

## Global Journalist: 9/11 Brings Russia and the U.S. together?

**Abstract:** On Oct. 4, 2001, Stuart Loory reflects on the disparity between the financial cost of the 9/11 operation and the sum of the losses it caused. His guests give insight on the alliances the U.S. is reinforcing and forming with former enemies to bring down a common threat. They also remember the life of the late South Vietnam former President – in exile in the U.S. – who just passed.

### Bios

[Stuart Loory](#) was a long-time reporter and editor for the Chicago Sun-Times and CNN. He was the inaugural Lee Hills Chair in Free Press Studies at the Missouri School of Journalism. He [died in 2015](#).

Tim Kennedy is an American journalist who worked as a defense and foreign affairs correspondent for Arab News [from Washington D.C.](#), in the early 2000s.

[Stanley Karnow](#) was a Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, journalist, documentarian and [author](#). He was a Southeast Asia correspondent for over 30 years, writing for The Washington Post, Time, NBC News and PBS, among other outlets. He [died in January 2013](#).

[Muhammad Ziauddin](#) was a Pakistani [veteran journalist](#). His 60-year long career spanned multiple publications such as The News International, The Express Tribune and Dawn, in which he was Islamabad's resident editor. He [died in November 2021](#).

Olga Sharipova (ph) was a Turkmenistan Hubert Humphrey fellow at Missouri School of Journalism in 2001.

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### Stuart Loory 00:12

Welcome to Global Journalist on KBIA. This is the program that says mid-Missourians, indeed, many Americans, are interested in international news, and these days, they certainly are. I'm Stuart Loory, of the Missouri School of Journalism. The terrorists who attacked the United States on September 11 spent an estimated \$200,000 to kill more than 6300 people and destroy real estate that it will take billions of dollars to replace. The United States is assembling a huge military force and putting together a coalition of many nations, friends and former

adversaries to root out the perpetrators and to punish them. We will talk about this today. We will also talk about yet one more event that had its roots in the Vietnam War days -- now more than a quarter of a century behind us -- and that was the death this week of Nguyễn Văn Thiệu, the last President of South Vietnam. He died at the age of 76 in Foxboro, Massachusetts, where he had been living in exile from his homeland. With us are, in Washington, Tim Kennedy, defense and foreign affairs correspondent of Arab News, a daily newspaper in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, and Stanley Karnow, once the dean of Vietnam correspondents for this country and a prize-winning author. In Islamabad, Pakistan, (Muhammad) Ziauddin, he is the resident editor of the newspaper Dawn. And here in Columbia, Olga Sharipova (ph) of Ashgabat, Turkmenistan. Olga is a Hubert Humphrey fellow and a visitor at the Missouri School of Journalism. Welcome to all of you. Let's start with Tim Kennedy. One of the big potential problems with this buildup is that the United States is involving countries that are politically perhaps unstable. Osama bin Laden has as one of his, his targets the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. How much aid is the Saudi Kingdom giving the United States and how dangerous, Tim, is this for Saudi Arabia?

**Tim Kennedy** 02:21

Well, that's a good question, Stuart. And as, as readers, as your listeners have probably read, Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld is currently in the region. He was in Saudi Arabia yesterday, meeting with King Fahd. And in spite of his Rumsfeld public assurances that the Saudis will be lending all the support necessary to support any kind of military action in the region, the, the kingdom is privately ambi... a bit ambivalent about this issue. There is within the kingdom some concern about the, the presence of U.S. troops there. They've been pre-positioned and since the Gulf War, and this is one of the sources of happiness and friction, and certainly, what one of the issues that Osama bin Laden has made for himself as far as his own, his own interest.

**Stuart Loory** 03:29

Yeah, the Secretary of Defense said yesterday that he is not asking for any basing rights in Saudi Arabia. Is that really so?

**Tim Kennedy** 03:41

Well, no, that's not. I, I think that it, I think Saudi Arabia and what, what resources it has to offer - - as far as basing rights and other sorts of support -- will be critical to any kind of military action in the region. Those resources have been pre-positioned, and we have facilities that can maintain and refuel and rearm aircraft and ground troops. So, within the region itself, Saudi Arabia is one of the primary sites where that kind of support will be required.

**Stuart Loory** 04:19

Ziauddin, what about Pakistan? Is there a buildup of American facilities there?

**Muhammad Ziauddin** 04:29

So far, there has been no sign of that happening here, except that we have been hearing and we have been seeing photographs, television pictures, of aircraft carriers moving towards the Indian Ocean.

**Stuart Loory** 04:46

What about the question of food aid, American food aid, going into Afghanistan? Is that going through Pakistan? And is there a lot of it?

**Muhammad Ziauddin** 04:58

Yes, it has arrived, and it is going through Pakistan, with the USA's marking on the bags. The trucks are moving into Afghanistan through the Pakistani borders, and they are continuing. But perhaps the trucks would have to stop in a matter of three to four weeks, because then the snow should start falling.

**Stuart Loory** 05:18

And is this purely a humanitarian thing, or is there a political purpose behind delivering all of this aid to the Afghans?

**Muhammad Ziauddin** 05:26

It's purely humanitarian. The entire world has joined in. The UN Secretary General has for a collection of about \$584 million and everybody's chipping in. So, this is, this is a international effort.

**Stuart Loory** 05:42

Olga Sharipova (ph), the United States also has an interest in trying to get, perhaps basing rights or overflight rights or whatever in the former Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union, now independent countries. What are your feelings about how much aid the Central Asian republics are likely to give the United States?

**Olga Sharipova (ph)** 06:11

When the attacks on America happened on September 11, I was here and I experienced all the horror of the Americans people and shared with them of the attacks of the terrorists. And I knew the that my country has condemned, the President of the country has condemned the attacks on America, and during the meeting with the charged affair of the United States of America Eric Schultz, he expressed that Turkmenistan will render support for coalition of the anti-terrorist coalition.

**Stuart Loory** 06:55

Well, what does that mean? If the United States wants to establish air bases, or if it wants to put ground troops in Turkmenistan, that it would then move into Afghanistan -- Turkmenistan has a very long border with Afghanistan -- would Turkmenistan permit that?

**Olga Sharipova (ph)** 07:16

I'm not in position to answer this question, because I'm not a specialist, I made a military specialist, and I'm just now in America and here, and I, I, I hope that, I believe that the leaders of Turkmenistan will take the right decision.

**Stuart Loory** 07:35

And I know that you do live in Turkmenistan, and you are here in this country, but certainly you've been following this. What about Uzbekistan or Tajikistan? These are other former Soviet republics, independent countries now that are on the border with Afghanistan. How do you think they will react?

**Olga Sharipova (ph)** 08:00

I think that they will render support to the United States of America too in combat of terrorism. But what kind of support? I, I don't know.

**Stuart Loory** 08:15

Yesterday, Vladimir Putin, the President of Russia, visited NATO headquarters in Brussels, and he, all of a sudden, became very accommodating to the idea of NATO expansion to the East, and he appears to have dropped Russia's objections to NATO expanding, perhaps into the, the Baltic Republics, and perhaps even into the Ukraine. This is a big turnaround. Do you think that this turnaround is going to have any influence on the, the leaders of the Central Asian republics?

**Olga Sharipova (ph)** 08:57

I don't know. But I think that Vladimir Putin, the Russia has suffered a lot from terrorist attacks also because the territory of Russia there are plenty of casualties, but not of such big, of such big size as in America. But there are the explosions of houses there some little attacks, and Russia suffers very much from terrorism too.

**Tim Kennedy** 09:27

Yes. Stuart, I, I agree. I, I, I think the meeting yesterday in Brussels, when Vladimir Putin met with the his with NATO headquarters, it was a significant shift in policy regarding the whole issue, or the extension of former Soviet republics. I was in Lithuania over the wintertime, and very much saw in evidence Russia's opposition among the people that I met and Lithuania Government there in Vilnius and also in Kaliningrad as well, which, which during the wintertime, became the focus of a lot of attention, because it was learned there was a lot of there were nuclear weapons free position there, and this was up to now, was something with the Russians had denied that there was any, any nuclear weapons there. On the 19th of September, there was also a significant meeting between Richard Armitage, Deputy Secretary of State, and he met with his counterpart in the foreign ministry. And this issue was also discussed. And also there was a, there was much discussion at that meeting over the issue of cooperation in response to, to the attack. So, there has been a significant shift in policy, and I think it's, if there's any sort of positive outcome of these terrible events, I think that these steps towards normalization between Russia and United States is an, I think, an enlightening movement.

**Stuart Loory** 11:06

Right. If Tim, if I may, change the subject and go to Ziauddin in Islamabad, let's talk a little bit about the military buildup and what is going to happen. Is it pretty clear that there is going to be military action against Afghanistan?

**Muhammad Ziauddin** 11:26

No, not it very clear as far as military action like we, we saw in the Gulf War. Perhaps what is getting clearer here in Pakistan, from our perspective, is perhaps they are planning a court action, along with an attempt to bring about a change of I mean, the Zaharisha (ph) option, when a meeting was held in Rome, only about two days back, where a Special Council was established of 120 people headed by Zaharisha (ph). And the, the talk here is perhaps Taliban will be squeezed out from the north, as well as the Pakistani borders, to, to, to get some kind of an within, within the party, change or topple them and install a new government, a broad based government in Afghanistan. Along with a cold action to rather smoke out Osama bin Laden, that is what is the feeling here.

**Stuart Loory** 12:27

Zia, there is a story in the papers in the United States today that the Taliban leadership is perhaps in disarray, that leaders are disappearing, that perhaps the, the Mullah Omar has left Kandahar and has gone into hiding, and that some of the Taliban leaders are sending their families to Pakistan. Can you confirm any of this?

**Muhammad Ziauddin** 12:53

Yeah. The last question, yes. The comment, yes, they have already started. They had already started sending their families to Pakistan very early in the day, by, by the 13th of September, they were sending their families into Pakistan. As far as the desire is concerned, well, I don't have a very first hand information, but the, the leaders the, the Afghan War, the original Afghan war Mujahideen leaders who were settled in Pakistan and who were totally inoperative, but who have a lot of influence inside Afghanistan even today, they have become very active now. So, perhaps there is a, a move which is in the offing way in which the Taliban leadership, the Taliban group, is being subjected to some kind of an internal erosion.

**Stuart Loory** 13:47

Tim Kennedy, how do you feel about impending military action? Do your instincts tell you there, there will be such action or not?

**Tim Kennedy** 13:57

Oh, there's no question. There's going to be some military activity, some sort of response to the, the attacks of September 11. The question is, what, what sort of response that's going to be, and if, if, if that's going to be for one of the better phrase mixed with other sorts of responses, whether they're economic or diplomatic. Clearly, there has been a, aa buildup of, of a U.S. presence in the region, and there have been American troops deployed to, to some of the neighboring countries. There have been troops from the 10th Mountain Division in Fort Drum, New York, dispatched to Uzbekistan, and they are there in, in the role of what they call force protection, and that would be to protect any sort of operational troops that would be deployed there to, to be engaged in kind of combat. And there also have been public stories, stories in the press, of the deployment of Special Operations troops. These are Commandos, as they say, that have been parachuted in or brought in and are inserted in a covert manner for reconnaissance purposes, possibly pre-positioning to target, targets with laser designators for what they call smart bombs, onto various targets that may be bombed by aircraft. So, there is a presence there. There's no question there is going to be some kind of military action. When that military action will commence is something that's known by a handful of people here in Washington.

**Stuart Loory** 15:51

You take seriously the idea that Afghanistan is just such a difficult country to operate in that the American forces are going to have trouble being effective?

**Tim Kennedy** 16:03

Well, I, I, I the Special Operations troops in particular have been trained to operate in any kind of weather or any kind of terrain situation, whether it's desert, mountain, jungle. So, the, these troops are trained to operate in any kind of circumstance, it will be a challenge, the Russians certainly have had their experiences there, and it's been it was a miserable one. It was Afghanistan to the Russians, was what Vietnam was to the United States, and there's many lessons that they learned there. And because of this, what appears to be a new relationship between United States and Russia, very likely they'd be able to perhaps communicate some of those lessons to us in advance of any kind of military action.

**Stuart Loory** 16:54

Okay I...

**Muhammad Ziauddin** 16:56

But they would, sorry.

**Stuart Loory** 16:57

Yeah.

**Muhammad Ziauddin** 16:58

The Americans have the experience of the Afghan war also they, they were very closely associated with the, with the, with the Afghan people during the Soviet troops occupations. They know the terrain, they have a lot of experience. They have a lot of information on how, how to negotiate Afghanistan. Plus they have the, you know, information available by Pakistan. Pakistan has a lot of information, lot of experience, about Afghanistan.

**Stuart Loory** 17:28

Okay.

**Muhammad Ziauddin** 17:28

These two kinds of, this kind of a combination, a cold action would not be that difficult...

**Stuart Loory** 17:35

Okay, Zia?

**Muhammad Ziauddin** 17:36

...not like Russians. Russians moving into Afghanistan without knowing anything about that country.

**Stuart Loory** 17:40

Right. Zia, I'm sorry we do have to take a break. But before we go, I want to ask each of you, if I may, a yes or no question. The question is, will we get Osama bin Laden, yes or no? Olga, you go first.

**Olga Sharipova (ph)** 18:01

(L.O.L.)

**Stuart Loory** 18:02

Yes or no?

**Olga Sharipova (ph)** 18:04

Will you get? I hope so. I believe.

**Stuart Loory** 18:07

Okay. And Zia?

**Muhammad Ziauddin** 18:09

Yes, because Pakistan, after seeing the evidence given to them, has said that he can be taken to a court of law in dipeg (ph).

**Stuart Loory** 18:17

Tim Kennedy?

**Tim Kennedy** 18:18

Yes, I'm confident of that. It's my belief. It's, it's sort of akin to a, a criminal who has killed a cop. I think that every resource the United States government and its allies has now been focused on

this goal, and there's no question that he will be apprehended or brought to justice, or if he's in the way of in the path of harm's way, will succumb to that.

**Stuart Loory** 18:45

Okay, we have to take a break. This is Global Journalist on KBIA. We'll be right back.

**Stuart Loory** 18:55

Welcome back to Global Journalist on KBIA. You can listen to this program again, make comments or ask questions by going to [www.globaljournalist.org](http://www.globaljournalist.org) or by calling us at 573-882-9641. Let's go now to the story of the death of Nguyễn Văn Thiệu -- the former President of Vietnam -- this week, 25 years after the Vietnam War ended. It turns out that President Thiệu was living in the United States. Our guest today is Stanley Karnow to talk about that. Mr. Karnow a Pulitzer Prize-winning historian and newsman. Stanley, you knew President Thiệu. Tell us what you can about his life in exile. I don't think that many people realized he was living in the United States.

**Stanley Karnow** 19:53

Well, he, I didn't see him when he was living here. In fact, I didn't see him after he left Vietnam. He left, uh, just before the fall of Saigon in April 1975 and then he went, he went to England, and he had a nephew who was living in the United States, and so he came over here. And he lived very quietly. I think he was just, just completely trying to keep out of the limelight. You know, he was defeated, and I think he was quite humiliated by the defeat. He was quite bitter about it, because he felt that he'd been sold out by the United States. And I think to certain extent, he that was justifiably, justifiable concern a complaint of his. And so he lived very quietly. I was quite surprised that he was 78, I would have thought that he was younger. He always gave the impression of being somewhat younger.

**Stuart Loory** 20:45

Yeah.

**Stanley Karnow** 20:47

He first came to power, there was a lot of scrambling for power in 1965. You have to go back a bit to understand this, to the overthrow of the previous President, or two previous by two or three governments of Ngô Đình Diệm, who was overthrown and assassinated with American complicity because it was felt that he was not pursuing and prosecuting the war dynamically enough. And then in the, in the next year and a half or so, there was a lot of scrambling for power. There would be cabinets that would rise and fall. And 65 a group of younger officers, when Cal Key (ph) was one of them, he was a famous (unintelligible)...

**Stuart Loory** 21:40

Famous Air Force, flamboyant Air Force man.

**Stanley Karnow** 21:43

That's right, with a beautiful wife, and, and Thiệu and others. And there's a lot of scrambling around, and Thiệu came out on top. He was very clever, of course. He was -- from the American point of view -- you know, he was, as Lyndon Johnson might have said, "Well, he's the only guy we got out there. So, everybody tried to put the best face they could on him, but he was not really a terribly effective leader". First of all, he the worst of his offenses or weaknesses was his tendency to surround himself with relatives and cronies. You could explain that by saying that he was living in an atmosphere of constant plots and conspiracies, and he felt that he couldn't trust anybody except the people who were loyal to him. The problem with that was that you had a lot of incompetent people in his entourage. He appointed numbers of generals and other officers who were not competent at all, but basically because they were loyal to him. The other thing that the United States had a tough time with was that, you know, the American position is, were there to, to preserve democracy, but it wasn't a very democratic regime. There was great pressure put on him to have an election. So, he finally did. And some, some candidate, opposition candidates of no consequence, were dished up.

**Stuart Loory** 23:19

Stanley, excuse me for interrupting, but would you say the Americans were there to preserve democracy or to prevent the spread of communism?

**Stanley Karnow** 23:28

Well, the real reason was the United States, the basic reason why the United States was in Vietnam sounds absolutely idiotic, but it's the truth. We were there because we were there. I

mean, once we got there, the feeling became we couldn't pull out, because it would be a blow to our prestige. In 1967 John McNaughton, who was in a Deputy Secretary of Defense, made a list of reasons, and that was the top of the list. You know, of course, then everything else was added on like we're there, because if Vietnam falls, domino theory meant that everything, or the rest of the world, including Waikiki Beach, would go communist. And then down at the bottom of the list was we're there to preserve democracy. That was all the window dressing for Vietnam. The basic thing, of course, is that the feeling was it would be a terrible blow to our prestige if we pulled out.

**Stuart Loory** 24:26

Yes, Stanley, let me ask you. You say there was really no reason for Vietnam. That's basically what you're saying. Do you see any parallels between Vietnam and what's going on today in the build up toward an intervention in Afghanistan?

**Stanley Karnow** 24:44

Well, I think there's a much more justifiable case. I mean, Vietnam, the Vietnamese communists were not threatening the United States. I mean, they were far from it. There was absolutely, it's not a single evidence, piece of evidence that there are any communist Vietnam, these communist agents or whatnot in the United States. The only parallel, and it's not an exact one -- that's far from exact -- is the, is the complexity of the military approach to this thing. First of all, Vietnam is a finite area. It's a definable country. I mean here we're up against terrorists, or whatever you want to call them, all over the Middle East and as far as Indonesia and the Philippines, where you have large numbers of Moslems fundamentalists. The biggest problem in Vietnam was that you were up against an enemy that was prepared to take unlimited losses. And I have a fear that you're up against the same kind of enemy today. I mean, these, these people, for what we know about them, you know, consider that dying in, in this holy war that they're conducting is going to take them to heaven. And so, you know, defeating these people is going to be extremely difficult.

**Stuart Loory** 26:04

Stanley, just one last question on that matter. Earlier in the program, we had a Pakistani journalist who said, The United States will do much better in Afghanistan, because the United States understands Afghanistan, and it has had a lot of people in Afghanistan during the long war with the Russians. Do you see any problems with that?

**Stanley Karnow** 26:25

Well, all I can say is to use an Arabic phrase, "Inshallah", by the will of God, I hope he's right, but I, I'm not sure that we really understand very much about Afghanistan. But I don't know. Maybe there are Afghan experts, that's not a it's not a subject I can address. But what you have, what you really have in Afghanistan, which is daunting, is this just terrible terrain of mountains, deserts and caves and God knows what the enemy can hide in.

**Stuart Loory** 26:56

Exactly. Stanley Karnow, thank you very much.

**Stanley Karnow** 26:59

Thanks a lot.

**Stuart Loory** 27:00

This has been Global Journalist on KBIA. Our guests today have been Tim Kennedy and Stanley Karnow in Washington. Olga Sharipova (ph) here in Colombia -- Olga is from Turkmenistan. In Islamabad, Pakistan, (Muhammad) Ziauddin, he is the editor of the newspaper Dawn. Our director is Mary Furness (ph), our producer, Tianbo Huang (ph). For all, I'm Stuart Loory. We'll be back next week.