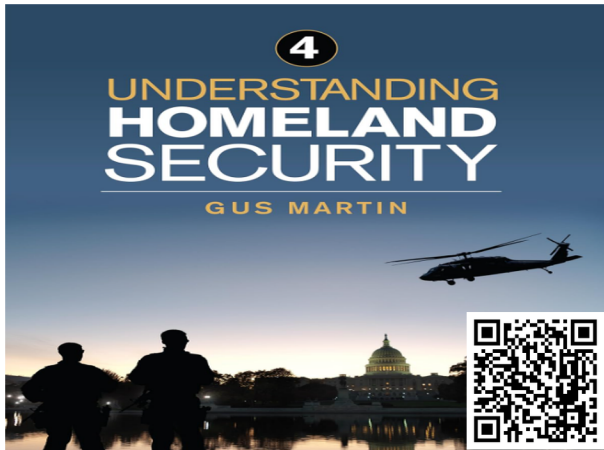


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UNDERSTANDING HOMELAND SECURITY

GUS MARTIN



Understanding Homeland Security

Fourth Edition

This book is dedicated to Jane Elizabeth.

What is the hardest task in the world? To think.

—Ralph Waldo Emerson

“Essay on Intellect” (1841)

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Understanding Homeland Security

Fourth Edition

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INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE

Welcome to *Understanding Homeland Security*, Fourth Edition, a comprehensive textbook for students and professionals who wish to explore the phenomenon of modern homeland security. Readers who fully engage themselves in the recommended course of instruction offered in the pages that follow will acquire a solid foundation for understanding the nature of issues addressed by the homeland security enterprise. Readers will also discover that their facility for critically assessing homeland security issues in general—and plausible incidents in particular—will be greatly improved.

At the outset, it is important to understand that the study of homeland security is, first and foremost, an investigation into how to secure society from the threat of violent extremism and other potential disasters. Courses that investigate homeland security must, therefore, review the policies, procedures, and administrative networks that anticipate and respond to plausible threats of political violence. None of these considerations can be discussed in isolation from the others if one wishes to develop facility in critically evaluating the nature of homeland security. Thus, the study of homeland security is also one of the most dynamic subjects in the social sciences.

This book is designed to be a primary resource for university students and professionals who require fundamental expertise in understanding homeland security. The content of *Understanding Homeland Security*, Fourth Edition, is directed to academic and professional courses of instruction whose subject areas include homeland security, terrorism, criminal justice administration, political conflict, armed conflict, and social environments. It can be incorporated into classes and seminars covering security studies, the administration of justice, conflict resolution, political theory, and other instruction in the social sciences. It is intended for undergraduate and master's-level university students as well as professionals who require instruction in understanding terrorism.

No prerequisites are specifically recommended, but grounding within one of the following disciplines would be helpful: political science, government, administration of justice, or public administration.

COURSE OVERVIEW AND PEDAGOGY

Understanding Homeland Security, Fourth Edition, introduces readers to homeland security in the modern era, focusing on the post–September 11, 2001, period as its primary emphasis. It is a review of theories, agency missions, laws, and regulations governing the homeland security enterprise. It is also a review of the many threat scenarios and countermeasures that exist in the post–September 11 era. Very importantly, a serious exploration will be made of the underlying reasons for constructing an extensive homeland security system—for example, threats of extremist violence, potential nonterrorist hazards, and historical episodes of challenges to homeland security.

The pedagogical approach of *Understanding Homeland Security*, Fourth Edition, is designed to stimulate critical thinking. Students, professionals, and instructors will find that each chapter follows a sequence of instruction that builds on previous chapters and, thus, incrementally enhances the reader's knowledge of each topic. Chapters incorporate the following features:

Chapter Learning Objectives. Using Bloom’s taxonomy, chapter objectives are summarized at the beginning of each discussion.

Opening Viewpoints. At the beginning of each chapter, Opening Viewpoints present relevant examples of theories and themes discussed in each chapter and serve as “reality checks” for readers.

Chapter Perspectives. Chapters incorporate focused presentations of perspectives that explore people, events, organizations, and movements relevant to the subject matter of each chapter.

Global Perspectives. Selected chapters incorporate presentations of international perspectives that explore global people, events, organizations, and movements relevant to the subject matter of each chapter.

Discussion Boxes. Discussion Boxes present provocative information and pose challenging questions to stimulate critical thinking and further debate.

Chapter Summary. A concluding discussion recapitulates the main themes of each chapter.

Key Terms and Concepts. Important terms and ideas introduced in each chapter are listed for review and discussion. These Key Terms and Concepts are further explored and defined in the Glossary.

Recommended Readings. Suggested readings are listed at the end of each chapter for further information or research on each topic.

CHAPTER GUIDE

This volume is organized into five thematic units, each consisting of pertinent chapters. A Glossary is included after the substantive chapters.

Part I. Foundations of Homeland Security

Part I comprises chapters that provide historical and definitional background; discuss all-hazards issues, the legal foundations of homeland security, and civil liberties debates; and supply an organizational overview of the system.

Chapter 1. History and Policy: Defining Homeland Security

Chapter 1 presents an introduction to the concept of homeland security. This chapter begins with a review of the historical context of homeland security. This historical perspective serves as the prelude to a conceptual analysis of homeland security in the modern era. The discussion concludes with a review of policy options for promoting domestic security.

Chapter 2. Homeland Security and the All-Hazards Umbrella

The discussion in Chapter 2 investigates the broad conceptualization of homeland security known as the all-hazards umbrella—this conceptualization encompasses both terrorist hazards and nonterrorist hazards. The terrorism nexus is discussed within the context of conventional and unconventional weapons and hazards. The all-hazards nexus is discussed within the context of nonterrorist hazards, such as natural disasters, technological scenarios, and climate change. Nonterrorist mass shootings and active shooter protocols are discussed.

Chapter 3. The Legal Foundations of Homeland Security

In Chapter 3, readers become familiar with central legal concepts underlying the homeland security enterprise. International and historical perspectives and events are explored, as are pertinent laws passed in the pre-9/11 era as well as legislation passed after 9/11. The scope of the USA PATRIOT Act of 2001 is outlined and discussed, including discussion of post-9/11 legislation such as the USA FREEDOM Act of 2015.

Chapter 4. Civil Liberties and Securing the Homeland

Chapter 4 investigates the implications of implementing the homeland security system on civil liberties. The careful balance between achieving security and preserving civil liberties is evaluated. A historical context of challenges to civil liberties is presented to provide an instructive perspective on the modern era. The implications of police–community confrontations are discussed.

Part II. Homeland Security Agencies and Missions

Part II discusses the homeland security organizational enterprise and its mission.

Chapter 5. Agencies and Missions: Homeland Security at the Federal Level

Chapter 5 discusses and evaluates the federal level of the homeland security enterprise. The scope of the federal homeland security bureaucracy is discussed, as is the role of the Department of Homeland Security. The discussion includes assessments of the roles of other sector-specific federal agencies. It also explores the mission of the military in supporting the homeland security enterprise.

Chapter 6. Prediction and Prevention: The Role of Intelligence

Chapter 6 discusses and evaluates the mission of the U.S. intelligence community and its presence as a member of the homeland security enterprise. This chapter investigates the configuration and central role of the intelligence community in securing the homeland.

Chapter 7. Agencies and Missions: Homeland Security at the State and Local Levels

Chapter 7 discusses and evaluates the state and local levels of the homeland security enterprise. The purpose of this presentation is to investigate administrative systems and resources available at local levels of governance, since it is from these levels that first responders are deployed when an incident occurs. State systems, local initiatives, and the roles of law enforcement agencies are discussed.

Part III. The Terrorist Threat and Homeland Security

Part III probes terrorist threat environments.

Chapter 8. Sea Change: The New Terrorism and Homeland Security

The nature of terrorism in the modern era is investigated in Chapter 8. This chapter compares and contrasts the “Old Terrorism” and the New Terrorism, explores the role of religion in modern terrorism, and examines new modes of terrorism and warfare. Asymmetrical warfare, net-war, and the destructive use of technologies are discussed. This chapter also discusses policy options for countering extremism and terrorism.

Chapter 9. The Threat at Home: Terrorism in the United States

Chapter 9 presents an overview of terrorism in postwar America. It probes the background of political violence from the left and right and presents a detailed discussion of leftist and rightist terrorism in the United States. The chapter also evaluates international terrorism and prospects for violence emanating from modern religious extremists on the left and right. The phenomena of domestic violent extremism and lone-wolf terrorism in the United States are explored.

Part IV. Preparedness and Resilience

Part IV discusses resilience, prevention, protection of security nodes, planning, and the role of responders at every level.

Chapter 10. Porous Nodes: Specific Vulnerabilities

Chapter 10 explores sensitive sectors of the homeland security enterprise. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the vulnerability of critical security nodes that may plausibly be targeted by violent extremists. It begins with a discussion of challenges to cybersecurity and continues with examinations of issues related to aviation, border, and port security. Among several cases in point, a discussion is presented of the policy implications of sanctuary cities and open border policies.

Chapter 11. Always Vigilant: Hardening the Target

Chapter 11 investigates target hardening within the context of several vulnerable sectors. Information security is discussed within the contexts of plausible threats, hardening cyber infrastructure, cyberwar as a counterterrorist option, and the use of surveillance technologies. Protecting critical infrastructure, border control, and transportation security are also discussed.

Chapter 12. Critical Resources: Resilience and Planning

Chapter 12 investigates the roles of resilience and proper planning, including the importance of prevention and mitigation planning. Within this context, responses to terrorist deployment of chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear hazards are examined.

Chapter 13. Critical Outcomes: Response and Recovery

Chapter 13 investigates response and recovery mechanisms, focusing on administrative coordination and planning. Within this framework, the discussion delivers an overview of federal, state, and local response and recovery coordination and planning. The challenge of reactive planning is also presented.

Part V. Homeland Security: An Evolving Concept

Part V discusses the future of homeland security.

Chapter 14. The Future of Homeland Security

In Chapter 14, readers are challenged to critically assess trends and other factors that can be used to project near-future issues involving the homeland security enterprise within the contexts of the all-hazards umbrella and the New Terrorism. In particular, this chapter presents fresh

discussions and data. Likely scenarios for homeland security challenges and threat environments of the near future are offered.

NEW TO THIS EDITION

- Chapter learning objectives apply Bloom’s taxonomy throughout to explain the critical importance of each chapter’s content.
- The content of several chapters has been reorganized to better reflect the changing homeland security environment.
 - Historical perspectives of the homeland security enterprise are updated in Chapter 1. An explication of the related disciplines of homeland security and criminal justice is also presented.
 - New discussions about active shooter protocols and the relevance of climate change to homeland security are presented in Chapter 2.
 - A focused definitional discussion of antiterrorism is introduced in Chapter 3. A contextual discussion of international and domestic law is also presented.
 - Chapter 4 presents a deeper discussion of the civil liberties implications of regulating the media. There is also a new discussion of the implications of police–community confrontations.
 - The roles of federal agencies and missions have been thoroughly updated in Chapter 5.
 - Updated discussion and evaluation of the global terrorist environment in the modern era are presented in Chapter 8.
 - A new discussion of domestic violent extremism and domestic terrorism in the United States is offered in Chapter 9.
 - The policy implications of sanctuary cities and open border policies are examined in Chapter 10.
 - An expanded discussion on cybersecurity and implications for the homeland security enterprise is presented in Chapter 11.
 - New discussions are presented in Chapter 14 on advancing the homeland security concept and areas of concern under the homeland security all-hazards umbrella.
- Critical topics have been added or expanded in the new edition, including
 - the role of FEMA and preparedness planning;
 - the different types of bombs that can be used in terrorist attacks;
 - the role of civil liberty and countering extremism through reform;
 - the responsibilities of the National Guard in responding to emergencies and restoring civil order;

- asymmetrical warfare and the contagion effect, particularly in the case of motorized vehicle attacks;
- resilience and the need for rapid recovery from emergencies;
- the Whole Community approach to local planning and preparedness;
- the militarization of the police; and
- electronic surveillance by government agencies.

Recent events, terrorist attacks, and cyberattacks have been included—for example, domestically, active threats from domestic violent extremists (DVEs) and domestic extremist movements such as rightist antigovernment extremism, white nationalism, lone-wolf mass casualty attacks, and leftist anarchist activism, and, internationally, continuing threat vectors from the New Terrorism, ongoing communal conflict in the Middle East, and responding to new cybersecurity challenges.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

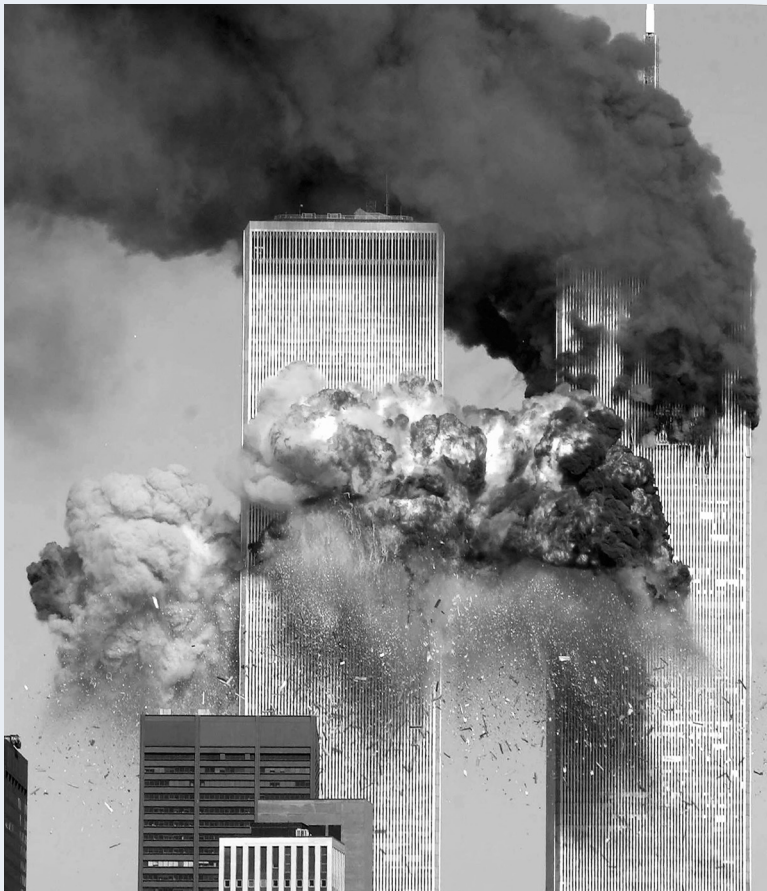
C. Augustus “Gus” Martin is Professor and Founding Chair of Criminal Justice administration at California State University, Dominguez Hills, where he regularly teaches courses on the subject of terrorism and extremism. He has served as Founding Director of the School of Public Service and Justice at California State University, Dominguez Hills. He has also served as Associate Vice President for Human Resources Management, Acting Associate Dean of the College of Business Administration and Public Policy, Associate Vice President for Faculty Affairs, and Chair of the Department of Public Administration. He began his academic career as a member of the faculty of the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, where he was Administration of Justice Professor. His current research and professional interests are terrorism and extremism, homeland security, the administration of justice, and juvenile justice.

Dr. Martin is the author of several books on the subjects of terrorism and homeland security, including *Essentials of Terrorism: Concepts and Controversies* (SAGE, 2022); *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues* (SAGE, 2024); *Terrorism: An International Perspective* (with Fynnwin Prager; SAGE, 2019); *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, Second Edition (SAGE, 2011); *Terrorism and Homeland Security* (SAGE, 2011); and *The New Era of Terrorism: Selected Readings* (SAGE, 2004). He is also the author of *Juvenile Justice: Process and Systems* (SAGE, 2005).

Prior to joining academia, Dr. Martin served as Managing Attorney for the Fair Housing Partnership of Greater Pittsburgh, where he was also Director of a program created under a federal consent decree to desegregate public and assisted housing. He was also Special Counsel to the Attorney General of the U.S. Virgin Islands on the island of St. Thomas. As Special Counsel, he occupied a personal and confidential position in the central office of the Department of Justice; sat as hearing officer for disciplinary hearings and departmental grievances; served as Chair of the Drug Policy Committee; served as liaison to the intergovernmental Law Enforcement Coordinating Committee as well as to the Narcotics Strike Force; and provided daily legal and policy advice to the Attorney General. Prior to serving as Special Counsel, he was a “floor” Legislative Assistant to Congressman Charles B. Rangel of New York. As Legislative Assistant, he researched, evaluated, and drafted legislation in areas of foreign policy, foreign aid, human rights, housing, education, social services, and poverty; he also drafted House floor statements, *Congressional Record* inserts, press releases, and news articles; and he composed speeches, briefing materials, and legislative correspondence.

Dr. Martin received his AB degree from Harvard College, JD from Duquesne University Thomas R. Kline School of Law, and PhD from the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh.

FOUNDATIONS OF HOMELAND SECURITY



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Hijacked United Airlines Flight 175 from Boston crashes into the south tower of the World Trade Center and explodes at 9:03 a.m. on September 11, 2001, in New York City.

- Chapter 1** History and Policy: Defining Homeland Security
- Chapter 2** Homeland Security and the All-Hazards Umbrella
- Chapter 3** The Legal Foundations of Homeland Security
- Chapter 4** Civil Liberties and Securing the Homeland

1

HISTORY AND POLICY

Defining Homeland Security

CHAPTER LEARNING OBJECTIVES

This chapter will enable readers to do the following:

1. Apply a working definition of homeland security
2. Analyze historical perspectives on homeland security in the United States
3. Explain the modern concept of homeland security and its dynamic qualities
4. Analyze policy options and response categories for threats to the homeland

OPENING VIEWPOINT: THE CONCEPT OF HOMELAND SECURITY

Events on the morning of September 11, 2001, profoundly impacted how the people of the United States perceived the quality of violence posed by modern terrorism. The United States had certainly experienced domestic terrorism for much of its history but never on the scale of the 9/11 attack and never with the underlying understanding that Americans themselves were primary targets. In previous generations and recent history, terrorist attacks were primarily the work of domestic extremists, and cross-border violence was perceived as an exception that occurred mostly beyond the borders of the American homeland. For this reason, domestic security initiatives prior to the era of homeland security were conceptually centered on suppressing domestic dissidence rather than responding to threats from abroad.

After the September 11 attack, a profound and fundamental policy shift occurred in the American approach to domestic security. A new concept, *homeland security*, was adopted to coordinate preparedness and response initiatives at all levels of society. The new homeland security enterprise marshaled the resources of federal, state, local, and private institutions. The intention was to create an ongoing and proactively dynamic nationwide culture of vigilance. This new concept supplanted previously reactive and largely decentralized approaches to extremist violence.

In the current domestic security environment, the new homeland security enterprise is conceptually dynamic in the sense that it evolves and adapts with changing domestic and international security threats and terrorist environments.

Unlike previous security environments, modern homeland security policies must necessarily be configured to link domestic policies to emerging international events; this is a dynamic and ongoing policymaking process. Depending on national and political necessities, its purview has also been expanded to include hazards other than extremist violence. At the same time, core initiatives and goals drive homeland security so that it has become an integral component of security preparedness and response efforts at all levels of government and society. Thus, the post-9/11 era has become a period of history wherein the concept of homeland security is common to the domestic security culture of the United States.

Homeland security is a relatively new concept that, however defined, exists to safeguard the domestic security of the United States and broadly promote the stability of society when man-made and natural disasters occur. Although originally configured to describe national responses to domestic terrorist incidents in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack, homeland security was conceptually expanded after Hurricane Katrina in 2005 to include preparedness and recovery from natural and hazard-related incidents. Nevertheless, it is the domestic security mission of the homeland security enterprise that continues to be its fundamental and underlying tenet in the modern era. An extraordinarily large number of resources—human and financial—are devoted to strengthening domestic security and coordinating this effort at all levels of government.

In the modern era, the threat of terrorism and other challenges to domestic security have significantly affected the missions of government agencies, nationally and locally. Every level of each domestic security organization, law enforcement agency, and emergency response institution incorporates homeland security contingency planning and training. Homeland security has become endemic to the modern domestic security environment and is arguably the domestic counterpart to international counterterrorist initiatives undertaken by national security and national defense institutions. However, although the concept of homeland security has created a fresh and pervasive domestic security environment in the modern era, similar security environments have existed periodically in the history of the United States. This historical perspective is often misunderstood and commonly forgotten in the current security environment.

This chapter investigates definitional issues in the study of homeland security. Here the discussion will probe the historical and cultural nuances of these issues and develop a critical understanding of why defense of the homeland became a central policy initiative in the United States. Historically, perceived threats to domestic security have resulted in the designation of sometimes controversial security environments. For example, periodic anticommunist Red Scares occurred during the twentieth century in which authoritarian procedures were adopted to preempt perceived threats of sedition. (Full consideration of the Red Scares is provided in Chapter 4.) Within this context, it must be remembered that the development of modern homeland security theory evolved within a practical and real-life framework—in other words, a nontheoretical reality in which actual and verifiable threats to domestic security do exist. Such threats emanate from both foreign and domestic sources. General categories of policy options in response to domestic threats are presented in this chapter to facilitate an understanding of definitional perspectives. These policy options represent examples of the domestic application of homeland security intervention.

The discussion in this chapter will review the following topics:

- The past as prologue: The historical context of homeland security
- Defining an era: What is homeland security?
- Domestic security and threats to the homeland: Policy options

THE PAST AS PROLOGUE: THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF HOMELAND SECURITY

In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack on the United States, the federal government exercised swift leadership in significantly altering the domestic security culture. It did this by aligning national response mechanisms with the newly emergent threat environment. The post-9/11 threat environment proved to be dynamic in the sense that it posed new

challenges for the homeland security enterprise over time—for example, the unanticipated emergent prominence of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant, also known as Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS), in 2014. For this reason, national response mechanisms were likewise required to be nimble in designing responsive policies.

It is important to understand that this modern alignment was not the first time the United States adapted its domestic security culture to perceived or actual threat environments. There are many historical examples that predate the post-9/11 era, and these examples provide historical context to the study of the modern concept of homeland security.

The modern homeland security environment grew from the need to design a systematic approach toward responding to threats to domestic security. Several historical periods predated the modern environment. Table 1.1 summarizes these historical periods, plausible threats, and defining events.

From its inception, the United States responded to foreign and domestic crises and threats during periods when the concept of homeland security did not exist in its modern context. Responses to emergencies and threats differed markedly depending on the security environment characterizing each period. Nevertheless, the perceived threats were deemed, at the time, to be significant enough to warrant intensive policy intervention.

External Threats to the Early Republic

During the colonial and early republic periods, most security threats emanated from frontier conflicts with Native Americans resulting from expansionist policies favoring settlers, and the burden of responding to such emergencies initially fell to local and state militias. Border security became

TABLE 1.1 ■ The Past as Prologue: The Historical Context of Homeland Security

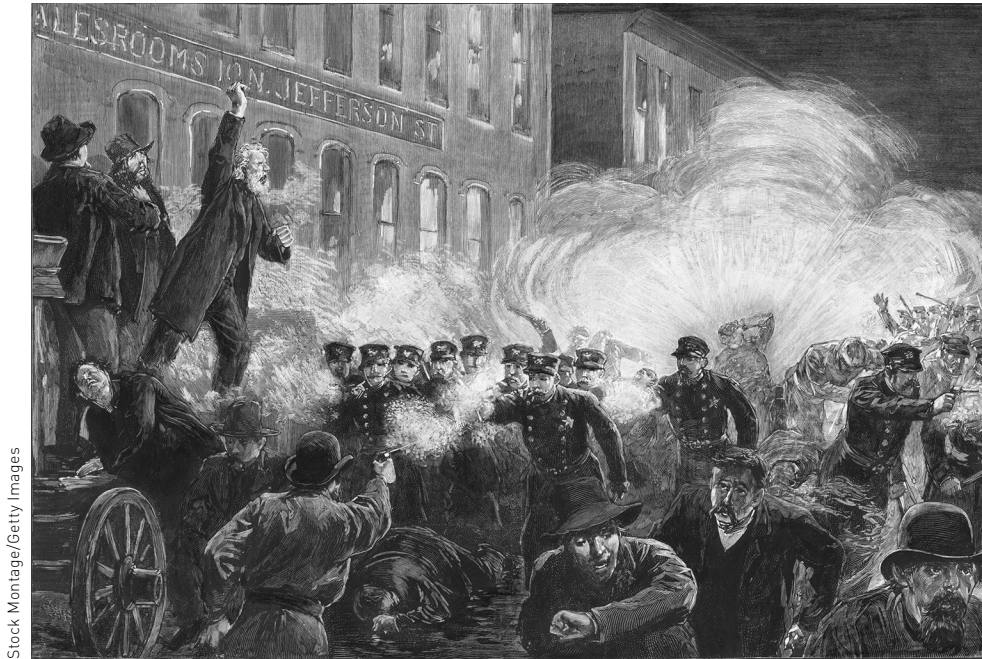
<i>Historical Period</i>	<i>Activity Profile</i>	
	<i>Plausible Threats</i>	<i>Defining Events</i>
Early republic (external threats)	Frontier conflicts Border security	Expansion into Native American territories War of 1812; Mexican Expedition of 1916
Early republic (domestic threats)	Early disturbances Regional conflict Labor and ideological conflict Racial terrorism	Shays' Rebellion; Whiskey Rebellion Civil War and Reconstruction Haymarket Riot; Homestead Strike; anarchist terrorism Ku Klux Klan terrorism
Modern era (post-World War II)	Cold War Domestic discord International religious terrorism	Civil defense Civil rights movement; other rights movements; domestic violent extremism Mass-casualty attacks

paramount in the aftermath of British incursions during the War of 1812, resulting in federal coordination of the construction and garrisoning of forts and coastal defenses. Border defense, frontier expansion, and occasional military campaigns (such as the Mexican Expedition of 1916) were typical security priorities. Nevertheless, until the Second World War, the national budget for centralized security spending in the United States traditionally remained low, except in times of war.

Domestic Threats to the Early Republic

Aside from early post-independence disturbances, such as the anti-farm debt **Shays' Rebellion** in Massachusetts (1786–1787) and the anti-tax **Whiskey Rebellion** in western Pennsylvania (1791–1794), security threats originating from domestic disputes were rare and short-lived. The Civil War and postwar Reconstruction in the American South were, of course, exceptions to this pattern. Federal policies during the Civil War and Reconstruction included what would be labeled civil liberties abrogations in the modern era as well as the use of national institutions (such as the army and federal marshals) to maintain order in the occupied South. As we will discuss in Chapter 4, restrictions on liberty have historically been enacted to address what were, at the time, deemed serious threats to the national security of the United States.

It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that labor-related and ideological discord garnered national attention. American workers began to organize labor unions during the Civil War era, and thousands of workers were union members by the 1880s. In May 1886, large demonstrations inspired by a strike against the McCormick Harvesting Machine Company occurred in Chicago. On May 1, 1886, a large May Day parade was held at the McCormick plant, and two days later a worker was killed during a demonstration at the plant. On May 4, a large rally at Haymarket Square in Chicago precipitated the **Haymarket Riot of 1886**, when an anarchist threw a dynamite bomb at police officers who were attempting to disperse the crowd. The police then opened fire on protesters. Seven police officers and three civilians were killed, and scores were wounded. During the **Homestead Steel Strike of 1892** on the Monongahela River near Pittsburgh, a strike by steelworkers resulted in a pitched gun battle between striking workers and hundreds of Pinkerton agents (in which the strikers prevailed). The strike was eventually suppressed following intervention by the Pennsylvania state militia. Both incidents are examples of serious labor-related discontent. In addition, ideological extremists, such as violent anarchists and communists, were responsible for events such as the 1901 assassination of President William McKinley (by an anarchist), the Wall Street bombing of 1920 (which killed and wounded more than 170 people and was never solved), and numerous other bombings and attempted assassinations. Federal soldiers and state militias were deployed on hundreds of occasions during this period. Racial terrorism, often committed by the Ku Klux Klan, also contributed to the perceived need for nationwide responses to extremist violence. In this environment, laws were passed to suppress activism and extremism. These included the Espionage Act of 1917, the Immigration Act of 1918, and the Sedition Act of 1918. During this period, known as the first Red Scare, federal and state government agents were deployed to disrupt perceived subversive groups and detain suspected extremists.



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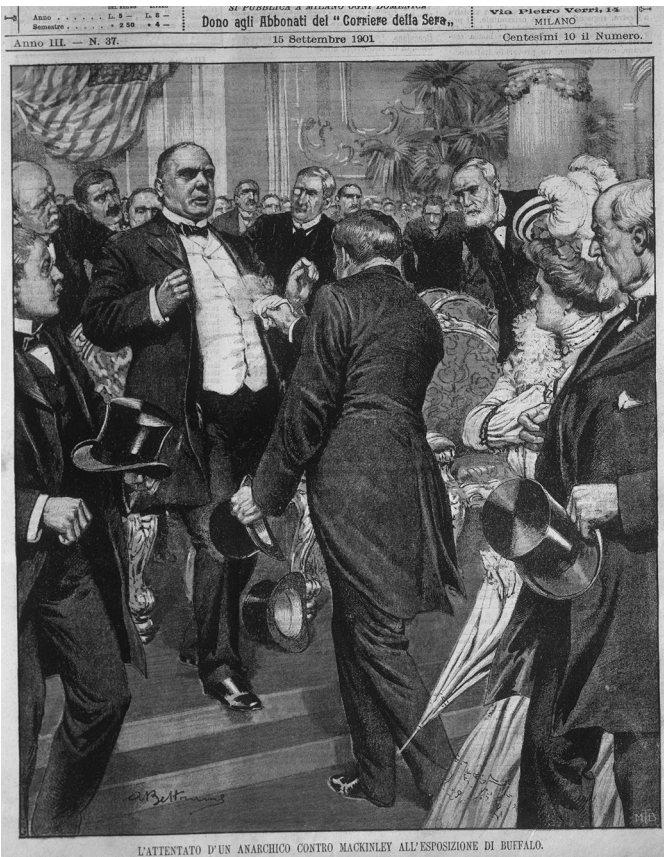
The Haymarket bombing and riot on May 4, 1886. Chicago police fired into the crowd after an anarchist threw a dynamite bomb which killed several officers.

Modern Precursors to Homeland Security

After the Second World War, the international community entered a prolonged period of competition and conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union and their allies. Known as the Cold War, the period from the late 1940s to the late 1980s was a time of threatened nuclear warfare, actual and extensive warfare in the developing world, and domestic security tension in the United States. The threat of nuclear war spawned an extensive network of civil defense programs in the United States, extending from the national level to the local level. Virtually every community engaged in **civil defense** drills and contingency planning. Federal civil defense initiatives were subsumed under and coordinated by a succession of agencies. These included the Federal Civil Defense Administration, the Office of Defense Mobilization, the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization, and the Office of Civil Defense. In 1979, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) was established for the overall coordination of disaster relief.

During the Cold War, domestic disturbances in the United States led to the initiation of federal, state, and local efforts to monitor activist activity and quell disorder. These disturbances included civil rights marches in the American South, urban riots during the 1960s, student activism on college campuses, rioting at the 1968 Democratic National Convention, and terrorist attacks by ideological and nationalist extremists. Disorders gradually receded with the passage of civil rights laws, the end of the Vietnam War, and the end of the Cold War, brought about by the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Following the Cold War, significant new threats to domestic security arose from extremists who had no compunction against launching mass-casualty attacks against civilian “soft targets.” The 1993 World Trade Center and 1995 Oklahoma City bombings were deliberate attempts to



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U.S. President William McKinley is shot on September 6, 1901 by anarchist Leon Czolgosz, who hid his gun in a handkerchief and fired as the President approached to shake his hand. McKinley died eight days later.

maximize civilian casualties and damage to the intended targets. The September 11, 2001, attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon was the final incident prior to the modern era of homeland security.

DEFINING AN ERA: WHAT IS HOMELAND SECURITY?

The catastrophic terrorist attack on September 11, 2001, was a defining moment for the United States. With nearly 3,000 fatalities, the nation found itself at war against an enemy who was clearly adept at converting modern technology into weapons of mass destruction. Thus, the dawn of the twenty-first century witnessed the birth of the modern era of homeland security.

In the era prior to the September 11 attack, law enforcement agencies and other sectors of the criminal justice system were generally tasked with providing services such as judicial due process, order maintenance, and safety enforcement. These missions were arguably the exclusive roles demanded of the criminal justice system.

In the post–September 11 era, the components of the system are also tasked with serving as central partners in the homeland security enterprise. This enhanced role is understandable, as pervasive domestic security systems became a new norm for the United States and, internationally, the nation embarked on its longest war. Significantly, law enforcement and other partners in the homeland security enterprise continue to serve as essential institutions for maintaining vigilance against terrorist threats, as evidenced by emergency response and domestic security procedures following the April 2013 Boston Marathon bombing. Thus, these disciplines—homeland security and criminal justice—are interrelated and completely compatible when discussing the homeland security enterprise.

Ironically, the death of al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden in May 2011 occurred on the eve of the tenth commemoration of the September 11 attack on the U.S. homeland. Chapter Perspective 1.1 discusses the successful hunt for Osama bin Laden and events leading to his death.

CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 1.1

THE DEATH OF OSAMA BIN LADEN

Al-Qaeda founder Osama bin Laden was killed during a raid by U.S. naval special forces on May 2, 2011, in Abbottabad, Pakistan. Classified as **Operation Neptune Spear**, the successful attack by a unit popularly known as SEAL Team Six ended an intensive manhunt for the most wanted terrorist leader in the world.

The successful hunt for Osama bin Laden originated from fragments of information gleaned during interrogations of prisoners over several years, beginning in 2002. Believing that bin Laden retained couriers to communicate with other operatives, interrogators focused their attention on questioning high-value targets about the existence and identities of these couriers. This focus was adopted with an assumption that bin Laden and other al-Qaeda leaders would rarely communicate using cell phone technology as a precaution against being intercepted by Western intelligence agencies.

Early interrogations produced reports that a personal courier did indeed exist, a man whose given code name was Abu Ahmed al-Kuwaiti. In about 2007, intelligence officers learned al-Kuwaiti's real name, located him, and eventually followed him to a recently built compound in Abbottabad. U.S. intelligence operatives observed the compound locally from a safe house and concluded that it concealed an important individual. Based on other surveillance and circumstantial intelligence information, officials surmised that Osama bin Laden resided at the compound with his couriers and their families.

Options for assaulting the compound included a surgical strike by special forces, deploying strategic bombers to obliterate the compound, or a joint operation with Pakistani security forces. The latter two options were rejected because of the possibility of killing innocent civilians and distrust of Pakistani security agencies. Approximately two dozen SEAL commandos practiced intensely for the assault, and were temporarily detailed to the Central Intelligence Agency for the mission. A nighttime helicopter-borne attack was commenced on May 2, 2011. The courier al-Kuwaiti and several others were killed during the assault, and women and children found in the compound were bound and escorted into the open to be found later by Pakistani security forces. Osama bin Laden was located on an upper floor of the main building and shot dead by SEALs. Four others were killed in addition to bin Laden, whose body was taken away by the assault team. He was subsequently buried at sea.

Al-Qaeda threatened retribution for the attack and named Ayman al-Zawahiri as bin Laden's successor in June 2011. Al-Zawahiri was killed by an American drone strike in Kabul, Afghanistan, on July 31, 2022.

Subsequent to bin Laden's death, al-Qaeda's leadership brand faced competition from a new Islamist movement calling itself the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS). The appeal of ISIS serves as an instructive case illustrating the ongoing dynamic and adaptive attributes of the Islamist movement.

Discussion Questions

1. What effect did the successful hunt for Osama bin Laden have on domestic homeland security?
2. Which options are most desirable when conducting global manhunts for terrorist suspects?
3. How can homeland security agencies and assets best be coordinated internationally?

The term *homeland security* was, at first, considered to be a rather vague and imprecise descriptor. It nevertheless became a conceptually integral element in designing policies to protect the United States from violent extremists. This section will discuss this concept by exploring homeland security within the following contexts:

- The modern era of homeland security
- Conceptual foundation: Central attributes of homeland security
- The homeland security environment: A dynamic construct
- A new focus: The *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review Report*



Official seal of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

Department of Homeland Security. Publishers thank the Department of Homeland Security for its cooperation and assistance. The Department of Homeland Security's cooperation and assistance does not reflect an endorsement of the contents of the textbook.

The Modern Era of Homeland Security

The modern era of homeland security began with the rapid implementation of a series of policy initiatives in the immediate aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack. These initiatives heralded the establishment of a new security culture in the United States, one that significantly affected the work of government and the everyday lives of residents. The new homeland security environment unfolded very quickly in the following sequence:

- On September 20, 2001, President George W. Bush announced that a new Office of Homeland Security would be created as a unit in the White House.
- On September 24, 2001, President Bush stated that he would propose the passage of new homeland security legislation titled the “Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act,” popularly known as the USA PATRIOT Act of 2001. The USA PATRIOT Act is discussed further in Chapter 3.
- On October 8, 2001, President Bush issued **Executive Order 13228**. This executive order was titled “Establishing the Office of Homeland Security and the Homeland Security Council” and stated that “the functions of the Office [of Homeland Security] shall be to coordinate the executive branch’s efforts to detect, prepare for, prevent, protect against, respond to, and recover from terrorist attacks within the United States.”¹ This statement of purpose by the United States was the first to result from the September 11 crisis and continues to guide the implementation of the concept of homeland security in relation to counterterrorist policies.
- Also on October 8, 2001, Executive Order 13228 established a Homeland Security Council, charging it “to develop and coordinate the implementation of a comprehensive national strategy to secure the United States from terrorist threats or attacks.”
- On October 26, 2001, the USA PATRIOT Act of 2001 was signed into law. Its stated purpose was, in part, to “deter and punish terrorist acts in the United States and around the world” by expanding the investigative and surveillance authority of law enforcement agencies.
- On October 29, 2001, the first **Homeland Security Presidential Directive (HSPD)** was issued by President Bush. Chapter Perspective 1.2 summarizes the first reported compilation of HSPDs as released by the Committee on Homeland Security of the U.S. House of Representatives.
- On November 25, 2002, the cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security was established when President Bush signed the Homeland Security Act of 2002 into law.

CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE 1.2

HOMELAND SECURITY PRESIDENTIAL DIRECTIVES

In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack, President George W. Bush issued a series of Homeland Security Presidential Directives (HSPDs). The House of Representatives' Homeland Security Committee published the first compilation of HSPDs in January 2008.ⁱ The following list summarizes the committee's first compilation. Classified HSPDs are included as they occurred in the initial compilation, but they have since been declassified as indicated.

- HSPD-1. Organization and Operation of the Homeland Security Council
- HSPD-2. Combating Terrorism Through Immigration Policies
- HSPD-3. Homeland Security Advisory System
- HSPD-4. National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction
- HSPD-5. Management of Domestic Incidents
- HSPD-6. Integration and Use of Screening Information to Protect Against Terrorism
- HSPD-7. Critical Infrastructure Identification, Prioritization, and Protection
- HSPD-8. National Preparedness
- HSPD-9. Defense of United States Agriculture and Food
- HSPD-10. Biodefense for the 21st Century
- HSPD-11. Comprehensive Terrorist-Related Screening Procedures
- HSPD-12. Policy for a Common Identification Standard for Federal Employees and Contractors
- HSPD-13. Maritime Security Policy
- HSPD-14. Domestic Nuclear Detection
- HSPD-15. Classified—Not Available (U.S. Strategy and Policy in the War on Terror)
- HSPD-16. National Strategy for Aviation Security
- HSPD-17. Classified—Not Available (Nuclear Materials Information Program)
- HSPD-18. Medical Countermeasures Against Weapons of Mass Destruction
- HSPD-19. Combating Terrorism Use of Explosives in the United States
- HSPD-20. National Continuity Policy
- HSPD-21. Public Health and Medical Preparedness

Discussion Questions

1. Are HSPDs a valuable tool in framing homeland security policy?
2. How practical are HSPDs for implementing specific strategies?
3. Are alternative sources of leadership, other than the executive branch, viable centers for framing homeland security policy?

Note

ⁱ Committee on Homeland Security of the House of Representatives, *Compilation of Homeland Security Presidential Directives (Updated Through December 31, 2007)* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2008).

An interesting international corollary is that, in the post-9/11 era, homeland security has been adapted conceptually to the unique domestic environments of a number of Western democracies. In the European context, what is now considered homeland security was historically framed under the concept of security and (recently) *interoperability* among partners in the European Union. This approach reflected Europe's long experience with combating domestic terrorism conducted by ideological and nationalist extremists. Regardless of the preferred phraseology among Western nations, the homeland security concept expanded considerably during the post-9/11 era.

Conceptual Foundation: Central Attributes of Homeland Security

Because homeland security is a dynamic and evolving concept, it is instructive to identify its central attributes—that is, key features that influence modern approaches to applying homeland security initiatives to domestic threats. These central attributes are distinguishing features and concepts that define the current homeland security environment, and they include the following:

- The terrorist threat
- The federal bureaucracy
- State and local agencies
- Collaboration on conceptual foundations for comprehensive homeland security



Osama bin Laden. Bin Laden was killed during a raid by a U.S. naval special forces unit in Abbottabad, Pakistan on May 2, 2011.

Department of Homeland Security. Publishers thank the Department of Homeland Security for its cooperation and assistance. The Department of Homeland Security's cooperation and assistance does not reflect an endorsement of the contents of the textbook.

The Terrorist Threat

The modern homeland security environment was created as a direct result of the terrorist attack on the American homeland on September 11, 2001. Plausible threat scenarios include strikes by international terrorists, such as Islamists influenced by the al-Qaeda network and ISIS. Possible scenarios also include attacks by domestic violent extremists such as homegrown ideological extremists as well as domestic proponents of religious extremism.

Subsequent attempts by violent extremists to launch domestic strikes have necessitated an unending effort to design and apply innovative domestic security policies and initiatives. As a result, verified conspiracies from international and domestic extremists have been detected and thwarted by law enforcement and intelligence agencies. A considerable number of domestic terrorist plots have been neutralized, and successful prosecutions of suspects have resulted in guilty verdicts and incarceration of conspirators.

The Federal Bureaucracy

The cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security (DHS) encompasses a large number of formerly independent agencies and casts an exceptionally wide, mission-focused net. Many DHS agencies have significant arrest and investigative authority, thus creating a massive (and potentially intrusive) regulatory bureaucratic enterprise. Other federal agencies not subsumed under the DHS are also tasked with engaging in domestic security missions.

Some agency roles overlap and are not clearly defined, but the federal bureaucracy is nevertheless responsible for framing general and specific homeland security policies as well as national responses. In effect, the federal bureaucracy provides overall leadership for the nation's homeland security enterprise and disburses resources and assistance to guide state and local authorities.

State and Local Agencies

Similar to the federal bureaucracy, states have created homeland security bureaus and agencies as a matter of necessity. Many state and local initiatives are undertaken using federal financial resources, which were widely disbursed following the September 11 attack. The result has been the permeation of homeland security offices and initiatives at all levels of government.

Homeland security training is a critical necessity, and a significant number of local law enforcement agencies regularly train personnel on how to respond to domestic security events. Non-law enforcement agencies, such as fire departments and emergency medical response agencies, similarly engage in homeland security training.

Collaboration on Conceptual Foundations for Comprehensive Homeland Security

Although achieving agreement on the conceptual foundations of homeland security appears to be a fruitless endeavor, one conceptualization is embodied in *The 2014 Quadrennial Homeland Security Review* (QHSR), discussed further in this chapter. The 2014 QHSR identifies “five basic homeland security missions . . . : Prevent Terrorism and Enhance Security . . . Secure and Manage Our Borders . . . Enforce and Administer Our Immigration Laws . . . Safeguard and Secure Cyberspace . . . Strengthen National Preparedness and Resilience.”²

These missions are the conceptual foundation for a comprehensive approach to homeland security that includes effective integration of all homeland security operations. Operational integration ideally includes emergency preparedness, managing incident responses, and recovery efforts. However, as a practical matter, it is often difficult to seamlessly integrate these components. This is because the selection and implementation of preferred homeland security operations is part of an evolving and sometimes vigorous policy debate. Nevertheless, planning and responding agencies generally attempt to collaborate on designing response options. There is general consensus that several fundamental response components are necessary and that these essential response operations require administrative integration at all levels of government. Thus, collaboration on the comprehensive conceptual framework presented in the QHSR is a desired goal in theory, if not always in fact.

The Homeland Security Environment: A Dynamic Construct

An important step with respect to defining homeland security is the need to develop an understanding of its relevance to the synonymic concept of *domestic security*. Both embody response options to threat environments existing within the borders of the United States. Within this context, although homeland security can certainly be significantly affected by threats originating from international sources (such as al-Qaeda and ISIS), the concept of *defending the homeland* inside its borders is at the heart of homeland security because of plausible threats emanating from domestic violent extremists. In comparison, the international dimension of waging the war on terrorism extends outside the borders of the United States and resides under the authority of

diplomatic missions, intelligence agencies, and the defense establishment. Defining homeland security is largely an exercise in addressing the question of how to protect the nation within its borders from threats domestic and foreign.

In the modern era, homeland security is a dynamic concept that constantly evolves with the emergence of new terrorist threats and political considerations. This evolution is necessary because domestic counterterrorist policies and priorities must adapt to ever-changing political environments and emergent threat scenarios. Factors that influence the conceptualization and implementation of homeland security include changes in political leadership, demands from the public, and the discovery of serious terrorist plots (both successful and thwarted). Keeping this in mind, the following statement by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security exemplifies the conceptual framework for homeland security in the United States (with emphasis added):

Protecting the American people from terrorist threats is the reason the Department of Homeland Security was created, and remains our highest priority. Our vision is a secure and resilient nation that effectively prevents terrorism in ways that preserve our freedom and prosperity. . . . Terrorist tactics continue to evolve, and we must keep pace. Terrorists seek sophisticated means of attack, including chemical, biological, radiological, nuclear and explosive weapons, and cyber attacks. Threats may come from abroad or be home-grown. We must be vigilant against new types of terrorist recruitment as well, by engaging communities at risk [of] being targeted by terrorist recruiters. . . . The Department's efforts to prevent terrorism are centered on a risk-based, layered approach to security in our passenger and cargo transportation systems and at our borders and ports of entry. It includes new technologies to:

- Detect explosives and other weapons
- Help [protect] critical infrastructure and cyber networks from attack
- Build information-sharing partnerships

We do this work cooperatively with other federal, state, local, tribal and territorial law enforcement as well as international partners.³

Thus, domestic security and protecting the homeland from terrorist threats must be considered core concepts when defining homeland security. These core definitional concepts embody the central mission of the homeland security community at all levels of government. Although the evolution and expansion of the homeland security umbrella will, from time to time, incorporate additional missions (depending on contemporary political demands), the central focus on protection from violent extremism is an enduring and basic definitional component.

A New Focus: The Quadrennial Homeland Security Review Report

In February 2010, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security published a document intending to consolidate the definition of homeland security by presenting the concept as encompassing a broader and more comprehensive mission than previously envisioned. The document was titled *Quadrennial Homeland Security Review Report: A Strategic Framework for a Secure Homeland (QHSR)*, and it was the first of what were projected to be regular quadrennial assessments of homeland security.

The intended purpose of the 2010 QHSR was to “outline the strategic framework to guide the activities of participants in homeland security toward a common end.”⁴ In this report, Homeland Security secretary Janet Napolitano explained that the core concept for this strategic framework is a new policy-related comprehensiveness, which she termed the **homeland security enterprise**. Napolitano stated,

The QHSR identifies the importance of what we refer to as the homeland security enterprise—that is, the Federal, State, local, tribal, territorial, nongovernmental, and private-sector entities, as well as individuals, families, and communities who share a common national interest in the safety and security of America and the American population. The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) is one among many components of this national enterprise. In some areas, like securing our borders or managing our immigration system, the Department possesses unique capabilities and, hence, responsibilities. In other areas, such as critical infrastructure protection or emergency management, the Department’s role is largely one of leadership and stewardship on behalf of those who have the capabilities to get the job done. In still other areas, such as counterterrorism, defense, and diplomacy, other Federal departments and agencies have critical roles and responsibilities, including the Departments of Justice, Defense, and State, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the National Counterterrorism Center. Homeland security will only be optimized when we fully leverage the distributed and decentralized nature of the entire enterprise in the pursuit of our common goals.⁵

The second QHSR assessment, titled *The 2014 Quadrennial Homeland Security Review*, was published in June 2014. The purpose of the 2014 QHSR was summarized as follows:

More than 12 years after the attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States is poised to begin a new era in homeland security. Long-term changes in the security environment and critical advances in homeland security capabilities require us to rethink the work DHS does with our partners—the work of building a safe, secure, and resilient Nation.⁶

QHSR assessments are deemed necessary because homeland security is an evolutionary concept, and documentary reports such as the QHSR acknowledge the critical need to formally review and assess the homeland security mission.

The foregoing approach broadens the definition of homeland security and clearly reflects the dynamic evolution of the concept in the modern era. As noted previously, the 2014 QHSR identifies five homeland security missions, each comprising two or more goals. These missions and goals are summarized as follows:

Mission 1: Prevent Terrorism and Enhance Security

- Goal 1.1: Prevent Terrorist Attacks
- Goal 1.2: Prevent and Protect Against the Unauthorized Acquisition or Use of Chemical, Biological, Radiological, and Nuclear Materials and Capabilities
- Goal 1.3: Reduce Risk to the Nation’s Critical Infrastructure, Key Leadership, and Events

Mission 2: Securing and Managing Our Borders

- Goal 2.1: Secure U.S. Air, Land, and Sea Borders and Approaches

- Goal 2.2: Safeguard and Expedite Lawful Trade and Travel
- Goal 2.3: Disrupt and Dismantle Transnational Criminal Organizations and Other Illicit Actors

Mission 3: Enforce and Administer Our Immigration Laws

- Goal 3.1: Strengthen and Effectively Administer the Immigration System
- Goal 3.2: Prevent Unlawful Immigration

Mission 4: Safeguard and Secure Cyberspace

- Goal 4.1: Strengthen the Security and Resilience of Critical Infrastructure
- Goal 4.2: Secure the Federal Civilian Government Information Technology Enterprise
- Goal 4.3: Advance Law Enforcement, Incident Response, and Reporting Capabilities
- Goal 4.4: Strengthen the Ecosystem

Mission 5: Strengthen National Preparedness and Resilience

- Goal 5.1: Enhance National Preparedness
- Goal 5.2: Mitigate Hazards and Vulnerabilities
- Goal 5.3: Ensure Effective Emergency Response
- Goal 5.4: Enable Rapid Recovery⁷

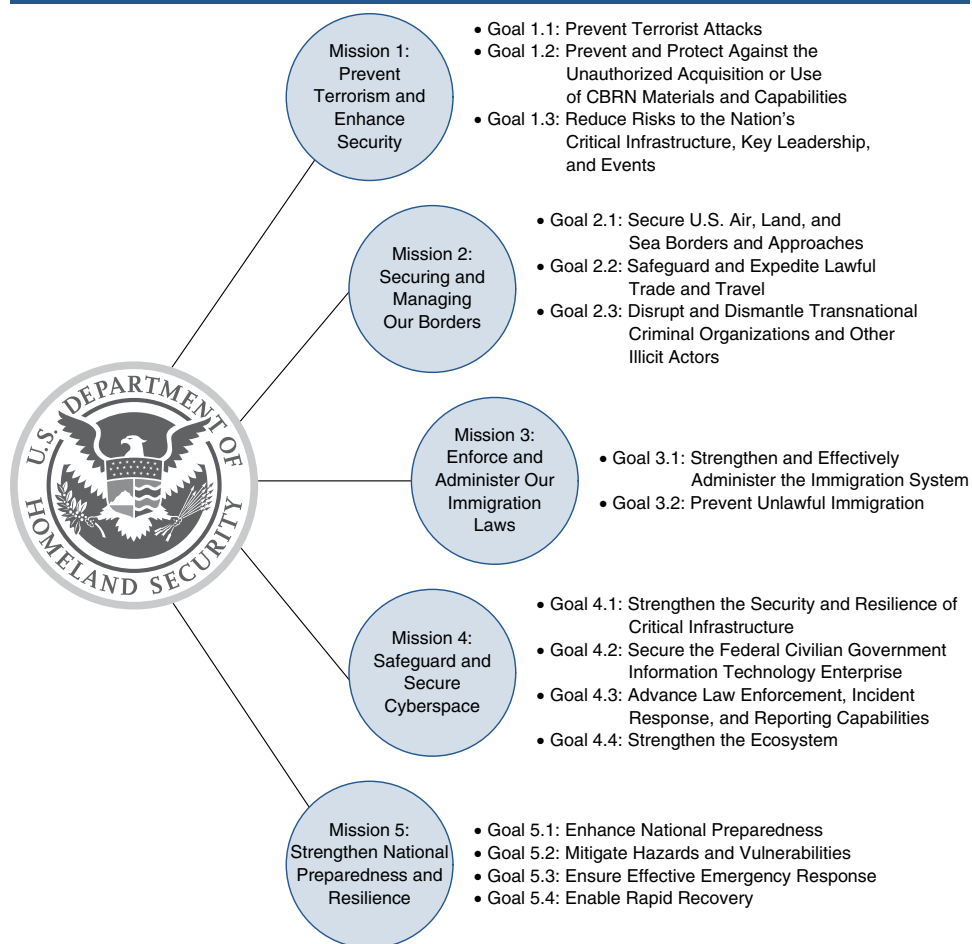
The foregoing missions and goals represent an all-hazards approach to the homeland security enterprise; full discussion of the all-hazards umbrella is provided in Chapter 2. Figure 1.1 summarizes the QHSR's representation of the homeland security enterprise.

At the same time, the QHSR reiterates the centrality of domestic security and protecting the homeland against violent extremists. As explained in the 2014 QHSR, there are six “prevailing challenges that pose the most strategically significant risk” to the security of the United States⁸:

The threats, hazards, trends, and other dynamics reflected in the drivers of change suggest several prevailing strategic challenges that will drive risk over the next five years:

- The terrorist threat is evolving and, while changing in shape, remains significant as attack planning and operations become more decentralized. The United States and its interests, particularly in the transportation sector, remain persistent targets.
- Growing cyber threats are significantly increasing risk to critical infrastructure and to the greater U.S. economy.
- Biological concerns as a whole, including bioterrorism, pandemics, foreign animal diseases, and other agricultural concerns, endure as a top homeland security risk because of both potential likelihood and impacts.
- Nuclear terrorism through the introduction and use of an improvised nuclear device, while unlikely, remains an enduring risk because of its potential consequences.

FIGURE 1.1 ■ *The 2014 Quadrennial Homeland Security Review: Homeland Security Enterprise Mission*



Source: Quadrennial Homeland Security Review Report. U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

- Transnational criminal organizations are increasing in strength and capability, driving risk in counterfeit goods, human trafficking, illicit drugs, and other illegal flows of people and goods.
- Natural hazards are becoming more costly to address, with increasingly variable consequences due in part to drivers such as climate change and interdependent and aging infrastructure.⁹

In essence, then, the dynamic nature of homeland security in the post-9/11 era has trended toward comprehensive integration at all levels of government and society in order to strengthen domestic security. The primary focus of modern homeland security originated in response to terrorist threats against the homeland, which continue to provide its central mission, but the newly articulated homeland security enterprise embodies the trend toward encompassing other domestic emergencies. The QHSR represents a systematic review of the homeland security enterprise.

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