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U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON TERRORISM AND HOMELAND SECURITY

September 28, 2001

Dear Colleague:

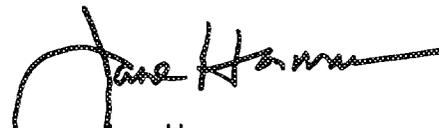
As you know, there is a lot of terrorism literature circulating in light of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. We have compiled the attached terrorism-related reading list. Below each title you will find a brief commentary by committee staff members with unique expertise in the field of terrorism.

The list is separated into the following categories: general terrorism background, counterterrorism, policy/legal implications, Afghanistan, weapons of mass destruction terrorism, cyberterrorism, and Usama Bin Laden. Although not related to terrorism, we have also included several books on Islam, which should serve as a primer for those interested in gaining an appreciation of the cultural and religious underpinnings of the broader situation we are facing.

We hope you find this suggested reading list and commentary useful and informative, and we hope that you will take the time to read some of these books. If you have any further questions or concerns, please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely,

  
Saxby Chambliss  
Chairman

  
Jane Harman  
Ranking Democrat

## **Suggested Terrorism-related Reading List**

Titles read by committee staff

### **General Terrorism Background**

**Crenshaw, Martha.** *Terrorism in Context.* Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995; ISBN 0271010142.

The book is a collection of essays that amounts to a broad survey of the history of terrorism and its expression in many regions of the world. The first contributions deal with the origins of the concept of terrorism and early modern Europe and 19th century anarchism. Later contributions include discussion of left-wing terrorism in Italy and West Germany, the Basque extremists in Spain, Northern Ireland, political violence in Argentina and Peru, and a variety of movements in the Middle East.

**Crenshaw, Martha.** *International Encyclopedia of Terrorism.* Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997; ISBN 157958022X.

The author produces a comprehensive encyclopedia covering all aspects of terrorism including both modern terrorist activities and its precursors, terrorist strategies and tactics, counterterrorism, and theoretical approaches to understanding terrorism. The book includes a chronology of world terrorist activity since 1945, an almost complete list of terrorist leaders and groups, and a select bibliography.

**Davis, Joyce M.** *Between Jihad and Salaam: Profiles in Islam.* 368 pages. St. Martin's Press, 1999. ISBN 0312217811.

The book is a collection of 17 interviews with influential figures in the Muslim world. The interviews include Anwar Haddam of Algeria's Islamic Salvation Front, Hassan al Turabi of the Sudanese National Islamic Front, considered by some to be a spiritual successor to the Ayatollah Khomeini, as well as moderate or liberal leaders such as former Pakistani Ambassador to the United States Abida Hussein.

**Hoffman, Bruce.** *Inside Terrorism.* 296 pages. Columbia University Press; 1998; ISBN 023111468.

This book provides a historical perspective on the development of terrorism from its origins in the French Revolution to anarchistic and socialist movements of the 19th century to the nationalism and posed colonialism of the 20th century. The author argues that a new terrorism can be seen in the emergence of groups such as fanatical Islamic and Jewish extremists in the Middle East, the extremist fringe of American militia movements, and apocalyptic sects such as Japan's Aum Shinri Kyo. He claims that this new terrorism is at the same time less tractable and predictable and potentially more dangerous due to these groups' access to weapons of mass destruction and their willingness to use them.

**Laqueur, Walter.** *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction.* 312 pages. Oxford University Press, 1999; ISBN 0195118162.

The author outlines the 21st-century threat of "megaterrorism." The book describes what it takes for terrorism to succeed, such as careful planning, an ability to improvise, small units of operation, the anonymity of large urban areas, and ready sources of money. The book is well written, as Laqueur is one of the most accomplished authors of terrorism-related material; however, he may not have sufficiently explored the issue of weapons of mass destruction terrorism. The following Laqueur books serve as a foundation to the terrorism issue:

*A History of Terrorism.* 277 pages. Little, Brown & Company, 2001 (Originally published 1977); ISBN 0765807998.

*The Age of Terrorism.* 385 pages. Little, Brown & Company, 1987; ISBN 0316514780.

**Reeve, Simon.** *The New Jackals: Ramzi Yousef, Osama bin Laden and the Future of Terrorism.* 256 pages. Northeastern University Press; ISBN 1555534074.

The recounts the extensive FBI investigation into the 1993 World Trade Center bombing masterminded by Ramzi Yousef. Drawing on unpublished reports, interrogation files, interviews with senior FBI agents who sought Yousef, intelligence sources and government figures, the author offers insight into Yousef's background. The author warns that Yousef and Bin Ladin are just the first of a new breed of terrorist, men with no restrictions on mass killing.

**Reich, Walter.** *The Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind.* 488 pages. Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1998; ISBN 0943875897.

The book is a collective of articles written by well respected terrorism experts and Islamic scholars. The book presents a good foundation of the factors that lie behind the use of violence by groups, states, and/or individuals to gain their objectives. The two primary articles in the book by Martha Crenshaw and Jerrold Post present two opposing views of the logic that lies behind political violent activity ("terrorists" activity). The case studies in the rest of the book support these two primary articles.

### **Counterterrorism**

**Lesser, Ian O., ed.** *Countering the New Terrorism.* 153 pages. Rand; 1999; ISBN 0833026674.

The authors characterize a "new terrorism" in which emerging groups with new sponsors, motives, agendas, and weapons have made the traditional Cold War analysis of terrorist conflict largely obsolete. The new terrorists are more loosely organized and flexible than the traditional groups and are gaining access to weapons of far greater lethality than mere bombs and guns.

### **Policy/Legal Implications**

**Dempsey, James X.** *Terrorism & The Constitution - Sacrificing Civil Liberties in the Name of National Security.* 206 pages. First Amendment Foundation, 1999; ISBN 0962770523.

The author traces the history leading up to the Anti-terrorism Act of 1996, which he claims is "one of the worst assaults on civil liberties in decades." Whether you agree or disagree with the author's comments he does provide insight into the argument that a national counterterrorism strategy, not properly planned, may not conform to the Constitution. The author discusses the impact of federal counterterrorist laws and policies on civil liberties. Parts I and II discuss the implications of FBI investigations and actions during the 1980s and early 1990s against groups such as Amnesty International, Earth First!, and U.S. supporters of left-wing insurgencies in Central America, as well as the agency's attempt to enlist the aid of librarians in tracking potential terrorists. Part III is devoted to the Anti-terrorism Act of 1996.

**Heymann, Philip.** *Terrorism and America: A Commonsense Strategy for a Democratic Society.* 179 pages. BCSIA Studies in International Security; The MIT Press, 1998; ISBN 0262082721.

The book is an introduction to the development of policy with regard to terrorism in United States and other democratic societies. The author explores the limits of action against terrorism in a democratic society. His key point is that better intelligence gathering is crucial, particularly with regard to the emerging threats of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons. But he emphasizes that government actions must not compromise liberty to the point that they destroy people's ability to trust their institutions. Lastly, he notes that international and state-sponsored terrorism requires somewhat different approaches than domestic terrorism, and the use of the military is often unsuccessful and counterproductive.

**Higgins, Rosalyn, and Maurice Flory.** *Terrorism and International Law.* 206 pages. Routledge Press, 1997; ISBN 0962770523.

The book is a comprehensive collection of documents, including laws and treaties, reflecting the response of the British, French, and international legal systems to terrorism. The book includes discussion of the extent and existing limitations of international cooperation against terrorism.

**Pillar, Paul.** *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy.* 272 pages. The Brookings Institution; 2001; ISBN 0815700040.

The author is a former Deputy Chief of the CIA's Counterterrorism Center (CTC). He provides a guide to constructing and executing counterterrorist policy, urging that it be formulated as an integral part of broader U.S. foreign policy. In the first four chapters, he identifies the necessary elements of counterterrorist policy, he examines why the United States is a prime terrorist target, and he reveals why the counterterrorist policies that seem strongest are not always the most effective. Chapter 5 examines the widely varying nature of terrorist groups and the policy tools most appropriately applied to them. Chapter 6 focuses on states that sponsor terrorism (including Iran, Libya, North Korea, and Cuba), along with those that enable it to occur (particularly Greece and Pakistan). He examines ways in which the American public's perspective toward terrorism can actually constrain counterterrorist policy, and he concludes that terrorism cannot be "defeated"-only reduced, attenuated, and to some degree, controlled. The final chapter summarizes his recommendations for amending U.S. policy. Regardless whether you agree or disagree with the author's position, the book is currently being read aggressively throughout the government and will factor into almost any discussion about the future of U.S. counterterrorist policy.

## Afghanistan

**Elliot, Jason.** *An Unexpected Light: Travels in Afghanistan.* 473 pages. Picador Press, 1999; ISBN 0330371614.

The author recounts his two visits to Afghanistan. The first occurred circa 1979 when he was smuggled into Soviet-occupied Afghanistan; the second happened more recently. The author describes skirmishes between the Taliban and forces loyal to the recently-assassinated Ahmad Shah Masood. Although the author's sympathies clearly lie with Masood, he does a good job of describing conditions in Afghanistan. His descriptions of the people, the landscape and Sufism are accurate and poignant.

**Rashid, Ahmed.** *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil & Fundamentalism in Central Asia.* 279 pages. Yale University Press, 2000; ISBN 0300089023.

This book, written by a Pakistani journalist, takes a deep look inside Afghanistan and the Taliban. The author effectively addresses the wide variety of ethnic groups in the region. Rashid does a notable job of collating a massive amount of information into a well-organized, readable book. Although his still tends to be journalistic in his writing style, the book gives a very good account of the people behind the rise of the Islamic fundamentalist movement in Afghanistan.

## Islam

**Nydell, Margaret.** *Understanding Arabs: A Guide for Westerners.* 164 pages. Intercultural Press Inc.; 1987; ISBN 0933662653.

A book with such a title is bound to offend some people, but it is a great resource for those who wish to better comprehend what they read and hear in the media about Arabs. It is an invaluable guide for people who may interact directly with Arabs and wish to do so with greater skill and understanding. The book addresses Arab values, beliefs, and perceptions and compares and contrasts them with those of Westerners.

**Sabini, John.** *Islam: A Primer.* 122 pages. Middle east Editorial Associates; 1983; ISBN 0918992087.

This book is a wonderful introductory handbook for anyone unfamiliar with the beliefs, practices, and/or history of the Muslim world. The text is clear, brief and to the point. Although the language is simple, the book is not simplistic and does not make sweeping generalizations. The book is organized by topic. The first chapter orients the reader with a geographic and demographic overview of Islamic world, while another chapter (Islamic Civilization) provides a cultural overview. 'The Spread of Islam' outlines political history of the Islamic world. Muslim beliefs and traditions, as well as the relationships between Islam, Christianity and Judaism, are explained.

## Weapons of Mass Destruction Terrorism

**Burke, Robert.** *Counter-Terrorism for Emergency Responders.* 368 pages. Lewis Publishers, Inc., 1999; ISBN 1566703638.

A handbook for paramedics, police, firefighters, and others who are first on the scene and may have to deal with an increasing number of chemical or biological terrorist attacks. The book provides step-by-step procedures for assessing and containing a situation and aiding victims.

**Falkenrath, Richard.** *America's Achilles' Heel.* 354 pages. BCSIA Studies in International Security; The MIT Press, 2000; ISBN 0262561182.

The authors assess current and future capabilities of terrorists to deliver weapons of mass destruction in the United States and consider appropriate policies for gathering intelligence and reaction to specific threats. They suggest that the threat of attacks through chemical, biological, and even nuclear weapons has been underestimated, but a careful, multipronged approach to counterterrorism can mitigate the danger.

**Graves, Barbara, ed.** *Chem-Bio: Frequently Asked Questions.* 175 pages. Tempest Publishing, 1998; ISBN 0966543718.

The book acts as an introduction to biological and chemical agents that may be used by terrorists, including details on detection, delivery methods, effects, treatment of victims, and decontamination procedures. The book is particularly designed for critical incident first responders, such as paramedics, police and firefighters.

**Roberts, Brad.** *Hype or Reality? The "New Terrorism" and Mass Casualty Attacks.* Chemical and Biological Arms Control Institute, 2000; ISBN 0965616819.

This book is on backorder and has not yet been read by staff; however, it is strongly recommended by leading terrorist experts.

**Stern, Jessica.** *The Ultimate Terrorists.* 176 pages. Harvard University Press, 1999; ISBN 0674617908.

Stern writes more fluently than most terrorist experts. She has compiled one of the leading books related to the use of nuclear, biological or chemical weapons by terrorists. The book calmly and concisely places in perspective the threat of terrorism using weapons of mass destruction. The author suggests the threat is real and the effects of a chemical or biological attack could be grave, especially when the effects of panic are added to the initial damage. However, there are a variety of commonsense approaches that can minimize the threat.

**Tucker, Jonathan.** *Toxic Terror: Assessing Terrorist Use of Chemical and Biological Weapons.* 303 pages. BCSIA Studies in International Security; The MIT Press, 2000; ISBN 0262700719.

This book brings together analysis of all known historical use of chemical and biological weapons (including toxins) by terrorists, as well as refuting three popular but apocryphal stories of such use. The book is absurdly thorough, and an invaluable historical resource, whether one agrees or not with the conclusions the editor draws from the collection.

## Cyberterrorism

**Center for Strategic & International Studies.** *Cybercrime, Cyberterrorism, Cyberwarfare: Averting an Electronic Waterloo.* CSIS Press, 1998; ISBN 0892062959.

Report by a task force on the vulnerability of U.S. information systems to hackers and terrorist attack, with recommendations for countering the threat. The book highlights that the U.S. must develop a comprehensive plan that understands the nature of the information revolution, identifies and secures government functions, understands the needs of the private sector, and provides oversight for the military's use of information warfare.

## Usama Bin Ladin

**Alexander, Yonah and Michael S. Swetnam.** *Usama bin Laden's al-Qaida: Profile of a Terrorist Network.* Transnational Publishers, 2001; ISBN 1571052194.

This book was published during the third week of September 2001. The book does provide a comprehensive, almost unabridged account of publicly known al-Qai'da network activities, as well as publicly identified members of the network. The book serves as a good desk reference on the network. It includes all statements made by Bin Ladin directed against the U.S., trial testimony of al-Qai'da members and indictments related to the federal prosecution efforts against Bin Ladin. The book; however, does not provide insight into the

modus operandi, plans or intentions of the network nor does it address the psychological and sociological aspects of Bin Ladin.

**Bodansky, Yossef.** *Bin Laden: The Man Who Declared War on America.* Forum, 1999; ISBN 0761535810.

The book is a reasonable biography of Bin Ladin, who overtime was generally thought of as a leading organizer and financier of international terrorism. To unravel his story the author provides context about Islamic extremists and their struggle against what they see as the cultural imperialism of the West. He suggests that rather than being an independent mastermind Bin Ladin is an agent to carry out a broader agenda.