

**1. Friends and Enemies**

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**ED: Almost the moment it happened it was evident that nothing would ever be the same.**

**We have been talking to the people who rewrote the rules for the world after September 11<sup>th</sup> - to Presidents, Prime Ministers and Kings, to their diplomats and advisers, to the discreet servants they call on in times of crisis.**

**There was no hint that early autumn morning that this would be the most important day of the new century. The British Prime Minister's diary looked testing, but reasonably routine.**

**BLAIR:** I remember it very, very clearly obviously because I was about to give a speech to the Trade Union Congress in Brighton, and so I was preparing my speech

**NPR:.** Details are sketchy . . .but it appears a plane has crashed into the upper floors of the World Trade Centre . . .

**ANNAN:** I was home - I was just about to leave for the office - and my wife and I had gone, had breakfast, gone through the papers . . .

**BBC NEWS 24:** There's a further dramatic explosion we're just witnessing there . . .

**POWELL:** I was just leaving lunch at the Garrick Club

**MAYER:** I was having breakfast with John Major

**BBC NEWS 24:** Both towers now appear to be on fire . . .

**ED: It becomes a day that will change everything - from Washington to Asia and the Middle East.**

**WORLD SERVICE /ARABIC/RUSSIAN/NEWS 24:**

**ED: It was around nine am in New York, two o'clock in London, when the attacks began. President Bush is alerted almost immediately by his National Security Advisor, Condoleezza Rice.**

**RICE:** I was standing in my office at my desk that morning, and at 8:47 a.m. or so, my executive assistant came in and said that a plane had hit the World Trade Center. And I remember thinking, what a strange accident. And so I called the President, who was in Florida at an education event, and I said, Mr. President, a plane has hit the World

Trade Center. And he said, that's a strange accident. And I said, I'll call you when we know more. Initially, the reports were that it was maybe a twin engine plane of some sort, maybe a private plane. And then when I got down to have my morning staff meeting, down in the Situation Room, my executive assistant handed me another note and it said, a second plane had hit the World Trade Center. And I thought, my God, this is a terrorist attack.

**ED: When the storm breaks, Richard Armitage, Vietnam veteran and bulldog diplomat, is at its heart. The number two at the State department, he is minding the shop for Colin Powell, who is away on official business in Peru.**

**ARMITAGE:** I was seated in this very room, and my executive assistant came in and said a tower had been hit by an aircraft. I ran in there, immediately picked up the phone, called to the Assistant Secretary for Counter-Terrorism. Even before the second aeroplane went in, I thought it was impossible to have this happen accidentally on a clear day, and said, "We've got a problem." And about that moment, the second aircraft went into the tower, which I watched on television. And immediately after that, I was told to go to the operations center here to get on call to the Vice President.

**CD 99546: BUSH:** Emma Booker Elementary School, Sarasota, Florida [09.30 am/ 14.30 pm Britain] "Today we've had a national tragedy. Two aeroplanes have crashed into the World Trade Center in an apparent terrorist attack on our country. I have spoken to the Vice President, to the Governor of New York . . . .

**ED: George Bush is bundled onto Airforce One with scarcely time to sit down for take off - his security staff seeking sanctuary in the skies. In the White House Condoleezza Rice is struggling get in touch with his principle lieutenants; the Vice President Dick Cheney is there but Powell of course is away and she can't reach the Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld.**

**RICE:** And so I stopped to call the President, who said, I really should come back to Washington. We said, no, Washington is under attack, you mustn't. And I then got down to the bunker and I spent the rest of the day, first of all, trying with the Vice President and the Secretary of Transportation to ground civil aviation and to be able to track where all of the aircraft were, so that you knew what else was happening.

**ED: Three and a half thousand miles away, the speech Tony Blair is preparing to deliver in Brighton is a critical one – the trades unions' anger about the public services is just beginning to bubble over, and this, the TUC Conference, is their chance to make their feelings known. The speech is never given.**

**CD 99546 The Rt Hon Tony Blair MP speaking at the TUC Conference: [1000 am in America/ 1500 in UK]:** There have been the most terrible shocking events taking place in the United States of America within the last hour or so. I am afraid we can only imagine the terror and the carnage there and the many, many innocent people that will have lost their lives.

**ED: No Airforce One for Mr Blair - the Prime Ministerial team head back to London by train, rattling through the Sussex countryside and the London suburbs. Alastair Campbell, Number Ten's Communications Director, is as ever, at the centre of things.**

**CAMPBELL:** People imagine that because you're the government and you're travelling with the prime minister that all these of you know incredible ways of finding out what's happening and all the rest of it, and the truth is we were listening to Radio Five. We had somebody with us who was just listening to Radio Five where there was by then sort of continuous coverage and in the meantime obviously people phoning up from the MoD, from the Foreign Office, Home Office just sort of you know briefing us as to what was happening by way of preparation for the meeting the Prime Minister was going to chair.

**BLAIR:** Before I left Brighton, we had already agreed that we would have an emergency meeting of the Ministers and of our own internal security people to make sure that we were making every protection we needed to against any possible attack ourselves because at that time nobody knew what was happening and there were people worried about Canary Wharf, worried about possible attacks on the Houses of Parliament or wherever. This was such a huge and brutal thing to happen in circumstances and in a place where no-one would have contemplated it happening, that we would obviously look to our own internal homeland defence first.

**ED: At the White House, with the President still being kept away from Washington because of concerns about his safety, the team in the bunker are determined to reassure the world that nerves are holding steady.**

**RICE:** I called or had my deputy call the then Acting Secretary of State, Rich Armitage, to get the posts around the world to send out a message that the United States of America had not been decapitated, and that it was indeed working. And I think it was my old nuclear war training, you know, that you have to let people know that the government is still functioning. But I was not concerned that we couldn't function, no. It was clear that we still had communications and everything. But somebody might read that we couldn't function or think that we couldn't function, and I thought that was something that needed to be taken care of.

**ED: And by the middle of the day the systems at the UN are working well enough for a Security Council statement. The uncompromising message delivered by the Secretary General, Kofi Annan, sets the tone for what follows.**

**ANNAN:** We issued a statement lunch time, indicating how appalled we were, and in subsequent statements indicated that, even though this was an attack on the United States and one nation, it was an attack on our common humanity, and that we needed to stand together and to fight this terror.

**CD 99546 The Rt Hon Tony Blair MP first official statement [1400 US/1900 UK]:** "This is not a battle between the United States of America and terrorism but between the free and democratic world and terrorism. We therefore here in Britain stand shoulder to shoulder with our American friends in this hour of tragedy and we - like them - will not rest until this evil is driven from our world.

**ED: Tony Blair's comments come hard on the heels of the statement in New York – the signs of an unprecedented international unanimity of purpose are beginning to emerge.**

**BLAIR:** I thought instinctively right from the beginning that it was going to be huge, that it would be a defining moment for American foreign policy, and their attitudes towards the

world, but also that it presented a momentous challenge to the world at large because it was clear that this was directed at America, but at America as a symbol of the western world and the values we held and there was no doubt to my mind, one that we had to stand very, very closely with America, that America should realise straight away that it wasn't alone in such a situation, and number two that we should regard this an act as if it was an attack on any of us and all of us.

**ED: Some two hours after the attacks Vladimir Putin telephones the White House to speak to George Bush - President Bush is on Airforce One, so Condoleezza Rice takes the Russian leader's call.**

**RICE:** He said that Russia was standing down its military exercises because they knew that the United States had gone on a higher state of alert. And for an old Soviet specialist, who was accustomed to stories about spirals of alert between American and Soviet forces, to have the Russian President say, we understand that this is an attack on you and that this is a co-operative effort, was very moving.

**ED: Many of America's top diplomats and military planners are away from Washington pursuing the Bush foreign policy agenda -including, as it happens, a team in Moscow negotiating with the Russians. Douglas Feith, an under-secretary at the Pentagon with a hawkish reputation is caught at the United States embassy there when American airspace closes as a precaution against further attacks. He vents his frustration by composing a memo for his boss.**

**FEITH:** The principal thought that struck me was that, this was not in essence a law enforcement matter. It was an act of war. And the United States had reacted for ten years or so to a series of significant attacks on the United States by sending out the FBI, by sending out criminal investigators, by sending out prosecutors and it struck me that the key thought at that particular moment was that this was a war and not in essence just a crime. It is now clear in retrospect that the same thought was occurring to various people in this administration, I imagine, simultaneously.

**ED Before September 11<sup>th</sup> is done, a war on terrorism has been declared.**

**The President returns to Washington at seven in the evening. He has an hour and a half before his address to the nation - time to run through his text with the team that's been holding things together in his absence.**

**RICE:**

with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism.

**ED: So much for strategy - what about a target?**

**The British ambassador in Washington Sir Christopher Meyer.**

**MEYER:** The name Osama Bin Laden came into conversation very early on. I can't tell you exactly how early on but by the time we all went to bed on the first day, I mean I think he was already, already a prime suspect.

**SEGUE**

**ARMITAGE:** Well we were quite suspicious of Osama bin Laden.

**ED; Richard Armitage, Colin Powell's deputy.**

**ARMITAGE:** Around the 1st of April, the State Department had announced to the rest of the administration that although we had a policy in Afghanistan, and South Asia more broadly, that unless we got a handle on Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda, then we couldn't have any policy in South Asia. So we were quite suspicious of Osama, but it took us several days for that noose to tighten significantly enough to make the President absolutely confident that he could point the finger.

**ED: America is angry and its target is Islamic terrorism - throughout the Arab and the Muslim world they wait in fear. Nabil Sha'ath is a veteran of Palestinian politics and a senior member of Yasser Arafat's Cabinet.**

**SHA'ATH:** This really like seeing the cub of the lion being eaten by the hyenas and knowing that the lion is going to roar and go mad at everything that moves in the forest and I knew the United States was going to act in ways that will seek vengeance and security and assurance and deterrence for its own people. And that might mean adopting policies that will fly against many of the principles of international law and international relations including many of those positions practised by the US in the previous administration lets say.

**ED: In Cairo President Mubarak calls a meeting of his closest advisers, among them his foreign minister Ahmed Maher.**

**MAHER:** We wanted to know what exactly had happened, and why it had happened, and whether it was something that would be emulated in other places, whether this was a sort of global plot or something that would have global repercussions. The information was very little. We knew what had happened but we did not know why.

**ED: And on this night even the most sophisticated diplomatic nerves are jangled. Sir Jeremy Greenstock is the British ambassador to the United Nations.**

**GREENSTOCK:** There was an expectation in the air that the Americans would launch something within 24 hours, and if you remember, that night in Afghanistan, the Northern Alliance threw some stuff at the Taleban in Kabul, and the sky was lit up with some weapons falling at night, it was on CNN at the time, and our first thought was "Blimey they've started

within eighteen hours”, but it proved not to be the case and the fact that that could have been the United States reacting didn't really get a murmur from around the international community here.

**ED: Day 2 and the talking begins. President Bush settles into the Oval Office at seven in the morning, and half an hour later he begins a series of calls – to President Putin, Jacques Chirac, Chancellor Schroder in Germany and Jiang Zemin in China. First on the list is Tony Blair in Downing Street.**

**BLAIR:** He was obviously shocked, but calm, and I simply expressed my total solidarity and support for America, and we agreed we would have to review all the possible military options, since it was very likely that it was the Al-Qaeda right from the very beginning. (A lot of people at that stage thought the Americans might do something very quickly, some kind of knee-jerk reaction. Is that something that you were reassured about during that phone call.) Well it wasn't so much that I was reassured. I mean we both agreed that as George Bush put it to me, there was no point in just pounding sand. We had to make sure that we did action that was effective, and not worry about people expecting us to take action that day, the next

of getting Nato on board at that stage..) Well I think America by and large was still in shock. .  
..

**ED: Never, not even during the long years of the Cold War, has the right to mutual defence been invoked - until September 12th.**

**CD99547 Lord Robertson Nato press briefing [fading up]:**... . . . . accordingly the United States Nato Allies stand ready to provide the assistance that may be required as a consequence of these acts of barbarism. [evening of 12<sup>th</sup> Sept]

**ROBERTSON:**





after the completion of the call, the Secretary and I were on a secure conference call with the president explaining to him what we had done.

SEGUE

**MUSHARRAF:** I wouldn't say I was being bullied, but certainly one could understand that there's a lot of anger in United States over this terrorist attack,

**ED: President Musharraf of Pakistan.**

**MUSHARRAF:** Rightly so I would say, this anger was there and this anger was visible in their talking to me, and as far as demands are concerned, on that day really the demand was whether we would join the coalition against terrorism around the world and we did, I said yes we will. (A lot of people were very surprised by the speed with which you agreed to join the coalition, what was the calculation that you made, was it simply that you had no real option?) I think I weighed all the pros and cons. I took first of all, the basis was on a matter of principle, and on a matter of principle on the side of right I thought it was certainly a terrorist attack - whoever did it - and therefore the decision on a matter of principle was, was that we should join the coalition. The other of course was our own national interest..

**BUSH:** "Obviously, I made a call to the leader of Pakistan. We had a very good, open conversation. And there is no question that he wants to co-operate with the United States. I'm not at liberty to detail specifically what we have asked him to do.

**ED: The list of demands is indeed daunting; Pakistan is being asked to contemplate an end to links with the Taleban, the regime it helped into power, and to provide America with a springboard for operations in Afghanistan.**

**CD99547 US National Anthem played at the Changing of the Guard, Buckingham Palace**

**ED: September 13<sup>th</sup> - the guards at Buckingham Palace play the Star Spangled banner - in America the gesture catches a mood, from the White House down.**

**RICE:** I had been up very late. I'm usually a very sound sleeper and I had not slept very well on September 11 and September 12th. And I went home very late on the night of the 13th and I turned on the television for the first time -- I'd actually not watched television this entire time. And it was so moving, I really just broke down. It was really a wonderful, fine -- of how our friends were responding. You need friends at a time like that, and it was very good to have friends.

**MEYER:** Well, it really knocked my socks off to be honest with you.

**ED: George Bush leaves Washington for Camp David, the presidential retreat in Maryland. He's called together those closest to him for what is effectively a council of war; Colin Powell is back at the centre of things now - the Vice President, Dick Cheney, is there too, along with Donald Rumsfeld, the Defence Secretary, and Condoleezza Rice.**

**RICE:** The President listened a lot that morning. He wanted to hear the military's presentation on what was possible. And it really came down to, were you going to go after this with cruise missiles only, would you do some combination of cruise missiles and bombers but still mostly air power, or were you prepared to put - as it became called - boots on the ground, to put ground forces in to take care of this problem. The President listened to all of this, he listened to what the Central Intelligence Agency might be able to do with Afghan forces that were already there, the Northern Alliance in particular. And after listening to this rather intensive briefing and discussion for a period of almost four hours, he said, I want us all to have lunch, and then I want everyone to go and get some exercise and rest, and then I want you to come back at 4:30 and I want people to tell me what you think we ought to do. He came back, he listened, there was a lot of -- really, a lot of agreement that it had to be global, that al Qaeda was probably the initial target, that doing just air power had a lot of down sides. And he said, I'll let you know. And he ended the meeting and he came back here and the next day he called me into his office up in the Residence and he said, I know what I want to do.

**ED: Tuesday, September 18<sup>th</sup>, Richard Armitage flies to Moscow.**

**ARMITAGE:** I went with colleagues from the CIA and military, and we had what I describe as a "no shit conversation" about a threat we had, and we felt a threat Russia had as well; and that we made it very clear to our friends in the Russian Federation that we were going to prosecute this war, and we'd like their help; they had some expertise, particularly in Afghanistan, and we'd like to make use of it.

beginning of payback. But, no, there wasn't a specific quid pro quo that was ever requested - assistance or aid or anything like that. (But they said, "Now you understand what we've been getting on about the Chechen . . . ) Well, among other things, yeah.

**St Thomas's Church actuality:**

**MEYER:** That was a day of -- it was a day of very high emotion, it was a very testing day, testing day for everybody - but ultimately very uplifting

**ED: Thursday September 20<sup>th</sup>, and Christopher Meyer is with his Prime Minister at St Thomas's Church in New York.**

**CD99550 Blair at St Thomas's Church, New York: Remarks by the President and Prime Minister of United Kingdom Tony Blair, The Grand Foyer, St Thomas's Church**

**CD 99548:** Members of Congress, I have the high privilege and the distinct honour of presenting to you the President of the United States. (cheers)

**ED: The course of the next few months is more or less set now – the dinner plates cleared, the two men make the short journey to Capitol Hill.**

**CD 99548 President Bush's address to Joint Session of Congress:** In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this chamber to report on the state of the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people (applause).

**ED: Everyone expects a polite acknowledgement of help from allies – no one is quite prepared for this.**

**CD99548 President Bush's address to Joint Session of Congress and the American People. 2100 United States Capitol, Washington, D.C . . . .** so honoured the British Prime Minister has crossed an ocean to show his unity with America. Thank you for coming, friend. (Applause.) . . .

**CAMPBELL:** I was sitting just a couple of rows behind the Prime Minister in the audience at President Bush's speech and it was quite a powerful feeling to be there and it was obvious that this whole gathering which represented the United States was rising as it did to recognise Britain. It was a very powerful moment.

**ED: The President so often pilloried for a clumsy tongue and a failure of vision has found a mission.**

**CD99548 President Bush's address to Joint Session of Congress and the American People. 2100 United States Capitol, Washington, D.C.:** Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. (Applause.)

**THEME MUSIC UNDERLAY TILL END**