated terrorist threat. The author contends that “this was a strategic error of the first order because it ignored critical differences between the two in character, threat level, and susceptibility to U.S. deterrence and military action.” The result has been an “unnecessary” war in Iraq that has diverted attention and resources away from protecting the United States against further attacks by al Qaeda. The author insists that the goals of the war on terror be refocused “to conform to concrete U.S. security interests and the limits of American power.” The author additionally argues that the administration should substitute “credible deterrence for preventive war as the primary vehicle for dealing with rogue states seeking WMD.”

0682  **Countering Transnational Terrorism in Southeast Asia with Respect to Terrorism in Indonesia and the Philippines.**  
The author of this thesis, an Indonesian military officer, examines the magnitude and causes of the threat of terrorism to Southeast Asia. After an introductory overview of the history and current nature of terrorism, the author examines the activities of and threats posed by the terrorist groups al Qaeda and Jamaah Islamiah within Indonesia. The author then identifies possible alliances between these groups and local separatist groups in the Philippines, including the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), and the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG). The author concludes with a review of the U.S. counterterrorist policy in Southeast Asia, with emphasis on cooperative activities with Indonesia and the Philippines.

0779  **The Federal Republic of Germany and Left Wing Terrorism.**  
The author of this thesis examines the experience of West Germany with left-wing terrorist groups such as the Baader-Meinhof gang (also known as the Red Army Faction) and the June 2 Movement since the 1960s. The author describes the formation, history, composition, and goals of the groups, and analyzes their popular appeal. The author then discusses and evaluates the strategies and tactics that the German government employed to combat the terrorists. The author concludes with a review of the lessons learned in Germany, including the finding that the source of the appeal of left-wing terrorist groups was “the disgruntled youth of Germany.”

0860  **Public Hearing.**  
The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States provides the transcript of a hearing in Washington, D.C., on December 8, 2003. In this hearing, the witnesses consider the general problem of how to protect civil liberties while identifying terrorists and safeguarding the nation against their attacks. The witnesses, who appear in panels, discuss intelligence collection in the United States, the protection of privacy in the course of counterterrorist activities, electronic surveillance and search activities under the PATRIOT Act, the use of immigration laws and enemy combatant designations in the preventive detention of suspected terrorists, and the retention by the FBI of the responsibility for collecting terrorism-related intelligence or, as an alternative,
the creation of a national domestic intelligence agency with the primary function of combating and preventing terrorist acts.

0979 National Strategy for Combating Terrorism: Prospects and Implications. 

The author of this thesis examines the role of the military in U.S. counterterrorism strategy before and after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. The author expresses concern that the military may suffer “degradation” in its new role, as well as that serious disagreements on strategy or tactics may arise between military and civilian leaders. The author argues that the U.S. policy of preemptive strikes in Afghanistan and Iraq has strained relations with the international community. In addition, the policy has strained the capabilities of the military. The author believes that the current level of 160,000 troops directly involved in the war on terror cannot be maintained in the long run with an all-volunteer force.
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“We fought as a team.”

This quotation from David Lim, a 9/11 survivor, expresses a sense of unity that has often been an elusive virtue in the fight against terrorism. Lim, an employee of the Port Authority, was trapped with a dozen other rescue workers in the rubble of the World Trade Center. Their struggle for survival lasted for five hours—but they ultimately escaped because, as he said, “We fought as a team.”

Terrorism, Special Studies, 2002–2003, Fifth Supplement brings together reports on many terrorist attacks and organizations, but the main emphasis of this collection is firmly placed on the events surrounding September 11, 2001, and its aftermath.

The studies in this comprehensive collection give complicated, even conflicting portraits of the status of the war on terror and of U.S. policies, plans, and procedures. Such diversity of opinion is natural, considering that these documents come from a variety of sources, including federal agencies, the Congress, research organizations, military colleges, and institutions like the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the UK House of Commons.

If there is a central theme running through this diverse collection, it is the conviction that if the United States is to be secure from terrorism, everyone must work together: intelligence agencies, state and local governments, the military, international allies, private businesses and organizations, and U.S. citizens.