

# CONTENTS

*List of Illustrations and Tables* ix

*Member List* xi

*Staff List* xiii–xiv

*Preface* xv

## 1. “WE HAVE SOME PLANES” 1

- 1.1 Inside the Four Flights 1
- 1.2 Improvising a Homeland Defense 14
- 1.3 National Crisis Management 35

## 2. THE FOUNDATION OF THE NEW TERRORISM 47

- 2.1 A Declaration of War 47
- 2.2 Bin Ladin’s Appeal in the Islamic World 48
- 2.3 The Rise of Bin Ladin and al Qaeda (1988–1992) 55
- 2.4 Building an Organization, Declaring  
War on the United States (1992–1996) 59
- 2.5 Al Qaeda’s Renewal in Afghanistan (1996–1998) 63

## 3. COUNTERTERRORISM EVOLVES 71

- 3.1 From the Old Terrorism to the New:  
The First World Trade Center Bombing 71
- 3.2 Adaptation—and Nonadaptation—  
in the Law Enforcement Community 73
- 3.3 ... and in the Federal Aviation Administration 82
- 3.4 ... and in the Intelligence Community 86

3.5	... and in the State Department and the Defense Department	93
3.6	... and in the White House	98
3.7	... and in the Congress	102
4.	RESPONSES TO AL QAEDA'S INITIAL ASSAULTS	108
4.1	Before the Bombings in Kenya and Tanzania	108
4.2	Crisis: August 1998	115
4.3	Diplomacy	121
4.4	Covert Action	126
4.5	Searching for Fresh Options	134
5.	AL QAEDA AIMS AT THE AMERICAN HOMELAND	145
5.1	Terrorist Entrepreneurs	145
5.2	The "Planes Operation"	153
5.3	The Hamburg Contingent	160
5.4	A Money Trail?	169
6.	FROM THREAT TO THREAT	174
6.1	The Millennium Crisis	174
6.2	Post-Crisis Reflection: Agenda for 2000	182
6.3	The Attack on the USS <i>Cole</i>	190
6.4	Change and Continuity	198
6.5	The New Administration's Approach	203
7.	THE ATTACK LOOMS	215
7.1	First Arrivals in California	215
7.2	The 9/11 Pilots in the United States	223
7.3	Assembling the Teams	231
7.4	Final Strategies and Tactics	241
8.	"THE SYSTEM WAS BLINKING RED"	254
8.1	The Summer of Threat	254
8.2	Late Leads—Mihdhar, Moussaoui, and KSM	266
9.	HEROISM AND HORROR	278
9.1	Preparedness as of September 11	278
9.2	September 11, 2001	285
9.3	Emergency Response at the Pentagon	311
9.4	Analysis	315

10. WARTIME	325
10.1 Immediate Responses at Home	326
10.2 Planning for War	330
10.3 "Phase Two" and the Question of Iraq	334
11. FORESIGHT—AND HINDSIGHT	339
11.1 Imagination	339
11.2 Policy	348
11.3 Capabilities	350
11.4 Management	353
12. WHAT TO DO? A GLOBAL STRATEGY	361
12.1 Reflecting on a Generational Challenge	361
12.2 Attack Terrorists and Their Organizations	365
12.3 Prevent the Continued Growth of Islamist Terrorism	374
12.4 Protect against and Prepare for Terrorist Attacks	383
13. HOW TO DO IT? A DIFFERENT WAY OF ORGANIZING THE GOVERNMENT	399
13.1 Unity of Effort across the Foreign-Domestic Divide	400
13.2 Unity of Effort in the Intelligence Community	407
13.3 Unity of Effort in Sharing Information	416
13.4 Unity of Effort in the Congress	419
13.5 Organizing America's Defenses in the United States	423
<i>Appendix A: Common Abbreviations</i>	429
<i>Appendix B: Table of Names</i>	431
<i>Appendix C: Commission Hearings</i>	439
<i>Notes</i>	449