

Chapter I

American Response to 9/11 Terrorist Attack

导 读

2001年，新千年开局之年的9月11日，基地组织19名成员劫持了4架美国国内航班的飞机，对美国进行自杀性袭击。两架撞向纽约的标志性建筑世贸大厦，导致两座大楼倒塌；一架撞向华盛顿五角大楼；另一架由于机内乘客奋起斗争，坠毁于宾夕法尼亚州的田野上。9·11袭击导致2976人死亡，有形财产损失超过1000亿美元。灾难发生后，美国人民展现了巨大的勇气和大爱之情。正如第一篇文章作者所说，在灾难发生后，美国人“展现了最优秀的品质”。这种品质在1941年12月珍珠港事件之后就曾展现过。进一步往前追溯，在独立战争第一年的寒冬时节，华盛顿领导下的军队的表现就引发托马斯·潘恩（Thomas Paine）写下了“这是考验人们灵魂的时刻”（These are the times that try men's souls.）这样的警句。本章所选的文章从第一篇到第六篇反映了美国人民的这种品质。美国人在灾难面前显示出友爱、互相关心、对身为美国人的强烈的自豪感等品质，世界各国人民也都表现出了极大的同情和支持，这些确实是近半个世纪以来罕见的现象。总统与国会关系得到改善，同仇敌忾，民众也支持政府采取强有力的报复行动。这种形势、这种情绪，如果引导得当，可使美国大有作为，但是它们被误导了。其结果是：布什总统的威望在灾难初期得到提升，国会积极配合，行政大权迅速扩张，最后导致了对内实行《爱国者法案》，侵蚀公民权利；对外采取布什主义，一意孤行地发动阿富汗战争和伊拉克战争，最终使美国一度同时陷于两场战争以及一场全球性经济衰退的困难境地。

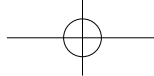
本章提供了十三篇选文。第一篇是写于2009年9月11日的一个回顾，赞扬了美国人民当时的表现，并提出如果政策对头，美国就不是今天这个样子了。第二篇至第四篇是9·11发生后的报道，展现了美国普通百姓的反应。第五篇和第六篇是9·11后美国人在国外的感受以及世界对美国的同情和支持。第七篇和第八篇表现了公众舆论对恐怖分子袭击作出的强硬回应。第九篇和第十篇讲述了布什总统与国会关系的变化。我们应该了解，在9·11之前，布什与国会关系并不好，当时国会众议院还掌握在民主党手中。第十一篇到第十三篇回顾了美国十年来的表现与成败，评估不一，希望读者注意。这也反映了当前（2011年）美国人的思想现状。

1. How 9/11 Should Be Remembered¹

Rebecca Solnit

Eight years ago, 2,600 people lost their lives in Manhattan, and then several million people

¹ Rebecca Solnit. "How 9/11 Should Be Remembered: The Extraordinary Achievements of Ordinary People." AlterNet, Sept. 10, 2009. Accessed Sept. 11, 2009. <http://www.alternet.org/story/142566>



lost their story. The al-Qaeda attack on the Twin Towers did not defeat New Yorkers. It destroyed the buildings, contaminated the region, killed thousands, and disrupted the global economy, but it most assuredly did not conquer the citizenry. They were only defeated when their resilience was stolen from them by clichés, by the invisibility of what they accomplished that extraordinary morning, and by the very word “terrorism,” which suggests that they, or we, were all terrified. The distortion, even obliteration, of what actually happened was a necessary precursor to launching the obscene response that culminated in a war on Iraq, a war we lost (even if some of us don’t know that yet), and the loss of civil liberties and democratic principles that went with it.

Only We Can Terrorize Ourselves

For this eighth anniversary of that terrible day, the first post-Bush-era anniversary, let’s remember what actually happened:

When the planes became missiles and the towers became torches and then shards and clouds of dust, many were afraid, but few if any panicked, other than the President who was far away from danger. The military failed to respond promptly, even though the Pentagon itself was attacked, and the only direct resistance that day came from inside Flight 93, which went down in a field in Pennsylvania on its way to Washington.

Flights 11 and 175 struck the towers. Hundreds of thousands of people rescued each other and themselves, evacuating the buildings and the area, helped in the first minutes, then hours, by those around them. Both PS 150, an elementary school, and the High School for Leadership and Public Service were successfully evacuated—without casualties. In many cases, teachers took students home with them.

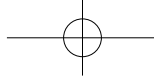
A spontaneously assembled flotilla of boats, ranging from a yacht appropriated by policemen to a historic fireboat, evacuated 300,000 to 500,000 people from lower Manhattan, a nautical feat on the scale of the British evacuation of an army from Dunkirk in the early days of World War II; the fleet, that is, rescued in a few hours as many people as the British fleet rescued in days (under German fire admittedly, but then New York’s ferry operators and pleasure-boat captains were steering into that toxic cloud on a day when many thought more violence was to come).

Adam Mayblum, who walked down from the 87th floor of the north tower with some of his coworkers, wrote on the Internet immediately afterward:

They failed in terrorizing us. We were calm. If you want to kill us, leave us alone because we will do it by ourselves. If you want to make us stronger, attack and we unite.

This is the ultimate failure of terrorism against the United States.

We failed, however, when we let our own government and media do what that small band from the other side of the Earth could not. Some of us failed, that is, for there were many kinds of response, and some became more radical, more committed, more educated. Mark Fichtel, the president of the New York Coffee, Sugar, and Cocoa Exchange, who scraped his knees badly that morning of September 11 when he was knocked over in a fleeing crowd, was helped to his feet by “a little old



lady.” He nonetheless had his Exchange up and running the next day, and six months later quit his job, began studying Islam, and then teaching about it.

Tom Engelhardt, the editor of this piece, began to circulate emails to counter the crummy post-9/11 media coverage and his no-name informal listserv grew into the website Tomdispatch.com, which has circulated more than 1,000 essays since that day and made it possible for me to become a different kind of writer. Principal Ada Rosario-Dolch, who on the morning of September 11 set aside concern for her sister Wendy Alice Rosario Wakeford (who died in the towers) to evacuate her high school two blocks away, went to Afghanistan in 2004 to dedicate a school in Herat, Afghanistan, that included a garden memorializing Wakeford.

In a Dust Storm of Altruism

Hollywood movies and too many government pandemic plans still presume that most of us are cowards or brutes, that we panic, trample each other, rampage, or freeze helplessly in moments of crisis and chaos. Most of us believe this, even though it is a slander against the species, an obliteration of what actually happens, and a crippling blow to our ability to prepare for disasters.

Hollywood likes this view because it paves the way for movies starring Will Smith and hordes of stampeding, screaming extras. Without stupid, helpless people to save, heroes become unnecessary. Or rather, without them, it turns out that we are all heroes, even if distinctly unsterotypical ones like that elderly woman who got Fichtel back on his feet. Governments like the grim view for a similar reason: it justifies their existence as repressive, controlling, hostile forces, rather than collaborators with brave and powerful citizenries.

Far more people could have died on September 11 if New Yorkers had not remained calm, had not helped each other out of the endangered buildings and the devastated area, had not reached out to pull people from the collapsing buildings and the dust cloud. The population of the towers was lower than usual that morning, because it was an election day and many were voting before heading to work; it seems emblematic that so many were spared because they were exercising their democratic powers. Others exercised their empathy and altruism. In the evacuation of the towers, John Abruzzo, a paraplegic accountant, was carried down 69 flights of stairs by his coworkers.

Here’s how John Guilfoxy, a young man who’d been a college athlete, recalled the 9/11 moment:

I remember looking back as I started running, and the thickest smoke was right where it was, you know, a few blocks away, and thinking that, like, whoever’s going to be in that is just going to die. There’s no way you could—you’re going to suffocate, and it was coming at us. I remember just running, people screaming. I was somewhat calm, and I was little bit faster than my colleagues, so I had to stop and slow up a little bit and wait for them to make sure we didn’t lose each other.

Had he been in a disaster movie, he would have been struggling in some selfish, social-darwinist way to survive at others’ expense, or he would simply have panicked, as we are all supposed to do in disaster. In the reality of September 11, in a moment of supreme danger, he slowed down out



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of solidarity.

Many New Yorkers that day committed similar feats of solidarity at great risk. In fact, in all the hundreds of oral histories I read and the many interviews I conducted to research my book, *A Paradise Built in Hell*, I could find no one saying he or she was abandoned or attacked in that great exodus. People were frightened and moving fast, but not in a panic. Careful research has led disaster sociologists to the discovery—one of their many counter-stereotypical conclusions—that panic is a vanishingly rare phenomenon in disasters, part of an elaborate mythology of our weakness.

A young man from Pakistan, Usman Farman, told of how he fell down and a Hasidic Jewish man stopped, looked at his pendant's Arabic inscription and then, "with a deep Brooklyn accent he said 'Brother if you don't mind, there is a cloud of glass coming at us. Grab my hand, let's get the hell out of here.' He was the last person I would ever have thought to help me. If it weren't for him I probably would have been engulfed in shattered glass and debris." A blind newspaper vendor was walked to safety by two women, and a third escorted her to her home in the Bronx.

Errol Anderson, a recruiter with the fire department, was caught outside in that dust storm.

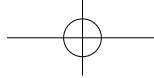
For a couple of minutes I heard nothing. I thought I was either dead and was in another world, or I was the only one alive. I became nervous and panicky, not knowing what to do, because I couldn't see.... About four or five minutes later, while I was still trying to find my way around, I heard the voice of a young lady. She was crying and saying, 'Please, Lord, don't let me die. Don't let me die.' I was so happy to hear this lady's voice. I said, 'Keep talking, keep talking, I'm a firefighter, I'll find you by the response of where you are.' Eventually we met up with each other and basically we ran into each other's arms without even knowing it.

She held onto his belt and eventually several other people joined them to form a human chain. He helped get them to the Brooklyn Bridge before returning to the site of the collapsed buildings. That bridge became a pedestrian escape route for tens of thousands. For hours, a river of people poured across it. On the far side, Hasidic Jews handed out bottles of water to the refugees. Hordes of volunteers from the region, and within days the nation, converged on lower Manhattan, offering to weld, dig, nurse, cook, clean, hear confessions, listen—and did all of those things.

New Yorkers triumphed on that day eight years ago. They triumphed in calm, in strength, in generosity, in improvisation, in kindness. Nor was this something specific to that time or place: San Franciscans during the great earthquake of 1906, Londoners during the Blitz in World War II, the great majority of New Orleanians after Hurricane Katrina hit, in fact most people in most disasters in most places have behaved with just this sort of grace and dignity.

It Could Have Been Different

Imagine what else could have sprung from that morning eight years ago. Imagine if the collapse of those towers had not been followed by such a blast of stereotypes, lies, distortions, and fear propaganda that served the agenda of the Bush administration while harming the rest of us—



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Americans, Iraqis, Afghans, and so many others, for people from 90 nations died in the attacks that day and probably those from many more nations survived at what came to be called Ground Zero.

Not long ago I talked to Roberto Sifuentes, a Chicano performance artist who was then living in New York. Like many New Yorkers, he still marvels at that brief, almost utopian moment of opening in the midst of tragedy, when everyone wanted to talk about meaning, about foreign policy, about history, and did so in public with strangers. It was a moment of passionate engagement with the biggest questions and with one another. On a few occasions, Sifuentes was threatened and nearly attacked for having approximately the same skin tone as an Arab, but he was also moved by the tremendous opening of that moment, the great public dialogue that had begun, and he took part in it with joy.

In five years of investigation and in my own encounter with the San Francisco Bay Area's Loma Prieta earthquake 20 years ago, I've found that disasters are often moments of strange joy. My friend Kate Joyce, then a 19-year-old living in New Mexico, had landed in New York on the very morning of September 11, 2001, and spent the next several days in Union Square, the park-like plaza at 14th Street that became a regular gathering point.

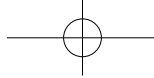
She relished the astonishing forum that Union Square became in those days when we had a more perfect union: "We spoke passionately of the contemporary and historical conflicts, contradictions and connections affecting our lives," she wrote me later. "We stayed for hours, through the night, and into the week riveted and expressive, in mourning and humbled, and in the ecstasy of a transformative present." Such conversations took place everywhere.

We had that more perfect union, and then we let them steal it.

Perhaps Barack Obama, the candidate who delivered that address on race, pain, and nuance entitled "A More Perfect Union" some 18 months ago, could have catalyzed us to remain open-minded in the face of horror, to rethink our foreign policy, to try to grasp the real nature of the attack by that small band which was so obviously not an act of war, and to make of it an opportunity to change, profoundly. Such a response would have had to recognize that many were killed or widowed or orphaned on that September 11, but none were defeated. Not that day. It would have had to recognize that such events are immeasurably terrible, but neither so rare as we Americans like to imagine, nor insurmountable. (Since 9/11, far more have been killed in the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, the 2005 Pakistan earthquake, the 2008 Myanmar typhoon, and of course the wars in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Congo, among other events. More in this country have, in fact, died of domestic violence since that day.)

Obama, the candidate, might have been capable of that; of President Obama I'm not so sure. He has, after all, expanded the war in Afghanistan that was the first monstrous outcome of that day in New York. But he's had his moments, too, and it may be that another set of disasters—the social disasters of racism, poverty, and government failure laid bare during and after Hurricane Katrina—helped make it possible for him to become our president.

After the 9/11 storm struck, the affected civilians in New York were seen as victims; after Katrina, those in New Orleans were portrayed as brutes. In both cities, the great majority of affected



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people were actually neither helpless nor savage; they were something else—they were citizens, if by that word we mean civic engagement rather than citizenship status. In both places ordinary people were extraordinarily resourceful, generous, and kind, as were some police officers, firefighters, rescue workers, and a very few politicians. In both cases, the majority of politicians led us astray. All I would have wanted in that September moment, though, was politicians who stayed out of the way, and people who were more suspicious of the news and the newsmakers.

The media, too, stepped between us and the event, failing us with their stock of clichés about war and heroes, their ready adoption of the delusional notion of a “war on terror,” their refusal to challenge the administration as it claimed that somehow the Saudi-spawned, fundamentalist al-Qaeda was linked to the secularist Iraqi government of Saddam Hussein and that we should fear mythical Iraqi “weapons of mass destruction.” Rarely did they mention that we had, in fact, been bombing Iraq without interruption since 1991.

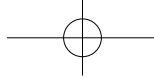
After 9/11, it could all have been different, profoundly different. And if it had, there would have been no children imprisoned without charges or release dates in our gulag in Cuba; there would have been no unmanned drones slaughtering wedding parties in the rural backlands of Afghanistan or the Iraqi desert; there would have been no soldiers returning to the US with two or three limbs missing or their heads and minds grievously damaged (there were already 320,000 traumatic brain injuries to soldiers deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan by early 2008, according to the RAND Corporation); there would not have been a next round of American deaths—4,334 in Iraq, 786 in Afghanistan to date; there would have been no trillion dollars taken from constructive projects to fatten the corporations of war; no extreme corrosion of the Bill of Rights, no usurpation of powers by the executive branch. Perhaps.

We Are the Monument

It could all have been different. It’s too late now, but not too late, never too late, to change how we remember and commemorate this event and that other great landmark of the Bush era, Hurricane Katrina, and so prepare for disasters to come.

For the 99 years before that hurricane hit the Gulf Coast on August 29th, 2005, the biggest urban disaster in American history was in my city, San Francisco. Half the city, including more than 28,000 buildings, was destroyed, and about 3,000 people probably died. The earthquake early on the morning of April 18th, 1906, did a lot of damage, but the fires did more. Some were started by collapsed buildings and broken gas mains, others by the army troops who streamed in from the Presidio at the northern tip of the city and ineptly built firebreaks that instead actually spread the fires.

The presiding officer, Brigadier General Frederick Funston, presumed that the public would immediately revert to chaos and that his task was restoring order. In the first days after the disaster, the truth was more or less the other way around, as the Army and the National Guard prevented citizens from fighting the fires and collecting their property, shot people as looters (including rescuers and bystanders), and generally regarded the public as the enemy (as did some of the officials presiding over the post-Katrina “rescue”). As with many disasters, a calamity that came from outside was



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magnified by elite fears and institutional failures within. Still, on their own, San Franciscans organized themselves remarkably, fought fires when they could, created a plethora of community kitchens, helped reconnect separated families, and began to rebuild.

Every year we still celebrate the anniversary of the earthquake at Lotta's Fountain, which, like Union Square after 9/11, became a meeting place for San Franciscans in the largely ruined downtown. That gathering brings hundreds of people together before dawn to sing the silly song "San Francisco," get free whistles from the Red Cross, and pay homage to the dwindling group of survivors. (Two, who'd been babies in 1906, arrived this year in the backseat of a magnificent 1931 Lincoln touring car.)

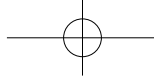
Some of us then go on to the fire hydrant at 20th and Church that saved the Mission District, the hydrant that miraculously had water when most of the water mains were broken and the men who had already been fighting the fire by hand for days were exhausted beyond belief. The oldest person at the gathering always begins an annual repainting of the hydrant with a can of gold spray paint, and then some kids get to wield the spray can.

San Francisco now uses the anniversary to put out the message that we should be prepared for the next disaster—not the version the Department of Homeland Security spread in the years after 9/11 with the notion that preparation consists of fear, duct tape, deference, and more fear, but practical stuff about supplies and strategies. My city even trains anyone who wants to become a certified NERT—for the nerdy-sounding Neighborhood Emergency Response Team—member, and about 17,000 of us are badge-carrying, hard-hat owning NERT members (including me).

Every city that has had, or will have, a disaster should have such a carnival of remembrance and preparation. For one thing, it commemorates all the ways that San Franciscans were not defeated and are not helpless; for another, it reminds us that, in disaster, we are often at our best, however briefly, that in those hours and days many have their best taste of community, purposefulness, and power. (Reason enough for many of those who are supposed to be in charge to shudder.) For the fourth anniversary of Hurricane Katrina, New Orleanians were invited to ring bells, lay wreaths, pray, encircle the Superdome, that miserable shelter of last resort for those stranded in the hurricane and flood, and of course listen to music and dance in the streets to second-line parades, but also to keep volunteering and rebuilding. (Perhaps the most overlooked aspect of that disaster is the vast army of citizen-volunteers who came to the city's aid, when the government didn't, and are still doing so.)

New York has its pillars of light and readings of names for the anniversary of 9/11, but it seems to lack any invitation to the citizenry to feel its own power and prepare for the next calamity. For there will be next times for San Francisco, New York, New Orleans, and possibly—in this era of extreme and turbulent weather, and economic upheaval—a great many other cities and towns in this country and elsewhere.

That hydrant on a quiet residential corner of San Francisco is about the only monument to the 1906 earthquake and fire. The rebuilt city, the eventual rise of disaster preparedness, the people who go on with their everyday lives—these are the monument San Francisco needed and every city needs to transcend its calamities. New Yorkers could gather in Union Square and elsewhere to remember



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what happened, really remember, remember that the heroes weren't necessarily men, or in uniform, but were almost everyone everywhere that day.

They could open their hearts and minds to discuss mourning, joy, death, violence, power, weakness, truth and lies, as they did that week. They could consider what constitutes safety and security, what else this country could be, and what its foreign and energy policies have to do with these things. They could walk the streets together to demonstrate that New York is still a great city, whose people were not frightened into going into hiding or flight from public and urban life. They could more consciously and ceremoniously do what New Yorkers, perhaps best of all Americans, do every day: coexist boldly and openly in a great mixture of colors, nationalities, classes, and opinions, daring to speak to strangers and to live in public.

The dead must be remembered, but the living are the monument, the living who coexist in peace in ordinary times and who save one another in extraordinary times. Civil society triumphed that morning in full glory. Look at it: remember that this is who we were and can be.

2. The Citizens¹

In the midst of the chaos, Americans in the stricken cities and across the nation rushed to help the victims and their families. People reached out to each other and tried to make sense of it all.

On the front lines were doctors, nurses, paramedics—anyone with medical training. They waited to receive the wounded, and they recruited volunteers.

Throughout New York City, hospital workers yelled on the streets. “Blood donations! Blood donations!” And hundreds lined up to donate.

Thousands throughout the United States also gave blood, many of them waiting patiently for hours at clinics after emergency appeals went out. On Tuesday, adults and college students crowded a Red Cross blood bank just blocks from the White House; on Wednesday, President George W. Bush asked his own staff to give blood.

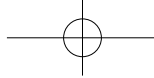
Emergency workers moved to address grief among the bereaved and the survivors. The American Red Cross set up shelters in New York and sent aviation incident response teams to New York, Boston and Pennsylvania.

“As we head into the second day of this, the big push will be on mental health and grief counseling,” said Stacey Grissom, a Red Cross spokeswoman.

In New York, Cardinal Edward Egan covered his clerical robes with green surgical guard and administered last rites to a dozen people at St. Vincent's Hospital. “For all of us,” he said, “this has been a terrible day. I wish this day had never happened.”

A New York priest could not find words to comfort the relatives of one of the firefighters who died. “I don't know what to say to them,” said the Reverend Murray Gerald, who was called to St.

¹ “The Citizens.” *International Herald Tribune*, Sept. 13, 2001: 7.



Vincent's Hospital.

At the Hilton Hotel at Boston's Logan Airport, where clergymen rushed to be with relatives of passengers on two of the airliners that crashed, the Reverend David Kieve said much the same, adding, "Mostly we listen and hug."

Joe Meyers, a nurse from Rockaway, New Jersey, said he had treated more than 30 rescue workers, mostly for eye injuries from the dirt and grit. Medical workers set up a post where they rinsed rescuers' eyes with saline solution.

"You have to drag them out because they just want to continue the retrieval," Mr. Meyers said of the wounded rescue workers.

Shocked rescue workers said they had witnessed almost unimaginable carnage.

"I saw pieces of luggage, what looked to be human flesh, bloody clothing all over the place," said Joseph Caruso, an advertising executive with paramedic training who volunteered as a rescuer. "I thought I was dreaming. I've never seen so much devastation."

3. Amid the Chaos, Extraordinary Choices¹

Mary Williams Walsh

John Paul DeVito was just sitting down to some paperwork and a second cup of coffee after meeting with a client.

Harry Ramos, just back from a week's leave after the death of his mother-in-law, was exchanging greetings with his assistant.

Then, at 8:48 am last Tuesday, their building, 1 World Trade Center, lurched violently, like a ship in high seas. Mr. DeVito was nearly knocked off his chair. Mr. Ramos braced himself in a doorway.

Light fixtures pulled loose from the ceiling, crashing on the floor. Papers flew. Smoke poured in through holes that suddenly opened overhead. Several employees screamed.

Mr. DeVito and Mr. Ramos had no idea what had happened. A bomb, everybody guessed. One man rushed to the firm's south-facing windows and looked out, only to see a crowd gathering 87 floors below in Battery Park City, staring up at the tower.

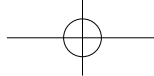
Neither Mr. DeVito nor Mr. Ramos realized there was a gaping gash in the glass and steel just above them, where a Boeing 767 had slammed into the building. All they knew was that their office at the May Davis Group, a small investment bank, was filling with smoke.

Mr. DeVito called his wife, Marilyn, and told her he and his staff were in danger. "I love you, Mar," he said. "I love our kids. Take care of the kids."

She didn't answer. She was crying.

Mr. DeVito, his firm's chief operating officer, and Mr. Ramos, the head trader, were two ordinary people among the thousands caught in the World Trade Center on Tuesday morning, and like countless

¹ Mary Williams Walsh. "Amid the Chaos, Extraordinary Choices." *International Herald Tribune*, Sept. 17, 2001: 2.



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others they were thrust into chaos and forced to make extraordinary choices.

One chose to lead his own staff out of the building, troubled as he did so by the thought that he was abandoning his duty to safeguard the firm, even answer the phones. The other chose to stop and try to save the life of a stranger.

Now, one is at home, ecstatic about life itself and wondering how he could have dreamed of staying at his office command post instead of guiding his staff down the stairs to safety. He is, he says, a different person, able to recognize the courage and selflessness in regular people. The other is missing in the rubble, memorialized in the constant tremble in the voices of his family and friends.

At the time, neither understood the importance of their decisions. They saw themselves as two normal guys, each with 25 years on Wall Street, trying to slug out a living in a bear market: Mr. DeVito, the 45-year-old son of immigrants, with two school-age daughters, living in Chappaqua, N.Y. And Mr. Ramos, whose 46th birthday is today, the father of two sons, one 5, the other 4 months old, living in Newark, New Jersey. Before entering the securities business, he trained to be a carpenter.

Tuesday had, in fact, promised to be Mr. DeVito's first normal workday in weeks. In July, the May Davis Group had been fined, without admitting wrongdoing, for failing to comply with trading rules. And on Monday, the firm had settled a bitter, long-running dispute with a major Wall Street firm. The battle had consumed huge amounts of time, drawn renewed regulatory attention and threatened to sink May Davis, a rare minority-owned investment bank.

Minutes before the attack, Mr. DeVito had called the National Association of Securities Dealers to say his firm had solved the legal conflict and was ready to resume normal operations. "We're off life support," he happily thought.

Nearby, in May Davis's small trading room, Samuel Jimenez Jr., a trading assistant, was signing onto his computer and looked up to greet his boss, Mr. Ramos.

"Good morning," Mr. Jimenez said. Then there was the huge jolt.

Mr. DeVito ran for the elevator bank. He opened the door to an incomprehensible sight: Where there had once been other offices there was now just a huge void, full of fire and smoke.

About a thousand feet (300 meters) below, Owen May, one of the firm's two founders, was driving up in his car. He heard an explosion, but assumed it had come from the construction site across from the World Trade Center. Then he glanced up.

Mr. May began counting the floors up, trying to calculate whether the billowing smoke was above or below his firm. Grabbing his cellular phone, he called the office. A sales associate answered, in panic.

"I don't know what to do!" she exclaimed. "There's a bunch of us up here."

"I know somebody will come to you," Mr. May said. Then the line went dead.

Mr. May stared at the building, screaming, "My people! My people!" As he watched, a plane slammed into the other tower.

Upstairs, Mr. DeVito was trying to corral his 12 frightened employees, shouting that they had to walk down.

Some thought they should stay. Others agreed to leave but wanted to gather their things. But



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which things? What to take down 87 floors?

Some grabbed fire extinguishers. Some tried to pack up their desktop computers. Some ripped up their shirts to make face masks. Mr. DeVito found a gallon jug of water and helped people wet their makeshift bandannas. Then he decided to bring along the jug.

Everybody made for the stairs except for Hong Zhu, an investment banker, who was frozen with fear. He told the others he would wait for help. Mr. Ramos cajoled him to the stairwell door.

Then Mr. DeVito had misgivings. Should he lead his employees down to safety? Or stay? He decided to take the lead in going down. The others formed a human chain behind him, each putting a hand on the shoulder of the person in front, and descended into the gathering smoke.

Nine floors down, the stairwell ended. Emerging into a hallway to look for the next flight of stairs, the group saw wires dangling from cracked ceilings. Sparks popped. Small fires burned everywhere. Office workers were milling in confusion. The smoke was thickening.

Mr. DeVito's group began to lose its will. Mr. DeVito was still thinking he should be upstairs. He said so to a trainee, Jason Braunstein.

"John! What about your family?" the young man admonished him.

"How do you know what to do?" thought Mr. DeVito. Was it his duty to keep his employees together? Or should he just get out of the building as fast as he could?

He decided to herd his employees into the next stairwell. But some straggled, and Mr. Ramos was staying behind, directing confused strangers into the stairwell. He has not been seen since.

Finally outside, as everyone on the ground began screaming and fleeing, Mr. DeVito was engulfed by smoke and dust. "I don't know if I'm going to survive this," he thought.

He began walking with his eyes closed, bumping into parked cars, falling down, picking himself up, hoping he was moving away from the building.

He had no idea how long he walked before he saw a light. It was a music store. When he reached the door people there pulled him inside.

Some started taking his picture. "I must look like something from 'The Twilight Zone,'" he thought.

Wanting more than anything to call his family, he made his way to a Chinese restaurant where the owner let him use his phone. He couldn't get through to his wife but told his mother to relay the news that he was alive. He said he would try to make his way to some relatives' home on Leroy Street nearby.

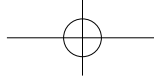
First, though, Mr. DeVito wanted a church. He wandered until he came to one near New York University, where he had studied years earlier.

It was the first time that day he let himself cry. He dropped to his knees and prayed. Students in the church stared at him, and he realized that they had no idea what he had just experienced.

A policeman tried to calm him. "You're in a state of shock," the officer said.

"I'm not in shock," said Mr. DeVito, weeping and covered with grime. "I like this state. I've never been more cognizant in my life."

He continued on to his relatives. They rushed out on the street to hug him. Strangers hugged him, too.



Mr. DeVito was glad to be alive, glad he had decided to help others to safety, thrilled to have watched other ordinary people performing simple acts of courage under risk of death.

4. Americans Seek Comfort in Patriotism¹

Rick Bragg

The signs of the pain inflicted by the terrorist hijackers span New York, from a dust cloud over the southern tip of Manhattan to the faces of the missing tacked onto walls in the East Village to the thousands who watch heartbreaking images of the World Trade Center hulk on giant television screens in Times Square.

But covering all that hurt, not only in New York but across the nation, are countless bandages in red, white and blue. In this city that is so often slow to show its feelings, the American flag bloomed in Manhattan and the boroughs, waved and worn by countless New Yorkers who wanted to do something, anything, to vent their anger and sorrow.

Tiny American flags fluttered from the radio antennas of taxis driven by men from Pakistan, Africa and Latin America. A bicyclist from Belgium, a florist from the Republic of Korea, a Vietnam veteran from Puerto Rico, all flew the flag in Greenwich Village. Vendors hawked them from Midtown sidewalks, patriotism at four bucks a pop.

“Just as the terrorists know that we are watching them, we know that they are watching us,” said Moses Davila, an unemployed teacher from Puerto Rico.

“When they see us in the streets, wearing the flag, they know that we are not afraid of them and that we will defeat them.”

That sense of patriotism, and defiance, blanketed America.

In Miami, where protests against the government’s handling of the custody battle over Elian Gonzalez not so long ago included flag desecration (a tow-truck driver dragged the flag through the streets behind his truck), American flags blossomed from porches in Little Havana.

In California and in the South, hard-ware stores and department stores sold out. In the heartland, tiny flags fluttered like wildflowers in highway medians.

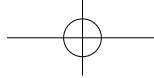
People in Los Angeles were waving flags in an expression of solidarity.

Mohammed Jaje, a cab driver from Pakistan who lives in Brooklyn, had one on his cab until Friday night. Someone took it, he said. “I am not mad,” Mr. Jaje said. “Maybe someone needed it. God bless America.”

In Hammond, Louisiana, about 60 miles (100 kilometers) northeast of New Orleans, Melissa Webb wore a T-shirt decorated with the flag on a shopping trip to the mall.

“We can’t do anything to help them because we’re down here,” said Ms. Webb, 36, who works in a sporting goods store. At least, she said, she could fly the flag to show that her heart was with the

¹ Rick Bragg. “Americans Seek Comfort in Patriotism.” *International Herald Tribune*, Sept. 18, 2001: 3.



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rescue crews in New York.

Flag sightings were countless in the nation's capital—one of the biggest billowing from a staff lugged about the city by 82-year-old Joseph Doria, a Filipino-American veteran of World War II.

“For years, I wave this flag in the streets and my neighbors think I’m crazy,” said Mr. Doria, who seemed in danger of toppling as he grasped a flag twice his size. “We divided and scattered after the war. But now, my friend, history repeats,” he said of the terror attacks. “And we are learning America’s heritage again.”

In Greenville, South Carolina, stores sold out of flags by the weekend. Home Depot and Wal-Mart did not have any left.

Around the city, thousands flapped in the wind, outside houses, on mailboxes, everywhere. It seemed that at least one in every three cars in Greenville had a flag on it, sometimes two.

Some did not have to shop for a flag. Bob Krause, a former marine, had flags that have been in the family for generations, flags that flew over old wars. Brock Sanders hung a 48-star American flag inherited from his grandfather, who had flown the same flag after Pearl Harbor was bombed.

On Peachtree Road in Atlanta, signs of patriotism marked almost every block—flags flying at half-staff in Buckhead in front of Lenox Square and Phipps Plaza malls, at the Marta train station. Expensive homes with neatly trimmed lawns had flags draped across the front door.

A red Cadillac with four large flags, one in each corner, its radio blaring “Stop, hey, what’s going down,” pulled out of Rocky’s Italian Restaurant on Peachtree, where a band was playing a “USA Jam” to raise money for the Red Cross. A woman walked out of a church on Peachtree wearing an antebellum-style Southern bonnet with red, white and blue ribbons.

On a football weekend in the Deep South, cars that would normally have flown rival college flags now flew one, the same red, white and blue.

“There is hope in that familiar sight,” wrote Carin Chappelow, in a column for the *Journal Review*, a daily newspaper with a circulation of 10,000 in Crawfordsville, Indiana. The Wal-Mart there ran out of flags on Wednesday.

5. Feeling the Tug of a Wounded Land¹

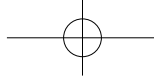
Victoria Shannon

Walter Kent, a retired American bank employee living in Hong Kong, felt like getting on a plane and flying to the States—“at least so I could give blood.”

Robin Jones, an American who works for Alcatel in Paris, got a quiet hug from a French colleague when she got to the office Wednesday.

Brett Chappell, an American financial industry worker in Copenhagen, went home and drank

¹ Victoria Shannon. “Feeling the Tug of a Wounded Land: With Gamut of Emotions, Scattered US Citizens Try to Sort out Tragedy.” *International Herald Tribune*, Sept. 13, 2001: 12.



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half a bottle of scotch to calm his nerves.

And Jennifer Conlin, a freelance writer living in London, put it this way, “In my 12 years overseas, I’ve never felt more American.”

Far from home physically but emotionally in the heart of the crisis, US citizens living around the world struggled on Wednesday to make sense of terrorism and catastrophe in a distant land—their own.

They sought out each other, they grasped for news and comfort, and they accepted condolences from their foreign neighbors and colleagues.

But perhaps more than anything, on top of their sadness and anger, they felt isolated and paralyzed.

“I feel helpless,” said Tiffany Steckler, a public relations employee for Microsoft in Paris, whose family is in the New York area—and is accounted for. “There’s nothing I can do.”

Almost in step, Americans tracked down their relatives and close friends through phone and e-mail connections starting on Tuesday. By Wednesday, many had overcome the challenges of time differences and technical problems.

Mr. Kent, for instance, managed to get through to two of his brothers in Brooklyn, which is next to Manhattan, on Tuesday night by phone from Hong Kong.

By Wednesday, though, his relief turned into anger about the attacks on New York and Washington, he said.

His Hong Kong neighbors didn’t say anything “out of the ordinary” to him, he said, “but there was an understanding.”

Still, “People here are very sympathetic and comforting,” said Mr. Kent. “They’re not at all pleased about it.”

In London, Ms. Conlin was getting more blatant reassurance from her British hosts. “The minute you speak with an American accent today, they want to know how you feel,” she said.

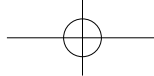
“A British friend told me, ‘We’re all in mourning.’ My news agent wanted to have a long talk with me about it. A woman from Russia came up to me this morning and held my arm for a while.”

“It made me feel good.”

Mr. Chappell, who lives not far from the US Embassy in Copenhagen, remained stunned on Wednesday—first, by the tragedy, and second, by expressions of sympathy from the Danes.

For one, hundreds of people gathered outside the embassy bearing bouquets of flowers and holding candles Tuesday night. For another, “I’ve probably gotten 20 phone calls since yesterday,” he said. “They say, ‘Are you okay? Do you want to be alone? Is there anything I can do?’”

“On a personal level, I’m feeling like I’m in a country overseas, and my own country’s in pain,” he said. “But I can’t do anything about it.”



6. In Paris, a Flood of Sympathy and Aid¹

John Hurd Willett

His voice cracking, the man explained to me that he owned a sporting goods store in southern France and wanted to donate half his proceeds for the week to relief efforts in New York. On another phone line, a lady was informing Jim Rentschler, a retired US ambassador living in Paris, that she had lodgings for up to four Americans stranded in France due to the ban on trans-Atlantic flights.

These were just two of the thousands of calls that poured into the US Embassy here offering succor in the wake of the terrorist attacks last Tuesday.

Fully mobilized, the embassy welcomed volunteer help, such as that of Jim and myself, who were giving a hand to the American Aid Society, a private organization that assists Americans abroad. This group, housed in the consulate-general on rue Saint-Florentin, works the phones and takes on some of the overflow from the embassy's Office of American Services. And overflow there was.

A French firefighters' association inquired where it could direct funds for its brethren in New York. A retired policeman wanted his contribution to go to the families of New York's finest killed when the World Trade Center towers collapsed.

Many French people sought to donate blood, clothing, even food. A woman who runs a bed-and-breakfast called in tears asking where she could obtain an American flag. People showed up at the entrance to the consulate offering cash, or pleading to be allowed to help, somehow, anyhow.

A nurse with Médecins sans Frontières stood prepared to fly to New York at her own expense and pitch in.

Of course I do not count here the flowers placed outside the embassy on Avenue Gabriel, nor the many offers of help that poured into other offices of the official American community in France.

At one point Howard Leach, the newly arrived American ambassador, and his wife walked through the consulate-general offering encouragement and thanks to the embassy and consular staff, and to the many volunteers who were helping out.

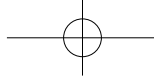
Someone provided sandwiches and coffee, someone else distributed home-baked blueberry muffins. The general mood was one of calm determination; we'd taken a kick in the teeth, but now, with everyone's help, we would set things right.

Almost eight years of my diplomatic career were spent in France, in a variety of capacities, and I have long since inured myself to the ever-present edge that hangs over relations between Paris and Washington. Now, in a moment, that edge had vanished.

Not forever, of course, because states will always pursue what they perceive to be their own interests. But in the aftermath of last week's tragedy, working here in France at street level so to speak, Jim and I felt directly just how intense are the bonds that unite our two countries.

The fact that it is shopworn does not make such a declaration any less true. French citizens from all strata of society, expatriate Americans living throughout this country, people from every walk of

¹ John Hurd Willett. "In Paris, a Flood of Sympathy and Aid." *International Herald Tribune*, Sept. 19, 2001: 11.



life and every religious faith, reached out at this terrible time and asked, “What can I do to help?”

In our private capacity, Jim Rentschler and I would now wish to convey to those with whom we spoke, and to the hundreds of others who failed to get through to us because the phones never stopped ringing, “*Merci, amie française, ami français. Merci de tout cœur.*”

7. In for the Long Haul¹

Tomorrow, Americans will try to return to normal. This is a resilient country, and even in New York City, most citizens have already chosen to go back to their regular routines as quickly as possible. In general, we are not a people that spends much time looking back. “Move on” is practically the national mantra.

This is commendable and indeed necessary in view of the alternative: a capitulation to fear and despair that the terrorists must surely have hoped for. There has been no finer rebuke to their pretensions than America’s determination to press on.

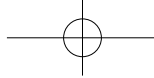
But the normal we are returning to is different from what we knew a week ago. Tuesday’s tragedies were not only unifying but clarifying. Americans now live a state of war against an irrational, vengeful and elusive enemy. And if we are to win, we will have to become used to the idea that we are in this for the long haul. Coming to terms with that new reality, winning this war, will require discipline, stamina and sacrifice.

For years now, younger Americans have yearned to prove that they are as patriotic and as capable of self-sacrifice as the Greatest Generation. The commitment made after Pearl Harbor was both larger and simpler than the one we are being asked to undertake. Back then, the aim was clear, the path was obvious, and the sense of solidarity was natural for a country that had to focus single-mindedly on winning World War II.

Our shared mission, to eradicate terrorism, is a noble one. The rewards for victory would be immense—a safer world and a planetary commitment to cooperation and tolerance. But our individual tasks are vague. President Bush is unlikely to reinstate the draft or impose rationing. We will go about our ordinary jobs as before. Buying consumer goods is not only possible, it has been elevated to a virtual act of patriotism to aid a flagging economy. Nevertheless, we will need to make sacrifices that are all the more difficult because they are unseen and require more patience than heroism.

American resilience, which allows us to bounce back from setbacks, forgive old enemies and rewrite our national story for every generation, has a downside. Some may call it a short national attention span. Yesterday’s crusade is tomorrow’s inconvenience. The gas crisis that was supposed to commit us to energy conservation quickly gave way to the S.U.V. era. People who willingly stand in lines to get through airport security this month may not be so understanding by the Thanksgiving holidays.

¹ “In for the Long Haul.” *International Herald Tribune*, Sept. 19, 2001: 11.



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Terrorist hijackings or airline explosions in the past have led to periods of tighter airline security, followed quickly by periods of relaxation and colossal carelessness. What should be clear now is that the days of relatively unhindered air travel, with curbside check-ins and all the rest, are almost surely gone and that a period of considerable inconvenience is upon us.

Our politics are going to have to change as well. It has been a very long time since American officials told their constituents that they would have to make some sacrifices for the common good. But that will almost surely be the case if we are going to transform our defense and intelligence systems from cold war monoliths to agile, inventive organizations that can detect and defeat terrorists. Some obsolete bases will have to be closed, and defense contracts that provide profits and jobs to key Congressional districts will have to go by the wayside. The laundry list of promises candidates made in the last election will have to be trimmed.

Perhaps most painful of all, America may have to give up the post-Vietnam illusion that it is possible to fight wars with few casualties. Our success in the Persian Gulf and even our limited achievements in the Balkans created the illusion that American military technology is sophisticated enough to be used in combat without putting soldiers in harm's way. But what we have actually been enjoying is an extended string of luck. Last week, the message came through loud and clear that luck can run out.

Washington must be changed, as well as the rest of the country. The response of previous administrations to terrorism abroad—the 1996 Khobar Towers bombing in Saudi Arabia, the embassy bombings in Africa two years later, the attack on the USS Cole last year—has been much like the nation's airline security policy: fitful, short-lived and not terribly effective. If our people have a short attention span, it is probably because their leaders do.

Over the past week, Americans have contemplated the great divide that separates life before the hijacked planes plowed into the twin towers and the Pentagon with life after. The unspoken presumption seems to be that we have experienced a loss that stretches beyond the thousands of lives that fell victim to the terrorists. There has been a sense that whatever comes next must naturally be diminished.

That need not be true. As many candidates pointed out in the last election, Americans desperately want to commit to something greater than themselves. That was the secret of what we admired in the World War II era, and it is what this new war against terrorism will require as well. The awful week of death and destruction that has just ended might be the invitation to create a great new generation and a finer United States.

To get there, we must be careful to protect the core of our national culture, to remember that we are fighting not for a flag but for a system of beliefs that includes our basic civil liberties and an unyielding tolerance. Social conservatives who have been speculating that the destruction of the World Trade Center was punishment from a God grown angry at abortion and homosexuality are rushing in exactly the wrong direction.



8. For America, a Modern Pearl Harbor¹

Joseph Fitchett

Sending airliners like huge suicide bombers to devastate the symbolic nerve centers of American power, the masterminds of history's most spectacular terrorist act were apparently aiming for an impact on the scale of Pearl Harbor—the Japanese surprise attack in December 1941 that traumatized the United States.

“This is the second Pearl Harbor,” said Senator Charles Hagel, a Nebraska Republican who was with President George W. Bush in Florida when the attackers struck.

But the initial images of destruction and disorientation may be deceptive, several terrorism analysts cautioned.

Just as the Japanese wartime strike ultimately aroused US fury and led to Tokyo's defeat, Tuesday's stunning blow may trigger a national outrage that escalates US counterterrorist warfare to new international ferocity.

What was stunning about the attacks was their sophistication and coordination. The ability to strike devastating and nearly simultaneous blows in New York and Washington indicated a level of deadly expertise beyond anything the terrorists have ever shown before.

It will take a giant change in US political and military reflexes to match the worldwide impact of the carnage, lethal symbolism and mayhem in the US system achieved by the assaults. That so many targets could be hit at the same time also suggested the vulnerability of America's relatively open borders and loose security.

The deadly attacks Tuesday must have required help from foreign governments, several officials sources said, citing the degree of coordination, deception and training needed to mount such a complex and determined operation and elude detection by US intelligence.

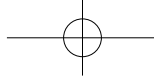
As television broadcast the unfolding catastrophe, the world watched New Yorkers struggle to deal with panic. Financial markets were closed. Phone service was saturated and largely paralyzed. All passenger flights were grounded throughout the United States. Emergency services swung into action to limit the damage and rescue survivors, but the havoc left the nation reeling with a new, radical sense of vulnerability.

It was a scenario that made chilling reality of the most audacious disaster movies. Commercial airliners, perhaps piloted by hijackers who died at the controls of the passenger planes, destroyed the two towers of the World Trade Center. Those immense skyscrapers have tempted terrorists before as the symbols of global American economic might.

This time the terrorists succeeded in dropping both towers—reducing them largely to rubble and leaving an unknown number of people crushed in the debris.

The Pentagon and some of the other highest offices in the land were hit and set ablaze amid fears

¹ Joseph Fitchett. “For America, a Modern Pearl Harbor: Like the Attack in 1941, Air Terrorism Could Provoke Severe Repercussions.” *International Herald Tribune*, Sept. 12, 2001: 1.



that the White House itself might be hit, despite anti-aircraft defenses that have been erected against suicide pilots.

Around the world, government officials and ordinary people seemed stunned by the scale of the terrorists' success. In Frankfurt, Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder was beginning an interview with a reporter when an aide summoned him to pass the news; he returned looking ashen and apologized that he had to cancel the interview. It felt that way around the world.

How the United States will eventually react to the disaster is difficult to predict with any precision. But one guide is the backlash against domestic right-wing terrorists that took place after the Oklahoma City bombing. That anger seemed nearly to eliminate rightist fringe groups from the political scene.

"If the unthinkable can happen in the United States, where do you stop thinking about what similar terrorist actions might do against Arab regimes or Israel or any other government?" a French policymaker asked.

Bush administration and European officials and analysts generally took the view that the anti-US attacks originated in the Middle East, probably with backing from the regimes in rogue states.

"The Palestinian leadership would not want this political disaster for themselves, so the culprits are probably Osama bin Laden or some Arab espionage network," speculated Francois Heisbourg, a leading defense expert in France.

"This could not have happened without the help of governments that back terrorists," according to Richard Perle, an adviser to President Bush and a former Pentagon official in the Reagan administration.

The shock of the attack, Mr. Perle said, would galvanize US policy into a systematic policy of retaliating severely against any foreign governments that have helped terrorists working against the United States. Other sources, who declined to be identified, predicted quick US military strikes against targets in the Middle East, probably against Afghanistan, the operating base of the bin Laden network.

Retaliatory strikes might also target Iraq and other countries where regimes have been linked to terror.

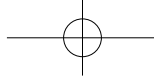
"We have got to put certain governments on notice that if they're harboring terrorists they will be held responsible by US power even if Washington does not have the sort of detailed evidence that would be needed to get a conviction in a normal court," Mr. Perle said.

"You have to make it so uncomfortable for rogue governments that they hesitate to back the terrorists," another US official said.

9. Congress Backs Bush on Emergency Aid¹

Congressional leaders and the White House agreed Friday on a \$40 billion emergency aid

¹ "Congress Backs Bush on Emergency Aid: Senate Also Authorizes the Use of Force." *International Herald Tribune*, Sept. 15, 2001.



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package to respond to the attacks Tuesday in New York and near Washington. The Senate also gave its official consent for President George W. Bush to use force against those responsible.

The vote was 98 to 0 on a measure that authorized the president to use “necessary and appropriate force” in retaliating against the terrorist strikes. The House was expected to vote Saturday on that measure, intended to show support for the president while protecting the constitutional role of Congress in overseeing military actions.

The negotiations went well into the night, with lawmakers eager to rally around the president in a show of bipartisan resolve. At the same time, they were reluctant to give Mr. Bush open-ended approval for any military action, saying they were trying to preserve the traditional role of Congress.

The \$40 billion package was double what the White House originally requested from Congress.

The aid package began to come together after Mr. Bush promised the New York delegation at a White House meeting that he would double his original request for \$20 billion in aid and would devote most of the additional \$20 billion to New York.

Congressional aides said a hitch developed late Thursday evening when the White House balked at lawmakers’ efforts to place limitations on use of the money. But early Friday morning an aide to Dennis Hastert, speaker of the House, said a deal had been struck that would give New York the \$20 billion.

The negotiations were interrupted earlier Thursday when a telephone bomb threat caused a frenzied evacuation of the Capitol for about 45 minutes. The incident occurred as the Senate was putting itself on record against discrimination against Arab-Americans and House members were being briefed on the investigation into Tuesday’s attacks.

After the hurried exit, lawmakers continued negotiating on the Capitol lawns. Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona, stood beside Senator John Kerry, Democrat of Massachusetts, and joked that they felt no fear. Both are Vietnam combat veterans.

Throughout the day of talks, House and Senate leaders sought to balance their desire to line up quickly behind Mr. Bush with their traditional concerns about the division of war powers between the president and Congress.

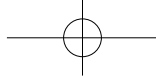
Senators took the rare step of meeting for lunch together in the Senate dining room instead of in their traditional party caucuses.

“There is no division between parties, between Congress and the president,” said Representative Richard Gephardt of Missouri, leader of the House minority Democrats in the House.

Unlike Mr. Bush’s father, former President George Bush, who long resisted asking for a congressional resolution of support for the Gulf War, the younger Mr. Bush has asked Congress to formally authorize the use of force.

But lawmakers from both parties said they were cautious about his request for open-ended authority for military action and divided over how to handle a war against an ill-defined terrorist network.

“There was almost unanimity that we want to go after whoever was responsible,” said Senator John Breaux, Democrat of Louisiana. “But you can’t just goof and declare war when you don’t know



who you are declaring war against.”

The uncertainty over how to approach a 21st-century war added a new element to the traditional tension between the president and Congress over the division of power. The Constitution gives Congress the power to declare war and support the armed forces, but it also gives the commander in chief broad powers to use the military to defend the nation.

Not since the attack on Pearl Harbor in World War II has the United States declared war, and few lawmakers favored an outright declaration now. Still, the undeclared wars in Korea and Vietnam have led Congress to want more ability to authorize and oversee the scope and duration of military action and have left resistance to open-ended delegations of power to the president.

A few lawmakers were demanding a full declaration of war against international terrorism. Senator Arlen Specter, Republican of Pennsylvania, said Congress might want to consider a declaration of war against Afghanistan for having harbored Osama bin Laden, whose associates, the authorities believe, commandeered the jets that struck the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

In the House, Representative Bob Barr, Republican of Georgia, introduced a resolution of war against international terrorism and those who harbor, finance and support it. “We are not interested in reading them their Miranda rights,” he said. “We are interested in taking them out, lock, stock, barrel, root, limb.”

But his was the minority opinion, with many lawmakers saying that they were reluctant to make a formal declaration of war, given the uncertainty over who the enemy is.

This is different than attacking an enemy who has a flag and a capital, with soldiers who wear uniforms,” said Senator Robert Torricelli, Democrat of New Jersey. Still, Mr. Torricelli said he would support the president with broad powers to mount a military attack.

Senator John Warner, Republican of Virginia, who was working closely on the language of an authorization of force, said he would also argue strongly against a declaration of war. “It is beneath our dignity” to declare war against Mr. bin Laden, he said.

10. Bush Is Standing Tall, and Congress Likes It¹

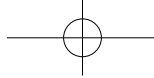
Mary McGrory

It was not just the New York skyline and the Pentagon that were altered by the hijacked planes. All is changed, “changed utterly” as Yeats said. Nowhere is this more evident than in politics.

Even before the calamity of a lovely September morning, the country was demonstrating its feelings for President George W. Bush in a variety of polls. The two major strains were somewhat contradictory: A high percentage (45 percent) were not entirely sure that he was up to the job, but said they liked him and wanted him to succeed.

Since the terrorists rammed into the symbols of US financial and military might, the country has

¹ Mary McGrory. “Bush Is Standing Tall, and Congress Likes It.” *International Herald Tribune*, Sept. 17, 2001: 11.



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rallied to the president's side. Even those who wished for a little more initial eloquence from him did not want to hear a word against him.

Ask any journalist who raised questions about his early handling of the crisis: They have been inundated with furious calls calling them a disgrace to their profession and even traitors.

If Mr. Bush lacked eloquence on Tuesday, he more than made up for it with his fine speech at Friday's National Cathedral service.

Congress is well aware that George W. Bush has become a colossus, surpassing his father's 90 percent approval rating after the Gulf War. Congress has been more than satisfied with a supporting role in the wake of the horror. On Tuesday night members convened and sang "God Bless America" and pledged allegiance to Mr. Bush.

Democratic consternation and misgivings have been expressed behind the scenes. When Mr. Bush requested blanket authority for retaliation, some remembered the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, which they unwarily gave to Lyndon Johnson during Vietnam and came to regret. They said the president's current powers give him all the authority he needs to punish the authors of the obscene attacks. But, as one Democrat said disconsolately, "No one wants to say no to Bush now."

The Senate Armed Services Committee could take up the defense bill soon. The inclusion of Mr. Bush's request for funds for a national missile defense has prompted extensive debate. Some members hoped to put off such a hot potato.

Although the reverberating calamity had exposed the futility of missile defense in stopping suicidal terrorists the reluctance of critics to argue with the White House makes it a major opportunity for Mr. Bush.

The lock box for the Social Security surplus, the future of the education bill and similar domestic considerations are for the moment crushed by the graver questions about the future in a world with so many maniacs at large.

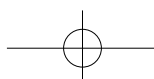
Mr. Bush was pursuing with obsessive concentration his goal of a protective shield against missiles that would make US even more secure. The protests of US allies dubious about antagonizing Russia and China by ignoring or shredding the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, with its prohibition on deployment, made no difference to Mr. Bush.

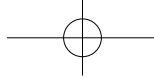
We Americans were the omnipotent superpower. We didn't mind being thought arrogant and overbearing. We were Number One.

See us now. We are victims. We are covered with dust. We closed our airports and Wall Street, canceled our entertainments. We cry a lot. Hour by hour we sit by the television. Transfixed by impossibly brave men who refuse to stop going into shaky, smoldering buildings to search for their comrades and other victims.

Our heroes are firefighters, police officers and rescue workers. The Winston Churchill of the ashes is a scandal-splattered politician named Rudy Giuliani, who presides over city services that are awesome. The terrorists were well organized, but they were no match for New York.

Our most sophisticated city, which thinks it knows it all and has a name for brusqueness, demonstrated a depth of humanity that tells terrorists that they are wasting their time blasting





our cities.

We now stand hat in hand, asking for help. We are vulnerable. But look at our volunteers, our blood donors, the bucket brigades, the outpouring of offers to bombed-out businesses of a hand in relocating. Look at the endless kindness of strangers.

We may be heartbroken, we are playing hurt, but we know we're going to win.

11. 9/11 Anniversary: From Empire to Decline¹

Michael Cox

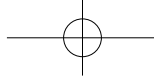
When the United States was attacked on September 11, 2001, its position in the world seemed completely unassailable.

Having seen off the Soviet Union ten years earlier, and having then experienced what can only be viewed as one of the more successful economic decades in its over two hundred year history, America at the start of the new millennium looked to be riding high in an international system where it clearly faced challenges and problems but no serious threat worthy of the name. So powerful did it in fact seem that few could even remember that rather anxious little moment just before the end of the Cold War when writers like Paul Kennedy had been talking earnestly about the republic's inevitable decline over the longer term. A nation with deficits as large as the US, and carrying the imperial burden that it did, simply could not go on running the world's affairs. There was only one way for it to go—and that, he concluded, was downwards.

How odd such a line of analysis appeared when the ever optimistic Bill Clinton handed the presidency over to George W. Bush in 2000; and how far removed from reality did such views seem as the US started to mobilize its massive resources in response to what had happened in New York, Washington and Pennsylvania on that bright Tuesday morning in 2001. Even critics were at first deeply impressed—even that old “declinist” Paul Kennedy who waxed perhaps rather too lyrically in one article written in early 2002 about that proverbial American bird of prey compelling respect from its friends and forcing even its enemies to submit to its will. This was clearly no ordinary superpower. As he went on to note, this very special eagle was now flying higher than ever. Nor was this his view alone. Across the political spectrum, from critical Europeans on the left to American neoconservatives on the right, few seemed prepared to dispute the idea that the United States bore more than a family resemblance to Empires of the past—with one fairly obvious difference: this new Rome on the Potomac was not about to decline any time soon. Another century awaited it.

It is well worth recalling this mood today if we are to fully appreciate how far things have changed since 9/11. At the turn of the century Americans felt self-confident and the US acted as if there was little that it could not do—even invade Iraq with little concern for the deeply disturbing impact this might have on both the Middle East and its own position in the world. A decade on and

¹ Michael Cox. “9/11 Anniversary: From Empire to Decline.” *The World Today*, August, 2011.



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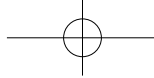
America looks to have changed almost beyond recognition.

Firstly, it has changed politically. There are many reasons why Barack Obama was elected in late 2008. But amongst the most important was the simple fact that Americans no longer felt confident about the direction in which the country was going after two terms of a republican administration that had first brought them the Iraq war and then the financial crisis of 2007. Whether or not Obama has delivered on all of his promises remains a moot question. What is not in question, however, is the extent to which his remarkable rise was made possible by a widespread sense that America was in crisis and that something new—and possibly radical—was needed to restore US standing in the world and possibly prevent another great depression.

This in turn raises a much wider question about Americans themselves. For a very short while 9/11, and indeed the war in Iraq itself, united them like only a war can do. But unlike the Cold War, this particular “clash” against Islamic militancy has effectively divided the country, making the ideological gap between liberals on the one hand and conservatives on the other almost unbridgeable. It has also had a corrosive impact upon American self-confidence. Troop losses in Afghanistan and Iraq, the huge economic costs involved in waging these wars, and the fear that the means involved in fighting a particular kind of enemy might be undermining US core values, has not only done much to dent American amour propre but made Americans increasingly uncertain about the country’s purpose in the world.

This would be bad enough. But what has further contributed to Americans’ sense that the world is no longer moving in their direction is firstly the impact that the economic crisis has had on that intangible thing called the American way of life—only a quarter of Americans in 2011 believed that their children would have better chances than themselves—plus an even stronger sense that changes taking place globally are fast undermining its ability to shape what is taking place around them. There has certainly been too much talk of late about the next century being Asian and the axis of power moving rapidly away from the west to the east. Still, as economists like Jim O’Neill of Goldman Sachs noted, some time ago, while the US waged war in the Middle East and against the Taliban in Afghanistan, others—some of those so-called BRIC’s—seemed to be getting on with the business of making money, building new partnerships, and pulling themselves out of the economic crisis a good deal more rapidly than the US and its transatlantic allies.

When Bush assumed office few questioned the idea that the world was unipolar or that the US would remain dominant for many decades to come. To coin a phrase, there was little chance of the sun setting on this unique form of liberal empire for many decades to come. Its future looked assured. Now it all looks very different. With China rising and even buying up a good deal of America’s debt; with new powers like India pushing their way upwards; and with its own capacities diminishing in an age of austerity—few today talk as they once confidently did of an ever-lasting American primacy. Some may continue to point to the enormous structural advantages enjoyed by the United States; of how many great universities it still possesses; of its rare combination of hard and soft power; of the fact that it remains the only serious power that there is with true global reach; that its corporations constitute well over half of the world’s largest; and that the dollar still accounts for over sixty percent



of the world's international transactions. But in the current climate such facts appear to be cutting little ice with those who now insist that as result of George Bush's ill-conceived war on terror, followed by the financial crisis of 2007, American decline is now a foregone conclusion. Whether or not such dire predictions turn out to be true—in ways that they have never been true before—is a question to which there is still no easy answer. Nothing is predetermined. But a decade on from 9/11 the United States is an altogether different, altogether less confident, place than the one that G. W. Bush inherited in late 2000. Perhaps the Kennedy moment has finally arrived—at last?

12. The Shadow of 9/11 across America¹

Brian M. Jenkins and John P. Godges

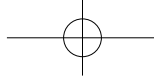
It is, at this moment, nearly ten years since 9/11. The deadliest attacks in the annals of terrorism and the cause of the greatest bloodshed on American soil since the Civil War, the 9/11 attacks provoked the invasion of Afghanistan, which has become America's longest war. The attacks also prompted America's global campaign against terrorists and terrorism—a campaign that soon broadened to include the invasion of Iraq, a fundamental reorganization of the intelligence community, and a continuing national preoccupation with domestic security marked by the creation of a new national apparatus, the US Department of Homeland Security, dedicated to the protection of American citizens against terrorist attacks.

The death in May 2011 of Osama bin Laden, founder and leader of al-Qaeda, who declared war on the United States in 1996 and who was the driving force behind the 9/11 attacks, would seem to bracket, if not the war on terrorism, at least an important chapter in that war. While the killing of bin Laden led to a brief display of national euphoria, few analysts—and none of the authors in this volume—believe that his death spells the end of al-Qaeda or its terrorist campaign. His demise is a semicolon in the ongoing contest, not a period.

Al-Qaeda's future trajectory is not yet discernible. The organization has warned of retaliation and is under pressure to demonstrate to its foes and, more importantly, to its followers that the global terrorist enterprise inspired by bin Laden is still in business. With no other al-Qaeda leader possessing bin Laden's symbolic authority, demonstrating prowess as a terrorist commander is one way of asserting leadership. Further terrorist attacks must be anticipated. As the tenth anniversary of 9/11 approaches, apprehension will increase. But the threat will persist for many years.

Much, of course, has changed in the past ten years. As in any war of long duration, there have been surprises—some of America's own making, such as its invasion of Iraq, followed by al-Qaeda's own unmaking in the brutal and indiscriminate terrorist campaign it launched in response to the American occupation of that country. Al-Qaeda's wanton slaughter of Muslims in Iraq and elsewhere

¹ Brian M. Jenkins, and John P. Godges. "The Shadow of 9/11 across America." *The Long Shadow of 9/11: America's Response to Terrorism*. Ed. Brian M. Jenkins and John P. Godges. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2011. 1–8.



provoked a powerful backlash among Muslims worldwide. The global economic crisis, America's financial difficulties, and the unpredicted popular uprisings in North Africa and the Middle East, although not directly connected with the war on terrorism, will nonetheless have a great impact on future American counterterrorist policy and strategy.

A Moment to Reflect

Even before bin Laden's death, the tenth anniversary of America's response to 9/11 seemed an appropriate time for a thoughtful review of progress and future strategy. The perspective of a decade would reveal broad trends not apparent in shorter time frames. When we, the editors of this volume, first discussed the idea of such a review with RAND's management and staff, we made it clear that we did not want just a tenth-year anniversary anthology, a mere sampler of past RAND research. We wanted the participants in this project to not only draw upon their accumulated expertise and accrued knowledge but also go beyond what they had already published and reflect upon broader issues.

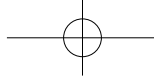
Did America as a nation overreact to 9/11? What did America do right? What did the country get wrong? Have there been lost opportunities or unwise approaches? What lessons have been learned? What might the country now do differently? What can Americans realistically expect from security? Has 9/11 changed how Americans view war? And has 9/11 changed us as Americans?

The contributing authors did not disappoint. Their essays are agile, yet muscular, recognizing the progress made in some areas but offering criticism where it is needed.

These are not the laments of insulated academics, dovish dons, or adherents of the kumbaya school of counterterrorism. Almost all of the authors were involved in terrorism research years before 9/11. Several of them complement their research with decades of firsthand experience in the armed forces; in the Central Intelligence Agency; in the US Departments of State, Justice, and Defense; or as advisers to military commanders in Iraq and Afghanistan. These authors have been involved in intelligence collection and analysis. They have been on the front lines of diplomacy. They have seen war.

The long shadow of 9/11 sometimes makes it difficult to recall what things were like before terrorists crashed hijacked airliners into New York skyscrapers and the Pentagon, killing thousands. The United States had been concerned about the growing phenomenon of terrorism since the late 1960s and had played a major role in international efforts to combat it. Terrorism escalated in the 1980s and 1990s as terrorists increasingly demonstrated their determination to kill in quantity and their willingness to kill indiscriminately. Terrorist attacks on American targets abroad had already provoked a military response on several occasions, but these were single actions.

Prior to 9/11, neither Washington nor the American public was psychologically or politically prepared to launch not simply retaliatory strikes but a continuing military campaign against a terrorist movement—to wage war on terrorism, whatever that meant. Without 9/11, it would have been hard to imagine the subsequent American response. And even given that response, few in 2001 anticipated that the effort would last so long or prove so costly.



An Honest Accounting

There is consensus in this volume that the United States has accomplished a great deal in the past ten years. Al-Qaeda's capacity for centrally directed, large-scale terrorist operations has been greatly reduced, if not eliminated entirely. Declaring victory and turning our back, however, would be dangerous.

The United States cannot prevent every terrorist attack, but it is much better equipped today to handle future terrorist threats. US intelligence has shifted its priorities from nation-states to transnational actors and has reconfigured itself to meet the new threats. The intelligence operation that led to the successful raid on bin Laden's compound in Abbottabad, Pakistan, displayed this greatly increased effectiveness. Al-Qaeda's ranks have been decimated, its capabilities degraded, not only as a result of US intelligence, military, and Special Operations but also very much as a consequence of unprecedented international cooperation among the world's security services and law enforcement organizations.

The authors in this book do not flinch at the invasion of Afghanistan, the continuing use of military force to destroy al-Qaeda, or current efforts against the Taliban. They do, however, criticize the invasion of Iraq on grounds that it diverted attention from Afghanistan and the pursuit of al-Qaeda, that the United States sidelined even willing allies to pursue military missions largely on its own, that military operations in both Afghanistan and Iraq ended up being stretched thin, and that the requirements of both counterinsurgency campaigns were ignored until late in the campaigns. The United States has been forced to learn—and to relearn—a great deal the hard way, especially about counterinsurgency operations.

The authors remain skeptical of current US efforts to build up a large national army and police force in Afghanistan without simultaneously building up local forces, which seem closer to that country's traditions. There is further dissatisfaction with the continuing failure to deliberately combat al-Qaeda's ideology or to support those who can. These essays are not just primers on theology or cultural sensitivity; they are pragmatic arguments about how to succeed.

America's approach to al-Qaeda has been focused on destroying the organization, not confronting its ideology. From the outset, preventing further terrorist attacks took precedence. America pounded on al-Qaeda's operational capabilities, not its beliefs, which were largely dismissed as fanaticism. But as several authors point out here, military power alone does not suffice.

The authors reject the idea that wars can always be won quickly and with minimal resources. Circumstances can change. Stuff happens, and it cannot be ignored because it does not correspond to initial expectations. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, initially billed as likely to be short, inexpensive, even self-financing, have turned out to be long and costly in lives and treasure—costlier in the long run because the United States, for reasons of domestic politics or plain arrogance, held absurd beliefs about their probable duration, failed to prepare for the worst, or walked away prematurely and had to return to a deteriorating situation. The authors observe this same arrogance in the institutional resistance to relearning lessons buried long ago with bad memories of the Vietnam War, and in



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Americans' tendency to ignore their own history.

If anything, the authors might be labeled American “traditionalists.” They accept wars but are wary of the hubris that comes with America’s great military power. They believe that despite America’s military capacity, wars must be preceded by diplomacy to build powerful military coalitions. Although coalitions are difficult to manage and can become unwieldy, they are preferable to the notion that Americans can do it better alone. America traditionally goes to war with allies.

The authors hold dear traditional American values, lamenting the country’s departure from these values in its abuse of prisoners—the subject of a debate that some politicians seem determined to revive. The authors cleave to the traditional American values of courage and self-reliance, underscoring the fact that the terrorist threat has been exaggerated to our own detriment. Terrorism is a risk, as are a lot of other things. Major terrorist attacks can cause horrific casualties, create international and domestic crises, impose huge costs on the economy, and set off psychological reactions that can corrode democracy itself. But Americans can reduce the effects of terror by their own reactions to such events.

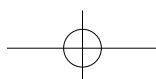
The authors sometimes harp on America’s foibles, but they also harbor great hopes for America’s future. Some authors assert that America overreacted after 9/11, both abroad (in Iraq) and at home (at the airports). Domestic political rhetoric and a voracious news media, meanwhile, assailed the public with terrorist threats, many of them the dark speculations of professional doomsayers. Yet the authors also see opportunities for strengthening America that have arisen partly because of 9/11, from reinforcing our public health system to redesigning our laws to promote community solidarity in times when we most need to rely on each other.

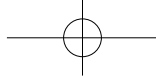
An American Perspective

This volume offers an explicitly American point of view. It was our intent to look critically at America’s experience and performance. This reflects the fact that America has often chosen to go it alone, determined to run its own show, unwilling to be fettered by assistance from others, ignoring advice that did not accord with its own perspectives—hubris again. It was our mandate as authors and editors to comment upon that American experience.

Nonetheless, we are aware of the enormous cooperation and collaboration that have taken place with international allies, especially, as pointed out, in the areas of intelligence and law enforcement, but also on the battlefield. As the continuing terrorist threat inspired by al-Qaeda’s ideology becomes more diffuse, this collaboration will become even more critical.

Another area of continuing importance will be the prevention of domestic radicalization and recruitment of terrorists to al-Qaeda’s cause—so-called “homegrown terrorism.” America historically has been successful in assimilating immigrant populations, and thus far, al-Qaeda’s exhortations to America’s Muslim population have produced meager results. America can learn from the experience of European and other nations in this area, while being wary of emulating Europe’s national efforts. America’s political traditions are very different, making interaction with ethnic and religious





communities much more a matter for local authorities than for Washington.

The American people have watched the Arab Spring of 2011 with rapt attention. The United States cannot take credit for this phenomenon, but American ideals and communications technologies, if not always American policies, may have cultivated some of those sprouts of democracy in the Middle East. The Arab Spring has demonstrated the irrelevance of al-Qaeda's ideology to the political future of the region, but it has also created a challenge for US diplomacy. Whatever new governments ultimately may emerge, counterterrorism seems unlikely to top their agendas, and it cannot be the single focus of US relations with these governments.

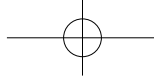
A Better Criterion

Americans frequently ask, Are we safer now? The question betrays the perspective of a victim. The answer is probably yes, but surely that cannot be the sole criterion of progress. Instead, we might ask, Is America stronger now? Can the country defend itself against current and would-be foes? Can the country sustain the perpetual state of preparedness in which, it seems, we must live? Is America capable of achieving its objectives?

Assessment here is more difficult, beyond the reach of research, but the answer seems mixed. America is probably organizationally and militarily better prepared now. It has gained a better understanding of this new kind of adversary. Having survived 9/11, Americans may be better prepared psychologically to deal with another terrorist attack. But national strength derives from more than the accumulation of warriors and weapons and endurance. It encompasses public spirit. A civic spirit. A sense that everyone is in it together.

America's struggle against terrorism has been national in name only. Except for the heavy burden borne unequally by those in the military and their families, the conflict remains a distant reality show to the rest of society. Conspicuous displays of patriotism disguise the absence of national sacrifice. The national treasury has been emptied, but private profit is preferred over public interest, while growing political partisanship erodes any sense of national unity. The political class has not served the country well. Or perhaps its constituents have demanded too little of it. In a genuine democracy, after all, the people are responsible for the nation's actions.

At the same time, Americans will defend their liberties. They are ferocious when angered and keen to rise up when thrown on the defensive. And despite the instances of prisoner abuse and torture that have sullied America's honor since 9/11, the American people, on the whole, remain determined to behave virtuously: No cities were leveled after 9/11. Citizens sought to participate in the effort to secure the homeland (but were told to stand aside—and to keep shopping). Most Americans have remained tolerant, although that sentiment is under assault. They are deeply concerned about the country's condition, which they do see as their responsibility to remedy. They are irked by those who blame America for the world's problems and then blame America when it tries to solve them, but in general, Americans continue to believe that their country has an important role to play in the world, and they are eager to play it.



While fighting al-Qaeda since 9/11, America has waged a political war with itself. This is nothing new in American life. It may be intrinsic to the nature of our contentious federal republic. But the shadow of 9/11 across America has exacerbated the internal conflicts. Fear may lie at the heart of much of America's response, just as the terrorists intended. But the terrorist attacks have not destroyed America. If anything, they have magnified the extremes within America, from the isolationist impulse to go it alone to the internationalist impulse to remain a beacon of freedom for the world, from the reluctance to engage to the desire to sort things out. In what could be the final legacy of 9/11 and also the most self-defeating consequence of al-Qaeda's campaign to extinguish America, the terrorist attacks have compelled America to become an exaggerated version of itself, with its own internal contradictions heightened and intensified. It remains in the hands of the American people to write the next chapter of their history. That is as it should be.

13. From Hyperpower to Declining Power¹

Richard Wike

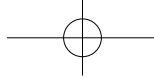
In the decade since the Sept. 11 attacks, America's global image has followed a remarkable, if now familiar, trajectory. Initially, there was a global outpouring of sympathy for the United States, but it was short-lived. As the Bush administration pivoted from Afghanistan to Iraq, and as American antiterrorism efforts expanded, many around the world turned against the US. Widespread anti-Americanism remained a key feature of international public opinion throughout the Bush years, before fading significantly following the election of Barack Obama.

However, at the same time as ratings for the US were waning and waxing, other changes in perceptions of America and its role in the world were also evident. In particular, views about American power have changed over the course of the decade, as economic issues have trumped security concerns. Early in the post-Sept. 11 era, the projection of American military strength led to pervasive fears of an unleashed, and unchecked, hyperpower. More recently, however, the global financial crisis has turned the spotlight to America's declining economic prowess. Once the fearsome colossus, many now see the financially-strapped US as a great power in decline.

The Bush Era and Fears of US Power

Nearly a decade ago, as the US began utilizing its considerable military and intelligence resources in the wake of Sept. 11, global publics began to register their concerns about the reach of American power. The first Pew Global Attitudes survey, conducted in 2002, found that less than a year after the attacks, goodwill toward the US was already beginning to ebb in many nations, including

¹ Richard Wike. "From Hyperpower to Declining Power: Changing Global Perceptions of the US in the Post-9/11 Era." Pew Research Center, Sept. 7, 2011. Accessed Sept. 7, 2011. <http://www.pewglobal.org/2011/09/07/from-hyperpower-to-declining-power/>



Chapter I American Response to 9/11 Terrorist Attack

some of America's closest allies. For instance, the percentage of Germans with a favorable view of the US fell from 78% in 2000 to 60% in 2002, and in Britain it dropped from 83% to 75%.

With the onset of the Iraq war in 2003, anti-Americanism surged across much of the globe. Ratings plummeted further in Western Europe, and negative attitudes toward the US became common in parts of the Muslim world where previously America had been relatively well-regarded, such as Turkey and Indonesia.

Opinions about the US remained largely negative throughout the Bush years, as publics around the world expressed serious concerns about American policies and the use of American power. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan were consistently unpopular, and more broadly, US antiterrorism efforts were viewed with skepticism and fear.

Immediately following the attacks of Sept. 11, the "war on terror" received strong support in Western Europe, but as US antiterrorism efforts increasingly became associated with Iraq, Abu Ghraib, Guantanamo, and other unpopular aspects of American foreign policy, support plummeted. By 2007, only about four-in-ten in France, Germany and Britain favored US-led efforts to fight terrorism, and just 21% held this view in Spain.

In most predominantly Muslim nations, the war on terror was viewed negatively from the outset. For instance, a 2004 Global Attitudes poll found majorities in Morocco, Turkey, Pakistan, and Jordan saying they opposed US antiterrorism efforts and that the US was overreacting to the threat of international terrorism. Moreover, most of those surveyed in these four nations did not think the war on terrorism was a sincere effort. Combating violent extremism may have been the stated goal of US policy, but many respondents felt this was a smokescreen to hide the real objectives, such as gaining control of Middle Eastern oil, targeting unfriendly Muslim governments, protecting Israel, and dominating the world.

And many in predominantly Muslim nations worried that American power could be used against their country. Since the Global Attitudes Project first asked this question in 2003, majorities in most Muslim nations surveyed have consistently said they are worried that the US could pose a military threat to their country someday.

2008: A Pivotal Year

For America's global image, 2008 was a pivotal year for two reasons. First, the election of Barack Obama led to dramatically higher ratings for the US in many nations. This was especially true in Western Europe, where the new president received astronomical ratings—in 2009 for example, 93% of Germans expressed confidence in Obama's leadership, as did 91% in France.

But the improvement was not limited to Western Europe. Obama was seen much more positively than his predecessor in the Americas, Africa, and Asia as well, and ratings for the US rose significantly in nations such as Mexico, Argentina, Canada, Nigeria, and Japan.

The 2010 and 2011 Pew surveys showed that the Obama bounce had staying power, as views toward the US and Obama remained mostly positive across much of the world. Still, reservations about

American foreign policy did not disappear. For instance, Obama received fairly low marks for the way he has handled specific issues such as Iran, Afghanistan, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Moreover, while America's image has rebounded in much of the world, there has been no Obama bounce in several predominantly Muslim nations that are central to US strategic interests. Fewer than one-in-five Turks, Pakistanis, Jordanians, or Palestinians offered a favorable opinion of the US in the 2011 Global Attitudes poll. In these nations, many of the contentious issues from the Bush era—Afghanistan, antiterrorism efforts, US policy toward Israel—continue to drive anti-American sentiments.

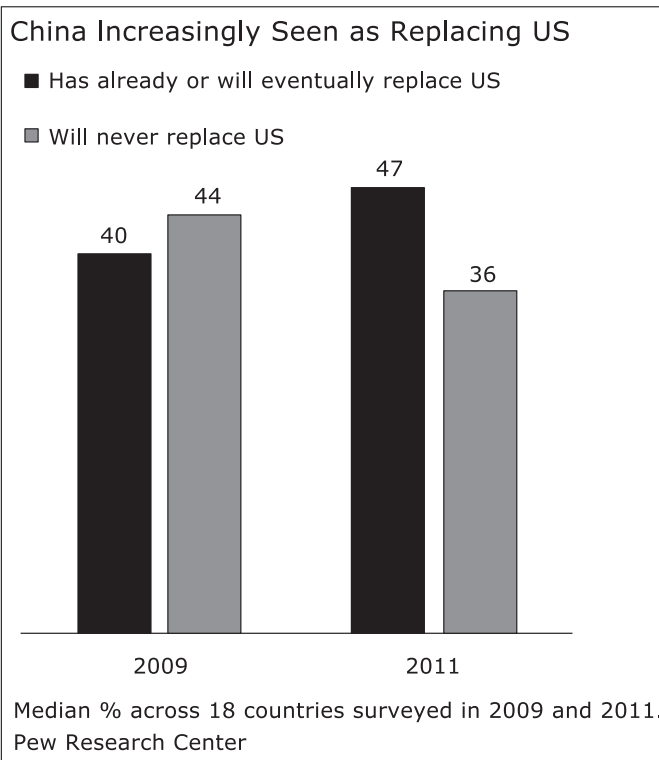
The second watershed event of 2008 was the onset of the global financial crisis. The economic downturn did not necessarily lead people to have a more or less positive opinion of the US, but it did lead many to reassess their view of American power—especially American power relative to China's. As the US economy has struggled over the last few years, China has continued its historic growth, and increasingly Beijing has taken a more assertive approach to international affairs. These shifting dynamics are clearly reflected in global public opinion, and there is a widespread perception that China will supplant the US as the dominant global superpower.

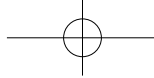
Across the 18 countries surveyed by Pew in both 2009 and 2011, the median percentage saying China will replace or already has replaced the US as the world's leading superpower increased from 40% in 2009 to 47% two years later. Meanwhile, the median percentage saying China will never replace the US fell from 44% to 36%.

Looking specifically at economic power, many believe China has already assumed the top spot. In the 2011 poll, pluralities in Britain, France, Germany and Spain named China—not the US—as the world's leading economic power. Remarkably, a 43% plurality of Americans also named China; just 38% said the US.

Views about the impact of China's growing economy are mixed. In Western Europe, the British and Spanish tend to see it positively, while the French and Germans see it in a negative light. Among China's neighbors, Pakistanis and Japanese think China's economic growth is good for their countries, while Indians tend to say it is not good for India.

Few, however, see China's growing military strength as a positive development, and there is little





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enthusiasm for China becoming as militarily powerful as the US. There are a few exceptions—most Pakistanis, Jordanians and Palestinians would like China to rival the US—but majorities in most of the nations surveyed in 2011 said it would be bad if China were to reach military parity with the US.

This view is especially common among many of America's longtime allies, including overwhelming majorities in Germany, France, Spain, Britain and Japan. Even in Turkey—a longtime NATO ally, but also a nation where anti-Americanism has been rampant in recent years—only 20% want to see the Chinese military on a par with the US.

Thus in many nations where fears of American power have been so pervasive in the decade since Sept. 11, there are now concerns about the relative decline of American power. Initially, the exercise of US military strength in Iraq and Afghanistan, coupled with the perception that the US disregards the interests of other countries, led to a backlash against American power. But today, the rise of China and the uncertainty surrounding global economic leadership are creating new anxieties about a world where, many believe, American power is weakening.

Questions for Consideration

1. In “How 9/11 Should Be Remembered,” why does Rebecca Solnit want to recall what actually happened in New York eight years ago? What does the description show about the quality of New Yorkers and the American people in general?
2. What does Rebecca Solnit mean when she writes, “It could have been different.”? Why does she want to stress this?
3. What does “The Citizens” tell us about the initial response of the American people?
4. What was John Paul DeVito's experience in 9/11? What did that show?
5. Why were flags everywhere across the country after 9/11, according to “Americans Seek Comfort in Patriotism”?
6. How did Americans abroad feel, according to “Feeling the Tug of a Wounded Land”?
7. What was the relationship between President Bush and Congress at that time as shown in “Congress Backs Bush on Emergency Aid” and “Bush Is Standing Tall, and Congress Likes It”?
8. What are the issues raised in Michael Cox's article, “9/11 Anniversary: From Empire to Decline”?
9. In what way is “The Shadow of 9/11 across America” different from Cox's article in the evaluation of the achievements of the war on terrorism?
10. Why does Richard Wike think 2008 was a pivotal year?