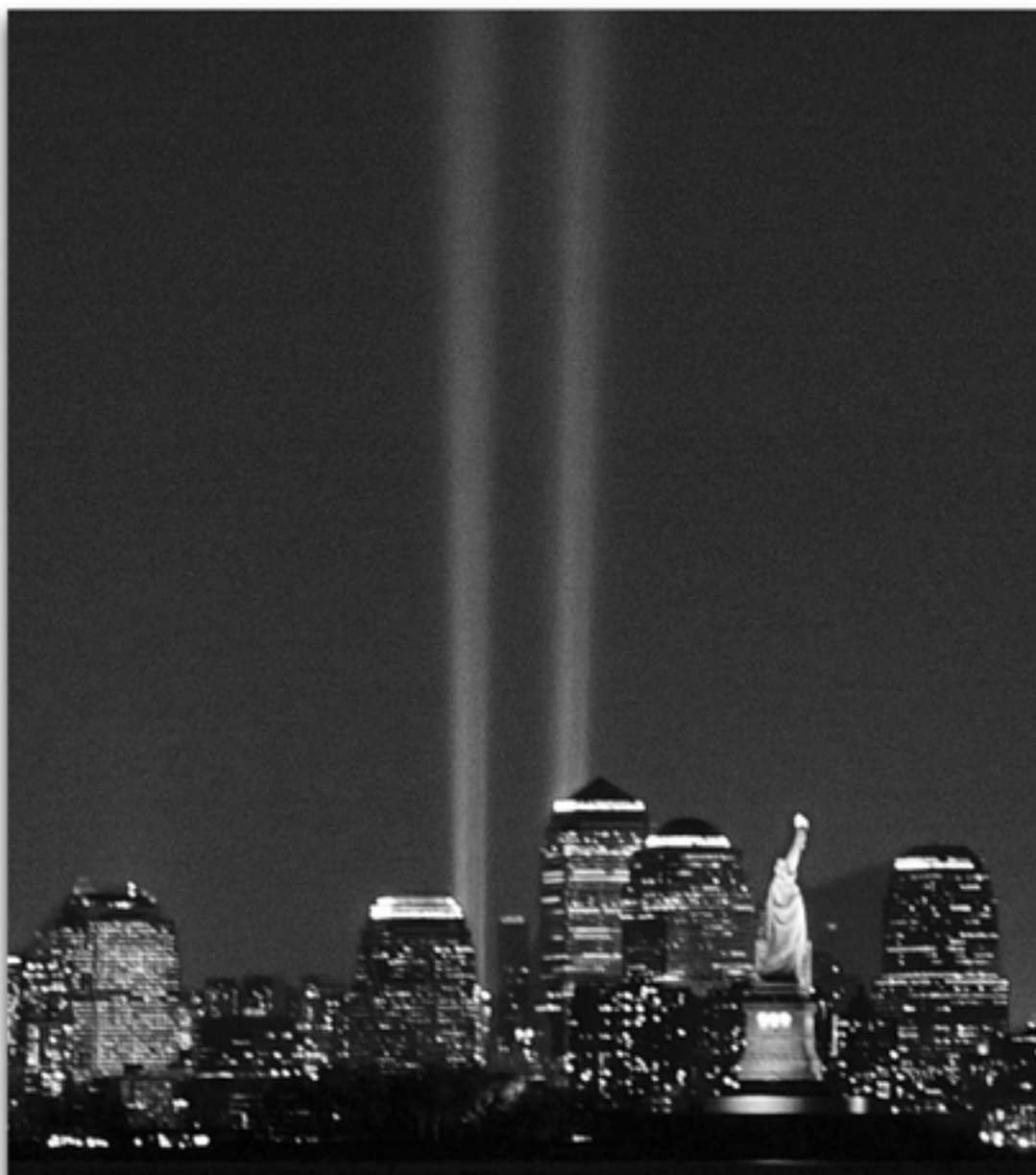


September 11  
**One Year Later**



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A Special Electronic Journal of the U.S. Department of State

September 2002

*Americans are asking: What is expected of us? I ask you to live your lives, and hug your children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat.*

*I ask you to uphold the values of America, and remember why so many have come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith.*

*I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions....*

*I ask for your patience, with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tightened security, and for your patience in what will be a long struggle.*

*I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy. Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity. They did not touch its source. America is successful because of the hard work, and creativity, and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy before September 11, and they are our strengths today.*

President George W. Bush  
Addressing a Joint Session of the U.S. Congress  
September 20, 2001

Over the past year, Americans have responded to the president's charge, showing their resolve and demonstrating their values in thousands of different ways. This journal examines some of the ways Americans have reacted to the events of September 11—one of the greatest tragedies, challenges, and unifying events in the nation's history.

The Editors

# September 11: One Year Later

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# A New Era in U.S. Strategic Thinking

By Robert J. Lieber  
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The post-Cold War era, which began with the collapse of the Soviet Union almost 12 years ago, ended abruptly on the sunny, clear morning of September 11, 2001. In an instant, coordinated terrorist attacks transformed the international security environment and dictated a new “grand strategy” for the United States.

September 11 marked the start of a new era in American strategic thinking. The terror attacks of that morning have had an impact comparable to the Pearl Harbor attack on December 7, 1941, that propelled the United States into World War II. Before September 11, the Bush administration had been in the process of developing a new national security strategy. This was taking place through the Quadrennial Defense Review as well as in other venues. In an instant, however, the September 11 attacks transformed the international security environment. An entirely new and ominous threat suddenly became a reality and dictated a new grand strategy for the United States. This new policy, dubbed the “Bush Doctrine,” focuses on the threat from terrorism and weapons of mass destruction.

## End of the Post-Cold War Era

September 11 brought to a sudden end the post-Cold War era that had begun almost exactly 12 years earlier. That period originated with the dramatic opening of the Berlin Wall on the night of November 9, 1989, followed in rapid succession by the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, the end of the Cold War, and, in December 1991, the breakup of the Soviet Union. For the first time in more than half a century, the United States seemed no longer to face a single great threat to its national security and way of life. In the late 1930s and in World War II that menace had come from fascism. During the Cold War, it was the Soviet Union and Soviet communism. In both cases, the danger was massive and unambiguous. As a result, within the United States and among its allies, there existed a broad consensus about the existence of a major threat, even though differences sometimes arose—as in the case of Vietnam—over specific courses of action.

During the years from 1989 to 2001, a multiplicity of

lesser dangers existed—for example, ethnic conflict, weapons proliferation, terrorism, political and financial instability, failed states, the impact of climate changes, infectious diseases, and poverty. While no one danger proved dominant, the United States did find itself drawn into a number of military interventions in response to local or regional conflicts, as in the case of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait (1990-91), Somalia (1991-92), Haiti (1994), Bosnia (1995), and Kosovo (1999). At the same time, there were other conflicts in which the United States did not intervene, most notably during the Rwandan genocide (1994), in Bosnia from 1992 until July 1995, and in civil wars in Liberia, Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (formerly known as Zaire), and elsewhere.

"Grand strategy" is the term describing how a country will use the various means it possesses—military, economic, political, technological, ideological, and cultural—to protect and promote its overall security, values, and national interests. During World War II, this meant a grand alliance, mobilization, and total war to defeat Nazi Germany and Japan. During the Cold War, American foreign policy doctrine could be described with one word—containment. Unlike the Cold War era, formulation of a grand strategy or any one specific doctrine proved elusive during the 1990s. In contrast to the four decades of the Cold War, there was no consensus about the nature of threats to American national interests or even about how to characterize the new era. As a result, a number of tentative doctrines were put forward during the 1990s, among them ideas concerning a new world order, assertive multilateralism, and a strategy of engagement and enlargement to encourage the spread of democracies and market economies. Each of these approaches had its strong points, but none proved sufficiently comprehensive or durable as a grand strategy for the new era.

In retrospect, even without a grand strategy, three broad elements did condition American foreign policy during the post-Cold War years. The first of these was America's situation of primacy. That is, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the United States stood in an almost unprecedented position across all the dimensions by which power is typically measured: economic, military, technological, cultural. No other country came close to the same level, and none appeared to be a likely challenger in the immediate future. As the historian Paul Kennedy, author of *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, has written, "Nothing has ever existed like this disparity of power; nothing." (*Financial Times*, London, February 1,

2002.) This preponderance has precipitated reactions both of admiration and resentment.

Second, as a result of primacy, as well as the relatively limited capacities of international or regional bodies such as the United Nations and European Union, the United States possessed a unique role in coping with the most urgent international problems, whether in regional conflicts, ethnic cleansing, financial crises, or other kinds of issues. This did not mean that the United States could or would serve as the world's policeman, but it did mean that unless America was actively engaged, management of the world's most dangerous problems was unlikely to be effective.

Third, however, a single, overarching, and unambiguous danger was not apparent. In the domestic realm, this had the effect of relegating foreign policy to a low priority for most Americans and thus made it harder for any administration to gain support for the making of coherent foreign policy or for the allocation of substantial resources to those efforts. Abroad, despite allied collaboration in the Gulf War against Iraq and ultimately in dealing with the civil war in Bosnia and ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, the absence of the Soviet threat made cooperation more difficult because there no longer seemed to be an imperative for collective action in the face of a common enemy.

### The Challenge of September 11

All this changed in a single day on September 11, 2001. Terrorism was no longer one among a number of assorted dangers to the United States, but a fundamental threat to America, its way of life, and its vital interests. The al Qaeda terrorists, who masterminded the use of hijacked jumbo jets to attack the Pentagon, destroy the twin towers of the World Trade Center, and kill 40 passengers and crew over southeast Pennsylvania, were carrying out mass murder as a means of political intimidation. Whether their extreme and nihilistic use of Islam as a political doctrine constitutes the third great totalitarian challenge to America after fascism and communism, remains to be determined. Nonetheless, the willingness of terrorists to carry out mass casualty attacks, in this case directed at two of the most powerful symbols of America's commercial and government life, now poses a great and unambiguous danger.

The gravity of this threat is amplified by two additional factors. First, the ruthlessness and cold-blooded

willingness to slaughter large numbers of innocent civilians without the slightest moral compunction has raised fears about potential use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Given the terrorists' conduct and statements by their leaders, as well as evidence that state sponsors of terrorism are seeking to acquire chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, there is now a risk that WMD might in the future be used directly against the United States as well as against America's friends and allies abroad. Second, in view of the fact that the 19 terrorists in the four hijacked aircraft committed suicide in carrying out their attacks, the precepts of deterrence are now called into question. By contrast, even at the height of the Cold War, American strategists could make their calculations based on the assumed rationality of Soviet leaders and the knowledge that they would not willingly commit nuclear suicide by initiating a massive attack against the United States or its allies. September 11, however, undermines this key assumption.

### **A New Grand Strategy for the United States**

In the immediate aftermath of September 11, the Bush administration turned its attention to a war against terrorism. First, on the domestic front, the administration sought and received a joint resolution from Congress, authorizing use of military force in the exercise of legitimate self-defense. In the language of the resolution: "The President is authorized to use all necessary and appropriate force against those nations, organizations, or persons he determines planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001...in order to prevent any future acts of international terrorism against the United States...."

The resolution passed by a margin of 98-0 in the Senate and 420-1 in the House of Representatives. Public opinion, which had been deeply divided since the November 2000 presidential election, rallied in broad support not only of the war effort, but of the president himself.

Second, the United States sought and received a unanimous U.N. Security Council vote on September 28. Resolution 1373—adopted under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter, which provides wide authority for the Security Council to enforce its decision and makes the resolution binding for all U.N. member countries—requires all member states to criminalize al Qaeda financial activities, share intelligence information, and

take measures to prevent the movement of terrorists. While the resolution has a more symbolic than practical effect, it provides multilateral legitimacy for the American-led battle against terrorism.

Third, the 19 members of NATO invoked Article V of the North Atlantic Treaty for the first time in the history of the alliance. Article V treats an attack on one member state as an attack on all, and requires that they take action under their respective constitutional procedures. Ultimately, some 16 of the 19 countries contributed personnel to the Afghan campaign, even though the war was not formally conducted as a NATO operation. Additional political, military, and intelligence cooperation was also provided by a large number of states, including Russia, China, and many of Afghanistan's Asian and Middle Eastern neighbors.

In the ensuing months, American airpower and U.S. Special Forces, in support of the Afghan opposition, quickly defeated the Taliban regime that had ruled Afghanistan along with their al Qaeda allies. This victory occurred far more rapidly and with far fewer casualties than many observers had expected, and it was met with celebration by the local population, which saw itself liberated from oppressive Taliban rule.

From the beginning, however, the president has been explicit in saying that the war against terror will not be quickly completed, and in January 2002, speaking to a joint session of Congress, he outlined what quickly became known as the Bush Doctrine.

"...(W)e will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice. And...we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological, or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world...."

"Yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on events while dangers gather. I will not stand by as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons." (State of the Union Address, January 29, 2002.)

Two elements are crucial to the doctrine. The first is a sense of urgency, reflected in the words that "time is not on our side." The second is that the unique danger created by weapons of mass destruction (WMD) requires the United States to be prepared to take swift, decisive,

and preemptive action. Both of these imperatives reflect the calculation that whatever the risks of acting, the risks of not acting are more ominous. Moreover, the president made clear that a handful of states present the greatest threat, especially Iraq, Iran, and North Korea, which he termed "the axis of evil." The concern here is not only the danger of these countries acquiring WMD themselves, but also the risk that they might ultimately make such weapons available to others, particularly terrorist groups such as al Qaeda.

In the following months, senior foreign policy officials, as well as the president, have elaborated on the administration's approach, including the possibility of preemption, i.e., taking preventive action rather than waiting passively for the United States or its allies to suffer an attack before responding. For example, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld remarked: "A terrorist can attack at any time at any place using a range of techniques. It is physically impossible to defend at every time in every location....When it's something like smallpox or anthrax or a chemical weapon or the radiation weapon or killing thousands of people at the World Trade [Center], even the U.N. Charter provides for the right of self-defense. And the only effective way to defend is to take the battle to where the terrorists are....So preemption with military force is now an operative idea." (The Newshour with Jim Lehrer, PBS, February 4, 2002.)

Subsequently, in a June 1 address at the U.S. Military Academy, the president told the assembled cadets that America must be ready for "preemptive action when necessary" to defend liberty and lives. In a similar vein, Vice President Cheney pledged that the United States would "shut down terrorist camps wherever they are," and observed of Iraq that a "regime that hates America must never be prepared to threaten Americans with weapons of mass destruction." (*Washington Post*, June 25, 2002.)

At the same time, Secretary of State Colin Powell observed that if preemptive force is used, it must be used decisively. He also noted that preemption can involve military force, as well as arrests, sanctions, and diplomatic measures. National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice pointed to the 1962 blockade during the Cuban missile crisis as an example of successful preemptive action. (*The Economist*, June 22, 2002, page 29.)

The Bush Doctrine and its elaboration embody American grand strategy a year after September 11, but the doctrine does not exist in a vacuum. Its viability will depend in part on sustained domestic support, international reaction, and the ability of the United States to bear the burdens of this strategy. In the domestic arena, though sharp partisan differences are evident on other issues, broad bipartisan support continues in foreign policy. At the same time, public opinion strongly supports the war on terror. In addition, there is little indication that the burdens of increased defense spending will prove difficult to sustain. Prior to September 11, the share of gross domestic product devoted to defense had dipped to 3 percent, a level lower than at any time since Pearl Harbor. Even substantial increases in defense spending, which have raised this figure to 3.3 percent and could reach as high as 4 percent over a period of years, would not constitute a drastic burden when compared with Cold War levels.

International reactions to the Bush Doctrine have been more complex, and differences with allies and other countries have emerged concerning Iraq, the Middle East, and the extent to which the United States should be more "multilateral" in its approach to a wide range of international problems. Much of this dissent remains rhetorical, however, and extensive cooperation in military and intelligence efforts continues to take place. Some of the foreign reactions are an inevitable consequence of American primacy. Yet the muted reaction and tendency for it to remain largely symbolic reflect the lack of effective means of international enforcement through existing regional and world institutions. Ultimately, the Bush Doctrine represents a strategy to defend the United States against potential attacks with weapons of mass destruction. Further, it embodies a unique American world role in helping to protect others against such devastation.

*Robert J. Lieber is the editor and a contributing author of Eagle Rules? Foreign Policy and American Primacy in the 21st Century," a book published in 2002.*

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*The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. government.*



# The Economic Cost of Terrorism

By Brian S. Wesbury

Chief Economist, Griffin, Kubik, Stephens & Thompson, Inc

In striking the World Trade Center, al Qaeda attempted an assault on the institutions of capitalist democracy.

A prominent economist with a Chicago-based investment firm says it failed, asserting that U.S. institutions and the economy have largely recovered from the attacks.

Osama bin Laden announced in a video taped sometime late in 2001 that the September 11 attacks "struck deep at the heart of America's economy." Fortunately he was wrong. The U.S. economy was scraped and bruised on that terrible day, but it is clear that the heart of the American economy is still beating strongly.

The U.S. economy has proven to be highly resilient. Despite an estimated \$120 billion of damage and a great deal of anxiety, one year after the attacks the U.S. is in the midst of an economic recovery.

Any examination of the impact of the September 11 attacks on the U.S. economy is complicated by many simultaneous events. According to the National Bureau of Economic Research, the U.S. economy entered into recession in March 2001, and as we now know the first three quarters of 2001 posted negative growth. By the time of the attacks, industrial production had fallen for eleven consecutive months and U.S. stock prices were already declining, especially in the high-tech sector.

More recently, accounting scandals have created doubts about the veracity of corporate financial statements. These scandals have undermined confidence and created a great deal of concern among investors. The reaction of policy-makers could have made matters worse by over-regulating business, but the corporate fraud legislation signed into law by President Bush does not do excessive damage and will help calm market fears.

Ultimately, corporate irresponsibility is a transient issue. Law enforcement and the punishment of dishonest companies by market forces will force chief executive officers (CEOs) to clean up their books. Ninety-nine percent of American business people are law-abiding and the recent scandals are likely to create an environment of significantly less fraud.

Despite these negative developments, within 45 days of the September 11 attacks, aggregate demand had recovered to its previous trend, and real gross domestic product (GDP) fell by less (-0.3 percent) in the third quarter of 2001, which included the impact of the attacks, than it did in the second quarter (-1.6 percent), just before the attacks. While the airline and hotel industries are still experiencing a depressed level of activity, other spending has not only recovered, but more than offset travel-related losses.

While some recent economic data seem to suggest a new set of potential weaknesses in the economy, not all of the data point in a negative direction. Initial unemployment claims continue to fall, retail sales remain robust, housing activity is strong, and inventory levels remain low. Despite fears, the U.S. economy appears to remain on solid footing.

There are three reasons for the resilience of the U.S. economy. First, the Federal Reserve cut interest rates three times in the wake of the attacks after cutting rates eight times in the eight months preceding them. Second, in May 2001, President Bush signed into law the first tax cut since 1986 and the Congress passed a stimulus bill, which included business tax cuts, in early 2002.

Finally and most importantly, productivity continued to grow throughout the U.S. recession. This is an abnormal development, indicating strong underlying potential growth. Then in the first two quarters of 2002, non-farm productivity shot upward by 4.8 percent at an annual rate, boosting real GDP growth and solidifying the recovery.

With both cyclical (monetary and fiscal) and secular (productivity) trends pointing upward, the U.S. economy is actually in better shape than it has been since mid-2000. While the added costs of transportation, security, insurance, and increased infrastructure protection will act as a drag on U.S. growth in the years ahead, these costs should be readily absorbed by strong long-term growth in productivity.

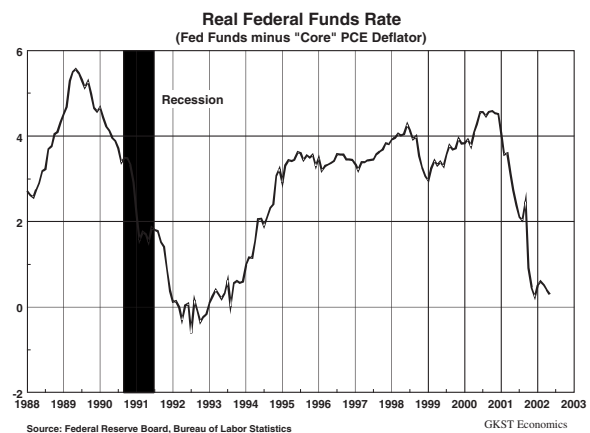
When compared to the losses sustained in past wars, the costs of the September 11 attacks and the resulting counter-attacks in Afghanistan are small. The United States has prospered despite World Wars I and II, the Korean War, the Vietnam War, and Desert Storm. American resilience in the face of these conflicts is the result of a commitment to a democratic free-market system. Despite the fact that al Qaeda attacked a beacon

of capitalism in the center of world finance, the entrepreneurial spirit remains alive and well in America.

## Making Things Worse

Economic resilience, however, does not eliminate business cycles. Well before September 11, the U.S. economy was showing clear signs of weakness. Industrial production peaked in September 2000 and fell every month between then and August 2001. Employment peaked in March 2001, and 495,000 jobs were lost prior to the attacks. In addition, U.S. stock markets had already taken a beating. By September 10, the Standard & Poor's (S&P) 500 Index was down 28.5 percent from its peak and the NASDAQ Composite Index was down 66.4 percent.

Despite continued strength in consumer spending and retail sales, the recession was dated as beginning in March 2001, five months before the attacks. There is much debate about what caused the drop in stocks and the recession, and many believe that they represent the aftermath of an investment bubble. However, the catalysts for recession are not so clear.



The Federal Reserve had pushed real interest rates up in 1999 and 2000 to their highest level in over 10 years (see chart). Taxes as a share of GDP reached a peacetime record level in 2000 as well. At 20.8 percent of GDP, taxes took the largest share of the nation's output since 1944 when the United States was fighting World War II. With both real interest rates and taxes at very burdensome levels, the economy was bound to have difficulties.

Fortunately, on January 3, 2001, with the federal funds rate at 6.5 percent, the Fed began a series of interest rate cuts. Because the funds rate was so high when the easing began, it was not until May 2001, when the funds rate fell below 4.5 percent, that it was low enough to positively impact the economy. The six to nine-month lag between the rate cuts and the actual response of the economy meant that any real recovery was not likely to begin until November 2001.

As al Qaeda was executing its plan, prior policy actions by the Fed and the Bush Administration had already set the stage for a recovery. By early September, the fed funds rate had been cut in half to 3.25 percent. President Bush had championed the best-timed tax cut in history, giving Americans more freedom to spend their earnings. The attacks may have delayed the recovery, but they certainly did not cause the recession.

### **Immediate Economic Consequences**

The short-term impact of the attacks was tremendous. Total losses of life and property cost insurance companies an estimated \$40 billion. This direct cost pales in comparison to the indirect costs. Shopping centers and restaurants across the country were closed for at least 24 hours; high-risk office buildings (such as the Sears Tower in Chicago) were evacuated; planes were grounded; and the stock market ceased trading for four consecutive days.

In September 2001, retail sales fell by \$6 billion (2.1 percent); durable goods new orders fell \$11.6 billion (6.8 percent); and new claims for unemployment insurance surged by 50,000, the biggest monthly jump since August 1982. Industrial production fell 1.0 percent in September. When stocks finally opened for trading on September 17, the S&P 500 fell another 7.0 percent while the NASDAQ fell 9.9 percent, before bottoming on September 21.

Major airlines immediately cut scheduled flights by 30 percent, and even with fewer flights, planes were not full. Hotels experienced a surge in vacancies and the economy shed 1.1 million jobs in the final four months of 2001. Through December 29, 2001, the Bureau of Labor Statistics attributed 408 major layoff events (defined as those shedding 50 or more jobs) as a direct or indirect result of the attacks, with 70 percent of those layoffs in the air transportation and travel industries.

In addition, because of closer scrutiny at border crossings and shipping terminals, bottlenecks appeared in supply-

chain management systems. Durable goods shipments fell \$9.2 billion in September 2001 as transportation issues played havoc with order flows and drove up shipping costs.

This list of damages is far from complete. Airlines immediately received a \$15 billion government assistance loan and are still asking for more. Insurance costs have skyrocketed, with some premiums up 300 percent or more from pre-attack levels. An insurance gradient has been created that increases the cost of doing business the closer companies are to centers of political and financial power.

At the same time, the costs of security also increased sharply. In addition to an increase in the number of security guards at most major urban buildings, time-consuming security procedures have been implemented. Some firms have gone as far as installing X-ray machines and metal detectors.

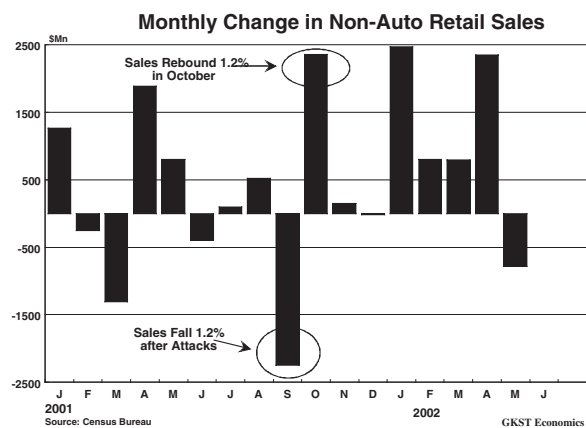
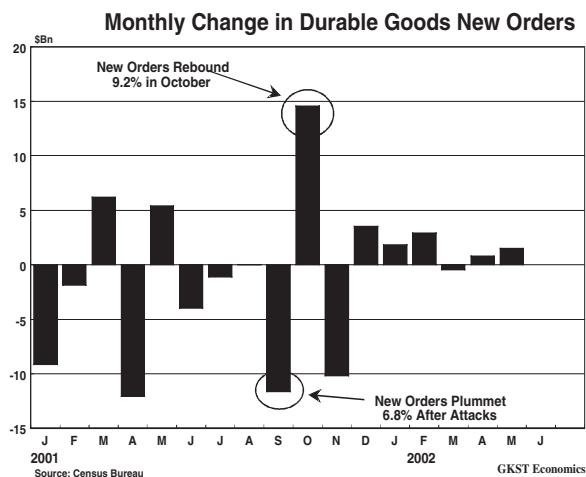
From an incentive standpoint, the September 11 attacks shifted the risk-reward ratio in the U.S. economy. Not only were risks (from business disruption and losses) higher, but rewards were lower due to rising security costs. Following so closely on the heels of a sharp downturn in manufacturing activity, a recession, and a collapse in stock prices, the shift in investment incentives was cause for great alarm.

### **Recovery**

Nonetheless, the U.S. economy bounced back. Within days, consumers and businesses were back up and running. Automobile manufacturers instituted 0.0 percent financing and auto sales soared. Auto sales fell from 16.4 million units at an annual rate in August 2001 to 15.9 million units in September, which was boosted by the late-month initiation of the incentives. Then, in October, auto sales soared to 21.3 million units at an annual rate, an all-time record high.

Other retailers also cut prices, and declines in September were offset by October gains. Excluding autos, retail sales fell 1.2 percent in September, but rebounded by the same 1.2 percent in October (see charts pg. 12). To complete the pattern developing here, the third chart below shows how durable goods new orders fell 6.8 percent in September, only to rebound 9.2 percent in October.

It is important to remember that any rebound in business



activity was muted in 2001 because of the ongoing recession. The economy returned to its trend line almost without delay, but that trend was still weak. Despite the devastation from the terrorist attacks, real GDP grew 2.7 percent at an annual rate in the fourth quarter.

To the surprise of many, consumers were steadfast, and instead of spending money traveling, they spent it on more domestic endeavors. Late in 2001 and early in 2002, movie theaters set record after record for revenue. New homes sales also rose to a record level in 2001, while electronic and appliance store sales rose by 23.3 percent at an annual rate in the fourth quarter.

A surge in demand for U.S. flags after September 11 even gave the global economy a lift, as domestic manufacturers were forced to lean on Chinese factories to supply more

than half of the record \$51.7 million of flag imports in 2001.

Consumer behavior may have changed, but the overall pace of spending was barely affected by the September 11 attacks. Part of the reason for this was the quick reaction by the Federal Reserve to cut interest rates three times in late 2001. By pushing the federal funds rate down to 1.75 percent, the Fed virtually guaranteed a brisk increase in economic activity in mid-2002. In addition, the interest rate cuts prior to the attacks were also beginning to lift the economy after the normal lags.

### The Secret Weapon

But perhaps the most important driving force behind America's resilience has been strong productivity growth. One of the greatest tests of the strength in underlying productivity trends is the performance in those trends during economic downturns and external shocks to the economy. Clearly, the U.S. productivity performance during the 2001 recession and following the September 11 attacks was spectacular.

A wave of new technology has cascaded across all industry sectors in the U.S. economy. The combination of advances in semiconductors, software, and communication technology is transforming the United States from an industrial-based economy to an information-based economy, much like machinery allowed the transformation from the agricultural to industrial eras.

While high-tech stocks have collapsed in recent years, the inventions and creativity driven by huge investments in the 1980s and 1990s continue to boost the efficiency of U.S. businesses. Supply-chain management solutions, real-time information access, the mapping of the human genome, on-line shopping, paperless trading, Global Positioning System tracking devices, and retail price scanners are just a partial list of the technological leaps made in recent decades.

More importantly, recent surveys show that current businesses are using just 20 percent to 25 percent of the technology available to them. As a result, it can be said with some certainty that productivity growth will remain on a strong upward path in the years ahead. This will boost incomes and profits while holding down inflation—the perfect environment for wealth creation. Productivity is the secret weapon of capitalism. Without

it, there is no growth. With it, external shocks, such as the attacks of September 11, are much less painful.

### **Growing Stronger From Adversity**

Since the founding of the United States of America, the experiment in free-market democracy has produced incredible results. From a small set of colonies, the United States has become the world's largest and most productive economy.

Between 1947 and 2001, inflation-adjusted real GDP grew at an average annual rate of 3.5 percent from \$1.5 trillion to \$9.3 trillion. In 2001, U.S. real GDP was still \$23.1 billion higher than it was in 2000, despite the physical losses from the September 11 attacks and a recession.

While there are many who believe that the United States has reached its full potential and may be entering a period of sub-par economic growth, this is by no means certain. Many have prophesized this in the past and have been wrong. Added costs of security, transportation, and insurance are all potential drags on growth. But these costs are minor when compared to the potential growth rate of U.S. real GDP.

Technology is already helping to reduce the costs of security and will continue to do so in the future. Moreover, neural networks, real-time database search capabilities, and scanning equipment will add to the effectiveness of security in the future. While some fear for their privacy, it is becoming harder and harder for terrorists to operate in the United States. As Americans become more assured of their safety, travel will rebound.

Most importantly, the realization that the United States is not immune to direct attack is a significant

development. Prior to the attacks, insurance premiums and estimates of risk were too low. Now, with insurance premiums up and stock prices down, the market is most likely overestimating the risk. Over time these reactions will balance out.

In addition, the attacks have done what nearly 90 years of political attempts at détente could not - created a close alliance between Russia and the United States. Now the second largest producer of oil in the world, Russia has become a major player in energy markets, helping bolster a recovery by holding down world oil prices.

### **Conclusion**

Capitalism is more than buildings and airplanes. It is embodied in the institutions and individuals of a society. While terrorists murdered a great deal of financial talent in their evil and cowardly acts on September 11, U.S. institutions and the vast majority of its creative talent remain intact.

The end result was a quick reversal of economic fortunes. From one month to the next, Americans stopped and reflected, became resolved about fighting back, and then returned to work as the most productive citizens in the world. Osama bin Laden missed his mark.

*Wesbury is a preeminent economic forecaster, formerly serving with the Joint Economic Committee of Congress.*

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*The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. Government.*

# Hope Is an Answer to Terror

An Interview

George Carpenter, Procter & Gamble

Dr. Robert K. Pelant, Heifer International

The hostility expressed through the terrorist attacks motivated the United States to reenergize its efforts to reduce poverty and deprivation in the rest of the world.

The United States policy toward development assistance is based on the belief that poverty provides a breeding ground for disease and deprivation, and potentially for crime, corruption, and terrorism. The terrorist attacks of September 11 reaffirmed this conviction, and donors—government, private, and corporate—are pursuing their goals to bring hope and opportunity to the world's poorest people with renewed vigor. Two experts involved in private sector assistance and sustainable development activities discussed the evolving views in this field with Global Issues Managing Editor Charlene Porter.

Dr. Robert K. Pelant is director of the Asia/South Pacific Programs for the non-profit organization Heifer International, devoted to helping hungry people in the world develop the resources to feed themselves. Heifer, with programs in 47 countries providing livestock and agriculture training, has been recognized by independent evaluators as among the most effective and innovative U.S. charities. Dr. Pelant is a veterinarian who specializes in international animal health and welfare program development.

George Carpenter is director of Corporate Sustainable Development for the Procter & Gamble Corporation, and is actively involved in the corporation's multinational assistance programs focused on environment, health, and social issues in developing countries. Procter & Gamble has operations in 80 countries, and independent organizations have rated the company among the best corporate citizens.

**Question:** How did the events of September 11, the resulting focus on terrorism, and the causes of terrorism contribute to a reexamination of the development assistance programs in which your organizations are engaged?

**Carpenter:** At Procter & Gamble, our appreciation for the need for stability in countries around the world has

been increasing for the last several years. Particularly since September 11, we've focused on strong national governance as a prerequisite or base foundation that is necessary for sustainable development. Without the enforced rule of law, without a rules-based economic system, absence of corruption and bribery, you are just not going to get the investments you need in developing countries to solve the kind of environmental, economic, and social issues that exist there. Nations need the investments by companies such as mine to raise the quality of life of the citizens, lift them out of poverty and into a productive lifestyle that benefits from the global economy.

**Q:** President Bush launched significant new aid initiatives for the developing world in the months following the attack, and he said at the time, "We fight against poverty because hope is an answer to terror." Dr. Pelant, how did the terrorist incidents refocus your thinking at Heifer International?

**Pelant:** In several ways. Obviously we already had security concerns for national and international staff around the world, but these events heightened our awareness and we've begun reassessing additional training on security for offices and staff around the world. We also have reexamined just how we go about our work, specifically in the case of Afghanistan and Pakistan. We've been in Afghanistan since 1997 and in Pakistan since the 1980s.

The overriding point is that this kind of development assistance is the right thing to do. We agree with President Bush's remark that you quoted—about fighting poverty because hope is an answer to terror. But these kinds of development programs are also simply the right thing to do, in and of themselves, as no one should live with chronic hunger.

**Q:** You mention operational changes in programs in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Heifer International also operates programs in other nations where terrorist activity has been a concern, notably Indonesia and the Philippines. Tell us more about your operations in these environments.

**Pelant:** Our Philippines programs—as with almost all of our programs around the world—are run by local nationals. One local partner group is an umbrella organization bringing together Muslim and Christian groups. We also work directly with several different

Muslim organizations working in very poor parts of the country. Because of the Abu Sayyaf terrorist organization and ongoing security problems there, even our local national staff has had to change their work schedules and their time spent in the field in light of security concerns. However, those programs continue, and we haven't reduced any of our funding there, and we continue to work with these organizations. They know these are U.S.-funded programs, but because we've built up long-term relations with these communities and organizations they trust our staff to go in and do the basic humanitarian development work.

**Q:** What is that basic work? Describe it more fully.

**Pelant:** Our program in the Philippines has a number of main themes. Improving the environment is a central one. We're also helping people to move from the economically and otherwise marginalized sector of society to become productive members of society, and helping people make their communities more vital. We're bringing people together to work on issues of income generation, food production, and improving their own environment. We do this in various types of partnerships, which often include local governments. They also include local corporations and/or businesses, forging a "win-win-win" situation where we can bring about a much more holistic and sustained transformation in these communities, oftentimes across national borders.

When you say Heifer, people think cows, pigs, goats, or rabbits, but these animals are really just some of the tools of a much more holistic development program that's aimed at transforming communities and the environment.

**Q:** Mr. Carpenter, what about Procter & Gamble and its specific activities on the ground? Are you also working to develop partnerships similar to what Dr. Pelant describes?

**Carpenter:** We are. There is conventional corporate philanthropy, but that is very limited and is a small percentage of the resources a corporation has. We have made contributions to children's relief efforts in Afghanistan. We have some relief efforts going on with improved sanitation tied to our brand work and our established business that exists in Pakistan.

But the more exciting thing for me, that has almost unlimited potential to improve development in many of these countries, is some of the work that we're doing to

make sustainable development part of our business, to go beyond the conventional notion of corporate responsibility. We want to link the future of our business to solutions for some of these development issues that we're facing around the world. One example of that is in Venezuela where we have a product in the market right now that significantly reduces childhood micronutrient malnutrition—deficiencies of Vitamin A, iron, and iodine. We have worked closely with the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF) both in the development and marketing of that product. They've done clinical studies in Africa, and social marketing, developing awareness of the problem of micronutrient malnutrition.

We're also heavily involved in sanitation and clean water, looking at these problems to determine whether we can contribute to solving them through the marketplace. If we could, through the consumer marketplace, create point-of-use disinfection of water, or sanitation at the household level, or solve problems of micronutrient malnutrition, we think a huge breakthrough could be made in solving some of these quality of life issues in these countries.

We have already, with our existing brands and product lines, worked in the areas of women's health and hygiene and in dental hygiene, where awareness of these subjects did not exist in many developing and emerging economies. Working with local ministries of health, we have developed social marketing programs to raise awareness and, in the process, have built a market for consumer-based solutions to some of these problems.

**Q:** September 11 and the terrorist threat have caused a reevaluation of development assistance, but a longer-term reevaluation has also been underway as organizations try to determine what aid programs have achieved, whether they've worked, whether they've had unforeseen outcomes. At the same time, political support for development assistance eroded considerably in the post-Cold War period. Some congressional leaders have looked on this outlay of U.S. funds with derision. How have these factors come to bear on changes in the delivery of development assistance, and increased concerns about results and accountability?

**Pelant:** Heifer and many other nonprofits have focused their efforts on impact and accountability for quite some time. They're really hasn't been any change on the screen since September 11 or because of September 11. Our development approach is actually a values-based

approach and we work in a very participatory way with local communities, businesses, governments, etc. Those things have always been front and center for us.

Still, there is no question that some in the U.S. government and other places do look on the outlay of development assistance funds with derision, as you've said. The U.S. lags behind many other countries in percentages of funds related to gross domestic product (GDP) given for development. So now is certainly a time when the U.S. government could establish a more firm leadership role in international development assistance of the kind that has been proven to be effective.

An example is inside the Department of State where the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs and the consulate in Chengdu, China, have been extremely helpful and positive regarding an initiative to benefit small-scale farmers and rural people in Tibet. The U.S. government has a tremendous opportunity to increase its leadership role here.

But one more thing about the climate generally over the last few months. Since September 11, as well as before that date, Heifer has been blessed by the generosity of the American public—individuals, foundations, businesses, churches, and the like.

**Q:** Mr. Carpenter, from the corporate perspective, how have you seen the climate of opinion about assistance efforts change in the months since September 11?

**Carpenter:** I'm not sure it's directly attributable to September 11, but in the last seven to nine months there's been a clear shift in thinking within the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and any number of other U.S. government agencies on the willingness to open up and look at business as one of the partners in development projects, along with the traditional NGO and other donors. That is a brand new mindset, one that is emerging and growing rapidly with experience. It's certainly, I think, a very healthy change.

The other thing I think is very healthy is one that I mentioned earlier, and that is, this attention to the issue of national governance. There is an increasing recognition of the necessity for a system of stability and predictability in national governance, government that is rules-based, an economic system that is rules-based. Without it, most companies will never be able to go into business in some of these nations, and will never get the opportunity to



help raise these countries out of poverty. We just cannot successfully do business where the local culture is to pay bribes. So this recognition of the importance of good national governance to sustainable development is a very healthy change.

**Q:** You've mentioned a new emphasis on partnership. This is a concept that's being promoted recently by the Bush administration and international development organizations as a new strategy for success. Where do you see the productive potential in these relationships?

**Carpenter:** Effective partnerships take many months to put together and they only work if they're win-win for all parties, so it's not the kind of thing you can brainstorm today and sign on the dotted line tomorrow.

The GAIN initiative—Global Alliance for Improved Nutrition—was announced at the U.N. Special Session on Children in May 2002. It involves USAID, the World Bank, the World Health Organization, UNICEF, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Procter & Gamble, and a number of other national development agencies and private sector companies. At that session, Procter & Gamble pledged the availability of some of the food fortification technology that stands behind our NutriStar product in Venezuela to see if that technology could be applied to staple foods in the least developed countries to address this problem of micronutrient malnutrition. Five years ago, even two years ago, you never would have thought of business being included in a partnership like that, other than as a source for donations.

**Pelant:** I agree. No doubt about it that the classic approach would be for an NGO to go to a corporation and seek a one-time grant or something like that.

One of the things Heifer did about a year ago is to bring in a director of corporate relations, and Heifer has taken a strategic decision to engage the private enterprise sector in the United States and overseas. We're all very excited about that. We believe that there can be many positive situations, and it's already been demonstrated. One example in our experience is in China. Heifer, local

The partnership of private corporations, NGOs, government, and civil society is...going to bring a breakthrough change in results.

—George Carpenter

government, local private enterprise, and the community have joined in an exciting four-way partnership.

We're working to help improve food production on the community side and marketing and distribution on the business side. As an example, we're helping honeybee farmers to improve the quantity and quality of their production. The farmers then connect with the business people in the process, who gain access to a better product and a more consistent supply. This benefits communities at large by increasing agricultural productivity, overall economic activity, and, in turn, the standard of living. The government has recognized this and is helping to expand the program. This is even more important now with their recent

accession into the World Trade Organization.

**Carpenter:** In India, we created a market-based promotion to raise money for child education, taking kids off the streets, getting them in schools. This was the Open Minds program, in which Procter & Gamble partnered with UNICEF. That effort was coupled with a solicitation of donations from our employees, who were very generous. We also moved down our supply and distribution chains to get support from our business partners. Advertising agencies and entertainers volunteered their time. So a small effort organized by a couple of core leaders was magnified many times by moving up and down our supply and distribution chains and related people we work with to create a significant initiative on a national scale in India to put kids in school.

So there are lots of creative ways to go about this work. We're just at the beginning, trying to understand how partnerships can be put together to address some of the issues we face in the world today.

**Q:** How are your constituencies—your boards of directors, your donors, your regional offices—responding to these new ideas?

**Pelant:** We're finding that the people who know Heifer and know our long-term approaches at the grass roots level to build up relationships with communities,

governments, and businesses are responding very favorably. We've had a surge in income specifically for expanding our program in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

When we were in Afghanistan in the late 1990s, we worked while the Taliban was in control. We had selective training for formerly professional women. They were very carefully and intentionally reaching out to illiterate women in their communities, teaching improved animal management, as well as human sanitation and hygiene issues, some things you may not normally associate with Heifer.

After building this connection with the professional women, we were then able to get a foothold in the communities. That enabled us to reach out to women in households who were in need of other assistance programs more traditionally associated with Heifer—the provision of quality animals, with training on how to manage them. Some received locally-adapted poultry, so then they'll have a few eggs a week, with high-quality protein in their diets that they otherwise wouldn't have.

Our donors know we're taking this long-term view, with this participatory approach, and they've responded very, very favorably.

**Q:** What do these programs reflect about American values?

**Carpenter:** I don't know that there's any place else on Earth where the normal everyday citizen is as generous as Americans are. That generosity is part of the American culture. We see it in our own employees, and in the communities where we work and live. To some degree, the volunteer techniques we've used in this country and the sense of working with community is a distinguishing difference we see as we move our business to other countries. American cultural values get exported—the role of the corporation and its obligation to the community and its employees, and the American culture of generosity. That willingness to step in when other people are in need—to open up your hearts and pocketbooks, to give your own labor—is almost uniquely American.

**Pelant:** Agreed. We are sometimes overwhelmed with ways and degrees that people are giving. We'll go and visit people who say they want to donate several thousand dollars, and we'll see their house and wonder how these people could have several hundred dollars to

give. The generosity is very widespread, and it's a wonderful characteristic of the people of this country. We're also finding thoughtful, generous givers in a number of other countries.

**Q:** What's in the future of these efforts?

**Pelant:** For civil society, an increased focus on results, and an understanding that the subjective issues can be very important. There is a healthy increased awareness in donor communities, and thus the responsibility to report accurately, frequently, and transparently—this must continue. At Heifer, we continue to look for opportunities for collaboration with corporations and governments, and continue to work to tear down the concept of North versus South, or “us versus them.” In fact, we all live in one single biosphere, on one Earth, and our actions do affect others' lives and livelihoods. We don't need more technologies—just the will to follow through with what is already working, so we can be opportunity-seekers more than just problem-solvers.

**Carpenter:** The partnership of private corporations, NGOs, government, and civil society in these projects is still in its emerging phases. But it's going to bring a breakthrough change in the results we see. It's going to open up whole new possibilities that people don't even see today. I know within my own corporation, as we have looked at some of the issues of clean water, health, hygiene, and nutrition, the mindset of our people is, “This is a solvable problem.” They begin to address these problems in traditional business ways—asking, “What does it take to make this happen?”—often moving outside of conventional approaches. We are going to make huge progress, breakthrough improvements, towards the U.N. Millennium Goals\*, over what we've done in the last decade.

\*Adopted in September 2000, the U.N. Millennium Development Goals commit 189 states to support eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, universal primary education, and other critical objectives. See <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals>

*Porter spoke in a telephone conference call with Carpenter at Procter & Gamble headquarters in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Pelant at Heifer International headquarters in Little Rock, Arkansas.*

*The opinions expressed in this article are those of the interview subjects and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. government.*

# The Critical Balance: Individual Rights and National Security in Uncertain Times

By Mark Blitz  
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The government's efforts to prevent another round of terrorist attacks have raised a welter of complex constitutional issues that are being decided by U.S. courts and debated by legal scholars.

Among the many effects of the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11 has been a vigorous debate about certain civil liberties. Should suspected terrorists be treated differently from other suspects in court? Should the activities and whereabouts of noncitizens in the United States be regulated more strictly? Should we begin to require national identity cards? Several of these issues have gone beyond the stage of discussion, as suspected terrorists have been detained and brought to trial and as new legislation is passed and old legislation reinterpreted to permit stricter scrutiny of communications and financial transactions.

## **The Context for Civil Liberties in the United States**

These issues are all discussed and acted on within a context that in many ways says more about civil liberties than does the current debate itself. Americans have long enjoyed and supported a full range of such liberties, ranging from guarantees of freedom of speech and toleration of diverse religions to equal protection under the law.

The fundamental concern with preserving civil liberties is one element of the context for the current discussion. A second element is the manner in which Americans make concrete political and legal decisions. Courts, Congress, and the president all play a part. Legislative direction on important matters normally comes from the president, but measures become law only with congressional approval, which often occurs (if it occurs at all) only after proposals are substantially changed. In times of war or emergency, the president's executive authority and his formal position as commander-in-chief of the armed forces become more significant legislatively, and emergency measures he proposes are dealt with swiftly, although even at these times Congress can make alterations. After September 11, some important

legislation to deal with the immediate and long-term terrorist threat was passed quickly and overwhelmingly by Congress. The president's proposal to create a cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security, however, has been dealt with at a slower pace and with give-and-take more typical of ordinary legislation.

Presidential authority is especially strong in times of war because war requires that mobilization of resources and military decisions reside in a single office. United States law and practice give presidents wide executive authority in wartime. How far this authority reaches in the specific instance of the September 11 terrorist attacks is another matter, however, because the scope, duration, and methods of the antiterror campaign are unlike conventional warfare in many respects. Congress still has a critical responsibility to set limits on the exercise of executive authority by conducting hearings, passing legislation, and controlling budgets.

The courts—ultimately the Supreme Court—are able to rule on the constitutionality of legislation and executive actions. Courts, moreover, are free to deal with specific grievances in the course of criminal and civil trials. In fact, while some of the current discussion of civil liberties concerns legislative action in such areas as immigration reform, much of it involves courts as they rule in specific cases about actions of the president and his cabinet.

### The Current Controversies

The major current controversies about civil liberties and the response to terrorism concern the rights that criminal defendants should have in terrorism cases, the fairness of detention of those suspected of terrorist activities or having significant information about these activities, and the status and treatment of combatants captured in Afghanistan and elsewhere. In all these cases, treatment is measured against a standard that has given U.S. citizens growing protection over the past 40 years, a standard that has grown from a constitutional base that was already quite high. This high level of proper procedure in dealing with crime is the third important contextual element for understanding the current debate.

In the U.S. legal system, everyone, including the indigent, has basic guarantees:

- The right to legal counsel is assured in criminal cases.
- Material found in the search of suspects' homes can be used against them in court only if

the strictest procedures have been followed.

- Suspects must be notified that they need not talk to police, and anything said if they have not had such notification cannot be used in court.
- Police are punished for coercive tactics, and coerced evidence, such as confessions, is inadmissible during trials.
- Suspects must be tried speedily and must be made aware of the charges against them.

In these areas and more, the practical meaning of these guarantees of "due process of law" can be matters of ongoing discussion, but, fundamentally, they limit the actions of the government's prosecutors and protect defendants from unfair prosecution.

Given this context, we can appreciate the several issues involved in the current discussion. One issue concerns the government's actions under the United States PATRIOT Act, which Congress passed after the September 11 attacks. The act allows the government several new powers in wiretapping, in tracking computer activity, and in monitoring financial transactions in order to deal with suspected terrorists and those who aid them.

Some commentators feared initially that these powers would allow the government excessive intrusion into private lives. Because the new powers must be exercised under established procedures and in light of the Constitution's prohibition of unreasonable searches and seizures, the likelihood of such excesses decreases. The nation's courts continue to be actively engaged in defining the boundaries of these enhanced investigative powers.

A second issue centers on the government's aggressive use of laws that currently exist to detain in prison possible terrorists and those suspected of aiding them or of having useful information about them. Shortly after September 11, Attorney General John Ashcroft likened this activity to tactics used against organized crime by Robert Kennedy when he was attorney general during his brother's presidency in the 1960s. Violations of visa status, for example, have made those with possible information about past or future terrorist acts subject to sometimes lengthy detention. Some have questioned the government's aggressive tactics generally, but it is especially the issue of detention that has been widely debated.

Federal District Judge Gladys Kessler ruled recently that

the government must list the names of those who are being detained, which it had not been doing. Detainees are and have been free to consult attorneys, and they and their families are and have been free to publicize their detentions. The Department of Justice would prefer not to release the names generally, however, out of concern that terrorists will make use of the information or that it would put the detainees at risk, particularly after they return to their home countries. The issue will finally be resolved as the administration appeals Judge Kessler's decision to higher courts.

A third set of issues concerns trials against suspected terrorists. The government has distinguished among foreign nationals, American citizens, and combatants who may be directly charged with committing crimes of war. In the case of combatants, some concerns initially existed about the administration's plans to use military tribunals to try those captured in battle (those now held on Guantanamo Naval Base, for example) or while engaging in military activities. Publication of the rules for the military tribunals has made clear that the most critical of the normal procedural safeguards will still be in place. In addition, the presidential edict authorizing such tribunals did not rule out the option of holding trials against suspected terrorists in civilian courts. The final current issue is less specific. Even if

government prosecutors and investigators act within the law, some civil libertarians believe that these actions—aggressive information-gathering, strict application of immigration law, and impaneling military tribunals—create an atmosphere hostile to free discussion.

Others argue in reply that the government—and the public's—quick response to ill treatment of some Arab-Americans and visitors after September 11, the full and open political discussion of how best to deal with terrorism, and the procedural propriety with which judicial actions have proceeded demonstrate the deep importance and undiluted presence of civil liberties and the careful constitutional balance of powers even in trying times. From this standpoint, American citizens' commitment to civil liberties is as strong and forceful as their support of efforts against terrorists who would take these liberties from them.

*Blitz is a former associate director of the U.S. Information Agency, and currently chairman of the Department of Government at Claremont McKenna College.*

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# Resilience and Renewal at the Pentagon

By Jacquelyn S. Porth

A remarkable reconstruction project helps bring recovery from the attack on U.S. military headquarters.

Arlington, Virginia—On September 11, 2001, terrorists hijacked an American civilian airliner using it to attack what Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld rightly calls America's symbol of "military might." In a terrifying instant, three of the Pentagon's five concentric rings of corridors were penetrated by a plane-turned-missile flying at 560 kilometers-per-hour delivering tons of explosive jet fuel that would turn reinforced concrete into mush.

Upon impact, one wedge of the five-sided Pentagon turned into a fireball and buckled as though experiencing an earthquake. The tragic event occurred exactly 60 years to the day from when construction first began on the structure that houses military and civilian employees working around-the-clock to provide for America's defense. The attack on one of the world's largest office buildings killed 125 of those workers, another 110 were seriously injured, and 59 passengers aboard commandeered American Airlines Flight 77 died instantly.

Besides the human tragedy, suddenly, more than 37,000 square meters of interior office space was out of commission and workers with critical national security missions were displaced. Reconstruction efforts at what one international journalist called "the other Ground Zero" began almost immediately. The project to rebuild what the attack had destroyed was named aptly after the mythical "Phoenix" bird that arises from ashes of destruction. The reconstruction program required 3,000 individuals to collaborate in fixing the fire, smoke, and water damage in an area of almost 186,000 square meters.

One year later, what seemed the nearly impossible has been accomplished at the Pentagon. Construction workers hauled away 45,000 metric tons of debris and devoted an equivalent of 3 million hours to do what some said, at first, could not be accomplished: return

Department of Defense (DOD) employees to their formerly demolished office space by September 11, 2002.

The anniversary goal was not handed down from high-level officials, but instead emerged through consensus from on-site workers—many of whom are immigrants to America—who toiled alongside billboard-sized digital clocks that counted down the days, hours, minutes, and seconds to the September 2002 deadline. It was a marathon. Brett Eaton, the project communications team leader, says a lot of the construction workers “put their lives on hold to get the job done” viewing it as a small sacrifice compared to that of others who faced the loss of colleagues and loved ones.

The sense of urgency was clear, Eaton says, “Everyone...understood that the entire world is watching to see how the Pentagon reacts.”

The first 600 workers returned to their former space several weeks in advance of the anniversary and the target date. Some of the first returnees expressed some understandable “trepidation about going back to the exact same spot,” but also satisfaction about their return to a semblance of normalcy.

Peter Murphy, counsel for the Marine Corps commandant, was among those who reoccupied space in August. He told reporters it is important to carry on and show that “we aren’t going to have our future dictated by terrorists.” Returning also helps provide some sense of closure for the 3,000 Army and Navy personnel who will be back in their former office space by the anniversary date.

The September 11 attack occurred in a part of the building that had just been renovated with new water sprinklers, credited with helping contain the fire, and blast-resistant windows that helped hold off collapsing walls long enough for a good number of workers to escape. The stories of those difficult escapes also inspired new safety features for the renovated space. All the internal exit doors and doorknobs in offices, stairwells, and restrooms are lined with tape designed to glow in the dark for four hours. Glowing exit signs have been added at ground level since so many workers, trapped in smoke-filled office warrens, couldn’t see identified escape routes in the September 11 disaster. There are also new strips of lighting at floor level.

A new “meditation” area is another reminder of what

happened. A large, backlit stained glass emblem with an eagle and the sun overlooking the Pentagon dominates the room. It bears the words “United in Memory” and the date of the tragedy. A second room is devoted to “America’s Heroes” who died that day. Jean Barnak, Phoenix Project deputy manager for Wedge One, says the walls will permanently bear the names of the 184 killed in the building and on the airliner.

The passage of a year has brought change to the outside of the building as well. The new blends invisibly with the old, despite the placement of 4,000 pieces of new limestone trucked in from the Midwest. The stone was drawn from the same vein in Indiana that was used when the Pentagon was first built 60 years ago. Vintage 1941 machinery was located to use in scoring the new stone so it would match the surviving blocks. Since the Pentagon is an official historic landmark, great care had to be taken to preserve its appearance.

The process of renewal is also visible in the new landscaping of the once severely damaged property. Freshly planted, pink flowering crepe myrtles, holly bushes, and magnolias are growing up alongside the new facade.

But there is still one startling reminder of the fury of the attack. A single rectangular block of charred, pockmarked, cracked limestone from the damaged structure stands out from its new surroundings as a stark reminder of the recent past. Inscribed simply “September 11, 2001,” it is located near the jet’s point of impact and covers a dedication capsule put in place on June 11 by Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz to mark completion of the outside of the building.

The bronze capsule is dedicated to the victims and contains items identified for inclusion by families of the victims, construction workers, and Defense Department management “as a testament to the strength and resolve” of Americans. The contents include lists of the names of those killed in the attack on the Pentagon, and the 46,000 people who wrote to express thanks to those who suffered from the attack, as well as badges from police and fire crews who aided in the rescue effort.

One of the rescuers from Maryland’s Montgomery County says the rapid reconstruction is “a testament to the resiliency of our nation.” Captain Troy Lipp says having the Pentagon rebuilt is “a great symbol” and “means a lot to the whole country.”

When the outside of the building was completed, Wolfowitz said the "patriots" who died at the northern Virginia site represented values that were "alien" to those who perpetrated the violence. Reconstruction at the Pentagon "is part of the fight in the war against terrorism," he said at the June 11 ceremony, and getting people back in before the one-year anniversary sends "a message back to the terrorists." That message is that "we will not only rebuild, but we will be better than we were before."

Stress and trauma counselor Victor Welzant told a group of Pentagon employees recently that marking anniversaries is "embedded in our culture." Americans are "hard-wired for this," he said, warning that the first anniversary will reawaken many emotions in people. But whatever reactions are evoked, and whatever questions about the attacks linger, he said they are part of a normal healing process.

Americans are managing the anniversary and healing in many ways. Immediate family members and associates will be part of a September 11, 2002, ceremony at the Phoenix site. The commander-in-chief, the defense secretary, and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff will address them. A moment of silence at 9:37 a.m. will commemorate the moment when the plane struck the Pentagon.

Some family members, such as Jim Laychack who lost his younger brother in the attack on the Pentagon, hope to draw comfort from a permanent memorial that will be built soon close to the "other" Ground Zero. "We feel that we owe this to our loved ones," he says. The memorial will be located on the west side of the Pentagon grounds as close to the point of impact as security will permit.

Family members helped define the memorial's design criteria. Laychack says he hopes the Pentagon memorial will communicate a "sense of loss of ordinary people: brothers, sisters, wives, and dads." Family members realize it is "too easy to forget" individuals whose lives "were snuffed out" and want a permanent reminder of what happened there. They will have that by the second anniversary on September 11, 2003.

The Army Corps of Engineers will build the Pentagon memorial after a final design selection in December. Officials note that entries from more than 50 nations have already been received. The Corps' memorial project manager Carol Anderson-Austra says the many submissions from abroad demonstrate how "the attack touched everyone all over the world." People who desire a peaceful world and/or wish to offer comfort to the families, she says, want to express "a sense of solidarity" by participating and they want to convey a message that "we will always remember."

Reed Kroloff, the Corps' design adviser for the memorial and a trustee with the National Building Museum, says if the terrorists sought "to destabilize or demoralize" the United States, their effect was "exactly the opposite." The Pentagon is being rebuilt, birth will be given to a new memorial, and America has "rebounded with record speed," he says.

Perhaps those who are still grappling—in many different ways—with what happened beside the Potomac River last year should bear in mind the words of the secretary of defense: "from the ashes, hope springs."

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# A Patriot's Progress: September 11 and Freedom in America

By Roger Rosenblatt

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We are, consciously or not, in a continual search for a more noble expression of existence. The events of September 11 heightened that search and, whatever happens, we will be changed, possibly improved, for having examined ourselves more carefully.

I write this essay about a month before the first anniversary of September 11, in the same quiet Long Island, New York, village where I watched the attacks on television. And I am trying to take account of the progress of thought since that terrible day, which has something to do with patriotism, and something to do simply with the ways thought travels in a free country. Patriotism in America, or in any true democracy, is unstable and operates more elusively than it does in countries where individual thinking is more controlled. Love of country here is expansive and lusty one moment, qualified and crucial the next. It is judgmental and sentimental both, because one of the valuable perils of freedom is that the mind is on its own.

In the late days of summer, my village looks much the way it did shortly before September 11, especially on weekdays when there are fewer vacationers, and the power boats leave the bay to the gulls. Cormorants collect on the pilings. Egrets stalk the marshes, where a rank smell rises, sweetens. The sky wears a light blue gauze of mist much of the time, and the wind kicks up just enough to tremble the upper branches of the trees, which darken earlier these days and signal the entrance of a new season. If you asked any of my neighbors how they were feeling on a given morning, they'd say, "Great," and mean it, even though, after last year's murders, everyone knows that all this serenity can be targeted.

Anything can happen. A fallen character in John Guare's play *Lydie Breeze* says, "Anything can happen." The sentiment is sometimes expressed brightly, as when one buys a lottery ticket, but more often it is laced with embitterment, the result of a defeating encounter with reality that suggests one is helpless to control one's life. Anything can happen—cancer, car wrecks, planes flying into great buildings.

So it has gone, I think, with patriotic thought since September 11. Because it is free to do as it pleases, the

American mind has taken a number of turns—more than it has taken at any other point in my lifetime. One dealt with various spasms and manifestations of patriotism during the civil rights wars and during the 1960s, particularly concerning Vietnam, but never as many as in the past year. The extremes of thought, if not the passions, have been more stark; the thoughts within thoughts more nuanced. Also, because there have been no attacks on the country since September 11, the mind is not always keenly aware of what it is thinking about the state of things, and so thoughts of country flow naturally into thoughts of family, the dog, the kitchen, and of all that subtly adds up to living in America.

In the immediate aftermath of the attacks, patriotism both armed itself and wore garments of grief. For most of us, rage and sorrow came together, and one emotion inspired the other. This is as it must be when one is attacked so brutally. From my bucolic perch, I watched my people, my city damaged, and I wanted to strike back hard—not solely out of revenge, though that feeling ran high, but to protect my own. My country, my house.

For days everyone stared at the bodies hauled from the ruins, the anxious faces of the wives, husbands, and parents. We learned of personal connections to the dead. We attended funerals. The fiancé of a friend of my daughter's was killed as he worked as a trader in one of the World Trade Center towers. At the funeral, over a thousand people gathered, almost all in their twenties, reeling from the recognition that anything can happen. Hour after hour, we saw pictures of people struggling through impenetrable smoke and dust. Firefighters dead. Police dead. A father whose child had not been recovered expressed the hope that his child was wandering the city, dazed.

Soon something was added to the rage and grief, something calmer and more considered. One began to appreciate a quality that was not usually assigned to Americans—the essential dignity of the people. Much of what one witnessed in the heroic and tireless rescue operations was the dignity of people going about their jobs, the dignity inherent in work. This was the dignity of the common man, an old ideal revived by a dreadful circumstance, but latent in America always—the 19th-century "Man With the Hoe," the 20th-century "G.I. Joe." But the sympathy the workers extended toward one another, the sympathy extended by most Americans at the time, revealed a deeper form of dignity as well. There was a ceremonial sense of the preciousness of life arising,

literally, out of the ashes. No one who saw the rescue workers remove their hardhats and open a corridor for the flag-covered bodies will ever forget it.

Widening, one's patriotic thoughts then became more alert to events. One responded to governmental decisions in terms of how one viewed the country politically, historically. When the attacks first happened, only those looking to be intellectually cute or perverse turned their backs on the country in distress. But not long after that, when the Justice Department and others began to speak of military tribunals, interferences with lawyer-client confidences, and the detaining of suspects without charges or evidence, many Americans sat up and said, "Whoa!" One said "Whoa!" twice when it was learned that as a result of the USA PATRIOT Act—passed by Congress and signed into law by President Bush in October 2001—the FBI was poking around libraries to check what people were reading. My guess is that the destruction of every civilization began when the empowered checked what people were reading.

Patriotism required disloyalty to such notions. One of the clever components of this country is that it has disloyalty built into its system—disloyalty not to principles but to leaders. Whenever we find leaders straying from principles, we are encouraged, indeed obliged, to smack them down.

Other things began to be said, too, that went against the grain. We were right in our war against al Qaeda, certain people contended, because God was on our side. Coincidentally, this was precisely the thought of Mohammad Atta, one of the terrorists in the attacking planes. God was on the side of the Taliban, that's how they were able to succeed on their mission. The Taliban leader, Mohammad Omar, may have wondered how tight he was with God after all. On September 11, God was on his side. Some weeks later, when Kandahar surrendered, the mullah may have gone shopping around for a more competent deity.

"A fanatic," said Finley Peter Dunne's Mr. Dooley, "is a man that does what he thinks th' Lord wud do if He knew th' facts in th' case!"<sup>1</sup> The original reason for our separation of church and state was not merely to prevent a state religion, but to prevent the consequences of a state religion, the deadliest of which being the assumption that God is on our side. Of course, one would like to believe that God is on our side, because the terrorists are in the wrong and we are in the right, and any deity worth his

salt would be able to see that. But far better and healthier for the country not to pretend we know what God is up to. America is the most religious country in the industrialized world, and the reason may be that we see religion essentially as private property.

The patriotic mind thus became alert to its more disastrous inclinations. In October and November, it was easy to see every Muslim as a bomb thrower—not to be put in internment camps this time, but surely to be watched. The good thing was that there were very few instances of public harassment. President Bush was wholly admirable in stepping up right away and reminding us that Arab-Americans were, in fact, Americans. The bad thing was that we began to think categorically. One used the euphemism “racial profiling.” How was this for a test of patriotism? The country was made up of all we let in, and some of the invitees wanted to knock us off. Did we really mean it when we claimed to honor all traditions and beliefs? We became conscious, as we have in the past, of the terrors of the open door—we, the grateful products of the open door.

Thoughts like these and others were not formalized or orderly; they simply arose as occasions demanded. The American mind is no different when it deals with patriotism than when it considers a political candidate, a beer, or a flavor of ice cream. It goes with the flow, it is the flow. Tossed into the mix was the country laughing at itself; TV comics having a field day with the president’s verbal oddities; the president himself saying, “They underestimated me”; the country’s perpetual and deliberate confusion of respect and derision; our attitude of taking nothing and everything seriously, extending even to Osama bin Laden jokes. If one bothered to think about it (who did?), one saw that self-mockery was part of patriotism, too—the horse laugh as free speech.

Tossed into the mix, too, was America’s tendency to drift. Even in urgent, threatened situations, the mind finds itself heading for an exit, perhaps because life is generally good enough to allow such driftings, or because dreaming is a national tradition; the country was a dream in the first place. People elsewhere assume that because we are a can-do nation, we also want-to-do, but we know better. For all our reputation of being with it, Americans do a lot more mental sauntering than we’re given credit for. All our heroes were major saunterers—Huck, Holden, Rip,<sup>3</sup> and some real ones, too, such as Jefferson, Franklin, and Edison. We live off the planet as much as on it. When I was a kid, the teacher would catch me drifting

out the window, and ask the shrill, predictable question: “Roger, would you care to rejoin the group?” I would think, “Not really.”

Related to our drifts was our desire to be outsiders—even after September 11, when we knew that we had to pull together toward a center. But our historical temperaments only permit us to pull together for so long. Then we propel ourselves outward. One of the strange charms of our country is that most of us not only feel out of things, we hardly know of anyone who thinks of himself as in things. If presidential candidates are to be believed, not one of them has ever set foot in Washington, D.C. Former congressmen and senators must have driven around the city on the beltway tossing in their votes from their cars. Washington is known as the city of insiders. To be an insider—the term implies—is not just to be where the power is, but to be wrong in one’s perspective, or to be a crook. Being an outsider is a form of self-congratulation; only the best people do it. War or no war, we remained as much apart from events as a part of them.

It stirs an odd soup, love of country in a democracy. One is free to love America a lot, a little, to love it or leave it, or not to love it at all. One is increasingly grateful, especially in a stressful time, for the First Amendment, for a Constitution that insisted on the ability to create amendments, for allowing all those things we do not want said, said. Some years ago, a nutcase relief pitcher for a major league baseball team complained that he couldn’t stand riding the New York subway with all those welfare mothers, queers, and immigrants. People shouted, “He can’t say that.” The beauty of our system is that he can say that, and worse, and he can step on the flag if he wants to, and we will hate hearing it and watching it, and we will take it. The First Amendment was made for everyone, in a way especially for jackasses.

Anything can happen. It was the lesson of September 11. Where were you on September 11? More to the point, where were you on September 10? The sudden movements of life, like those of the free mind, remain out of our control. Patriotism itself in the free country is out of control—anger, grief, sympathy, mutual appreciation, criticism, self-doubt, amusement, swerving to dreaminess, and individual independence. What can happen to a nation can happen to a state of mind, particularly in a country that is created out of a state of mind. If we were learning anything so far, it was that freedom was more difficult and complicated than we had ever dreamed.

By April and May, the country was hardly thinking of Afghanistan or Osama anymore—it had been months since we'd even seen him on tape. This was not Orwell's *1984*; we were not saddled with a government capable of whipping up our enmities falsely. It was not that we had forgotten our need to be safe, or even our desire to punish. But these thoughts had become submerged in other things that affected our lives, and in other news. Now Israel had become the prime target for terrorists, and European anti-Semitism was risen like the living dead. Now vast corporations turned out to be thieves, destroyers of lives. Now the market sank like a stone. Now baseball players and owners were about to sabotage a season out of greed.

Where were we in our own country? Where were we in relation to the rest of the world? We do not like to think about the rest of the world very much. Big business likes to think of the world as customers. But for the rest of us, the great wide world has merely become the place where floods and earthquakes happen far away, especially since Russia has transmogrified from menace to (sort of) friend. If we had been more aware of the Muslim world, people told us, we could have anticipated September 11, if not prevented it. If we were more aware of our enemies in the world, we were told, we could raise them from poverty and from their ignorance about us—how wonderful we are, when you get to know us, how decent, fair-minded, how playful.

Yet when patriotism bisects these earnest wishes, it dilutes them. For every moment of regretful self-inspection since September 11, there were two in which one thought, "The hell with the rest of the world. Why should we apologize for existing?" And if we have made calamitous blunders in our international history, are they any worse than those of the countries who grind their teeth at us? And what other country in history, we'd like to know, has done so much good for the rest of the starving, impoverished, war-destroyed planet? We went into Bosnia, we'd like to point out, for no other purpose than doing the right thing. This is something the Muslim states might recall when railing against the Great Satan.

In sum, our alertness to the conditions and attitudes of the wider world probably did nothing to draw us closer to it—except, in the most watery wishful thinking. America, we concluded, and rightly in my view, did nothing to deserve the murderous attacks on our people. If education would help in the future, by all means, let's all get educated. But that was a separable matter from the mad decisions of zealots.

Would I have thought myself capable of such strong reactions before September 11? I don't know. Anything can happen. The tests imposed by events upon one's patriotism were the tests the free mind takes every day. Many days I have not thought of September 11 at all, or of al Qaeda, or Iraq, or even that we were in a state of war or of emergency. If anything has remained consistent since that day, it is the images of suffering. The wife of the executed journalist, Danny Pearl; the parents of Nathan Ross Chapman, the first American soldier killed by enemy fire in early January—their noble submission to the worst news one can receive: that stays with me.

A good deal of patriotism in America concentrates on manageable particulars. I love my family. I love my village. Grander feelings change, enlarge, are diverted, come, and go. What we have in this country—more important than wealth and power—is a special sort of instability. We are, consciously or not, in a continual search for a more noble expression of existence. The events of September 11 heightened that search and, whatever happens, we will be changed, possibly improved, for having examined ourselves more carefully.

These late August evenings, the sun's coagulated rays flash more insistently, before they drop out of sight. The hedges shadow earlier, show signs of decay. Not far from here, the creeks merge with the bay, which noses through a channel where fishermen sit on pilings and expect the best; then it spreads into a larger bay, then into the Atlantic. I am somewhere. Our country is somewhere. We are sure that we mean something worthwhile to ourselves and to others, that we have good reasons to survive and to triumph, and we will look for more.

1. Martin Dooley, a bar owner, was the fictional creation of Chicago newspaper journalist Finley Peter Dunne. In the late 19th century, Mr. Dooley—speaking with the heavy accent of an Irish immigrant (written phonetically in Dunne's columns)—brought insight, irony, and humor to his fictitious discussions of American political and social issues with his Irish immigrant customers.

2. Huck Finn, the main character in Mark Twain's novel *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Holden Caulfield, the main character in J.D. Salinger's novel *The Catcher in the Rye*, and Rip Van Winkle, the title character in Washington Irving's story "Rip Van Winkle: A Posthumous Writing of Diedrich Knickerbocker."

*Roger Rosenblatt is the author of Where We Stand: 30 Reasons for Loving Our Country.*

*The opinions expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. government.*

# ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

## A Selected Chronology of Key Events September 11, 2001—Present

Compiled by the Office of International Information Programs  
U.S. Department of State

**September 11:** Two hijacked airliners were crashed into the World Trade Center (WTC) Towers in New York City. Thousands were feared dead when the towers collapsed more than an hour after the impacts. A third hijacked airliner was crashed into the Pentagon. A fourth, possibly bound for another target in Washington, D.C., crashed in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, apparently after passengers attempted to overpower the hijackers.

**8:46 a.m.(EDT)**—American Airlines Flight 11 struck the WTC North Tower.

**9:03**—United Airlines Flt. 175 struck the South Tower.

**9:38**—American Airlines Flt. 77 struck the Pentagon.

**9:59**—The South Tower of the WTC collapsed; the North Tower fell at 10:28.

**10:00**—United Airlines Flt. 93 crashed in Pennsylvania. The Federal Aviation Administration suspended all air traffic in the United States and diverted international flights to Canada. Federal offices and public buildings in Washington, New York, and other major cities were closed.

**4:10 p.m.**—Building 7 of the World Trade Center collapsed.

**8:30**—President Bush addressed the nation: "Terrorist

attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America."

Thousands of people were killed. Authorities in New York City initially estimated the casualties at the WTC and surrounding areas to be more than 5,000 persons. As the lists have been refined, names verified, and some victims' remains identified, the number of victims has been reduced.

Authorities now say that 2,829 persons died at the World Trade Center, including airline passengers from AA Flt. 11 and UA Flt. 175, and 453 public safety workers who responded to the emergency. The dead came from more than 90 countries around the world. Bodily remains of fewer than half the victims have been identified. (Source: New York City Medical Examiner's Office as of August 19, 2002.)

At the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., 189 persons died, including the 64 people on board American Airlines Flt. 77. When United Airlines Flt. 93 crashed in Western Pennsylvania, 44 people died. (Source: National Transportation Safety Board.)

The more than 3,000 people killed in the September 11 attacks included 19 hijackers on board the four civilian airline flights.

**Sept. 12:** The North Atlantic Council invoked Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, thereby considering the terrorist attacks on the United States to be an attack on all member states, and pledged any necessary assistance.

Both the U.N. General Assembly and Security Council approved by acclamation resolutions condemning the terrorist attacks on the United States and calling on member states to cooperate to bring the "perpetrators, organizers, and sponsors of the outrages" to justice.

**Sept. 13:** President Bush and Attorney General John Ashcroft urged the American people not to hold Arab-Americans and Muslims responsible for the terrorist attacks and pledged a swift response to violence against them.

**Sept. 15:** President Bush met with his national security advisers at Camp David, Maryland. He confirmed to reporters that Osama bin Laden was a "prime suspect." Secretary of State Colin Powell expressed gratification at worldwide expressions of support. "Dozens of countries lost lives [at the World Trade Center] and they realize that this was an attack against them, as well."

**Sept. 18:** The U.N. Security Council called on the Taliban to hand over Osama bin Laden in accord with UNSCR 1333, passed by the council on Dec. 19, 2000. That resolution demanded that the Taliban cease providing sanctuary and support for terrorism, and turn over bin Laden to authorities investigating his suspected involvement in other terrorist acts.

**Sept. 19:** President Bush addressed a joint session of Congress and the American people, outlining a comprehensive U.S. and international effort to end global terrorism. He named al Qaeda and a loose network of terrorist groups as prime suspects in the September 11 attacks.

**Sept. 24:** President Bush signed an executive order freezing the assets of 27 organizations and persons suspected of funding terrorism and supporting al Qaeda.

**Sept. 28:** The U. N. Security Council unanimously adopted UNSCR 1373, which established wide-ranging measures to combat terrorism, especially focusing on the financial support terrorists need to carry out their acts.

**October 4:** President Bush pledged \$320 million in additional humanitarian aid to Afghanistan. He also announced a further call-up of Army reservists and Army

National Guard members. By this date, some 7,765 military reservists and National Guard members had been called up since the attacks.

**Oct. 5:** The U. N. General Assembly's week-long debate on international terrorism closed with countries expressing their horror over the September 11 attacks against the United States and their hope that governments could work together to eradicate terrorism everywhere in the world.

As the U.S. government discovered additional evidence tying the attacks to Osama bin Laden and the al Qaeda terrorist movement, it used its resources and the resources of an international coalition to move against al Qaeda. The Taliban government of Afghanistan was identified as providing refuge for, and support to, al Qaeda. When the Taliban continued to refuse to take action against al Qaeda, the U.S.-led coalition decided to attack the Taliban and al Qaeda in Afghanistan.

**Oct. 7:** President Bush announced that in response to the September 11 attacks and in accordance with the inherent right of individual and collective self-defense, the U.S. military had launched strikes against al Qaeda terrorist camps and Taliban military installations in Afghanistan.

**Oct. 10:** State Department spokesman Richard A. Boucher said that terrorist suspects had been arrested or detained in 23 countries: 10 in Europe, 7 in the Middle East, 4 in Africa, and 1 each in Latin America and East Asia. Steps had been taken against terrorist financial assets. Authorities targeted terrorist financial assets in 112 countries.

**Oct. 11:** President Bush held his first prime-time news conference since the attacks. He told journalists the Taliban still had a second chance; if they gave up bin Laden and his followers, "We'll reconsider what we're doing to your country." He also said that the United States was prepared to help the United Nations establish a stable and representative Afghan government that would be involved in neither terrorism nor the drug trade.

**Oct. 25:** In London, Prime Minister Tony Blair briefed Conservative Party leaders on plans to commit British ground troops to Afghanistan. President Bush designated Bahrain a "major non-NATO ally."

**Oct. 31:** The Defense Department announced that

reserve call-ups would exceed 50,000. The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) announced that it would supply the U.N. and other humanitarian agencies with \$11.2 million to buy up to 30,000 tons of wheat from Central Asian countries for relief in Afghanistan.

**November 27:** The World Bank and Asian Development Bank held a meeting in Islamabad to discuss reconstruction aid to Afghanistan.

**December 3:** The United Nations announced that the World Food Program would employ more than 2,400 women in its emergency food distribution efforts in Kabul. The recruitment of women in the operation of the relief program was intended to reverse the effect of the five-year-old Taliban policy barring women from the workplace.

**Dec. 4:** Afghan representatives meeting in Bonn, Germany, signed an interim agreement aimed at establishing a broad-based, multiethnic, stable, representative post-Taliban government in Afghanistan after 23 years of war. The interim administration in Afghanistan would be led by Hamid Karzai, a Pashtun leader from Kandahar.

**Dec. 13:** The Defense Department released a videotape of Osama bin Laden discussing the September 11 terrorist attacks. The tape shows bin Laden saying that the devastation caused by fuel-laden jetliners crashing into the twin towers of the trade center far exceeded his expectations.

**Dec. 22:** The Afghan Interim Authority (AIA), a multiethnic body reflecting the geographic and religious composition of Afghanistan, was created to administer the nation.

**January 17, 2002:** Secretary of State Powell officially reopened the U.S. embassy in Kabul, Afghanistan, which had been closed since 1989.

**Jan. 21-22:** The International Conference on Afghan Aid was held in Tokyo. The United States pledged \$296 million for Afghan reconstruction efforts.

**Jan. 29:** President Bush, in the annual State of the Union speech, said America's enemies "believed America was weak and materialistic, that we would splinter in fear and selfishness. They were as wrong as they are evil." The president said Americans will "extend the compassion of

our country to every part of the world." He promised especially "to encourage development and education and opportunity in the Islamic world."

The United States has made it clear that its attacks in Afghanistan, and antiterrorist actions around the world, are directed only toward al Qaeda, nations and individuals providing support to them, and other terrorists.

Some 5 million Muslims live in the United States. They are guaranteed the same religious, political, and individual freedoms as any other citizens or residents. In the wake of the September 11 attacks, Muslims and other American citizens have intensified their contacts, reflecting a widespread interest in knowing more about Islam and the way in which its practitioners form part of the overall American nation. Popular media has provided extensive special articles or programs, schools are actively seeking to include more information on Islam and Arab issues in their curricula, and enrollment in formal study programs has increased substantially. (For more extensive information see <http://www.usinfo.state.gov/usa/islam>)

**March 11:** Twin columns of blue light beamed into the sky above New York City, capping a day of religious and other memorial services.

**March 23:** Schools opened in Afghanistan, allowing attendance of both boys and girls for the first time in years. U.S. support included \$10 million for supplies and texts in both Dari and Pashto languages.

**April 17:** Former King Zahir Shah returned to Afghanistan, making no claim to the throne.

**May 30:** A ceremony at the site of the former World Trade Center marked the end of efforts to recover remains of the 2,829 people killed in the attacks. Working around the clock, work crews had removed 1.8 million tons of debris from the site.

**June 11:** At a Pentagon ceremony, a dedication capsule was sealed into the reconstructed west wall of the building. The final block of limestone used to seal the wall bore the blackened scars of the attack and the date, September 11, 2001.

**June 12:** President Bush held the first Homeland Security Council meeting.

**June 13:** The newly constituted Afghan Loya Jirga elected Hamid Karzai president of the new Islamic Transitional Government of Afghanistan.

**June 18:** President Bush sent the Congress his proposal to create a new cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security to develop and coordinate a national strategy against terrorist threats and attacks.

**July 6:** Afghanistan Vice President Haji Abdul Qadir and his driver were assassinated in Kabul.

**July 12:** The Fire Department of New York was awarded the Gold Medal of Courage and Devotion in Paris. Members of the fire and police departments have been

honored around the world for their work and heroism following the terrorist attacks.

**July 15:** Twenty-one-year-old American John Walker Lindh pleaded guilty in federal court to having supplied help to the Taliban. He was sentenced to 20 years in prison.

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*The Office of International Information Programs prepared this document, drawing upon a variety of public sources, to provide an overview of significant events of the past year. It is intended neither as a complete or comprehensive account of the Global Coalition Against Terrorism, nor as an official expression of U.S. policy.*



# Rebuilding Afghanistan

An Excerpt from a Report by the U.S. Agency for International Development

There is a sense of hope and freedom in the air that has not been present for many years. The U.S. government is working for the long term to ensure the Afghan people have opportunities to earn a livelihood and receive education and quality health care in a stable society governed by just leaders.

—USAID Administrator Andrew S. Natsios

Afghanistan presents one of the most difficult humanitarian and development challenges the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has ever faced.

Years of civil war, compounded by Taliban rule and the worst drought in memory, have devastated the country. Approximately half of Afghanistan's 26.8 million people live in absolute poverty. Malnutrition is widespread. Fifty percent of the people are unemployed; 70 percent are illiterate. The systematic human rights assaults under the Taliban curtailed female access to education, healthcare, and livelihoods, depriving women of the means to support themselves and their families. Virtually all of the country's institutions and much of its infrastructure have been destroyed.

Such an environment, if left untended, provides a fertile breeding ground for terrorism and other destabilizing movements. To support the war on terrorism and to keep with America's tradition of assisting those in need, USAID has made a major commitment to help build a hopeful future for the people of Afghanistan.

USAID has made historic efforts to deliver critically needed assistance to the Afghan people. Even before the September 11 terrorist attacks, Afghanistan was the United States' top recipient of humanitarian aid, receiving \$174 million in fiscal year 2001.

Since the attacks, the United States has continued to play a leading role in meeting the Afghans' urgent needs for food, water, shelter, and medicine. The delivery of unprecedented amounts of food in record time by the U.N. World Food Program (WFP), with funding from USAID, has greatly reduced the loss of life. The majority of the wheat, oil, and lentils came from the United States and has fed more than 9 million men, women, and children.

The United States has pledged nearly \$300 million in fiscal year 2002 for Afghan relief and reconstruction. Of this sum, \$184 million is managed by USAID. With the demise of the Taliban and the establishment of the Afghan Transitional Administration (ATA), Afghanistan is beginning to focus on recovery and reconstruction, even as the drought continues.

While humanitarian relief is still required, USAID is increasing reconstruction efforts. USAID has outlined four goals for reconstruction: 1) restoring food security and revitalizing agriculture and other livelihood options; 2) rebuilding the devastated educational system; 3) improving health; and 4) strengthening Afghan institutions to assure long-term stability. Of these, agriculture is a cornerstone of sustainable development.

USAID is working with ATA, humanitarian organizations, and the rest of the international community to begin the process of building a safe, stable society that meets the needs of its people and eliminates an environment that breeds terrorism.

### Rehabilitating Agriculture

Traditionally, agriculture is the largest and most important sector of the economy, but instability, coupled with the region's four-year drought, has devastated the country's food production capacity and impoverished farmers.

Although the drought will likely continue in Afghanistan for at least the next 12 to 18 months, USAID is committed to help for the long term.

Agriculture is a way of life for 70 percent of Afghanistan's people, and USAID is helping farmers re-establish production and become more profitable and efficient. This effort includes rehabilitating the irrigation system and providing tools, agricultural equipment, 15,000 metric tons of fertilizer, livestock vaccines, and 7,000 metric tons of seed for spring planting, which could yield 125,000 metric tons of food. Over the next two years, USAID will provide a total of 48,000 metric tons of seed,

USAID is working...to begin the process of building a safe, stable society that meets the needs of its people and eliminates an environment that breeds terrorism.

which has the potential to increase agricultural production by as much as 772,000 metric tons. These improved seed varieties are drought resistant and should increase production by 80 percent to 100 percent.

Farmers and small business owners have become deeply indebted during years of drought and instability. Debt drives farmers to cultivate poppy for drug trafficking and surrender their young daughters into marriage. USAID is revitalizing the rural economy by promoting the cultivation of high-value crops, such as raisins, other fruits, and vegetables. Cash-for-work projects employ local Afghans to rehabilitate critical infrastructure such as farm-to-market roads and irrigation

systems. In Helmand Province, farmers who formerly grew opium poppy have responded enthusiastically as USAID assisted them to re-enter export markets lost during the conflict, including cotton, peanut, and vegetable seed.

Experts also are training Afghan farmers in planting methods, crop protection, and animal husbandry. USAID is funding Mercy Corps International to plant fruit-tree nurseries, distribute saplings, and establish veterinary field units.

Lack of water is the most critical constraint to reviving Afghanistan's agriculture. USAID is funding the drilling of wells, the reconstruction of local irrigation systems, the rehabilitation of the water supply, and water conservation projects. USAID's implementing partner, FOCUS, is installing wells throughout Balkh and Baghlan provinces and will construct piped water systems in Bamiyan Province. Other organizations are rehabilitating canals and reservoirs and constructing erosion barriers. USAID will fund a nationwide water-resource assessment to better understand and respond to the effects of four years of drought.

### Enhancing Education

Education is a key building block to a stable and economically self-sufficient society. During the Taliban regime, Afghan girls above the age of eight were banned from the classroom.

In 1999, an estimated 32 percent of Afghanistan's 4.4 million school-age children were enrolled. Ninety-two percent of the country's girls did not attend school. Women teachers, who comprised 70 percent of the country's educators in the early 1990s, were forced to resign. Many of Afghanistan's 3,600 schools were damaged or destroyed by decades of conflict and lacked basic supplies.

Now, for the first time in years, girls have the opportunity to obtain an education. Women teachers, once barred from the classroom—and society—have returned too. ATA, the U.S. government, the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan, UNICEF and many other organizations are working together to bring Afghan children and teachers “back to school” with textbooks, school supplies and training materials in hand.

Education benefits Afghan society both socially and economically. A structured school environment provides youth with a sense of normalcy and routine after years of conflict. Teenagers who are engaged in learning are less likely to be recruited into militias and criminal groups. All have the opportunity to learn valuable skills that will ultimately enable Afghanistan to build a competitive workforce composed of women as well as men. The educational system is bringing women back into the workforce and enabling them to provide for their families.

Through a \$7.75 million grant to the University of Nebraska at Omaha, USAID edited and printed nearly 10 million textbooks for science, math, reading, civics, and social studies for grades one through 12. More than 5 million books were delivered by UNICEF under the

Afghan government's Back-to-School Program in time for opening day, March 23. The textbooks are printed in the Afghan languages of Pashtu and Dari and are accompanied by teachers' kits and other school supplies.

USAID is funding five teams of four teacher-trainers to conduct two-week refresher courses. By the end of 2002, thousands of Afghan educators, many of whom are women, will receive this training.

As part of its food-for-education program, WFP, with USAID support, is providing nutritious food to 47,000 schoolchildren in Kabul and northeastern Afghanistan. One million children will be reached as the program expands nationwide. Girls receive five liters of vegetable oil every month as an incentive for regular school attendance. The program reduces dropout rates, increases school attendance, and encourages families to send girls to school.

USAID, working through WFP and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), is rehabilitating more than 600 schools and enabling women-run bakeries to provide bread to schoolchildren. Approximately 50,000 teachers are receiving monthly food packages to supplement their income, through a food-for-civil-servants program introduced across the country. This program is part of USAID's \$118 million comprehensive support to WFP's efforts in Afghanistan since October 2001.

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*This report is available in full at  
[http://www.usaid.gov/about/afghanistan/rebuilding\\_afghanistan.pdf](http://www.usaid.gov/about/afghanistan/rebuilding_afghanistan.pdf)*

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September 11  
One Year Later



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