

# The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in the United States

## A brief discussion of their political and strategic consequences for securitization

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### Introduction

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was an increase in the regulation of society, which reflected the rise of mechanical power over bodies as well as over the objects produced by them (these bodies) (Elias, 1993). Standards, sanctions, and other methods of coercion were created to create a highly disciplined social body to produce more effectively. Within a state, such modification reinforces the respect and enforcement of the established rules to fulfill the goals or behaviors expected by society. However, states maintain a system of relationships that involves political, economic, and diplomatic factors that are continuously organized and in which each country should have their own interests met to acquire power and safety, according to Wight (2002), or according to Bauman (2003), security and freedom. Therefore, power, freedom, and security are equivalent concepts denoting prosperity and, ultimately, the survival of the state, which requires vigilance and action against threats both real and potential.

History reflects ceaseless conflict and the mobilization of forces to achieve a greater quantity of goods, material or otherwise. The two World Wars during the twentieth century resulted in the creation of two political economic blocs –capitalist and socialist–marked by antagonism, mutual suspicion and regional conflict. The 1980s, which marked the end of this Cold War era, produced the expectation of an approaching period of peace and judicious conflict resolution among states.

During the 1990s, the United States retained all of the instruments of power described by Galbraith (2007)<sup>1</sup>, which allowed U.S. control of the international monetary system, promotion of free trade, and the diffusion of macroeconomic policies throughout capitalist countries. As the U.S. increased its power in the industrial, technological, and military fields, Americans believed that no enemy or adversary posed a threat. Such thinking was contradicted by the terrorist actions of September 11, 2001 in which nineteen extremists killed approximately 3,000 human beings<sup>2</sup>. Through planning and utilizing available means to achieve changes in the political field, the terrorist attacks ultimately spread terror among the population and demonstrated that, despite its power, the U.S. government was not competent enough to prevent the assaults that occurred within its territory. Despite optimism, the second decade of this century has produced a variety of challenges with roots in the Cold War as well as upheavals from new participants in the international arena.

The purpose of this paper is to present the main results of a larger study conducted in a PhD-level course in political science at the Fluminense Federal University, which analyzes how terror-

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ism has affected U.S. internal security after the attacks of September 11, 2001, especially in air transportation.

The methodology applied was based on the literature and other documented research. The documented research was obtained from Internet sites such as the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), and the Department of Transportation (DOT), among others. The U.S. air transport– passengers and cargo– data were examined and was aligned to parallel information regarding Brazil that was obtained from Internet sites including the Department of Transportation (DOT) ([www.dot.gov](http://www.dot.gov)), the Research and Innovative Technology Administration (RITA), the Bureau of Transportation Statistics ([www.transtats.bts.gov](http://www.transtats.bts.gov)) and INFRAERO ([www.infraero.gov.br](http://www.infraero.gov.br)). As a limiting factor in this research, the reliability of the data is questionable, thus making it difficult to identify distinctions among the data. For example, while complaints regarding baggage at U.S. airports, as will be discussed herein, involve a number of possible cases it is not specified whether the baggage was determined to have been stolen, damaged or late. Thus, it was necessary to estimate such results.

While Brazil propagates an image of itself among other states as a peaceful country, it is not exempt from being the target of terrorist actions. Accordingly, the main contribution of this study is its reflection in the academic environment, its analyses of societal events and the measures adopted by the U.S. to confront the actions of terrorist groups on U.S. soil since September 11, 2001.

## 1. Security politics and terrorism

According to Baylis, Smith and Owens (2008), safety is a controversial and elastic notion, which, unlike the Westphalian understanding, now includes economic, political, social, military and environmental factors. Therefore, the notion of security is linked to the idea of protection and freedom from dangers and risks; Ribeiro (2011) describes security as the preservation of unity, sovereignty and independence.

Thus, the conservation of society's integrity and individuals seeks to ensure welfare and safeguard interests, which is a function of politics. For Delgado (2004), security is a feeling and provides the conditions in which the individual can live in a community environment free from threats, which are the duty of the State to provide.

Security includes the preservation of the integrity of the state, the maintenance of the welfare and prosperity of its population, and protection against hazards and risks, which are the responsibilities of those who govern. Psychological dangers affect a sense of protection and tranquility, which affect both institutions and individuals<sup>3</sup>. The need for securitization is evaluated by those who make the decisions and requires understanding the motives and intentions of other participants in the political game. Misperception can produce disastrous results.

According to Bobbio (2000), the word politics originates from polis (Politikos), and it is considered appropriate to debate whether increasing security and power is a political function. In societies where inequality is persistent, political power relates to the power of one man over another, which reflects the relationship between those that govern and the people who are governed. Aims include protection against external attacks and survival. Another approach comes from the English language in which "political" refers to human activities such as acquiring and conserving indispensable resources to exercising power over other people. The second image produces a sense in which "policy", according to Bobbio, Matteucci and Pasquino (2003) relates to a directive aimed at solving a practical problem to benefit all or part of a group. According to Wolin (2008), an attempt to formulate rules and guiding principles of action to achieve a certain result can be utilized to generate changes in a variety of fields: political, economic, social and military.

From these approaches, politics involves struggles for authority to establish, enforce, and change rules through coercion to govern a particular territory or achieve adequate societal behaviors - a power relationship in which the subjects or subordinates receive an order issued by one who holds authority and receives obedience. According to Strauss (2009), beyond requiring the obedience of laws and rules and reflecting the characteristics of a common way of life, authority reflects the conventions established by the group members. According to Beasley et al (2011), political can be broadly understood as the science or art of governing the state. As actors in the political landscape, those who govern issue orders requiring submission and obedience from society.

In this respect, Pierson (2004) argues that politics has as its key feature, a focus on the provision of public goods, which are goods with production costs that are minimally affected by the number of individuals who will consume such goods. Public goods such as national defense and environmental protection, for example, are difficult to provide in private markets. The production of public goods that serve the community, which are not typically provided by other institutions, helps to establish the legitimacy of a political authority.

According to Jouvenel (2010), when relevant to the internal environment of a country, politics are considered internal or domestic, while when affecting an alien protagonist, they are considered external<sup>4</sup>. Note that in democratic states, policies should be governed by the people through elections and popular participation in national projects aimed at national prosperity. Domestic politics includes the activities of governments within their territories, relations among community members, groups and governments. These activities are becoming less distinguishable from the external affairs of a political unit as the economies of countries are increasingly connected. Foreign groups are increasingly able to interfere with governments and policies, even influencing the quality of life of people beyond the physical boundaries of their territories.

In the international environment, actors apparently deny the employment of violent means, where other actors do not act according to their interests, and maintain cordial relationships. However, when interference reaches an extreme, armed conflict arises, which Aron (2008) highlights as the *ultima ratio* to resolve issues utilizing the tools, habits and technique available.

Natural law<sup>5</sup> is not the focus of this paper, but the right to self-preservation and security, promoted by those who administer the community is considered valid.

Freedom, another concept in the approaches that address the power and safety impetus of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is based on Dahl's (2009) logic of equality<sup>6</sup>. That is, the idea that governments need the approval or consensus of the governed to making decisions. Freedom, technically, would increase the participation of members of society in national policymaking and involve the control of actions taken by governments<sup>7</sup>. The concept involves not only freedom to do what we want but also to deny what is undesired. Therefore, it is possible to deduce that higher requirements of security imply more government action, which ultimately restricts the freedom of the general population.

Therefore, it is possible to infer that the exercise of power between states, is the imposition of desires on less powerful states, and it is able to create antipathy in citizens whose interests are violated. If opposition groups resist and fight against the dominant unit, individuals may utilize violent methods to threaten the foundations of the current power structure or to harm the sense of security of the population. The analysis of terrorism, the subject of this study, then becomes relevant.

The terrorism is a form of violence that a particular group employs to generate changes in the political field and achieve their objectives. The adaptability of groups that use the terrorism to achieve their purposes, as evidenced by the ability to choose when and where to unleash their attacks, increases the feeling of extreme fear in the population. According to Hoffman (2066), such extremist groups exploit the vulnerabilities of enemy states to attack and spread terror among the citizens. Success is influenced by the following factors: mobility; availability of means

of communication; division into cells<sup>8</sup>, which provides greater safety; enjoyment of the same legal system that protects ordinary citizens; and access to weapons and explosive devices. Mimicry and irregularity characterize contemporary terrorist networks.

There is no way to undo the damage resulting from a successful terrorist attack. People died and public and private heritage is damaged. To combat terrorist networks, states employ the available tools, ranging from force, punishment, and mobilizing troops to offering financial assistance to those who contribute to the capture or elimination of members or sympathizers connected to these extremist groups. This conflict is a struggle to sustain the continuity of the state. Despite the disparity between the forces involved, the flexibility and adaptability of terrorist groups provide an advantage compared to government, which must utilize more bureaucratic and time-consuming processes.

The difficulty of identifying the enemy and being unable to eliminate the threat definitively is the primary obstacle to determining the effectiveness efforts. Moreover, in the *case of al Qaeda*, suicide, which may not appear rational, is a legitimate means of achieving a particular goal if the definition of rationality includes the maximization of expected returns. Governments combat extremist groups because their members now have access to implements of mass destruction hitherto available only to states.

The context of individual liberties in the U.S. seems to have been compromised by the events of September 11, 2001 and the resulting need to assure citizens of their security. Terrorism does not conform to established conventions<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, the unevenness of action is a fundamental characteristic of this phenomenon. Where globalization is prevalent, the attacks of 9/11 made terrorism a relevant issue to the American community. The immediate recognition of mistakes committed demanded the implementation of a series of measures to improve security by the U.S. political powers to prevent future damage to property and individuals. Thus, the U.S. sought to ensure the safety and survival of its citizens and to restore its security status, even at the expense of individual liberties.

## 2. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, and some of its consequences

The terrorist attacks on U.S. soil on September 11, 2001 were marked by the original utilization of aircraft against buildings. Moreover, the actions were taken against targets that represented U.S. military and economic power. The attacks are considered significant for targeting the population of the U.S and generating economic losses estimated at hundreds of billions of dollars<sup>10</sup> in addition to the psychological costs to society.

To address this scenario, the U.S. government adopted a series of measures that appeared to violate individual rights, that were colored by shades of arbitrariness and exaggeration, and that were justified by the countries leaders as actions aimed at restoring security and tranquility to the social body and at maintaining political unity. Scheppele (2004) confirms these conclusions by arguing that the U.S. government hesitated for three days before realizing that the country was at war. In this context, the President of the United States declared a state of emergency, and Congress authorized him to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons who planned, authorized, committed or aided in the execution of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001.<sup>11</sup>

From the context of a democratic country context wherein the popular will is exercised in elections by voting and by ratifying laws, etc., those who represent society also are seeking ways to achieve their aspirations and meet their needs. While their objective is to enhance the well-being of the citizens they represent, the resulting new scenario following 9/11 resulted in a resurgence of a government apparatus that has come to be classified as the state of exception—a diversion or exclusion from the general rule that is characterized in a democracy by an imbalance between what the laws are and how they are interpreted by politicians due to a suspension in or the lapse

of legal order. Such a lapse is denoted by noncompliance with laws as interrupted by constituted power.

According to Agamben (2004), when a political unit realizes that circumstance are placing its existence and its legal system at risk, the political body establishes a state of necessity and legitimizes changes in the law by claiming required urgency. In essence, the political unit establishes laws not previously enforced with the aim to maintain order. This theory is expressed in the words of Schmitt (2009, p.18):

*[...] Lo excepcional es lo que no se puede subsumir, escapa de toda determinación general, pero, al mismo tiempo pone al descubierto en toda su pureza un elemento específicamente jurídico, La decisión. [...] La autoridad demuestra que para crear derecho no necesita tener derecho.*

Therefore, although it has been conveyed that the changes in the United States after 9/11 resulted in the breakdown of the balance between current law and the political decisions being taken, we cannot say that it qualified as a state of exception. Instead, apparently the exceptionality generated by the attacks caused, as one of its consequences, changes in routines and processes that required adaptation by society. In addition, the acceptance of these changes by the population is perceived as implanted modifications to the laws that, while initially were considered a special situation, became normal. Thus, while there was no disruption of existing rules, further measures were implemented to address the new threat—*sigue teniendo derecho*. Moreover, it seems reasonable to deduce that the urgency of events, *l'urgence fit loi*, following Badie (2013, p. 28), dictates the law—that is, the timely adaptation of laws to meet a pressing situation.

After 9/11, the field of international relations is not only the study of relations between state actors but also the bindings of power between these political actors. Contemporary terrorism lends new meaning to the relations between nations as the usual connections between states are threatened by groups that oppose the state. Because terrorist associations do not represent the same threat to state sovereignty generated by another state, it is difficult to utilize Realism<sup>12</sup> to analyze this phenomenon.

Similarly, ideas such as interdependence, cooperation and interaction—the soft or hard power<sup>13</sup> prevalent in the Liberal conception—are inadequate to address the relationship between the state and terrorist groups.

However, Complex Regional Security, a theory proposed by Buzan, Waever and Wilde (1998), holds that the securitization of a state is bound to the political, military, economic, environmental and social sectors is better suited to the study of terrorism. According to this view,<sup>14</sup> *the modus operandi* of terrorist networks increases the plausibility that the five areas listed above may be affected by terrorist actions. Therefore, this theoretical approach is better suited than other frameworks to analyze terrorism.

Since Thucydides (1987)<sup>15</sup>, the idea of defending a territory through intimidation and threats has been present. In the twentieth century, as in Pape (1988), the increasing the potential for regional hegemony and the growth of that power meant that the security and defense policies of states emphasized actions to coerce<sup>16</sup> and deter<sup>17</sup> potential adversaries. If this is not effective, military strategy should provide the ability to project force before its territory is attacked or invaded.

A noticeable change in U.S. strategy<sup>18</sup>, understood as a manner of gaining advantage over opponents or enemies, or the art of acquiring the goals set by political power through the optimization of available resources, for combating this new threat has occurred. Because a distinct relationship exists between political units, the ability of the state to coerce and deter terrorist groups is hampered. For example, such groups possess neither defined territory nor borders.

During the Cold War period, the major theoretical explanation consisted of the “Security Dilemma”. Terrorism presents a strategic challenge rather than a dilemma; it is preferable to

strike first (preemption – anticipation) or extirpate the danger before it becomes imminent (prevention).<sup>19</sup>

In the struggle against extremist groups after the attacks, the United States developed regulatory policies<sup>20</sup> to direct government and societal actions. Support for these actions came at the expense of the values protected by the First Amendment of its Constitution.<sup>21</sup>

The United States government also passed and implemented the Patriot Act, which was intended to unite and strengthen America by providing appropriate tools to intercept and obstruct terrorism, Public Law 107-56, on October 26, 2001.<sup>22</sup> According to the U.S. Department of Justice, the first priority was to prevent future attacks and the Patriot Act provides appropriate tools to intercept and obstruct terrorism. This measure allows operations to safeguard citizens from terrorist plots aimed at the destruction of the USA as well as Americans' lifestyle.<sup>23</sup> In this sense, the acceptance of the Act by the population corroborates Bauman's (2003) ideas of the tradeoff between security and values of the American people.

Thus, "the blessings of liberty" protected by the Constitution were set aside with measures such as "a military order, ordered by the President of the United States on November 13, 2001, which authorizes the indefinite detention and the proceedings before the military commissions of non-citizens stamped as suspected of involvement in terrorist activities":

*"[...] Allows the Attorney General maintain under arrest "the alien" suspected of activities that endanger the national security of the United States". Still, [...] "The Taliban captured in Afghanistan does not enjoy the status of POW (prisoner of war) in accordance with the Geneva Convention, nor has those the accused shall enjoy according to U.S. law." (Agamben, 2004, p.14).*

From that moment, an individual suspected of terrorist activity could be investigated and imprisoned by government agents without the need for prior complaints, which represents an infringement of individual freedoms in favor of security. However, U.S. society accepts this exceptionality in the state of rights.

The reorganization of agencies such as the Department of Homeland Security<sup>24</sup>, which was established on November 25, 2002, to monitor and combat terrorist actions. This department was created in 2002 and was allocated a budget of 56.3 billion dollars for fiscal year 2011 to prevent terrorism, provide security and border management, strengthen and administer immigration laws, monitor cyber security, and ensuring resilience to disasters. These services were provided by older agencies that were restructured to face the threat posed by contemporary terrorism.<sup>25</sup>

The 9/11 National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States was created on November 27, 2002 to investigate the events leading up to September 11, 2001.<sup>26</sup> In its report, the Commission identifies failures in the intelligence sector such as the failure to detect signals that could anticipate terrorist movements. Additionally, airport security provided by the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) was insufficient because it was unable to communicate with the U.S. military to coordinate interception of the diverted aircraft.

In addition to the changes described above, the restructuring of U.S. government agencies to adapt to the new threat posed by terrorism indicates the strengthening of the political organization. The new definitions of terrorism adopted by the State Department, FBI, DHS and the Department of Defense illustrate that a definition becomes useless when it no longer serves organizational purposes and may reflect an increase in power, as described in Cohn (2003).

The values of the U.S. gross domestic product (GDP) are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1: U.S. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Military Expenditures (2000 – 2013), in current dollars.**

Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
U.S. GDP (in trillions of dollars)*	10,29	10,62	10,98	11,51	12,28	13,1	13,86
U.S. Military Expenditures (in billions of dollars)**	301,7	312,7	356,7	415,2	464,7	503,4	527,7

Year	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
U.S. GDP (in trillions of dollars)*	14,45	14,72	14,42	14,96	15,53	16,25	16,8
U.S. Military Expenditures (in billions of dollars)**	557	621,1	668,6	698,2	711,3	684,8	640,2

\* Available at: [www.data.worldbank.org](http://www.data.worldbank.org). Access on November 22, 2014.

\*\* Available at: [www.sipri.org](http://www.sipri.org). Access on November 22, 2014.

These figures help explain how it is possible for a country to maintain significant investments and expenditures for its armed forces, with the aim being to ensure security and combat terrorist groups.

In practical terms, there was an effort by the U.S. military sector from fiscal year 2001 through 2005 to increase the financial resources of their Special Operations Command from \$3.8 billion to more than \$6.4 billion. Thus, according to the GAO (2006),<sup>27</sup> funds were allocated for the recruitment, training, and retaining of the U.S. Special Operations Forces (SOF).<sup>28</sup>

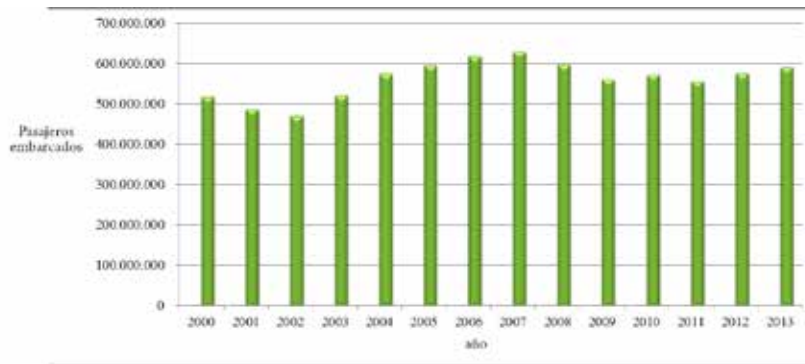
A similar measure for fighting terrorism was the increased dedication of resources to the armed forces and the Department of Homeland Security. Such resources could be allocated to other spheres such as health and education, but this allocation reflects the U.S. prioritization of their society's survival.

Another aspect relevant to this study is the set of alterations introduced in the aviation industry and in airports following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Barat (2012) compares air transportation to other modes, including railway, terrestrial and maritime transport and finds that the first of them (air transportation) is the most effective in fulfilling source-destination paths, especially for long journeys. Additionally, the air transportation industry grows each year; aircraft possesses advantages such as range and speed, which is made possible by the increased amount of fuel carried in their reservoirs. As Douhet (1988), a proponent of the idea of air power, noted, because no physical barriers exist in the skies, the deviation of aircraft from their planned routes is possible.

The attacks of September 11, 2001 revealed an inefficient and ineffective U.S. air defense system that was unable to detect aircraft hijacking or to intercept the planes, which allowed the subsequent destruction. The research literature reports that the U.S. had never planned for or simulated responses to any attack utilizing airplanes as missiles against targets located within its territory. The attack by al Qaeda caused shock in the United States and revealed the country's unpreparedness to face that type of action. These factors contributed to the ability of the terrorist group to exploit the vulnerability of the U.S. For some time after the attacks, the population

questioned the reliability of aerial transportation. These circumstances highlight the fact that extremist groups take advantage of the weaknesses in a stronger opponent to spread terror in its society; however, the attacks did not produce political weakening.

Outlined in Figure 1 are the quantities of air transport users for the period 2000 to 2013.



**Figure 1: Enplaned passengers per year in the US from 2000 to 2013, according to the DOT**

Source: The author based on: <http://www.dot.gov/airconsumer>

The number of passengers on aerial transportation fell in 2002, perhaps as the result of distrust in this mode of transport. However, by 2007, there were successive increases in the number of users of aircraft transportation. Between 2008 and 2009, the number of passengers declined, likely due to the global financial crisis, but recovery continued.

The number of passengers processed through U.S. airports, in 2013 totaled 590,807,125 individuals,<sup>29</sup> while those passing through Brazil's 63 airports,<sup>30</sup> according to INFRAERO, was 135,745,599. With respect to cargo transportation, in 2013, the U.S. moved 22,472,166,000<sup>31</sup> tons of cargo compared to Brazil's 634,294,085 tons.<sup>32</sup> These figures justify the need for organization and control to minimize the possibility of not detecting explosive devices or illicit items carried by air.

According to Elias (2010), the implementation of additional security measures in U.S. airports to combat threats and hazards has affected the facilities and comfort of the users of air transportation. Initially, the changes produced complaints but passengers eventually became accustomed and experienced direct benefits from the use of these systems of detection for explosives and other types of illegal activities, such as arms smuggling and drug trafficking.

Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) has been tasked with coordinating the detection of explosive devices on baggage by air; requiring airlines and airplane manufactures to the strengthen cabin doors aircrafts; and screening foreign students who apply to flight instruction courses, especially for large aircrafts. These measures reduce the vulnerabilities of the country from terrorist threats and enhance the securitization process.

From the moment an airplane is diverted from its path to the time that change is detected by defense agencies and the means of interception and destruction of the aircraft are established may require a period of time that is too lengthy to interrupt an attack. The prevention of this type of attack is most effective, and explains the move to reinforce the cabin doors on aircraft.

In addition to more rigorous inspection of passengers, baggage and cargo, electronic systems have been developed to detect explosives (Explosive Detection Systems-EDS). Federal employees received training to operate such equipment and install these EDS in U.S. airports to avoid additional disasters.



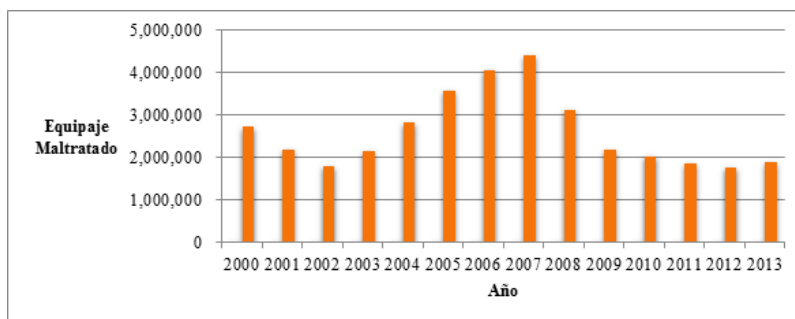
Another procedure introduced in the aviation industry to eliminate unlawful interference and ensure the safety of both passengers and people on the ground was the SPOT (Screening of Passengers by Observation Techniques) program launched by the TSA in 2010. This program implements techniques in which passengers are observed and visually inspected by officials searching for particular suspicious behaviors. When identified, people requiring “special care” are diverted to a reserved place for a thorough “interview”.

These rigorous inspections may not occur in all countries around the world; however, countries that are part of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) such as Brazil, are required to check all luggage carried by air using EDS, including cargo in air freight bays. If any doubts persist over a piece of luggage, it is inspected manually, especially when the destination is the United States. This procedure illustrates how an event that occurred in a particular political unit can affect the other members of the international community.

Despite the measures taken by the U.S. to improve the airport security, the possibility of losing luggage in an airport suggests that it is also possible inserted an object. The security efforts may be insufficient.

Despite the measures taken by U.S. political powers to improve airport security, given that lost baggage in the highly trafficked area of an airport can mean that an object can be implanted in that same sector, the efforts taken thus far may not be sufficient to prevent future terrorist events using aircraft.

According to documents regarding complaints by those who use air transportation, baggage that was treated inappropriately (mishandled) involved complaints from all of the following categories: problems with flights; overbooking of flights; booking and distribution of tickets; boarding of flights; tariffs; reimbursements; baggage issues; customer service; meeting of disability needs; advertising; discrimination; animals; among others. The number of complaints reached approximately two million in 2011,<sup>33</sup> one million eight hundred thousand in 2012 and two million in 2013, as presented in Figure 2:



**Figure 2: Mishandled baggage per year in US airports during the period 2000-2013**

Source: The author based on: <http://www.dot.gov/airconsumer>.

Interpolating from the complaints registered by the DOT customer service, the number of specific reports regarding baggage issues, damages, delays and losses are presented in table 2:

**Table 2: Reports related specifically to luggage between 2011 and 2013, at U.S airports.**

Year	Complaints relating to baggage against U.S. Companies	Complaints relating to baggage against foreign companies
2011	1.350	471
2012	1.416	719
2013	1.372	731

Source: the author based on <http://www.dot.gov/airconsumer>

Unfortunately, there are no precise data regarding the number of lost luggage. However, it is concluded that it did occur in some cases. Therefore, it is can be concluded that people who may have intended to commit acts prohibited by law had access to sterile areas of airports.

The need for increased security justified the incorporation of additional security measures against acts of unlawful interference not only in the mode of air transportation, but in basic U.S. routines. Despite the rigorous surveillance and search and arrest of suspects that may have led to the violation of an individual's civil liberties, such as the right to privacy and information confidentiality, such actions were justified by the need to anticipate and prevent acts of violence that could result in the deaths of a portion of the nation's population.

A summary of the results obtained, according to the established variables: political, economic, military, social and environmental proposed by Buzan, Waever and Wilde (1998), and on the aviation safety, is presented in table 3:

**Table 3: Summary of the results obtained in the study, according to the established variables.**

Securitization and airport security factors	Actions
Politics	Regulatory and institutional changes implemented by various levels of organizations led to, among other things, an increase in monitoring and controlling the flow of people and property. The creation of institutions such as the DHS and TSA increased the deployment of security measures. Moreover, for those organizations that are essentially synonymous with power, it is deduced that after the attacks of September 11, 2001, there was considerable enforcement of American power, especially in the following areas.
Economics	The growth of the gross domestic product from 2001 to 2014, thus confirming the premise that terrorism did not weaken the U.S.
Military	The increase in military spending between 2001 and 2014 due to the employment of troops in Iraq and Afghanistan.
Social	Though unconfirmed, there appeared to be greater cohesion at the social level after the events of 9/11. It is possible that this was because the fear of future attacks promoted by terrorist groups resulted in a sense of impotence among the people.
Environmental	The creation of the DHS meant that there was a new body focused on preventing public calamities and disasters promulgated by terrorists. It can be inferred that the focus on the use of mass destruction artifacts and the consequences of such use is an assignment of that institution.
Aviation Security	The increase in baggage, cargo and passenger inspections and the establishment and adoption of standards and additional security procedures aimed at combating acts of unlawful interference. Examples are the checks of baggage and cargo using the EDS and the personal inspections by trained agents in the event of suspicious behavior.

Source: The author

### 3. Conclusion

From what has been presented, it appears that when the political unit realizes that its safety is compromised and that its survival is threatened, as in the U.S. case, represented by terrorist actions, the State adopts and develops measures aimed at improving their agenda of securitization. Even if this means that aside for values such as their freedom—freedom is exchanged for safety expected to be received and, thus, is subjected to what is considered as good, the useful.

It is conjectured also that even with the extinction of extremist groups, the arising changes become perennial, in which there is a self-reinforcement, because of the greater and better security available to society and as new organizations are created and their needs are being met, increasing their relative efficiency and generating a positive feedback. Therefore, the measures that have been adopted in the United States after the terrorist attacks of 9/11, including the increase in surveillance and the magnification of violence, are justified by the fear that new activities considered harmful proliferate and disasters recur.

It is noteworthy that the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, produced an unusual circumstance in the internal environment of the United States, which brought changes regarding exceptional securitization in the political, economic, military, social and environmental, that will hardly step back.

The internal organization suffered improvements that caused repercussions on the international scenario, though, is not possible neither to assert that served to reduce the population's feeling of fear in relation to future acts, nor that caused the weakening of the country.

It is a right and a duty of citizens to resist oppression when the government violates the law. In the case of the changes instituted by the U.S. government, this resistance has not occurred. Therefore, it is possible to deduce the acceptance and submission of the U.S. population does not place restrictions or modifications on political power.

With respect to the economic and military sectors, the gross domestic product of the U.S. reached \$16.8 trillion in 2013, while military expenditures have exceeded six hundred billion dollars since 2008, suggesting that a weakening of the U.S. did not occur. Regarding social aspects, it is hypothesized that fear gave rise to a sense of impotence in the people - the result of concern about future attacks. The creation of the DHS meant there was a new institution whose goal was to prevent public disasters - in particular, the use of weapons of mass destruction.

With regard to air transport, the means exploited by terrorists to carry out the events of September 11, 2001, it is clear that measures to increase security at airports forced the U.S. government, through its institutions, to lead the process. Accordingly, such measures ranged from greater control of prospective students in pilot courses to shields on the access doors to the aircraft control compartment. More rigorous laws regarding entry to sterile areas of airports were also achieved with the implementation of SPOT and with the increased efforts to monitor both passengers and baggage by EDS.

Despite all of the efforts and all of the procedural changes implemented, especially within the air transport system, failures have occurred. For example, a young man traveled from San Jose, California, to Maui, Hawaii, in the landing gear compartment of a Boeing 767 - Hawaiian Airlines flight 45, in April 2014.<sup>34</sup> This act constituted a breach in security and revealed that weaknesses in the securing of sterile areas of airports still exist. Similarly, the possibility of creating facial masks using 3D printers, according to articles published by the press in May 2014,<sup>35</sup> allows for circumventing security cameras and, hence, creates challenges for the SPOT program and provides new vulnerabilities with respect to airport security. Thus, it is conjectured that in the light of terrorist tactics to take advantage of the weaknesses of their targets, they will look for gaps in the very security systems that are focused on aviation protection policies. Consequently, such policies must undergo constant changes, and the tools and systems developed must continue to exploit all technological enhancements, thus making it more difficult for extremist groups to carry out

their acts of terrorism. Moreover, security teams must undergo continual training. The changes brought about by the events of 9/11 affected not only the United States, but all political units. □

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## Notes

1. Note that the instruments available to the state for the exercise of power include condign, compensatory and conditioned instruments based on personality, wealth and organization (GALBRAITH, 2007).

2. According to the number of death certificates issued by the Office of the New York Medical Examiner, the attacks on the World Trade Center killed 2,749 non-terrorists, including the occupants of the hijacked planes. New York City Office of the Chief Medical Examiner report, “WTC Victim List” undated (as of July 9, 2004). The Pentagon attack killed 184 non-terrorists, including the occupants of the aircraft. FBI report, list of Pentagon victims, undated (as of July 9, 2004). Forty non-terrorists were killed in the United Airlines Flight 93 crash in Pennsylvania. FBI report, list of Flight 93 victims, undated (as of July 9, 2004) – 9/11 Commission Report, available at: [www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/911commission.pdf](http://www.fas.org/irp/offdocs/911commission.pdf). Access on April 10, 2011.

3. The idea of security is different from the concept of defense, which includes actions that allow the state to protect itself from specific, concrete or latent threats that affect national interests (RIBEIRO, 2011).

4. Beasley et al (2011) argue that globalization and economic liberalization have made it difficult to distinguish between domestic and foreign policy, which is reinforced by Keohane and Milner (2010) for whom intensified internationalization of goods and services between countries over the past forty years produces profound political changes in the internal politics of states.

5. According to Norton (2004), Strauss’ “Natural Right and History” considers the kingdom of ignorance to be natural not certainties and truths, as is common in other approaches. Such a concept provides a reason for unquestioning individuals. For example, people do not question how they should live their lives, a political resource to induce obedience of the many.

6. Political equality implies that individuals are eligible to participate in decisions once they are informed about the affairs of the association and have the opportunity to discuss and resolve conflicts (DAHL, 2009).

7. Unlike Rosenfield (2004), Mill (2010) views freedom as a substitute for armed conflicts, which is characteristic of English or French liberalism, and considers trade as a mean to replace war; as states commercialize their goods and benefit from trade, they do not resort to violent means to satisfy their material interests. Humboldt’s (2004) German liberalism continues to value military discipline, initiative and individual vitality through war, an aristocratic ideal cultivated in an assembly of free warriors.

8. An organization divided into cells consisting of fewer elements compared to military or police forces maintains the advantage of a surprise factor. This division complicates their identification and allows prolonged fighting – similar to irregular warfare – in which terrorists do not win the war but the target state weakens to exhaustion. It is possible that

this logic provided the stimulus for the *al Qaeda* attacks against the United States on 9/11. It is conjectured that the irregular warfare typology inspired the Afghan *mujahideen* to resist and expel the Soviet invaders of their territory during the armed conflict in the 1980s. The expected duration of the conflict was three to four weeks, but the hostilities lasted for nine years and “bled” the Soviet’s economic resources (GARTENSTEIN-ROSS, 2011).

9. The rules of conduct in armed conflicts were codified in the nineteenth century the Geneva and Hague Conventions. These rules included following elements: the prohibition of taking civilians as hostages, decent treatment of captured or surrendering soldiers, the condemnation of reprisals against civilians, recognition of neutrality of territories and the inviolability of the diplomatic corps.

10. According to Gartenstein-Ross (2011), the group linked to Osama bin Laden sought to weaken the economic power of the United States over the long run. The demolition of the Twin Towers caused by the aircraft diverted by members of *al Qaeda* produced immediate losses on Wall Street approximating 640 billion dollars and triggered a series of responses. These damages are in addition to the psychological effects of hostile activities on U.S. territory.

11. *Proclamation 7463, 66 Fed. Reg. 48,199 (Sept. 14, 2001)—Declaration of National Emergency by reason of certain Terrorist Attacks. September 14, 2001, available at: www.gpo.gov. Access on November 1st, 2014.*

12. “*Le système interétatique est un système dans lequel s’intègrent les États, chacun d’eux surveillant les autres afin d’assurer sa sécurité; étatique puisque la guerre constitue non un rapport entre individus, mais un rapport entre États* (ARON, 2008, p. ii)”. The interstate system is a system in which states are integrated, each watching the other, to ensure their own safety. Now war is not a relationship between individuals but a relation between states. (Free translation by the author)

13. Joseph Nye (2009) (2011) is one of the main proponents of complex interdependence, which argues that relations between states does not arise from differences in their military capabilities but from the exercise of economic mechanisms of control, such as trade and finance. From these ideas, Nye coined the term soft power in 2004. Oliveira (2009).

14. The Copenhagen School originates from the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI), established by the Danish parliament in 1985 to support and strengthen multidisciplinary research on Peace and Security. Available at: <http://www.pdgs.org.ar/institutions/ins-dinamarca1.htm>. Access on: June 11, 2012.

15. It is estimated that the Athenian Thucydides lived from 460 BC until approximately 400 BC. The “History of the Peloponnesian War” is considered a forerunner of realist thought in international relations, especially, the centrality of power in the existing ties between states: “... the strongest do what they can while the weak suffer what he must...” (Thucydides, 1987, p.282).

16. Pape (1998) argues that coercion, conventional or nuclear, must threaten to inflict damage to the civilian population to produce the desired effect. In contrast, this constraint is maintained in conventional wars when force is exerted on military vulnerabilities of the opponent. Deterrence makes it impossible to achieve political objectives through military efforts. Perhaps this explains the perception that coercion through military instruments is the fastest and cheapest way to solve international problems.

17. As Payne and Walton (2006) note, deterrence is a key strategic concept, which relates to the power to influence the decision making of another actor. Deterrence has been commonplace among the major political powers for centuries. According to the authors, the possibility to dissuade relies on the threat of punishment or denial. If the state deterred commits a particular act, the deterrent will include the possibility of retaliation, which may depend on the value of the goods. If fear of the threat of punishment is perceived as severe enough, the detainee will be deterred.

18. A change at the strategic level is explained by the emergence of new phenomena, which modify the reality experienced by people. For example, strategy during the Napoleonic period was based on facing ground troops, analyzed by Clausewitz (1996) and Jomini (2005).

19. The difference between the concepts lies in the meaning of preemption: perceived the threat, attack first, while preventing expresses the idea of an attack before the hazard is an imminent threat.

20. According to Secchi (2010), regulatory policies establish standards of behavior, products or services for public and private actors. Similarly, for Lowi (1964), regulatory policies are developed predominantly within a pluralistic dynamic in which the ability to approve or reject a policy of this kind is proportional to the relative strengths of the actors and interests present in society. Constitutive policies, in turn, are rules about the powers and rules about rules or policies. In other words, are those policies define the powers, jurisdictions, rules for political competition and public policy development. These are meta-policies. Constitutive policies cause conflicts between institutions and those directly concerned because they have the ability to alter the existing balance of power.

21. The First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution provides for freedom of speech, press, peaceable assembly, and petitioning the government for redress of grievances. Available at: [www.gpo.gov/.../GPO-CONAN-1992.pdf](http://www.gpo.gov/.../GPO-CONAN-1992.pdf). Accessed on: January 15, 2013.

22. *The U.S. Patriot Act*. Available at: [www.justice.gov/archive/II/highlights.htm](http://www.justice.gov/archive/II/highlights.htm). Accessed on: May 17, 2012.

23. Available at: [www.justice.gov/archive/II/highlights.htm](http://www.justice.gov/archive/II/highlights.htm). Accessed on: May 17, 2012.

24. U.S. Department of Homeland Security: Public Law 107-296, dated November 25, 2002. Available at: [www.dhs.gov/xlibrary](http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary). Accessed on November 12, 2011.

25. On 1 March 2003, DHS was transferred control of the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) to ensure the safety of transportation, especially airports security.

26. National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States. *Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States*.

Available at: [www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report.pdf](http://www.9-11commission.gov/report/911Report.pdf). Access on January 25, 2011.

27. According to the report, since 1987, there was the intent by the U.S. Department of Defense to expand the number of special operations experts and fill the units dissipated around the globe. After 9/11, the 12% rate was set to increase the number of fighters to confront the terrorist groups.

28. This commitment reveals another difficulty for hegemonic power, which was to fill vacancies available each year, with rates ranging from 5% to 86% depending on the specialty. SOF are troops whose organization and training differ from those forces considered conventional as SOF troops are competent to conduct actions in hostile environments, where access is denied, and in politically sensitive situations. Operations were developed to achieve, among others, military, diplomatic and economic goals. In many cases, the missions of SOF troops involve information gathering, which implies coverage or low visibility, thus making them special. The accuracy required in the training of its members, reduces the amount of those who present themselves as volunteers in training courses. In general, the completion and approval rate ranges between 20% and 50% of the initial members (MIWA, 2010).

29. Available at: <http://www.dot.gov/airconsumer>. Accessed on November 14, 2014.

30. Available at: [www.infraero.gov.br](http://www.infraero.gov.br). Accessed on November 17, 2014.

31. Available at: <http://www.transtats.bts.gov>. Accessed on November 21, 2014.

32. Available at: [www.infraero.gov.br](http://www.infraero.gov.br). Accessed on November 17, 2014.

33. Information obtained from <http://www.dot.gov/airconsumer> and the *Budget in Brief*, available at [www.dhs.gov](http://www.dhs.gov).

34. Available at: <http://g1.globo.com> and at <http://edition.cnn.com>. Accessed on November 03, 2014.

35. Available at: [www.extra.globo.com](http://www.extra.globo.com) and at [www.cnet.com](http://www.cnet.com). Accessed on November 03, 2014.



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