

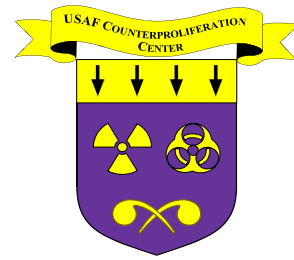
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USAF COUNTERPROLIFERATION CENTER

# CPC OUTREACH JOURNAL

*Air University  
Air War College  
Maxwell AFB, Alabama*



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Editor's Note: In trying to sort through the massive amounts of news after the WTC/Pentagon attacks, I've tried to select a few key articles for this Outreach Journal. I've sorted the articles into the following format: Analytical/General articles, World Reactions, followed by a final section on Military Response. Thanks, Jo Ann

## **ANALYTICAL / GENERAL**

International Herald Tribune  
September 12, 2001  
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### **News Analysis**

## **For Washington, A Modern Pearl Harbor**

*Like the Attack in 1941, Air Terrorism Could Provoke Severe Repercussions*

By Joseph Fitchett, International Herald Tribune

PARIS -- Sending airliners like huge suicide bombers to devastate the symbolic nerve centers of American power, the masterminds of history's most spectacular terrorist act were apparently aiming for an impact on the scale of Pearl Harbor - the Japanese surprise attack in December 1941 that traumatized the United States.

"This is the second Pearl Harbor," said Senator Charles Hagel, a Nebraska Republican who was with President George W. Bush in Florida when the attackers struck.

But the initial images of destruction and disorientation may be deceptive, several terrorism analysts cautioned.

Just as the Japanese wartime strike ultimately aroused U.S. fury and led to Tokyo's defeat, Tuesday's stunning blow may trigger a national outrage that escalates U.S. counterterrorist warfare to new international ferocity.

What was stunning about the attacks was their sophistication and coordination. The ability to strike devastating and nearly simultaneous blows in New York and Washington indicated a level of deadly expertise beyond anything the terrorists have ever shown before.

It will take a giant change in U.S. political and military reflexes to match the worldwide impact of the carnage, lethal symbolism and mayhem in the U.S. system achieved by the assaults. That so many targets could be hit at the same time also suggested the vulnerability of America's relatively open borders and loose security.

The deadly attacks Tuesday must have required help from foreign governments, several officials sources said, citing the degree of coordination, deception and training needed to mount such a complex and determined operation and elude detection by U.S. intelligence.

As television broadcast the unfolding catastrophe, the world watched New Yorkers struggle to deal with panic. Financial markets were closed. Phone service was saturated and largely paralyzed. All passenger flights were grounded throughout the United States.

Emergency services swung into action to limit the damage and rescue survivors, but the havoc left the nation reeling with a new, radical sense of vulnerability.

It was a scenario that made chilling reality of the most audacious disaster movies. Commercial airliners, perhaps piloted by hijackers who died at the controls of the passenger planes, destroyed the two towers of the World Trade Center. Those immense skyscrapers have tempted terrorists before as the symbols of global American economic might.

This time the terrorists succeeded in dropping both towers - reducing them largely to rubble and leaving an unknown number of people crushed in the debris.

The Pentagon and some of the other highest offices in the land were hit and set ablaze amid fears that the White House itself might be hit, despite anti-aircraft defenses that have been erected against suicide pilots.

For people reassessing the threat to the United States, the mayhem carried a double warning. The terrorists employed routine Western technology to strike targets and cripple infrastructure in the United States, using airliners, not missiles or nuclear warheads.

While arming themselves with civilian technology, the kamikaze pilots were apparently recruited from relatively sophisticated backgrounds, enabling them to hijack and pilot passenger planes rather than carry out the missions of suicide bombers of the sort who have been deadly in Israel.

Around the world, government officials and ordinary people seemed stunned by the scale of the terrorists' success.

In Germany, Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder was beginning an interview with a reporter when an aide summoned him to pass the news; he returned looking ashen and apologized that he had to cancel the interview.

People felt that way around the world.

How the United States will eventually react to the disaster is difficult to predict with any precision. But one guide is the backlash against domestic right-wing terrorists that took place after the Oklahoma City bombing. That anger seemed nearly to eliminate rightist fringe groups from the political scene.

"If the unthinkable can happen in the United States, where do you stop thinking about what similar terrorist actions might do against Arab regimes or Israel or any other government?" a French policymaker asked.

Bush administration and European officials and analysts generally took the view that the anti-U.S. attacks originated in the Middle East, probably with backing from the regimes in rogue states.

"The Palestinian leadership would not want this political disaster for themselves, so the culprits are probably Osama bin Laden or some Arab espionage network," speculated Francois Heisbourg, a leading defense expert in France.

"This could not have happened without the help of governments that back terrorists," according to Richard Perle, an adviser to President Bush and a former Pentagon official in the Reagan administration.

The shock of the attack, Mr. Perle said, would galvanize U.S. policy into a systematic policy of retaliating severely against any foreign governments that have helped terrorists working against the United States. Other sources, who declined to be identified, predicted quick U.S. military strikes against targets in the Middle East, probably against Afghanistan, the operating base of the bin Laden network.

Retaliatory strikes might also target Iraq and other countries where regimes have been linked to terror.

"We have got to put certain governments on notice that if they're harboring terrorists they will be held responsible by U.S. power even if Washington does not have the sort of detailed evidence that would be needed to get a conviction in a normal court," Mr. Perle said.

"You have to make it so uncomfortable for rogue governments that they hesitate to back the terrorists," another U.S. official said.

The complex preparations for the attacks likely included training of the pilots, who apparently took over the controls of the hijacked aircraft and flew them into the targeted buildings.

U.S. intelligence agencies intercepted terrorists in 1998 who were planning to simultaneously hijack a dozen airliners in Asia. In that case, individuals were tried and convicted but no foreign government was penalized for the terrorist plot against the United States.

Mr. Perle said that he knew of other cases in which Washington had pre-empted terrorist operations and refrained from punitive actions against regimes in countries suspected of backing the terrorists.

"It is why we left ourselves so vulnerable to an attack that will now cause a lot of second-guessing but where we can only reduce our exposure by facing up to the unpleasant reality that this is the work of enemy governments," he said. The example of Israel, where successive governments have lashed out across frontiers, was cited by many officials as a possible precedent.

Washington Post  
September 12, 2001

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### News Analysis

## **World War, Cold War Won. Now, The Gray War**

By David Von Drehle, Washington Post Staff Writer

Sudden, stealthy and brutal, the terrorist strikes in New York and Washington -- possibly the bloodiest assaults on American soil since the Civil War -- inevitably brought up the memory of Pearl Harbor. But the comparison, while potent, is imperfect.

The Japanese sneak attack on the U.S. fleet felt like something new 60 years ago, but in fact it was quite traditional: a clash of nations and an attempt to project political power, waged by warriors against warriors.

Yesterday, September 11, 2001 -- a date which will live in infamy -- the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by a faceless, stateless enemy apparently lacking any conventional political objective. The United States was brought to a warlike state of emergency -- the president operating from secure military bases, all national air traffic grounded, financial markets closed, offices across the country emptied, lower Manhattan a sealed disaster zone -- but by evening, no one had taken responsibility for the attack or connected it to any particular demand or purpose.

"It is clear now, as it was on Dec. 7, 1941, that the United States is at war," said former CIA director R. James Woolsey in a televised interview. "The question is: with whom?"

This is a new kind of war. Yesterday's attack is, however, a sort of descendant of Pearl Harbor, which pulled the United States into World War II. That was the last global war, a seeming culmination of conventional warfare. What began on Dec. 7, 1941, ended with the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The atomic age brought along its own new kind of war, the Cold War.

The United States won that fight after 40 long years. Having prevailed in the great "hot" and "cold" wars, the bloody muse of history now gives us the Gray War, a war without fronts, without armies, without rules, in which the weapon can be any commercial jet and the target any building anywhere.

"We've witnessed a turn in history," said retired ambassador Morton Abramowitz, former head of intelligence and research at the State Department, "and in the way the United States will look at the world for a long time to come." The 1993 truck bomb attack on the World Trade Center was an opening skirmish, said Daniel Benjamin, a leading anti-terrorism expert for the Clinton administration. That bombing, which killed six people, was a failed attempt to do what yesterday was catastrophically achieved.

"In this new era, the threat is more explicitly religious. There is a desire to create mass casualties among Americans," he said. A particular strand of radical Islamic thinking influences certain terrorists, who believe that the United States is "the corrupting influence in the universe." The point, for these enemies, is not "to score a political

point or to raise the political influence of one group or country," Benjamin explained. It is to kill Americans and undermine Americanism.

This, too, feels new. Terrorism has long been the weapon of the weak against the strong. But the weak had a worldly agenda. John Brown raided Harper's Ferry to end slavery. The Archduke Ferdinand was assassinated in 1914 to drive the Austro-Hungarian empire out of Serbia. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel was shot in 1995 to defeat the Oslo peace process. The current terror bombings in the Middle East are designed to drive Israel out of contested territory.

The goals of the new enemy appear to be almost rhetorical, a terror founded on corpses, but shaped by symbolism. Government officials said yesterday they suspect that Osama bin Laden was a guiding or sponsoring figure behind the attack. Bin Laden is known to loathe and resent American influence around the world.

Yesterday's targets were powerful symbols of that influence. The twin towers of the World Trade Center represented the financial supremacy of Wall Street, while the Pentagon is the center of America's world-dominating military. By damaging, even obliterating, these symbols, the attackers seek to explode the whole idea of American authority.

A zealot by temperament, a millionaire by inheritance, bin Laden is in one sense the sort of menace-without-a-country that figured, cartoonishly, in old James Bond movies. If he was, in fact, the author of the attack, he has a deeply cinematic imagination. Images wrought by the attack in New York yesterday were right out of a big-budget Hollywood production, and made the reality almost impossible to believe.

But real it was, and awful even beyond the jaded sensibility of news junkies, and remorselessly cold. As far as we know there was not a word spoken in justification of the attacks. Without negotiation or pity, the jets smashed with their doomed passengers into their targets.

President Bush spoke of "thousands" dead, meaning that Sept. 11 can compare with only a few days in American history. At Pearl Harbor, 2,403 people were killed and 1,178 wounded; of the dead, only 68 were civilians, most of them killed in Honolulu by errant bombs. On April 17, 1862 -- the nation's worst day of carnage -- some 23,000 Union and Confederate soldiers were killed, wounded or went missing at the Battle of Antietam.

There are some clear, immediate lessons in the twisted symbols the day.

Distance has been conquered, for example. While this idea has been talked about in glowing terms in recent years -- how the cellphone and the Internet and the fax machine and the jet have all shrunk the world and lowered its boundaries -- yesterday's attacks are the dark face of a small world. The two oceans and the safe borders that gave the United States nearly two centuries of fortress security mean nothing to the nation's Gray War enemies.

Or another, even more jarring: We are all soldiers now. Anyone can be awarded a Purple Heart in this war, or be killed in action. The new warfare moves the military even further to the periphery and takes the battle to the civilians.

If the World Trade Center is a symbol, then so can a small-town City Hall be a symbol -- of American complacency or vulnerability. A person can be killed for being on a particular airplane, or for being a New York City firefighter, or for working in a skyscraper. As the president put it in his speech last night: "The victims were in airplanes or in their offices -- secretaries, business men and women, military and federal workers, moms and dads, friends and neighbors."

Put these these two facts together, and you might conclude that fighting this war will be a grim business, minus the clear-cut heroism of the hot wars or the gadgetry of the cold.

On a street corner in New York yesterday, Justin Hudnall, 20, a student at New York University, puffed a cigarette and indulged a Greatest Generation notion. "I don't think the draft would have been a possibility for [my] generation in this country before today," he said. "But now, the natural response is to do something. I'd like to be lifting something or doing something."

However, Benjamin, having spent several years inside the White House weighing the realities of this new warfare, believes the sacrifices involved this time may be quite different. This war cannot be fought antiseptically with lasers or satellites. Instead, the familiar inconvenience of air travel is likely to become much, much worse; the entrenched surroundings of public buildings even more forbidding.

"There is likely to be a complete change in the posture of police and national security authorities," he predicted. By which he means more surveillance, more covert operations, more walks on the shady side, in general, a response likely "to strike a lot of people as an unacceptable assault on civil liberties. There will be strong constituencies on both sides," he said.

In other words, this war may renew an old American battle, citizen against citizen: What We Stand For versus What It Takes.

Many commentators -- politicians, diplomats, historians -- said yesterday that the nation will long remember Sept. 11 with an intensity reserved for only a few essential shocks: the Kennedy assassination, Pearl Harbor, such as these.

If this is true, it will be because these attacks truly were the first step down a very dark and dangerous alley. This will have been the day that the country deeply understood the maxim of Leon Trotsky, the Russian revolutionary. There are no bystanders, there is no neutrality, when it comes to war. "You may not be interested in war," Trotsky said. "But war is interested in you."

USA Today  
September 12, 2001  
Pg. 7

## **Homeland Defense Needs Now 'Grim Reality'**

By Bill Nichols, USA Today

WASHINGTON — U.S. counter-terrorism and emergency management specialists feared a day like Tuesday would come. Precautions were taken. Possible disaster scenarios were devised and practiced. But in the wake of the terrorist bombings of New York City's World Trade Center and the Pentagon, government officials and security experts said nothing could have prepared the country for a day unlike any in U.S. history. "You try to prepare for emergencies," said a shaken New York Gov. George Pataki, who said he was still trying to get news about friends who worked in the two demolished World Trade Center towers. "But there's no way you can prepare for anything like this."

Not everyone, however, will agree with that. As the shock begins to fade from the multiple attacks on some of America's most preeminent symbols of freedom and democracy, questions are going to be asked. The central one: How on earth could this happen?

U.S. officials have made extensive efforts toward stopping potential terrorist attacks by Saudi-born terrorist Osama bin Laden. Just before the turn of the millennium in 1999, the Clinton administration believed it did stop bin Laden from staging a series of terrorist bombings within the USA.

The country's counter-terrorism community constantly stages war games for potential scenarios — terrorist bombings as well as chemical or biological warfare — to gauge U.S. readiness and be sure the United States has the resources to meet such threats.

Clearly, in this case, all the preparation didn't work. Already on Capitol Hill, some lawmakers were demanding answers as to how the vaunted U.S. intelligence system apparently could have had no clue that such a broad and intricately choreographed attack was in the works.

The State Department has had a worldwide terrorist warning since June 22, placing U.S. forces on heightened alert. That alert was heightened last Friday to specifically include U.S. military installations in Japan and Korea. Security at U.S. ports of entry also has been strengthened since the terrorist attack on the USS Cole last October.

Administration intelligence officials said they have had indications in recent weeks of an increased risk of an attack on U.S. installations overseas. But there are no indications that administration intelligence assets were on guard to try to counter an attack of this scope at home.

"Today our government failed the American people," Rep. Curt Weldon, R-Pa., told CNN. "Our FBI and CIA are there to intercept raw data. ... This is a failure that was caused by a lack of resources and a complacency that has overtaken America in the past few years."

The attack was so unexpected that a joint FBI/CIA anti-terrorist task force that specifically prepared for this type of disaster was on a training exercise in Monterey, Calif. As of late Tuesday, with airports closed around the country, the task force still hadn't found a way to fly back to Washington.

Ironically, the major homeland protection focus of the Bush administration has been on building a missile-defense shield to protect against nuclear missile attack.

Such a shield would have done nothing to stop what happened Tuesday. And once regular business resumes in Washington, the administration can expect a vastly different focus to the debate on how to defend U.S. territory.

"In one horrible moment, the need for homeland defense has gone from being a theoretical risk to a grim reality," said Tony Cordesman, a military and Middle East expert at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

"Not one of us in government or counter-terrorist experts outside government believed that anyone was capable of launching an attack with this degree of lethality and coordination," Cordesman said.

Sen. Joseph Biden, D-Del., who chairs the Foreign Relations Committee, warned in a speech Monday that the administration was de-emphasizing threats other than a missile attack at its peril.

"Even the Joint Chiefs say that a strategic nuclear attack is less likely than a regional conflict, a major theater war, terrorist attacks at home or abroad, or any number of other real issues," Biden said.

If the administration proceeds with building a missile-defense system, he said, the country will have "diverted all that money to address the least likely threat, while the real threat comes to this country in the hold of a ship, the belly of a plane, or smuggled into a city in the middle of the night in a vial in a backpack."

Ironically, members of a House defense appropriations subcommittee were about to meet to discuss moving \$800 million from the administration's budget request for missile defense into counter-terrorism efforts on Tuesday, when the attacks began. The meeting was cancelled.

The attacks also will unquestionably prompt a review of security procedures at Washington institutions such as the White House, Pentagon and State Department.

Among the questions being asked here: How could the Pentagon, the center of the U.S. defense establishment, not be prepared to defend itself against an attack by an airplane?

Spokesman Rear Adm. Craig Quigley said the Pentagon has no anti-aircraft defense system that he is aware of. The White House is assumed to have surface-to-air missiles available for protection. The problem, according to past and present government officials, is who makes a decision to fire a missile at an incoming airplane in the midst of downtown Washington.

Any proposed security upgrades could be controversial in a city celebrated for its openness and where millions of visitors come each year.

Secret Service officials already were roundly criticized for shutting down Pennsylvania Avenue in front of the White House during the Clinton administration because of fears of car or truck bomb attack. That level of precaution could look minor compared with steps that may be taken now.

Imagine this scene at the most venerated building in America: At approximately 9:40 a.m. ET, according to press aide Rachel Sunbarger, a Secret Service guard burst into the White House lower press office, saying, "If I tell everybody to run, you run." Five minutes later, he returned, saying, "Get out now."

On a human level, Washington seemed to react to a day of catastrophe with grace and courage. On the city's subway, which was essentially the only way to get anywhere during the chaotic morning hours, passengers shared news bulletins and encouragement.

Throughout the city, calls and e-mails flooded in, all asking the same question: "Are you OK?"

The effect of this, however, both psychologically and in how the government decides to change the way the country protects itself, likely will transform America's way of life forever.

Said Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz.: "I don't think our lifestyles will be the same for a good long while."

*Contributing: Joan Biskupic, Jack Kelley, Jessica Lee, Ed Foster-Simeon, Barbara Slavin and Jonathan Weisman*

London Daily Telegraph

September 12, 2001

## **No Limits For New Breed Of Terrorist**

***Bin Laden has changed the rules with his blatant disregard for public opinion.***

By Michael Smith, Defence Correspondent

Cruise missile strikes on Osama bin Laden's bases in Afghanistan looked increasingly likely last night as President Bush and America's National Security Council debated how to respond to the attacks.

United States warships in the Gulf would be immediately capable of launching attacks similar to those that followed the 1998 bombing of the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in which 233 people died.

But they appeared to do only minimal damage to the determined and well organised Al-Qaeda terrorist organisation set up by bin Laden, leaving even the overwhelming military might of America apparently impotent.

Mr Bush promised that the US would "hunt down and punish those responsible for these cowardly acts". But British security sources said the attack had bin Laden's fingerprints all over it.

The Saudi-born bin Laden, known simply as "UBL" to Western counter-terrorism agencies (who use a different spelling of his first name) is the most prominent by far of a new breed of terrorist who do not play by the old rules. The Palestinian terrorists who hijacked a series of aircraft across the world and the IRA bombers who destroyed Bishopsgate shared one common purpose, a desire to draw attention to their cause.

The results of their terrorist attacks had to grab the headlines, and the television coverage. For that to happen they had to be spectacular and, if necessary lives, had to be lost.

But there were clear limits on the number of people who could be killed. If they inflicted true carnage, they would lose the sympathy for their cause that the attacks were in part designed to build up.

Bin Laden has, almost singlehandedly, changed the rules with his blatant disregard for public opinion and willingness to inflict indiscriminate killing that may even extend to weapons of mass destruction. His attacks were more a form of asymmetrical warfare than terrorism.

During his previous attack on the World Trade Centre, in 1993, his men tried to bring one of the two towers down on the other while simultaneously releasing a cloud of arsenic gas, killing everyone in the surrounding area.

The fact that they failed should not have stopped an immediate and complete rethink of the conventional wisdom on how to deal with terrorists. America, however, was slow to recognise the need for new thinking.

It was only in May this year, amid an increased threat to US interests at home and abroad, that under orders from President Bush the American intelligence agencies embarked on a complete review of their counter-terrorism policy. Under the current system, the FBI has primary responsibility for counter-terrorism but there are at least 50 agencies controlling different anti-terrorist units across America, making co-ordination virtually impossible.

Many have little or no knowledge of the very real threat to America posed by bin Laden and although it is in the frontline of that threat, the US is struggling to match the capabilities of the European agencies.

The review is expected to call for a much more centralised system, with extra roles in domestic security for the Central Intelligence Agency and about £6 billion spent on improving protection against terrorism threats to the US homeland over the next decade.

MIS's counter-terrorism experts offered assistance yesterday in tracking down who was responsible but British security experts said the attacks had all the hallmarks of "a UBL attack".

In the long term the review of US counter-terrorism will help to prevent the large-scale security failures that allowed so many civil aircraft to be hijacked simultaneously.

But if bin Laden was responsible, America will find it difficult to bring him to justice. Its diplomatic options are limited by the fact that it does not recognise the Taliban regime in Kabul, which protects him.

It has nevertheless been attempting for some time to persuade the Taliban to extradite him to America, most recently two weeks ago, but without success.

The FBI has flooded the border areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan with matchbooks carrying bin Laden's photograph and a promise of a £3 million reward for information leading to his capture.

But the extent of yesterday's attacks, easily constituting an act of war, and recent reports that the Taliban leader, Mohammed Omar, has appointed bin Laden as the head of his armed forces may well lead to a far more radical US response.

It is unlikely to be opposed by Russia, which led the attacks on the Taliban over the appointment of bin Laden, and is extremely concerned over the effect the Kabul regime may have on the Islamic central Asian republics.

In a letter of condolence to President Bush, Russia's President Vladimir Putin said: "There is no doubt such an inhuman act must not go unpunished."

If America does decide that bin Laden was responsible, the Taliban could well face a stark choice between handing him over very quickly and a barrage of cruise missiles aimed not just at his bases but at their own.

Washington Post  
September 13, 2001  
Pg. 3

## **Text Of Bush Statement**

By Associated Press

*Text of President Bush's statement yesterday, as transcribed by eMediaMillWorks Inc.:*

I just completed a meeting with our national security team, and we've received the latest intelligence updates.

The deliberate and deadly attacks, which were carried out yesterday against our country, were more than acts of terror. They were acts of war. This will require our country to unite in steadfast determination and resolve. Freedom and democracy are under attack.

The American people need to know we're facing a different enemy than we have ever faced. This enemy hides in shadows and has no regard for human life. This is an enemy who preys on innocent and unsuspecting people, then runs for cover, but it won't be able to run for cover forever. This is an enemy that tries to hide, but it won't be able to hide forever. This is an enemy that thinks its harbors are safe, but they won't be safe forever. This enemy attacked not just our people but all freedom-loving people everywhere in the world.

The United States of America will use all our resources to conquer this enemy. We will rally the world. We will be patient. We'll be focused, and we will be steadfast in our determination. This battle will take time and resolve, but make no mistake about it, we will win.

The federal government and all our agencies are conducting business, but it is not business as usual. We are operating on heightened security alert. America is going forward, and as we do so, we must remain keenly aware of the threats to our country.

Those in authority should take appropriate precautions to protect our citizens. But we will not allow this enemy to win the war by changing our way of life or restricting our freedoms.

This morning, I am sending to Congress a request for emergency funding authority so that we are prepared to spend whatever it takes to rescue victims, to help the citizens of New York City and Washington, D.C., respond to this tragedy, and to protect our national security.

I want to thank the members of Congress for their unity and support. America is united. The freedom-loving nations of the world stand by our side. This will be a monumental struggle of good versus evil, but good will prevail.

Thank you very much.

New York Times  
September 13, 2001

## **Powell Says It Clearly: No Middle Ground On Terrorism**

By Jane Perlez

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12 — Secretary of State Colin L. Powell marshaled a broad diplomatic effort today, talking to allied governments and sending stern messages to other countries that they can no longer remain neutral in the fight against terrorism.

Foreign nations were being given an immediate black and white choice in their relationship with the United States. "You're either with us or against us," was the message that went out today, a senior administration official said.

To that end, the administration today began to apply pressure to Pakistan, a country that has been accused of providing support for Osama bin Laden and giving his militant Islamic organization the freedom to operate. The director of the Pakistani Interservices Intelligence, Gen. Mahmoud Ahmad, who happened to be here on a regular visit of consultations, was called into the State Department today to meet with Deputy Secretary Richard L. Armitage.

In the last few months, the Bush administration has asked Pakistan to cut its ties with the Taliban, who rule most of Afghanistan, and to stop any of its officials from providing help to Osama bin Laden.

At today's session, the Pakistani security chief was told, according to an official, "It ain't what you say, it's what you do." This was apparently a reference to the statement issued after Tuesday's attack by the Pakistani leader, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, expressing sympathy with the United States.

Several administration officials said today that a list was being prepared of what the United States wanted from Pakistan, which in response to nuclear tests by India in 1998 also conducted nuclear tests. Among the top items was access to Pakistan's intelligence on Osama bin Laden. This would be of major assistance in planning an assault against him and his network.

The new United States ambassador to Pakistan, Wendy Chamberlin, is scheduled to present her credentials to General Musharraf in Islamabad on Thursday. The administration was expecting some answers from the general at that session, officials said.

The implicit signal to Pakistan today was that if it did not choose to co-operate with the United States, then it could find itself a target in any retaliation for Tuesday's attack.

"The American people made a judgment — we are at war," Secretary Powell told one television interviewer today. "What they believe they saw clearly was an act of war."

It was a theme picked up later by President Bush in his statement at the White House, and then used for the rest of the day by administration officials. Secretary Powell, who was one of the key players in building the global coalition that the United States used in the Persian Gulf war in 1991, said the administration was seeking military and political backing in the short term for its response to the terror attack. It was also looking for long-term help.

"We're building a strong coalition to go after these perpetrators, but more broadly, to go after terrorism wherever we find it in the world," he said at a State Department briefing. "This will be a major priority of the administration, and I can assure you it will therefore be a major priority of the State Department."



But how this coalition would actually work and what its members would be required to do militarily remained vague, senior State Department officials said. The role of Middle East countries, whose populations have been so angered by the administration's perceived embrace of Israel, was not specified.

As he went about his coalition building, Secretary Powell spoke to European foreign ministers to thank them for the NATO resolution, adopted today, that would be likely to result in military help from the alliance if the United States took retaliatory action. He also spoke to the Russian foreign minister, Igor S. Ivanov, as well as to leaders in Israel, Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. He was fairly insistent that the coalition would include Muslim nations, just as it did in the war against Iraq. "It should include Muslim nations," Secretary Powell said. "Muslim nations have just as much to fear from terrorism that strikes at innocent civilians."

Jordan — which has provided important intelligence to Washington about terrorists in the past several years but has been quietly critical of the administration's approach to the Middle East crisis — was ready to "lend support in any way," said the Jordanian ambassador to the United States, Marwan Muasher. The envoy said he had already received calls of appreciation from the White House.

The emphasis on reaching out today — to the United Nations secretary general, Kofi Annan, as well as to leaders of other nations — appeared in stark contrast to the unilateral stance that the Bush administration was often perceived to have taken in foreign policy in its first eight months.

Overnight, the administration was forced to change gears from an overriding emphasis on missile defense, a policy that threatened serious problems with European allies, Russia and China.

In the Senate, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Joseph R. Biden Jr., Democrat of Delaware, said that Tuesday's attack had instantly transformed American foreign policy into one of seeking multilateral help.

In some ways, the Russians, who now see common cause with the United States in a war against terrorism, were bending over backward to be helpful — particularly on Afghanistan. Russia and the United States have been quietly working in the last few months to try to isolate the Taliban.

Mr. Armitage, who is chairman of a joint United States-Russia task force on Afghanistan, was scheduled to leave for Moscow over the weekend to meet with senior Russian officials and discuss their assessments of Mr. bin Laden and his militant Islamic organization.

Secretary Powell opened his day with five television interviews this morning, striding between camera positions on the mezzanine floor at the State Department as he telegraphed his message around the world: the United States feels itself to be at war but is also seeking allies in that battle.

Washington Post  
September 13, 2001  
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## **Foreign Policy Consequences Huge**

### ***Missile Shield, Mideast, Security Likely to Be Influenced***

By John Lancaster and Greg Schneider, Washington Post Staff Writers

The worst terrorist attack in American history is sure to have profound consequences for U.S. foreign policies on missile defense and the Middle East, as Washington scrambles to reconsider its security needs in a suddenly altered world.

With the death toll rising, there is broad agreement among policymakers about the need for stepped-up spending on "homeland defense," rather than the theater war-fighting capability that has dominated American military planning since the end of the Cold War.

"The splendid isolation that we've enjoyed because of our geography -- the two great ocean moats -- is now being lost to what some people have called the death of distance, the ability for people to move more freely, the concentration of ever-more-destructive power in the hands of small groups of individuals," said Andrew Krepinevich, an adviser to Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld who heads the nonpartisan Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments.

But opinions diverge sharply on how to meet that threat -- especially with regard to the Bush administration's pursuit of a national ballistic missile defense system, which has strained relations with allies as well as with Russia and China.

Though eager to avoid appearances of partisanship in the midst of a national emergency, some Democrats have begun to cite Tuesday's attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in arguing that missile defenses are irrelevant to the low-tech terrorism they see as the gravest threat to American security.

"I am hoping that it focuses people on what we've been saying all along," said Rep. John F. Tierney (D-Mass.), a leading critic of the Bush plan. "This type of incident . . . is much higher on the list of threats than anything the president would address with his national missile defense program."

Republicans counter that, if anything, the assaults only underscore the vulnerability of American cities to foreign attack and the need to protect them by all available means, including defenses against limited missile attacks by states such as North Korea or Iran.

"I believe the American people are going to be roused out of an unwarranted sense of security to reflect upon their vulnerability and the desire of some people around the world to take advantage of it," said Frank Gaffney, head of the Center for Security Policy. "And there is no more egregious example of our vulnerability than our complete inability to stop even a single [ballistic] missile."

The attacks have also challenged basic assumptions of American diplomacy, especially in the Middle East, where the Bush administration has generally kept its distance from Palestinian-Israeli violence. Some foreign policy experts contend that the attacks -- if they turn out to have been executed by Islamic extremists sympathetic to the Palestinian cause -- could drive a wedge between moderate Arabs and militants and thus provide an opening for new American efforts to end the violence.

Jon Alterman, a Middle East specialist at the U.S. Institute of Peace, a Washington think tank, compared the attacks to the 1997 massacre of foreign tourists in Luxor, Egypt, an event that turned many Egyptians against Islamic militants with whom they previously had a degree of sympathy. "It creates an opportunity for the United States to win over hearts and minds," he said.

Shibley Telhami, a Middle East specialist at the University of Maryland, gave voice to a similar hope but said the administration should not make the mistake of trying to eradicate terrorism while ignoring the context in which it occurs. "You have to deal with this anger as well as eliminate the terror, and in order to do that you have to have a policy based on political solutions that address fairly the interests of both sides," he said.

But Dennis Ross, the Clinton administration's top Middle East negotiator, said the first order of business for Bush should be to turn up the heat on moderate Arab governments that turn a blind eye to the anti-American venom that permeates much of the Arab media.

"They have to look at themselves in terms of what they have done to create a climate in which this kind of behavior is somehow seen as legitimate and acceptable," he said.

For now, however, the main focus is closer to home. Yesterday afternoon, lawmakers and White House officials were negotiating over the size of an emergency spending bill that would cover immediate needs relating to airport security, counterterrorism capabilities and other costs associated with the carnage.

In the longer term, said Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman Carl M. Levin (D-Mich.), Congress will be open to any legitimate request for increased defense spending, especially for human intelligence activities. Asked about missile defense, he said that, while the attacks raised questions about the relevancy of a missile shield, he and his Senate colleagues would seek to work out disagreements or defer any decision that would indicate dissent.

"There will be a tremendous effort to avoid any lack of cohesion. . . . The unity here is palatable," he said. "The public wants us to pull together."

Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman (D-Conn.) said the lesson from the attacks cut both ways on the missile defense argument. "It certainly shows we're vulnerable to more than missile attack," he said, but it also showed "we're vulnerable to missiles too."

Defense had been limping through the budget debate, with generals pleading for money to replace aging weapon systems and the administration struggling to find the political will to revamp military spending priorities set during the Cold War. All of that changes because of the attacks.

"There's no question that this is going to lead to an increase in defense spending, but probably the more important thing is that it's going to lead to a shift in defense priorities," said Loren Thompson, a defense consultant with the Lexington Institute, a conservative think tank.

The attacks were a "wake-up call" demonstrating that America needs to rethink the way it spends money on the military, said Rep. Jerry Lewis (R-Calif.), chairman of the defense subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee.

"This is the next war that many of us have known about for some time and tried to get people to pay attention to," said Lewis, who added that he was just about to gavel into session the committee's markup of the 2002 defense budget when news of the attacks broke.

"Clearly it sends the message that the war ahead of us immediately is a terror war. We need to give priority to it," Lewis said.

International Herald Tribune

September 13, 2001

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News Analysis

## **Striking Back: Harsh New Tactics?**

By Joseph Fitchett, International Herald Tribune

PARIS - Retaliating effectively for the terrorist strike that humbled American power will take years and require the United States to use overwhelming force - perhaps including political assassination - in ways shunned by Washington in recent decades, Western officials and experts said Wednesday.

To restore U.S. credibility, they said, the Bush administration may well need to commit American armed forces to ground attacks to capture or kill terrorist leaders and overthrow regimes that help or harbor them.

"Washington has to be ready ultimately to send in forces - probably airborne - to seize and temporarily hold the capital of a hostile regime or the center of power of an organization, sustaining the inevitable percentage of U.S. casualties," according to Francois Heisbourg, a leading defense expert in France.

For the Pentagon and Congress, such tactics contradict the thrust of U.S. military thinking favoring a doctrine of "zero loss" that has avoided committing ground troops and relied heavily on air power and long-distance precision weapons.

But it also limited Washington to a counterterrorist approach that relied on missile retaliation - often derided as a "pin-prick approach" - and preventive intelligence, which apparently failed totally this time.

In what appears to be a new era for U.S. actions against terrorism, the sources outlined a menu of options for the Bush administration to disrupt terrorist organizations.

This included:

- Re-authorization of political assassination as an option for U.S. policy, including the deliberate targeting of individual adversaries with missile strikes.
- Open U.S. support for foreign surrogate forces to make war on regimes backing international terrorism.
- Punitive expeditions by U.S. troops, including perhaps airborne forces or landings by the Marines, to seize capitals or other sensitive territory long enough to overthrow terrorist regimes.
- A new international coalition of Western governments and Russia against the terrorist offensive.

Mr. Heisbourg suggested that Washington seek an emergency summit meeting of leaders of the G-8, the club of leading industrial nations and Russia. "This is a defining moment for this is the time when Washington should call on its allies for all-out support and expect to get it," he said.

"Since yesterday, we are in a new era, a pivotal moment in which the United States and its allies are going to define themselves and their relationship for the coming decades," a French official said.

Washington needs to meet the challenge to U.S. credibility and leadership, he said, and should be able to expect full cooperation from its allies - and probably Russia. "Now we have to worry less about Chechnya because peacetime standards are not going to stand and you are going to do things you wouldn't normally do," the official said.

"I hope this is going to make us serious enough to go beyond just looking for the specific perpetrators and take on the governments and other backers who provide suicide bombers, funding, technological capabilities, intelligence - all the different groups and functions enabling terrorist organizations to operate like multinationals," according to Richard Perle, a Bush administration adviser who is influential on anti-terrorist policy.

If the U.S. adopts an stance along these lines, the obvious assassination targets include Osama bin Laden, the Saudi-born terrorist mastermind, and Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi leader who has vowed to expend his country's total efforts to damage the United States.

"Don't worry about making a martyr out of either man now that the terrorists have had such an inspirational success for recruits to an ongoing, escalating holy war against the United States," a U.S. intelligence source said.

The orchestrated onslaught Tuesday seemed to crown a series of operations by the bin Laden network that included an earlier attack on the World Trade Center, the bombing of U.S. barracks in Saudi Arabia and attacks on a U.S. warship in Aden.

An immediate option against Mr. bin Laden, sources said, would be for the United States to throw open military support in Afghanistan behind the rebels resisting the Taleban regime in Kabul.

"We need to send a signal to the Taleban and the rest of the world that they are going to lose power," according to Reuel Gerecht, a former intelligence specialist on Islamic terrorism.

U.S. readiness to engage in all-out military actions - including punitive expeditions involving heavy loss of life and destruction in target cities, the near-certainty of at least minimal American casualties and with a new U.S. readiness to disregard inhibitions on using U.S. military strength - is in the cards now for Washington, according to these sources, who include European officials.

"Pearl Harbor cost 2,304 American lives, so this even deadlier attack means that Washington has to do the kind of things that the United States did in World War II that ultimately took them to Tokyo," the French official said.

Hitting back at terrorist installations with cruise missiles, a reprisal tactic favored by the Clinton administration, has little place in U.S. policy in the wake of the devastating losses sustained this week, the sources said.

Even efforts to get more and better U.S. counterintelligence will be secondary and perhaps misguided, according to Mr. Gerecht, who said that "this challenge cannot be crushed by actions carried out behind a veil."

The core of President George W. Bush's declaration of U.S. intentions in the new, shadowy war against terrorism came in a phrase in his address Tuesday night on television: the United States, he said, would make "no distinction between the terrorists who committed the attacks and those who harbor them."

This approach will require time and a deliberate signal from Washington that it is gearing up for a major war, not just tactical retaliation.

The United States used force to change the regime in Panama in 1990, when U.S. troops waged a two-week campaign to reach the capital, capture President Manuel Noriega and replace him.

But Washington turned wary of committing U.S. ground forces after Somali guerrillas mauled American special forces in an ambush in Mogadishu in a one-day battle in October 1993.

Logistically and politically, the Middle East would be even more inaccessible and probably more hostile as an environment for U.S. ground troops waging punitive expeditions or trying to seize capitals to eliminate terrorist leaders.

To reach Afghanistan, for example, the United States would have to rely mainly on paratroopers to even seize a guerrilla base and then might face great difficulties in resupplying and sustaining a ground force.

Neighboring Pakistan, nominally friendly to the United States, has close political and ideological links with the Taleban and would not cooperate with a U.S. action against Kabul.

Washington will have to use power in ways that it hesitated to adopt in the era of moral competition during the cold war. Currently, government agencies, including the military, are barred from deliberately trying to physically eliminate foreign leaders.

Assassination - either covertly or by missile attacks deliberately aimed at terrorists or national leaders backing them - is currently banned for U.S. government agencies.

But the prohibition is contained in a presidential directive, not a law or congressional statute. By signing a new order, Mr. Bush could bring back this option, currently used openly by Israel against Palestinian leaders.

Terrorist leaders can also be exposed to physical elimination if the United States resorts to using more destructive weapons against their headquarters whenever they can be located.

"To be effective in killing people, you need cluster bombs, even napalm, not cruise missiles" of the sort designed for pinpoint accuracy and minimal casualties among nearby civilians, according to Mr. Gerecht.

Before deploying U.S. strike forces, Washington can use surrogate forces - giving stronger backing to the Iraqi opposition, for example, or helping the coalition in Afghanistan, known as the northern alliance, which is fighting the Taleban, Mr. Bin Laden's protectors.

For months now, the alliance has been reported to be getting a trickle of covert assistance from the CIA, mainly in the form of communications equipment and expertise from U.S. specialists who try at the same time to eavesdrop on the phone conversations of the bin Laden group.

The anti-Taleban forces sustained a major loss last Sunday when their charismatic leader, Ahmed Shah Massoud, was killed or at least badly injured by a suicide bomber. Even without his leadership, specialists said, the alliance coalition could quickly threaten Kabul and other key Taleban strongholds if it received advanced weapons from Washington.

Similar theories surfaced about stepped-up U.S. military action against the Iraqi regime of Saddam Hussein. If an Iraqi role in terrorism surfaced now, Mr. Heisbourg said, "you might have to end up with U.S. Marines in Kabul or Baghdad or some other capital for a limited occupation."

Coalition warfare against terrorism is an overriding threat. British, French and other European leaders seemed to foreshadow strong allied support for a new, bare-knuckled U.S. war on terrorism.

Time.com  
September 12, 2001

## Inside The Plot

*In an excerpt from TIME's forthcoming special issue, TIME's exclusive reporting on the terror in the sky and the plotting on the ground.*

Only God knows what kind of heroic acts took place at 25,000 feet as passengers and crews contended with four teams of highly trained enemy terrorists. But it is clear that the hunt for the culprits began way up in the sky, by the doomed passengers and crews themselves, minutes before the attacks took place. The victims on board at least two of the four planes whispered the number and even some of the seat assignments of the terrorists along with their final goodbyes in their brief and haunting Tuesday morning cell phone calls. A flight attendant on board American Flight 11 called her airline's flight operations center in Dallas on a special airlinK line and reported that passengers were being stabbed.

That gave investigators a head start Tuesday morning that something had gone terribly wrong, but there were plenty of other clues. Even before the smoke had cleared, it was obvious that the culprits knew their way around a Boeing cockpit — and all the security weaknesses in the U.S. civil aviation system. The enemy had chosen the quietest day of the week for the operation, when there would be fewer passengers to subdue; they had boarded westbound transcontinental flights — planes fully loaded with kerosene; armed with makeshift knives and retractable knives; they had gained access to the cockpits and herded everyone to the back of the plane. Once there, they turned off the aircraft's self-identifying beacons known as transponders, a move which renders the planes somewhat less visible to air traffic controllers. And each aircraft performed dramatic but carefully executed course corrections, including a stunning last maneuver by flight 77. The pilot of that plane came in low from the south of the Pentagon and pulled a 270-degree turn before slamming into the west wall of the building.

### **The hunt for those responsible**

By Tuesday afternoon, the spooks were making progress. Eavesdroppers at the supersecret National Security Agency had picked up at least two electronic intercepts indicating the terrorists had ties to bin Laden. By nightfall, less than 12 hours after the attacks, US officials told TIME that their sense that he was involved had gotten closer to what one senior official said was 90 percent. The next morning, US officials told TIME they have evidence that each of the four terrorist teams had a certified pilot with them, some of whom had flown for Saudi Airlines. It's not yet clear whether the pilots were trained in the US, or in Saudi Arabia or both. Intelligence officials believe each team had four to five persons. Some team members, it is thought by US intelligence, crossed the Canadian border to get into the U.S. TIME has learned that within the past few months, the FBI placed two men associated with an Islamic Jihad terror group on a border watch list, but through a screwup, the pair got into the U.S. anyway. The two men appear to have been on American Airlines Flight 77, the plane that crashed into the Pentagon, TIME has learned. Boston appears to have been a central hub for the operation; U.S. intelligence believes a bin Laden cell in Florida was a support group helping with the aviation aspects of the attack.

Intelligence officials pouring over old reports believe they got their first inkling of planning for the attack last June, although at the time the intelligence was too vague to indicate the scale of the operation. In the summer U.S. embassies, particularly those in the Middle East, were put on heightened alert. The U.S. military in the region moved to a higher level of alert. The CIA was getting vague reports "of some kind of spectacular happenings" by terrorists, said a U.S. intelligence official, but the reports were vague as to timing. "A lot of this reporting we had in the summer that gained our attention and had us concerned, but wasn't specific, could have been tied to this," said U.S. intelligence officials.

Even had they known more, could officials ever have contemplated the scale of this thing? The blasts were so powerful that counter-terrorism teams have begun asking the airlines for fuel loads on the plane; aviation experts have been asked to calculate the explosive yield of each blast —in kiloton terms. The reason? Washington wants to see if the planes amounted to weapons of mass destruction. "What we want people to realize is they've crossed a line here," said a U.S. intelligence official. In fact, some senior administration officials are considering drafting a declaration of war, although the State Department is leery since nobody knows precisely who the war would be against.

### **Placing the blame**

"Anyone who says this is not an intelligence failure is blowing smoke. This is an intelligence failure and a security failure," said Lt. Gen. (ret.) William Odom, former head of the National Security Agency (NSA) and the former head of US Army intelligence. "The security guys will blame it on the intelligence guys and the intelligence guys will tell us the great successes they had in the past."

Washington Post  
September 13, 2001  
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## **Bin Laden: A 'Master Impresario'**

### ***Saudi Fugitive Spouts Militant Rhetoric, but Ties to Violence Remain***

#### ***Mysterious***

By Michael Dobbs, Washington Post Staff Writer

For the past few months, a videotape has been circulating in the Middle East showing Osama bin Laden appealing to his followers to join a "holy war" against the United States. Wearing white robes and a Yemeni dagger, the fugitive Saudi millionaire goes on to thank Allah for the "destruction" of a U.S. warship in Aden, Yemen.

The 100-minute videotape, a mixture of militant rhetoric and rambling theology, offers insight into the propaganda methods of a man who U.S. officials have depicted as the leading suspect in Tuesday's terrorist attacks in New York and Washington. Although he openly rejoices in last October's bombing of the USS Cole, and calls for more "blood and destruction" in the months ahead, he stops short of claiming responsibility for the incident.

Since the Persian Gulf War in 1991, bin Laden has used his public statements to create an image as the leader of a religious struggle on behalf of the disgruntled and the dispossessed of the Islamic world. At the same time, he has maintained an air of mystery about his involvement in specific terrorist acts and his degree of control over a worldwide network of supporters known in Arabic as al Qaeda ("The Base").

"He is a master impresario and manipulator of the media," said Bruce Hoffman, a terrorism expert for the Rand Corp., a research center in the Washington area. "There has been a consistent pattern of him making statements and issuing threats ahead of time, but not taking responsibility afterward. He alternates between the psychological campaign and acts of death and carnage."

Bin Laden's statements in the period leading up to Tuesday's multiple terrorist attacks seem to fit into a well-established routine. Interviewed last month in the mountains of southern Afghanistan by a London-based Arab journalist, he boasted -- without going into detail -- that he and his followers were planning "a very big one." Yesterday, however, al Qaeda spokesmen denied involvement in strikes on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, while expressing support for the attacks.

One reason for bin Laden's reticence, according to U.S. officials, may be a deal struck with the Islamic fundamentalist rulers of Afghanistan, where he has been based since 1996. Known as the Taliban, the Afghan fundamentalists have responded to repeated U.S. demands for bin Laden's extradition by depicting him as a Saudi political fugitive. Taliban leaders deny knowledge of any evidence that he has been involved in terrorism.

By seeking sanctuary in Afghanistan, bin Laden has returned to the source of his political inspiration. Bin Laden, the son of a wealthy Saudi construction magnate, was born in 1957 and is the 17th of 52 children. Bin Laden was an early supporter of the mujaheddin resistance movement formed to oppose the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. "I was enraged," he has said. "I went there at once."

At first, his role was limited to fundraising activities in Pakistan. Toward the end of the war, he moved to Afghanistan and took part in several battles against the Soviet army.

At the time, the Afghan mujaheddin were receiving financial and logistical support from the United States and other Western governments. Bin Laden, however, saw little difference between the United States and the Soviet Union. In his view, both superpowers were equally culpable: for geopolitical reasons, the United States might be temporarily supporting "freedom movements" in Afghanistan, but it was on the side of the "oppressive forces" back home in Saudi Arabia.

According to former associates of bin Laden, his anger at the United States grew after the Persian Gulf War in 1991, and the decision to station thousands of troops in Saudi Arabia. In a lengthy statement in 1996 outlining his philosophy, bin Laden denounced the "occupation" of the Arab Holy Land by "American crusader forces," which he

described as "the latest and greatest aggression" against the Islamic world since the death of the prophet Muhammad in 632.

"He sees himself as continuing the jihad, first against the Soviets and then against the Americans," said David Schenker, a terrorism expert at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

"He looks at the world in very stark, black-and-white terms," said Joshua Teitelbaum, a research fellow at Tel Aviv University who has studied bin Laden's early career. "For him, the U.S. represents the forces of evil that are bringing corruption and domination into the Islamic world, and particularly to Saudi Arabia, the holiest land in the world for Muslims."

Kept under house arrest in Jiddah, Saudi Arabia, because of his opposition to the Saudi alliance with the United States, bin Laden fled the country in April 1991, moving first to Afghanistan and then to the Sudanese capital, Khartoum. A fundamentalist Islamic government had just come to power in Sudan and was permitting Muslims to enter the country without visas, opening the doors for hundreds of suspected terrorists and former mujaheddin. According to a former associate, Jamal Fadl, now in a witness protection program in the United States, bin Laden used his stay in Sudan both to set up legitimate businesses and to prepare for a terrorist war against the United States.

"In some ways, his organization resembles a government," said Jessica Stern, a terrorism expert at Harvard University who worked in the Clinton White House. "As in the government, people were often told only what they needed to know. There was almost a classification system for information."

According to U.S. officials, bin Laden financed several terrorist training camps in northern Sudan and Yemen, and appeared interested at one time in acquiring nuclear and chemical components. U.S. investigators also have established financial and logistical links between bin Laden and Ramzi Yousef, organizer of the February 1993 World Trade Center bombing.

Sudan expelled bin Laden and most of his supporters in 1996 after the United States mounted political and diplomatic pressure. He moved back to Afghanistan and set up training camps in the mountains. According to Ahmed Ressay, an Algerian thought to have been trained by bin Laden who was arrested on the Canadian border in December 1999, the camps offered training in areas such as "rocket-launching, urban warfare, assassination and sabotage."

Ressay, who told a New York court in July that he planned to disrupt millennium celebrations by bombing Los Angeles International Airport, said that later classes focused on how "to blow up the infrastructure of a country." But he also suggested that many of the operations were semi-autonomous. He said his cell was given leeway to choose its own targets, and to raise funds by robbing banks in Canada.

Last year, a U.S. court found evidence of links between bin Laden and the organizers of the August 1998 bomb attacks against U.S. Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The United States responded to the attacks by bombing suspected training camps in Afghanistan and a factory in Sudan linked by the CIA to the production of chemical agents.

Soon after the attacks, U.S. officials warned Afghan authorities that they risked further retaliation if they continued to give safe haven to bin Laden, who had been charged by a New York grand jury with "conspiracy to attack the defense utilities of the United States." But Taliban officials made clear that they were unwilling to surrender their guest.

According to U.S. terrorism experts, the Taliban appears to have reached an arrangement with bin Laden. In return for providing him sanctuary, they have received financial and military support for their efforts to gain control over the entire country. Some experts believe that bin Laden's followers may have played a role in the reported assassination earlier this week of Ahmed Shah Massoud, leader of the last remaining resistance to the Taliban.

*Researcher Robert Thomason contributed to this report.*

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Pg. 8

## **Taliban May Be The First Target Of U.S. Retaliation For Terror Wave**

By Bill Nichols, USA Today

WASHINGTON — When President Bush spoke to the nation Tuesday in the wake of the day's terrorist onslaught, one sentence stood out. "We will make no distinction," Bush said, "between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them." Bush didn't single out a country by name. But the nation most likely to be affected by his threat appears to be Afghanistan — a place many Americans have little knowledge of. In the days to come, that is likely to change. The Taliban, the fundamentalist Islamic militia that governs Afghanistan, is harboring fugitive terrorist Osama bin Laden, seen as the chief suspect in the attacks.

Afghanistan already has been hit by one U.S. response to terrorist acts tied to bin Laden — the 1998 bombings at U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania that killed 224 people. President Clinton launched a missile strike to destroy a site believed to be a major bin Laden training camp in Afghanistan, but bin Laden was not there.

Taliban officials have condemned the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon and insist bin Laden could not have been involved. They claim to keep bin Laden on a tight leash by denying him communications access and restricting his movements.

In fact, the Taliban has tried to separate itself from bin Laden, saying it does not support terrorism. But analysts say the militia's basic views mirror those of bin Laden and his terrorist cell: that Western democracy, and the United States in particular, is a threat to the purity of Islam.

Bin Laden hates the United States "because of our values," Heritage Foundation terrorism analyst Jim Phillips says. "His terrorism is not meant to affect our policies as much as shake our confidence in ourselves, shake the confidence others have in us and help pave the way for a radicalization of the entire Muslim world."

U.S. officials, though not yet certain of bin Laden's complicity in the attacks, say they still believe that he can act freely within Afghanistan and that the Taliban could deliver him if it wanted to. Diplomatic analysts foresee a scenario where the Taliban could be asked to hand over bin Laden or face a massive U.S. attack.

Would they do it? "They've been in bed with him too long to kick him out now," Phillips says. "They cannot afford to throw over bin Laden." The Taliban has become an increasing problem for Western powers since it captured the Afghan capital of Kabul in 1996 and gained control of the country.

Only three nations — Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates — recognize the Taliban and its leader, Mullah Mohammed Omar, as the legitimate government of Afghanistan.

Both the United States and the United Nations have imposed economic sanctions on the Taliban and ban arms sales to the militia because of terrorist connections.

Practitioners of fundamentalist Islam, Taliban leaders moved into a power vacuum left in the wake of a civil war during the 1970s and 1980s between Soviet-backed forces and U.S.-backed rebels.

But it is not just the Taliban's decision to harbor bin Laden that has isolated it from the world. A series of edicts to the Afghan people, based on what Taliban officials see as a strict reading of Islamic law, has drawn international ire.

\*All non-Muslims in Afghanistan must wear identification tags.

\*Taliban forces destroyed two 2,000-year-old statues of Buddha that survived even the 13th-century onslaught of Genghis Khan.

\*Women have been forbidden from working, even for United Nations relief agencies, and must be covered from head to toe when outside their homes. Women also face health care restrictions.

\*Banned activities include watching television, dancing, photography and kite flying.

\*Eight foreign aid workers, including two Americans, currently are on trial in Kabul on charges of preaching Christianity.

The religious views of the Taliban are an extremist interpretation of Islam that is rejected by the great majority of Muslims. Says Shireen Hunter, director of the Islam program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies: "It is the expansion ... of a more simplistic and literalist version."

In recent years, bin Laden and the Taliban have appeared to grow closer. U.S. intelligence officials say bin Laden is a major financial donor to the Taliban. Mullah Omar also is rumored to have married a daughter of bin Laden, potentially putting him in the position of having to hand over his father-in-law to the United States.

Opposition to the Taliban does exist, particularly in the north of Afghanistan.

But an assassination attempt earlier this week against rebel commander Ahmad Shah Masood, which some U.S. officials also say has bin Laden's fingerprints on it, could devastate that movement.

Masood is believed to be dead, although some of his aides insist he survived the attack.

If bin Laden is found to be responsible for the U.S. attacks, analysts say a threat to fund and arm the opposition is one way to try to force the Taliban to give him up.

It is not just the Taliban that will come under intense pressure should bin Laden be found to be the force behind the attacks.



Nearly 40% of the Taliban's fighters are from Pakistan, and Pakistan's intelligence service is believed to be a longtime patron. Administration officials say they are already warning Pakistan that help will be demanded if bin Laden is the culprit.

"Pakistan ... is going to have to make a very difficult choice, very soon, for we are counting," Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Joseph Biden, D-Del., said.

"We are counting and we are looking. Words will not be sufficient. Actions will be demanded."

## **WORLD REACTIONS**

Washington Post  
September 12, 2001  
Pg. 25

### **As Mideast Officials Offer Condolences, Some Arabs Rejoice**

By Howard Schneider and Lee Hockstader, Washington Post Foreign Service

CAIRO, Sept. 11 -- With the World Trade Center and Pentagon in flames, Arab governments expressed condolences to the United States today and condemned such attacks on civilian lives. But some of their citizens celebrated in the streets over a comeuppance they feel the world's sole remaining superpower deserved for its support of Israel.

Thousands of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip cheered the attack, distributing candy and firing weapons in a show of glee over what they described as a retaliatory blow against U.S. cooperation with Israel. Palestinians in refugee camps in Lebanon fired weapons into the air in celebration.

"The people here are gloating over the American grief," said Emad Salameh, a 29-year-old taxi driver in Gaza.

"Apache helicopters, tanks and all kinds of destructive weapons have been killing Palestinian infants and women. . . . Palestinians have been crying and suffering, and now it is time for Americans to cry and suffer."

"This is revenge from Allah," said Khaled Saada, a 25-year-old clothing store owner in Gaza City.

The reaction in Israel was starkly different. Many Israelis said they felt as if the attacks had occurred in Israel itself and expressed hope that now Americans will better understand Israel's tough tactics toward Palestinians.

The outpouring among Arabs contrasted sharply with official condemnations issued by several Arab leaders, including the Syrian government of President Bashar Assad, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt and the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat.

"I send my condolences, the condolences of the Palestinian people to American President Bush and his government and to the American people for this terrible act," Arafat told reporters in Gaza. "We completely condemn this serious operation. . . . We were completely shocked."

Mubarak called the attacks in New York and Washington "horrific" and added in a televised statement: "Egypt firmly and strongly condemns such attacks on civilians and soldiers that led to the deaths of a large number of innocent victims."

But the street reactions in Lebanon and Palestinian-run areas of the Gaza Strip and the West Bank reflected a popular sentiment expressed often by Arabs frustrated over U.S. policy and, to some extent, by their leaders. Arab leaders and citizens have expressed growing anger over U.S. political support and military aid for Israel, regarding Washington as implicated in the violence that has claimed 700 lives over the last year, most of them Palestinians. Islamic fundamentalist groups, including Osama bin Laden's al Qaeda, are also offended by the U.S. military presence in Saudi Arabia, the birthplace of Islam, while U.S.-led economic sanctions and airstrikes against Iraq have become increasingly unpopular among Arabs.

An editorial this week in the Saudi daily al-Jazirah, for instance, cautioned that "latent Arab forces" might lash out against U.S. interests in ways that Arab states would not.

"Of course, we are sad that so many innocent people have to die, but the Americans need to come down from their tower and see the reaction to what their government does," said Mahmoud Hassanein, a shop owner in Maadi section of Cairo.

"It is all related" to U.S. support for Israel, said Bakir Haisam, owner of textile shop in the upscale Amman neighborhood of Shmeisani. "Here, most of the people will appreciate such a thing. In a way I think it is a good thing. Perhaps it is a little improper . . . but it is complicated."

Although there was no proof, many Israelis assumed the culprits in the attacks on U.S. soil came from the Islamic world. Now, they said, Americans would finally understand Israel's predicament and think twice before condemning Israel's assassinations of Palestinian leaders and other attacks on Islamic militants involved in the year-old uprising against Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Partly in sympathy, partly in relief, many Israelis said the long-standing political, military, personal and psychological bonds between the two countries would grow tighter than ever.

"I feel sad because now the Americans will be like us -- scared, angry, not safe," said Ilanit Amsalem, 36, a teacher in Jerusalem. "I always thought of the U.S. as some sort of a Disneyland, innocent, naive and childlike, a place that didn't have all the scars that we have. Now they'll be cynical like us and they'll start looking for revenge, like we do."

"Now the Americans won't judge us," said Shuki Barkan, a student in Jerusalem. "Now they'll get it -- that these terrorists, all of them, aren't human beings. They'll do anything. And so maybe [the United States] won't be so quick to condemn us. It was easy for them to be so super-righteous when [terror] didn't affect them."

The official Israeli reaction was to assume a defensive crouch nearly as broad as America's own, assuming that the coordinated attacks in the United States might presage attacks on the Jewish state. Israeli airspace was closed to all flights originating overseas unless they had Israeli security guards on board, as do flights on El Al, the national carrier. Israel evacuated its embassy and consulates in the United States, leaving only key personnel.

The air force went on high alert for any unauthorized planes heading toward Israeli airspace. Extra security was added at Ben-Gurion International Airport near Tel Aviv, the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv and the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem. Israel, well rehearsed in public disasters, offered to send rescue teams to the United States.

*Hockstader reported from Jerusalem.*

Moscow Times  
September 12, 2001  
Pg. 15

## **Angered Putin Calls For Coordinated Response**

From Combined Reports

President Vladimir Putin expressed sympathy and anger over attacks on U.S. targets on Tuesday, summoning security chiefs and calling for a coordinated international response to terrorism.

In a "Dear George" telegram to President Bush, Putin said "barbarous terrorist acts aimed against wholly innocent people cause us anger and indignation."

"I ask you to pass on our deepest sympathies to the relatives of the victims of this tragedy and the entire suffering American people. We understand their sorrow and pain as Russia has also suffered from terrorism," he wrote.

"There is no doubt that such an inhuman act must not go unpunished. The entire international community should unite in the struggle against terrorism."

Kremlin spokesman Alexei Gromov said Putin was immediately informed of the attacks and described them as a "terrorist act, this terrible tragedy." Television pictures issued by the Kremlin showed Putin meeting with top security officials.

Putin also spoke by telephone with U.S. National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice.

The Russian Transport Ministry suspended all flights to the United States in the wake of the attacks.

Aeroflot diverted a New York-bound flight already in the air to a Canadian airport, likely Montreal, an airline spokeswoman said. A later flight from Moscow to Chicago may be turned around or set down in Canada as well, she said. All flights above Moscow and St. Petersburg were banned as a precautionary measures, said the head of the air defense forces, Alexander Drobyshevsky.

"Also, tougher control has been introduced over foreign and Russian aircraft flying through Russian territory," he was quoted by Interfax as saying. A group of people gathered in front of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow and inserted red flowers in the fence outside it. "Americans, we mourn your loss," a poster put up near the embassy read.

The embassy will be closed to the public Wednesday and the Anglo-American School will also be closed, an embassy official said. But he stressed that there was "no credible threat to American citizens in Russia." A moment of silence was held at the Champions Cup soccer match in Moscow between Lokomotiv Moscow and Anderlecht, and the live broadcast of the match was canceled because all Russian television stations were running footage of the attacks.

The Interior Ministry heightened security around all major government buildings and put troops on increased alert around the country, the head of the Interior Ministry troops Vyacheslav Tikhomirov was quoted as saying by Interfax.

The Emergency Situations Ministry said it was ready to offer rescuers or other help, Itar-Tass reported. *(Reuters, AP, Moscow Times)*

London Daily Telegraph  
September 12, 2001

## **We Will Help Hunt Down Evil Culprits, Says Blair**

By George Jones, Political Editor

Britain will stand "shoulder to shoulder" with America in seeking to find and punish the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, Tony Blair vowed last night.

In a tense and emotional statement from 10 Downing Street, a clearly shocked Mr Blair said mass terrorism was the "new evil in our world". He said there were no adequate words of condemnation for those responsible for the "barbarism".

"The people who perpetrated it have no regard whatever for the sanctity or value of human life." After chairing an emergency meeting of the Cabinet's Civil Contingencies Committee, known as Cobra, Mr Blair announced tighter security measures in Britain, including a ban on civil planes flying over London.

The Prime Minister rushed back to London yesterday afternoon to take charge of the Government's response, cancelling his planned speech to the TUC conference in Brighton.

The senior Cabinet ministers were summoned to No 10 to prepare contingency plans against similar terrorist attacks against prominent public buildings in Britain and overseas.

Jack Straw, the Foreign Secretary, David Blunkett, the Home Secretary, Geoff Hoon, the Defence Secretary, and Adml Sir Michael Boyce, Chief of Defence Staff, attended the emergency Cabinet meeting. Gordon Brown, the Chancellor, was also present.

After the Cabinet meeting, Mr Blair, who saw the television pictures of the second aircraft crashing into the World Trade Centre while in his hotel room in Brighton, said it was not a battle between America and terrorism, but between the free and democratic world and terrorism.

He said: "We therefore here in Britain stand shoulder to shoulder with our American friends in this hour of tragedy and we, like them, will not rest until this evil is driven from our world."

Mr Blair said ministers had ordered immediate measures to limit the risk of similar attacks on British targets.

Security would be stepped up at every level across the country.

No flights would leave Britain unless maximum security could be guaranteed. Aircraft would no longer be allowed to cross central London and private flights would be permitted only with special authorisation.

Earlier, Mr Straw said the world had watched the television pictures from America with "absolute horror". He said: "We in Britain have offered whatever help we can to the American government to bring the perpetrators to justice and I have passed my condolences to the US Secretary of State, Colin Powell."

Downing Street officials said the Prime Minister had spoken to Chancellor Gerhard Schroder of Germany and President Jacques Chirac of France about the tragedy and planned to speak to President Bush at the earliest opportunity.

His decision to offer Britain's full support will have implications for security for British citizens at home and abroad. Mr Blair said security had been stepped up at British military bases around the world.

Business and financial institutions were being advised how to protect themselves, the Prime Minister said. But while the new safeguards would cause inconvenience, life in Britain would go on.

Mr Blair said: "Business and everyday life can continue as normal." William Hague, the outgoing Conservative leader, said the attacks amounted to "an act of war against civilisation".

Charles Kennedy, leader of the Liberal Democrats, said: "The international democratic community must come together as never before to see down the forces of sheer evil that perpetrate such crimes."

Dr George Carey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, called for prayer in response to the attacks and said many churches would remain open for private prayer and reflection.

Washington Times  
September 12, 2001

## **Israel Calls For War Against Terrorism**

From combined dispatches

JERUSALEM -- Israel pledged to give its full support to the United States and called for all-out war on terrorism after the attacks on New York and Washington yesterday.

In a defensive move and following the U.S. example after the plane attacks, Israel closed its airspace for 24 hours to all incoming flights by foreign carriers, the airports authority said.

Also, the government announced that Israel was to declare a national day of mourning in solidarity with the United States after a devastating series of aircraft attacks hit buildings in New York and Washington.

The state of mourning would take effect today, with flags flown at half-staff across the Jewish state to express its sorrow over the unprecedented assault on its main ally, senior political sources said.

Prime Minister Ariel Sharon pledged full support to the United States, and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres called for all-out war on terrorism.

"Knowing our bitter experience of terrorism, if it turns out the events in United States were a terrorist attack, Israel will do all it can, and expresses condolences to the victims of the tragedy," said a spokesman for Mr. Sharon.

"This is a turning point in the international war on terrorism. This is a war between good and evil. The fight of the free world against the forces of darkness," said Mr. Sharon at a news conference yesterday.

Former Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu said yesterday that the time has come to "destroy terrorist regimes starting with the Palestinian Authority."

"What happened in the United States is a turning point in history," he said on Israeli public television.

Mr. Netanyahu called for the "formation of an international front against terrorism."

Mr. Netanyahu has been increasingly critical of Mr. Sharon in recent weeks, saying he was not taking a tough enough line against the Palestinians. Mr. Sharon and senior Cabinet ministers also decided to close off all of Israel's border crossings as part of a measure to heighten security already tight amid a nearly year-old Palestinian uprising. The new orders followed the closure of Israel's Ben Gurion International Airport yesterday to foreign airlines.

An Israeli airport spokesman said foreign flights would not be allowed to land or take off from Ben Gurion airport at least until midday today "because of the situation."

The Defense Ministry said army teams were preparing to leave for the United States. Defense Minister Binyamin Ben Eliezer ordered the mission, which will include teams specialized in rescuing victims trapped in collapsed buildings.

Mr. Peres said the world must "fight without compromise" against terrorism after the unprecedented attacks rocked the United States, Israeli public television reported.

"The danger of terrorism is a worldwide danger. The world must organize itself to face it because terrorism can strike anywhere, over borders and over the heads of the most powerful armies in the world," Mr. Peres said.

The foreign minister did not say whom he believed responsible for the wave of attacks but said, "We know countries that are centers of terrorism."

The minister met with defense officials to review the consequences of the U.S. attacks for Israel, which is "ready for any eventuality."

Israel moved swiftly to evacuate its diplomatic missions in the United States, fearing they may also be targets for attack, according to the public television. Only key personnel were kept in place, it said.

Although the culprits were still unidentified and no link was established with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Mr. Ben Eliezer denounced the threat posed by Islamic extremists.

"Terrorism by Islamic extremists represents the biggest threat to the free world," the minister said in a statement.

"The aim of this terrorism is to destroy the foundations of democratic society and Westerners."

London Times  
September 12, 2001

## **Arab Leaders May Be The Ultimate Victims Of This Terrorist Assault**

By Michael Binyon

Any Middle East leader who has ties to America must today be fearing for his throne. The worst terrorist attack in history has demonstrated not only a ruthlessness and co-ordination unseen so far in the many terrorist atrocities spawned by the Middle East; it has also highlighted the powerlessness and irrelevance of moderation and diplomacy in the face of naked hatred and thirst for revenge.

The Arab rulers who have embraced the peace process are as shocked and fearful as any world leader, and have more to lose. For the target of the suicide hijackers was not just the Twin Towers and the Pentagon; it was the whole framework of peace with Israel and its embrace by political leaders within the Middle East. The only people strengthened — temporarily — by yesterday's terror are the radical anti-Western leaders of Iraq, Libya and Syria who have encouraged attacks, verbal or physical, on America.

They may, in the long run, pay a heavy price. America will have few qualms now about striking at any government tainted by terrorism, even those such as Syria and Libya which claim to have renounced their terrorist past and now embrace "moderation". President Saddam Hussein of Iraq may be rejoicing in this mother of all catastrophes, basking in the acclaim of the militants now cheering the outrage in New York. But George W. Bush may not now wait for an excuse to complete his father's Gulf War business and bomb the man seen as responsible for backing America's enemies.

More immediate panic will be felt by the Arab moderates — many of whom have become remote from their people and unable to reflect the anti-Israel passions that have been brewing for a year. Both Egypt and Jordan still have Israeli Ambassadors on their soil, despite growing popular demands for their expulsion. President Mubarak and King Abdullah II of Jordan are seen by Islamic radicals as American puppets, leaders who are unable to sway opinion in Washington and unwilling to confront America over its support for the Sharon Government in Israel. They will need all their skills, and intelligence services, to hold in check the extremes of emotion unleashed by yesterday's cataclysms. They will not be protected by any understanding that they have repeatedly warned Washington of the dangers of drift; instead, they will feel the need to protect themselves and their peoples on the one hand from an outpouring of anti-American vitriol and on the other from possible American retaliation against any targets in their own countries.

Other rulers too will be aghast. The Gulf states, whose economies depend on oil sales to the West and which have long been the target of Islamic extremism, will want to distance themselves from a wounded America, even as they express abhorrence for the terrorism and sympathy for the many casualties.

The link between terrorism, anti-Americanism and Islamic extremism has not yet been proved. But the suspicion that the perpetrators will have been motivated by religious as well as political zeal will make it all the harder for moderate Arab rulers to keep a balance. No country will salute the men who carried out such actions; but many people in the Arab world will be privately rejoicing that America has at last been made to suffer for what most Arabs regards as its blinkered pro-Israel policy.

The rulers of Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt, and most of the Gulf states now face a painful unmasking as men unable to influence events or stop the cycle of violence and counter-violence that has led to such a terrible disaster. Most Arab countries, while urging America to get involved in the region, were also doing their best to stay uninvolved, knowing that any escalation could lead to war and that any war could lead to their own defeat.

Only last week King Abdullah II spoke of his country's ability to survive, relatively unscathed, despite the turmoil and killing on the other side of the River Jordan. His security services have tried to enforce calm in his kingdom, just as President Mubarak has clamped down on any signs of trouble in Egypt. But both men must now fear that the coalition of anti-Western forces, co-ordinated with such deadly effect for this operation, may prove a powerful motivating factor within their own countries. They cannot remain unscathed for long.

The Arab leaders know that the only answer to a Hydra-headed terrorism, generating new cells with every retaliatory strike, is the old and stale formula of a just and comprehensive peace. There is no prospect of that for the

moment, and no point in urging it on America. The United States is not in a mood to listen to the Arabs, even to its Arab friends. They must fend for themselves, bowing to the mood even as they send their police to round up all known radicals, extremists and those preaching jihad against America. They, and all the Middle East, have much to fear from yesterday's atrocities.

Los Angeles Times  
September 13, 2001

## **Pakistan Pledges Its Cooperation In Fighting Terrorists, Report Says**

***South Asia: Neighbor of Afghanistan has responded positively to U.S. request, according to news service. Extent of the offer is unclear.***

By Tyler Marshall, Times Staff Writer

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan -- The United States has asked for Pakistan's "full and practical cooperation" in pursuing those suspected of the terrorist assaults on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, a senior Pakistani official said Wednesday.

The official, who declined to be identified, said the request was conveyed by the U.S. Embassy to the Foreign Ministry during the course of the day and was under discussion. The request is being interpreted by officials here to include the use of Pakistan's airspace and territory if necessary.

In Washington, Secretary of State Colin L. Powell said the Bush administration is waiting to see if Pakistan will be helpful in "generating information" and if it will assist if the U.S. finds a basis to act upon that information.

Early today, Pakistan's APP news service reported that President Pervez Musharraf had promised the U.S. full cooperation. The promise reportedly extended to helping identify the culprits in Tuesday's attack but left open the question of assistance in exacting revenge.

"Pakistan has been extending cooperation to international efforts to combat terrorism in the past and will continue to do so," Musharraf was quoted as saying.

Recently arrived U.S. Ambassador Wendy Chamberlain is scheduled to meet here today with Musharraf.

Pakistani support would be crucial if the Bush administration decided to attack neighboring Afghanistan or the man who appears to be a prime suspect in Tuesday's terrorist attacks, Saudi-born militant Osama bin Laden. Afghanistan provides shelter to Bin Laden, who faces a U.S. indictment in the 1998 terrorist bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

Pakistani government officials reportedly are working on the assumption that they must make their decision quickly. But even in the current political caldron, any concrete measure of support for U.S. retaliation would be politically difficult for the country's military leadership.

Resentment against the U.S. still lingers here for a 1998 cruise missile attack against targets in eastern Afghanistan believed to be Bin Laden's terrorist training camps. The missiles, launched by U.S. forces in reprisal for the Africa bombings, traveled through Pakistan's airspace without permission.

Many Pakistanis, although clearly stunned by the enormity of Tuesday's terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, say they would find it difficult to have their government cooperate actively in a new military strike against Bin Laden.

"There is no one in Pakistan not willing to condemn the event, which is a terrible tragedy, but the United States should not react this way," said Syed Munnawar Hasan, a spokesman for the country's largest religious-based political party, the Jamaat-e-Islami. "From moment one, they have named only Osama bin Laden and other Muslims" as suspects.

He said public sentiments would make it difficult for Musharraf's government to aid a U.S. reprisal without strong evidence of Bin Laden's complicity in the terrorist attacks.

"Even the government is not going to concede unless you have proof, unless you have conclusions, and then take the people into confidence," he said.

Syed Ali, vice chairman of the Karachi-based chemical company Dynea, said it would be difficult to punish those responsible by launching a military strike against them.

"You hear they want to retaliate against Afghanistan, but what can you do to them?" he added. "They are living for the next world, not this one."

He also raised a commonly heard grievance in the Islamic world these days: that the U.S. does not take seriously the injustice Muslims believe they face.

Despite such sentiments, Musharraf used exceptionally strong language Wednesday to condemn the attacks on the U.S. for the second day in a row. In a statement released to the media, he denounced the action as "despicable and devastating."

Pakistan, the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia are the only nations that recognize the Taliban, the Islamic fundamentalist group that rules 95% of Afghanistan.

In the mid-1990s, Pakistan initially embraced the Taliban movement as a large and powerful force that might finally end the factional infighting that had torn Afghanistan apart for more than a decade. But Pakistan has gradually become disillusioned with the Taliban.

*Times staff writer Robin Wright in Washington contributed to this report.*

Wall Street Journal  
September 13, 2001

## **Russia Hopes WTC Attacks Force U.S. To Rethink Defense**

By Alan Cullison and Guy Chazan, Staff Reporters of The Wall Street Journal

MOSCOW -- Russian officials think the devastating attacks on U.S. targets may encourage Washington to rethink its plans for a national antimissile defense and train its sights instead on what Russia considers the real enemy -- Islamic terrorism.

The U.S. is currently trying to persuade Russia to modify the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which is preventing it from building a national defense against attack from so-called rogue states. Washington says the accord is a Cold War anachronism, while Russia strongly opposes any changes, calling the treaty the cornerstone of the current system of arms control. The attacks in the U.S. could serve to buttress support for new defense systems, such as missile defense.

But Russian officials hope that the apparent terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon will prove to the U.S. that missile defense is the wrong way to deal with challenges to its security. "This proves once again that we might have to face quite different types of threats these days, not those which the leadership of the [U.S.] is talking about when it says it's necessary to withdraw from the ABM Treaty," said Dmitry Rogozin, chairman of Parliament's foreign-affairs committee.

Russia has long complained that the U.S. exaggerates the threat posed by rogue states, while playing down the menace of Islamic fundamentalism. Russian President Vladimir Putin has political reasons for seeking the U.S. as an ally in the fight: He sent Russian troops into Chechnya after a series of bomb attacks on apartment buildings in Moscow and elsewhere in 1999, which he blamed on Muslim extremists operating from the rebel republic. After two years of war, Mr. Putin is smarting from Western criticism of his army's tactics there.

Russia is now hoping this week's events will make the West more sympathetic to its war in Chechnya. In a nationally televised address, Mr. Putin said Russia had "first-hand knowledge of what terrorism is: Better than anyone else, we understand the feelings of the American people." The attacks "once again underline the importance of Russia's proposal to unite the world community's efforts to combat terrorism," the Russian president said.

The U.S. said Russia's cooperation is important in hunting down and punishing the planners of the World Trade Center attack. Russia, analysts said, can provide valuable intelligence information on militants in Afghanistan, who are suspected by many of harboring the perpetrators. The U.S. would also like Russia's backing for any military actions that it may take in the region.

The U.S. ambassador to Moscow said Wednesday the attacks could lead to increased U.S.-Russian cooperation in battling terrorism. But he cautioned that this didn't mean the U.S. would soften its criticism of the Chechen war. "I believe this certainly will underscore the fact that we have a common interest in the fight against international terrorism, and I certainly hope that it will promote greater cooperation," Alexander Vershbow said. "This is not to say we have 100% identical views on the problems in Chechnya."

The attacks came as U.S. Undersecretary of Defense Douglas Feith was ending talks in Moscow with Russian officials on national missile defense. Speaking before a group of Russian and Western journalists, he acknowledged

such a system couldn't have protected against Tuesday's attacks. But the tragedy, he said, doesn't undermine the rationale for missile defense. "A missile-defense system is designed to intercept missiles," said Mr. Feith. "If airplanes hit the World Trade Center, that isn't what a missile-defense system is designed to protect against." The chances are that Russia would be far more tolerant of U.S. retaliation against the suspected perpetrators than it has been in the past. In August 1998, former Russian President Boris Yeltsin said he was "outraged" when former U.S. President Bill Clinton unleashed missile attacks against Afghanistan and Sudan in retaliation for the terrorist bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

Since then, Russian and U.S. positions have grown closer. Last year, top Kremlin aide Sergei Yastrzhembsky said Russia itself was considering missile strikes in Afghanistan against the Taliban, who it blames for harboring and aiding Chechen rebels.

"This is a chance for Russia to be accepted into the club of civilized nations and become an ally in the U.S. fight against Osama bin Laden in particular, and the international terrorist threat in general," said Igor Bunin, head of the Center for Political Technologies, a leading Moscow think tank.

A concession that Mr. Putin would want, however, is less heat from the West over his war in Chechnya. Mr. Putin "will demand that the West see its war in Chechnya as a fight against terrorism, rather than against the Chechen liberation movement," Mr. Bunin said.

In an apparent concession to Washington, Russia's Air Defense Forces canceled military exercises in the Arctic and North Pacific that had been closely monitored by the U.S., the Foreign Ministry said. The Defense Ministry said it made the decision following the "unprecedented act of terrorism" in the U.S., according to the Interfax news agency.

London Times  
September 13, 2001

## **Middle East Split Over Attack Reaction**

By Stephen Farrell in Jerusalem

From horror to barely concealed glee, the people of the Middle East reacted with divergent voices yesterday as they waited for the first evidence of who carried out the attacks in the United States.

With the glaring exception of Iraq, all governments in the region were swift to condemn the strikes and expressed condolences to the victims. Even Libya, Syria and Sudan, who have been blacklisted by the US as states that "sponsor" terrorism, expressed their disgust. Baghdad, however, maintained the Iraqi regime's consistent policy of attacking the United States at every opportunity. Feelings among the Iraqi public remain high over airstrikes enforcing "no-fly" zones over Iraq and America's support of Israel.

"The American cowboy is reaping the fruits of his crimes against humanity. It is a black day in the history of America, which is tasting the bitter defeat of its crimes and disregard for peoples' will to lead a free, decent life," one broadcast on state television said.

In Tripoli, by contrast, Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, the Libyan leader, shelved his numerous clashes with successive Washington administrations, saying: "Everyone should put human considerations above political differences . . . and offer aid to the victims of this gruesome act".

In Syria the al-Thawra newspaper condemned the attacks as "terrorist" and expressed sympathy to the American people, reflecting the tone of government officials' reaction.

In Iran there was a marked divergence between the reformist President Khatami's call for international action to stem terrorist attacks and the tone of the Tehran Times, which concluded that the Bush Administration was paying the price for its "blind support" of Israel.

In Egypt President Mubarak denounced the hijackings as "horrific beyond imagination". Some ordinary Egyptians felt very differently, however, despite the country's peace treaty with Israel. Samira Mohamed, 26, a lawyer, said: "I was very happy when I heard the news. My happiness is based on my utter rejection of the US treatment of the Middle East case."

In Jerusalem Azmi Bishara, an Arab Israeli member of the Knesset, said that if the Bush Administration formulated a Middle East policy based on the prevention of terrorism, it would focus on the symptom at the expense of treating the underlying causes.



Many Arabs perceived that they were being marginalised, subject to injustices and that the United States had acted with double standards in its policies toward Iraq and Israel, he said. "If fighting terrorism becomes the policy, this will produce only more terrorism."

Washington Post  
September 13, 2001  
Pg. 25

## **Iraq: 'Evil Policy' Caused Attack**

By Reuters

BAGHDAD, Iraq, Sept. 12 -- President Saddam Hussein said today that the devastating attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center were the harvest of the United States' "evil policy."

"Regardless of . . . human feelings on what happened yesterday, America is reaping thorns sown by its rulers in the world," the official Iraqi News Agency quoted Hussein as saying. "He who does not want to reap evil should not sow evil," Hussein said at a meeting with the military industrialization minister, Abdul Tawab Mullah Hwaish. The United States is exporting evil, corruption and crime, not only through its armies deployed in various parts of the world, but also through its movies, Hussein said. He also referred to "current criminal acts, backed by criminal, racist Zionism, against our Palestinian people."

Korea Times  
September 13, 2001

## **N. Korea Silent On Attacks In US**

North Korea was silent nearly 12 hours after the terrorist attacks on the United States, raising curiosity as to what its reactions and feelings will be.

North Korea has been labeled a terrorist-sponsoring nation by the United States every year since 1988, but it has been saying at every chance that it shuns and opposes every form of terrorism and any act that assists it.

North Korea has recently taken the same stance on terrorism that targets the United States.

When U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya were bombed three years ago, North Korea expressed regret and said again it opposes terrorism and will continue to oppose it. The reaction was surprising because the attack was against the United States.

At the same time, North Korea has been strongly condemning the United States for labeling it as a supporter of terrorism.

The communist country has termed the U.S. classification as "absolutely unjust" and denounced Washington for "finding groundless fault."

The United States, it said, is actually the source of international terrorism, apparently criticizing U.S. military involvement in the Gulf War and Kosovo.

North Korea's "logic" behind such claims is that interference in internal affairs is an aggression itself and a form of terrorism.

North Korea and the United States issued a joint communique in October last year during then U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's visit to Pyongyang. During the talks, the two countries agreed to support international anti-terrorism efforts.

The big question is whether this agreement will be reflected in North Korea's reaction, if any, to the terrorism attacks in New York and Washington D.C.

## **MILITARY RESPONSE**

New York Times  
September 13, 2001

### **For First Time, NATO Invokes Pact With U.S.**

By Suzanne Daley

BRUSSELS, Sept. 12 — NATO invoked a mutual defense clause in its founding treaty for the first time today, strongly suggesting that the United States would have the support of the allies if it takes military action against those responsible for attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

A NATO statement issued after a meeting of ambassadors to the 19-member alliance said, "If it is determined that this attack was directed from abroad against the United States, it shall be regarded as an action covered by Article 5 of the Washington Treaty."

Article 5, the cornerstone of the alliance, says "an armed attack" against any of the allies in Europe or North America "shall be considered an attack against them all."

It commits NATO members to take the necessary measures, including the use of force, to restore security.

The statement amounted to a powerful expression of European solidarity with the United States after a period in which trans-Atlantic relations have been strained by tensions over the Bush administration's policies in areas ranging from missile defense to the environment.

NATO's secretary general, Lord Robertson, said the declaration did not necessarily mean NATO would get involved in military action. Nor did it mean that Washington was obliged to act through the group.

"At the moment this is an act of solidarity," he said. "It's a reaffirmation of a solemn treaty commitment which these countries have entered into."

Asked whether he believed the allies would take joint action, Lord Robertson added: "The country attacked has to make the decisions, it has to be the one that asks for help. The United States is still assessing the evidence available. They are the one to make that judgment."

In Washington, Secretary of State Colin L. Powell said the statement would "tee up" possible collective military action by NATO once the terrorists and those behind them had been identified.

NATO also made clear for the first time that it was prepared to see some acts of terrorism as acts of war, even if such circumstances were not envisioned when the treaty was written in 1949.

"The commitment to collective self-defence embodied in the Washington Treaty was entered into in circumstances very different from those that exist now," said the statement adopted by the North Atlantic Council.

"But it remains no less valid and no less essential today, in a world subject to the scourge of international terrorism." The statement also noted pointedly that when NATO leaders met in 1999 on the organization's 50th anniversary, they condemned terrorism as a threat to world peace and affirmed their "determination to combat it in accordance with their commitments to one another."

Any decision to embark on joint military action would require further deliberation, as would a decision to place national forces under joint command.

But diplomats said the resolution was a potent gesture of political support for the United States even if it should decide to act on its own.

NATO officials said the United States had not asked for the statement, but had said they would welcome it.

As the United States is the dominant power in the organization, it appeared certain that the administration had played a central role in the adoption of the resolution.

The four-paragraph resolution, passed unanimously, said "The United States' NATO allies stand ready to provide the assistance that may be required as a consequence of these acts of barbarism."

But some European leaders also urged caution. The Swedish and German foreign minister, Anna Lindh and Joschka Fischer, both suggested that it was too early to talk of military action when so little was known about the origins of the attacks.

Throughout the day, many Europeans continued to express outrage.

In London, Prime Minister Tony Blair recalled Parliament from its recess a month early, saying the voices of democracy must speak out after devastating terror strikes in the United States.

"This was an attack not just on a number of buildings in the United States of America, but on the very notion of democracy," he said at a news conference at his office at 10 Downing Street.

While NATO officials met, the foreign ministers of the European Union also gathered in a show of support for the United States. In a statement, the ministers said they would "spare no efforts to help identify, bring to justice and punish those responsible."

The foreign ministers declared that Friday would be a day of mourning in all 15 member nations and asked that all Europeans observe three minutes of silence on at noon (6 a.m. Eastern Daylight Time).

"We were all victims of this attack," said Belgium's foreign minister, Louis Michel, chairman of the meeting of the European Union.

In an exceptional move, Lord Robertson attended the meeting. "We have to stand together," he said. "We are two organizations that speak with one voice, one strong voice, that will not stand for terrorism."

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September 13, 2001  
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## **Retaliatory Options Are Under Study**

### ***Possible Strike Range Includes The Covert to All-Out Bombing***

By Vernon Loeb and Dana Priest, Washington Post Staff Writers

U.S. military officials are reviewing a range of options for retaliating against those who perpetrated Tuesday's terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, including a half-dozen options to strike Afghanistan and Saudi extremist Osama bin Laden, current and former officers said yesterday.

Those options, first developed after bin Laden associates bombed two U.S. embassies in East Africa in August 1998, include small-scale covert operations by the secret Delta Force, all-out Air Force bombing and invasion by Army troops, according to knowledgeable former officers.

Pentagon officials clamped a tight lid on information about the status of U.S. forces around the globe and contingency planning among Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld, Army Gen. Henry H. Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Air Force Gen. Richard B. Myers, vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs.

But Rumsfeld, briefing reporters, said that terrorists hijacking airliners and crashing them into occupied buildings had created a "21st century battlefield" and "a different kind of conflict."

In a videotaped address sent yesterday to all U.S. defense personnel, Rumsfeld signaled the administration is planning an ambitious military action in response to the Tuesday attacks: "It is my duty as head of this department to tell you that more, much more will be asked of you in the weeks and months ahead. This is especially true of those who are in the field. We face powerful and terrible enemies, enemies we intend to vanquish, so that moments of horror like yesterday will be stopped."

With evidence strongly pointing toward people linked to bin Laden's al Qaeda network, military planners worked to match current intelligence with target lists and contingency plans kept in a secure room at the Tampa headquarters of the Central Command, which is in charge of U.S. military operations in the Middle East and South and Central Asia.

Retaliatory action in the weeks and months ahead would also likely involve the European Command, which oversees American forces in Europe, because of its resources and fighter bases near the Middle East, according to a senior military officer familiar with the retaliatory measures under consideration.

"Crisis action teams" were established yesterday at most of the military's major commands to help analyze the operational status of various units that could be called upon and to implement heightened force-protection measures at U.S. bases around the world, current and former officials said.

"I can assure you they are running through every contingency plan known to man," said Anthony H. Cordesman, a former defense official and a senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Cordesman and other experts said that limited cruise missile strikes, like those used to hit bin Laden's training sites by the Clinton administration after the 1998 embassy bombings, are not likely to disrupt or significantly damage the organization's nearly invisible infrastructure, which is believed to be located on several continents.

Before any plan is adopted, Cordesman said, U.S. officials must determine who is responsible for Tuesday's attacks. "You need to know who is responsible," he said, "and you need the broad chain of evidence."

He and other experts said that striking a lethal blow against bin Laden's network and, possibly, Afghanistan's ruling Taliban militia, which has harbored bin Laden for the past five years, may require large-scale bombing of targeted regions.

Retired Gen. Merrill McPeak, Air Force chief of staff from 1990 to 1994, said the Air Force is capable of hitting "fixed targets" anywhere.

"If you just want to level Kabul -- that's a fixed target -- we can do that, it's not that hard to do," McPeak said. "But it doesn't mean bin Laden himself, because he's not a fixed target, and we've never been very good at hitting mobile targets."

Another retired general, who asked not to be quoted by name, said that the Air Force could stage attacks on Afghanistan's capital by moving half a dozen B-2 bombers to the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia or negotiating basing arrangements with Pakistan, if the Pentagon wanted to telegraph its intentions. Secret raids could be staged directly from the B-2s' home at Whiteman Air Force Base in Missouri, the retired general said.

But the U.S. military has significant air and sea firepower much closer than that. A day or two before Tuesday's terrorist attacks, the aircraft carrier USS Carl Vinson replaced the carrier USS Enterprise in the Persian Gulf. Once the attacks took place, the Enterprise was told to remain in the region.

While Navy officials declined to comment yesterday on the exact status of naval forces, the Navy now essentially has twice its usual force in or relatively near the Persian Gulf. "It doubles your float air [power]," said one senior defense official.

Air assaults on Afghanistan would be a likely prelude to any ground campaign, current and former military officers said. Contingency plans propose a range of ground options, from the insertion of covert forces to elite Army Special Forces troops to infantry battalions.

Given the enormity of Tuesday's attacks on U.S. soil, said retired Army Lt. Col. Ralph Peters, an author and military analyst, the normal concern expressed by policymakers about civilian casualties resulting from military action should be gone.

"The American people would be willing to accept ground casualties, if we demonstrably win," he said. "It's time now to start talking about killing people. Terrorists -- you can't reason with them. All you can do is kill them."

But he and other experts stressed that retaliatory action will be effective only if it is part of a sustained effort lasting years to attack terrorist organizations and the governments that aid and shelter them.

"It's not just a military question," said retired Rear Adm. Tom Marfiak, head of the U.S. Naval Institute in Annapolis and a former senior planner for the U.S. military command responsible for operations in the Middle East.

New York Times  
September 13, 2001

## **Administration Considers Broader, More Powerful Options For Potential Retaliation**

By Eric Schmitt and Thom Shanker

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12 — The stunning loss of life in Tuesday's terrorist attacks and the sense, expressed by President Bush, that these were "acts of war," have freed the administration to broaden potential retaliation beyond the low-risk, unmanned cruise missile strikes of the past, military and civilian officials said today.

Instead, the options under consideration include more powerful, sustained attacks that accept greater risk to American forces, and may include bombing attacks by manned aircraft and landing special forces troops on the ground.

"The constraints have been lifted," said one military officer.

No decisions on retaliation have been made as American intelligence officials try to determine who is to blame for the assaults on the World Trade Center towers and the Pentagon. Nor is there a timetable yet for any action, officials said.

For the first time today, officials said other options included calling up as many as 40,000 reservists, who would support homeland defense as air traffic controllers, engineers and military police officers.

"A wide range of military options has been presented to the president," said another military official. "It's a range from low end to high end."

Since Tuesday afternoon, Gen. Henry H. Shelton, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and his appointed successor, Gen. Richard B. Myers, the vice chairman, have been consulting with senior field commanders in Asia, Europe and the Middle East to fine-tune military plans that could be carried out in a matter of days, officials said. "My sense is, the president would be delighted to do something really tough and soon," said Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser to former President George Bush.

Military officers and civilian officials today pointed to Mr. Bush's declaration that America would "make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them" as a mandate to propose broad military options, perhaps carried out over days, weeks or months.

The targets could expand from the terrorist troops who carried out the attacks and their commanders and leaders, to include assaults on any nation found to have supported them.

President Bush met twice today with his national security aides to plot military strategy, and traveled to the Pentagon in the late afternoon.

"We reviewed all that has happened and began to make our plans for the efforts that we will be taking in the future, not only to bring these perpetrators to justice but to the punishment they deserve," said Secretary of State Colin L. Powell.

But Secretary Powell cautioned that any retaliation was not imminent. "We're far from selecting any particular military targets or how to go after those targets at this time," Secretary Powell said on ABC's "Good Morning America." "We've got to build a case first."

Early public opinion polls show that Americans overwhelmingly favor a swift and forceful retaliation, even if it means casualties, a sentiment shared on Capitol Hill. "Americans know now that we are at war, and will make the sacrifices and show the resolve necessary to prevail," said Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona. "I say to our enemies, we are coming. God may show you mercy. We will not."

Many people throughout the government have expressed frustration at the inability of past cruise missile attacks to wipe out terrorist cells, or even to severely punish them. But military officers have also clearly read signals from the political leadership and the public, desiring combat operations to be casualty-free.

Today, Pentagon officials said something fundamental had changed after the attacks, with civilian death tolls expected to rival America's worst combat casualties.

Placing troops in harm's way to retaliate against those responsible for the attacks, and to prevent further terrorist action, "now seems completely justified," one military officer said. "Our senior leaders are describing this as war, so those in uniform are willing to accept the risk. And we know the public will support us."

Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld often notes that vexing and violent international problems — for example the low-level war with Iraq — cannot be solved without broadening the policy debate to successfully deal with the variety of forces that animate an enemy.

Mr. Rumsfeld often cites an axiom included in his booklet of "Rumsfeld's Rules," which quotes Dwight D. Eisenhower as saying, "If a problem cannot be solved, enlarge it."

During a Pentagon news briefing today, Mr. Rumsfeld hinted at the broader approach to potential retaliation, while noting the difficulty of combatting terrorism.

"I think that it will require a sustained and broadly based effort," Mr. Rumsfeld said. "And I don't think that people ought to judge outcomes until a sufficient time is passed to address what is clearly a very serious problem for the world. And it's not restricted to a single entity, state or nonstate entity."

Any military action carries political consequences as well as risks to the fighting forces, and there is never a guarantee of success, as the United States found out when it tried to retaliate against the Saudi dissident Osama bin Laden for the bombing of two United States embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998.

The Pentagon fired several dozen Tomahawk cruise missiles at Mr. bin Laden's training camps in Afghanistan, but missed him and his top aides. Another strike, at a pharmaceutical plant in Sudan, backfired when information that Mr. bin Laden was linked to the factory was challenged.

Moreover, air strikes by cruise missiles or manned aircraft would not destroy the religious fanaticism that fuels many terrorist groups and could create martyrs, military and counterterrorism experts said.

"Air power is not well suited to respond to this kind of threat," said Gen. Merrill McPeak, the Air Force chief of staff during the Persian Gulf war. "You have to ask, 'What's the endgame?' You want to come out with a safer, more secure environment, and it's not clear that a massive air attack, unleashing the dogs of hell, will result in an aftermath that's more secure."

Military officials say they are giving serious consideration to using American commandos, probably as part of a larger assault that would include cruise missiles or manned bombing runs.

The commando units, including the Navy's SEAL Team 6 and the Army's Delta Force, can be ready on 48 to 72 hours notice to carry out a raid on a terrorist camp — or to position themselves in enemy territory to await orders. Air Force special forces fly AC-130 gunships.

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## **U.S. May Wage War On Islamic Militants**

Summary -- Washington is mulling over military options for retaliating against the most deadly terrorist strike ever on U.S. soil. Though a quick, surgical air strike against a defined target -- like those carried out after the bombings of U.S. embassies in 1998 -- could be cathartic for the nation, it would do little to stem the threat of similar attacks in the future. Ultimately, Washington is likely to take a broader approach: launching an unconventional war on fundamentalist extremism the world over.

Analysis -- Washington has declared "war" on the perpetrators of the Sept. 11 hijackings that destroyed the World Trade Center towers and damaged the Pentagon. As the government debates how to define the responsible entity -- whether it is a person, group or nation-state -- planning is also under way to determine the best military response. Three main options are on the table. First is a surgical air strike against the bases of those deemed responsible. Second is a broader, sustained aerial bombing campaign, possibly along with ground forces. The final choice -- toward which Washington appears to be heading -- is an unconventional global assault on threats to the United States from fundamentalist extremists. This tactic would be similar to the broad-spectrum war on drugs.

After ensuring the nation's security, Washington's first priority is to identify the people, group or nation that organized and carried out the attacks. President George W. Bush has already clearly laid out that Washington would hold any nation that harbored the attackers as accountable as the attackers themselves. Though this opens the door for military action against nations, the likelihood that multiple countries will be linked to the attackers potentially opens a bigger front that Washington is willing -- and capable -- of facing.

The first option likely raised in Washington -- limited air strikes against suspected terrorist bases -- offers immediate satisfaction and little risk, but little chance of success. Following the bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, the United States waited just under two weeks before launching limited air strikes after tentatively linking the bombings to suspected international terrorist mastermind Osama bin Laden.

Despite launching nearly 80 cruise missiles against a suspected chemical weapons facility in Sudan and training camps in Afghanistan, little harm was inflicted on the organizational or operational capabilities of bin Laden's Al-Qa'ida group.

Though a surgical strike offers a quick and nearly risk-free demonstration to the American people, it does little to effect a real solution. A more involved option -- particularly if the attackers are linked to a specific host nation -- is a sustained air operation, likely followed by ground operations. This would follow the pattern of U.S. coalition actions in Iraq or more recent operations in Kosovo.

This option, however, entails greater risks coupled with logistical and political challenges. The ramp-up time for such an extended operation is measured in months -- not weeks or days. Further, assuming the target nation is -- for example -- Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan or Algeria, Washington may find it difficult to find in-theater bases from which to launch the air campaign. During operations against Iraq in 1990 and 1991, the United States used logistics and combat support already in place in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Turkey, yet substantial ramp-up time was still required.

Further undermining the option of launching a sustained air strike is political instability among Arab allies in the wake of the Sept. 11 attacks. Washington has strategic relations with several Arab states run by moderate governments, but the attacks in New York and Washington are polarizing the regimes and more extreme political and religious populations in these nations. In the interest of their own stability, these moderate regimes may deem it untenable to allow U.S. forces to operate from their territory.

This accentuates a third problem: finding enough in-theater basing for an extended operation. If the United States finds Iraq, for example, to be the ultimate culprit, can Washington -- even with the support of its NATO allies -- create a supply line capable of sustaining an extended operation if regional Arab allies remain neutral?

Even more difficult would be an assault on landlocked Afghanistan. These operations would require basing assistance and overflight permission from Russia and India, as well as Pakistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. This substantially increases the complexity of such an operation while raising the odds of regionalizing the conflict. Given these caveats, Washington may well be headed for a third option. Declaring a "war" on fundamentalist militants both avoids the problems of naming a specific national sponsor and allows Washington a broader mandate to tackle current and potential threats to the United States. And, similar to the "war on drugs," the war on terrorism would enlist the help of nations around the globe -- when convenient for U.S. policy interests. Such a global war on potential threats would require the substantial involvement of U.S. intelligence agencies and Special Forces in defining foreign policy initiatives. During the Cold War, clandestine operations and support of democratically questionable regimes were tolerated in the interest of blocking the spread of Communism. Now, similar actions may well become more common against the widespread threat from extremists. The threat of fundamentalism is global, stretching well beyond the Middle East through Africa, Central Asia and East Asia. It is expanding into Eastern Europe and Russia and may well take root on a smaller scope in South and North America. This gives Washington both a boundless battlefield and a wide range of potential allies. Countries like the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia -- where Islamic militancy is rising -- will become more important to U.S. policymakers. Relations with Russia and India will also expand because both are combating Islamic militancy and possess necessary local intelligence assets. This will not be a quick war nor one with a definite end point. Washington must be willing to accept greater influence in policy from intelligence agencies -- whose lapses may have allowed the latest attacks -- and from Special Operations forces, whose clandestine operations may not fit with current accepted norms. Further, the American people must be steeled against counter-strikes on U.S. soil. Given the limited choices available to counter future threats of terrorism against domestic targets, however, Washington will inevitably shift its counter-terrorism strategies to a more global -- and unconventional -- posture.

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## **Officials Talk Of Military Response**

By Rowan Scarborough, The Washington Times

U.S. military retaliation for Tuesday's kamikaze-style attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon will come sooner rather than later as part of a broader war against terrorists, administration officials said yesterday. Military officers said the Pentagon has quickly updated options for striking terrorist training camps in Afghanistan, a haven for Saudi exile Osama bin Laden, the No. 1 suspect in masterminding the well-coordinated terrorist attacks. Officials said the Bush administration is in the early stages of developing a much broader war on Middle East-based terrorist organizations that could involve attacks on training camps in Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan.

One source said that early evidence indicated the airline hijackings were executed by a large network of terrorist cells, with bin Laden as the main player.

Senior Bush officials are openly talking of quick retaliatory strikes that would merely be the opening salvo in a longer bombing campaign, once terrorist sites are identified.

Said Secretary of State Colin Powell on NBC: "I can assure the American people that the president, if he is able to get the information pinpointed who it is and where they are and get targetable information, I am quite confident that he will look at every option he has available to him to respond militarily."

Suggesting that any military action would be sustained, Mr. Powell added, "Let's not think that one single counterattack will rid the world of terrorism of the kind we saw yesterday. This is going to take a multifaceted attack along many dimensions."

At the Pentagon, Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld said he preferred not to rattle the Pentagon's considerable sabre.

"I guess I'm kind of old fashioned," he said. "I'm inclined to think that if you're going to cock it, you throw it, and you don't talk about it a lot."

The White House said the FBI and intelligence agencies were collecting and going over a massive amount of evidence. But military officials said privately that all signs lead to bin Laden as being the one who masterminded the attacks -- especially intercepted communications of two operatives telling the ex-Saudi millionaire that the targets had been hit.

The United States attacked bin Laden once before, in 1998, when the Navy launched Tomahawk cruise missiles at his suspected hideouts in Afghanistan. But that attack has been viewed as generally ineffective. Today, military officials say a much larger and more intensive campaign is needed to eliminate bin Laden and his extensive terrorist network.

"I think you have to introduce Army ground troops," said a retired four-star general who endorses forcible entry into Afghanistan's mountainous terrain.

Said an active duty Army officer: "It would be something like Somalia. A large element to secure the outer perimeter and a team to take down the suspected structures."

Another retired general said President Bush must order an attack soon. "If we don't retaliate by tomorrow afternoon, it becomes anti-climatic. The American people expect it. I don't know how we cannot."

Military officials pointed out that Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan and then attempted to occupy and control the country. But Muslim guerilla fighters, led in part by bin Laden and aided by U.S. Stinger missiles, eventually defeated the Soviets.

With that in mind, any U.S. intervention would have to be quick and lethal, the officials said.

The National Security Agency, the nation's global listening post, is conducting an extensive review of intercepts, looking for any bit of evidence that identifies the perpetrators.

The U.S. military remained on its highest level of alert — threat condition Delta — for a second straight day yesterday. Jet fighters streaked over the Washington skyline just in case another terrorist-driven airliner appeared. A Navy carrier stood guard off the coast of Long Island, NY.

"We are, in a sense, seeing the definition of a new battlefield in the world, a 21st century battlefield, and it is a different kind of conflict," Mr. Rumsfeld told reporters, shortly before going to the White House for a National Security Council meeting with Mr. Bush.

Mr. Powell said that at an earlier meeting, "we reviewed all that has happened and began to make our plans for the efforts that we will be taking in the future, not only to bring these perpetrators to justice but to the punishment they deserve."

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## **Bush And Putin Discuss Response To Terrorism**

By Susan B. Glasser and Peter Baker, Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, Sept. 12 -- President Vladimir Putin spoke twice with President Bush today as they sought to put aside recent policy disputes and forge a new relationship that would join them in battle against terrorists responsible for Tuesday's devastating attacks on the United States.

Putin offered two planeloads of medicine and supplies as well as 70 rescue workers, and promised to share any intelligence gathered about the origins of the airborne assaults on landmark buildings in New York and Washington. In deference to the U.S. tragedy, Putin canceled a military exercise simulating warfare with the United States and ordered a nationwide moment of silence Thursday.

Russia is likely to welcome, and even join, any military action against the militant Taliban regime in Afghanistan, which has been harboring accused terrorist Osama bin Laden. In televised comments tonight, Putin blamed bin Laden and his associates for helping Chechen rebels who have been waging a war of independence inside Russia for most of the past seven years and were blamed for a series of apartment bombings centered on Moscow in 1999.

"We have reason to believe that bin Laden's people are connected with the events currently taking place in our . . . Chechnya," said Putin. "We know his people are present there. Our American partners cannot but be concerned about this circumstance. So we have a common foe, the common foe being international terrorism."

Putin dispatched his senior ministers to emphasize to an international audience the point of common struggle. "We should learn together the lessons of the tragedy in the United States," said Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov. "We are both victims already, both the United States and Russia; what we need is closer ties and efforts in fighting terrorism," Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov told CNN. Security Council chief Vladimir Rushailo consulted with his U.S. counterpart, Condoleezza Rice, about "a united international front in the war on terrorism."



For this day, at least, both sides were speaking from the same script. "We both face a common enemy, the enemy of international terrorism, and it's important that the international community as a whole unite against it," U.S. Ambassador Alexander R. Vershbow said after meeting with the foreign minister.

The calamitous events on American territory might provide an opening for Russia to redefine its relationship with the United States. The Kremlin has tried for some time to shift the international dialogue away from divisive issues such as missile defense and Russian abuses in Chechnya to the global threat of Islamic terrorism.

Russia has justified its campaign of repression in Chechnya as a necessary response to acts of domestic terrorism it blamed on Chechen rebels. Now, Russian officials say, Americans should sympathize more with Russia's determination to bring Chechnya to heel.

They have been equally quick to note that Bush's proposed nuclear shield would have done nothing to stop the hijacked planes that plowed into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

Vershbow, however, stressed that the newfound togetherness on terrorism would not change Washington's concerns about Russian brutality in Chechnya. "There is a terrorist dimension to the Chechnya conflict," he said, "but we also have to say that the Russian approach to solving that conflict is leading them down the wrong path."

Neither side provided many details about the Bush and Putin telephone calls. The White House said the first one lasted about five minutes and the second about seven minutes. A Kremlin spokesman said the leaders discussed concrete plans for mutual action against terrorism.

One thing Russia might be able to provide Washington is information. No country has more experience fighting in Afghanistan than Russia, which as part of the Soviet Union lost a disastrous war there in the 1980s that helped give rise to bin Laden.

Russian experts agreed that bin Laden was the most likely suspect as a prime organizer of Tuesday's attacks. But they differed on whether there are factions within the Taliban willing to hand him over to the United States. "Inside the Taliban, leaders differ over whether bin Laden should be extradited so that the Taliban can achieve the world recognition it needs in order for the regime to survive," said Yevgeny Pakhomov, a Russian journalist who specializes in the region.

Vyacheslav Belokrenitsky, chairman of the department of the Near and Middle East at the Russian Academy of Sciences, said, "The radical Islamic Arabs in Afghanistan, who include bin Laden, are not only guests but partly masters of the situation in the country, which makes it very difficult for the Taliban leaders to maneuver."

According to a report by the Monterey Institute of International Studies, bin Laden has relied on ties throughout the former Soviet Union to finance his movement and attempt to acquire weapons of mass destruction.