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US Media Response to 9/11 Attacks and the War on Terror

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my wonderful parents, who have raised me to be the person I am today. They have been with me in every step of the way, through good and bad times. Thank you for all the unconditional love, guidance, and support that you have always given me. I love you!

To whom I loved and I will love forever. To my sweet heart, my husband

Saber, You understood from the beginning

my desire to obtain this degree and never questioned or doubted my

determination. I am very proud of you...

To my dear brothers and sisters: Scumia, Toufik, Hichem, Amina, Imene,

Ala, and Hakima

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Abstract

The present study deals with the US media and their response towards 9/11 attacks, and the war on terror. It is believed that the USA has incredible media that have the power to change the minds of people easily. After 9/11 attacks, the American media have played a great role in changing, not only the opinions of the Americans, but also the opinions of the whole world towards the Islamic world in a negative way. Bush administration tried to use and manipulate the media to convince the people that Muslims are terrorists. The present dissertation aims at investigating the role of the media by giving such bad idea on Muslims and the Middle East. We divided this work into three chapters; in the first one, we state the most influenced political media on the American society. Moreover, we indicated some those media responses toward the September 11th attacks. Also, we mentioned the responses of both the Americans and some thinkers like Chomsky about these events. At last, we focus on the world after the attacks.

In addition to what have been mentioned before, we try to demonstrate the extent to which the American media propaganda was subjective, in order to give the green light to Bush to declare war on the Middle East.

Finally, during the phases of this work, we tried to show the strength that the American media possess in order to shape the public opinion.

المخلص

تتناول الدراسة الحالية استجابة وسائل الإعلام الأمريكية لأحداث 11 سبتمبر 2001، والحرب على الإرهاب. تمتلك الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وسائل الإعلام لا يضاهاها احد، حيث أن لديها القدرة على تغيير عقول الناس بسهولة؛ فبعد هذه الأحداث، غيرت وسائل الإعلام الأمريكية آراء العالم نحو العالم الإسلامي بطريقة سلبية. ولجأت إدارة بوش إلى استخدام وسائل الإعلام لإقناع الناس أن المسلمين إرهابيين.

تهدف هذه الأطروحة إلى التحقيق في دور وسائل الإعلام من خلال إعطاء فكرة سيئة عن المسلمين والشرق الأوسط. وعملنا هذا ينقسم إلى عدة فصول؛ في البداية نقول أن معظم وسائل الإعلام السياسية قد أثرت على المجتمع الأمريكي. وعلاوة على ذلك، فنحن نشير إلى بعض تلك الردود حول وسائل الإعلام تجاه هجمات 11 سبتمبر. أيضا، نذكر ردود فعل الأميركيين على حد السواء، بالإضافة إلى رد فعل المفكر تشو مسكي عن هذه الفظائع. ونحن نركز على العالم بعد هذه الهجمات. وزيادة عليه نحاول شرح مدى امتداد موضوعية الدعاية الأمريكية، والتعامل مع آثارها في مساعدة إدارة بوش لإعلان الحرب على دول الشرق الأوسط.

List of Abbreviations

- ABC: American Broadcasting Company
- BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation
- CBS: Columbia Broadcasting System
- CIA: Central Intelligence Agency
- CNBC: Consumer News and Business Channel
- CNN: Cable News Network
- CNNI: Cable News Network International
- CNN/US: Cable News Network/ United States
- FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation
- GWOT: Global War on Terror
- ISI: Inter Services Intelligence
- MSNBC: Microsoft National Broadcasting Company
- NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- NBC: National Broadcasting Company
- NSC: National Security Council
- WMD: Weapon of Mass Destruction
- WTC: World Trade Center

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General Introduction

1.1. Background

The September 11 attacks were suicide attacks upon the USA in New York in 2001. Most of media and government said that terrorist from the Islamic militant group named Al-Qaeda led by Osama Bin Laden were the responsible of it. The destruction of the two towers caused national and international serious problems and damages, there were injured victims and nearly 3000 people died, and this has created a great impact on the global market. The events had a great impact not only on the American foreign policy, but also on the public opinion through media.

The 9/11 events were a shock for the whole world and may be the most dramatic defused spectacle in history. There were reactions either in the U.S or the whole world, media here helped people to understand what was happening. After the attacks, the government and others declared war terrorism and said that this is a crime against humanity. Terrorist attacks on the USA led the American media, especially television and radio broadcast, national newspapers and magazines reports and web sites, to analyze the events. For example, CNN created a powerful visual and verbal frame that the 9/11 attacks comprised an act of war, and the only solution to protect America from terrorist attack is by international war. Also, the American newspaper, New York Times, described the attacks as transformative event. Some found that their writers focused on myths to portray them.

As the Americans are keen enough to manipulate the media, they convinced the whole world that the 9/11 attacks were an act of war against America. Media reach some

minds and influenced their opinions towards who were the responses of 9/11 attacks, while other people did not influenced by the media and Bush administration.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

In the aftermath of the atrocities of the September 11th attacks, the US media conducted an aggressive propaganda against all what has relationship to the Muslim world, enhancing the American administration to engage in conflicts in the Middle East under the cover of "Fighting Terrorism".

1.3. Hypothesis

Through this work, we hypothesize that:

US media has greatly affected the opinion of American public and the whole world. Besides that, it helped Bush administration to accuse the Middle East.

Even if the media are very important in America, they do not have a total influence in shaping the public opinion.

1.4. Research Questions

In the light of what had been said before, we try to answer most of the following questions throughout our research:

- 1- To what extent did the American media response to the 9/11 attacks, and did the American media deal with these events like professional?
- 2- What are the effects that happened to the world, Muslims, and the Middle East after 9/11 attacks?
- 3- How did Bush policy benefit from 9/11 to achieve their goals in the Middle East?

1.5. Aims of the Study

Through this research, we are going to discuss the role of media in the USA and their response to 9/11 attacks, the events influence on the world in general and in Muslims specifically, and how Bush administration fought Middle East in the name of terrorism.

1.6. Research Methodology

The research will base on secondary and primary sources (if possible). It will also examine relevant papers and articles dealing with my research topic. It will depend on the studies due to scholars and intellectuals in order to get an answer to this research question. It based on a chronological description of the events.

1.7. Structure of the Research

This dissertation comprises three chapters. Chapter one is about the leading political media in the USA and the most important ones, their branches and their role such as: television channels' news, famous newspapers and magazines. Then, their impact on the public opinion in general.

The second chapter is a general description of September 11th, 2001 attacks; The world after September 11th, in fact, was talking about changes that happened at a universal level, on one hand, American media responses, and whether they dealt with these events as professionals or just a propaganda. On the other hand, we try to discover the public opinion towards these attacks. Also, the reaction of the intellectual, Noam Chomsky, by using evidence and analysis of some his interviews.

The third chapter will be about the 9/11 attacks and their influence on Bush administration and the whole world, as well the Middle East. In addition, we are going to see whether the American propaganda was objective or subjective. After that, we will shed the light on the Bush administration reaction, and whether what Bush announced, after the attacks directly, that Al-Qaeda lead by Bin Laden was behind these atrocities or it was just a lie.

Chapter One: The American Leading Political Media

1.1. Introduction

Mass media are the main means which provide people with information, entertainment and advertisement all over the world. Today, people cannot live without mass media or without the help of technology to advance. Also, media have become a necessity, with media, we can get to the news of other nations. They have a huge influence on society. Media sources such as newspaper, television, the Internet...etc play significant roles in shaping a person's understanding and perception of the events occurring in our daily lives, and shaping their opinion.

Most Americans today, get their information and entertainment from the media. They tend to be the leading in the whole world. The American media are the purposeful promoter of ideas and have a great responsibility to play with the interests of the American people. People spend more time in front of computers, reading newspapers... They are living in a world saturated by media sounds and images. Media sources continued to be easily accessible to people's homes, offices and places of work.

As we know, the media have huge effects on the public and their role is more than we consider. Sometimes a terrorist is primarily interested in the audience more than the victims, for that, he uses media as a source of his goals (Rhine, Bennett and Flickinger 2). Also, an important measure of the effectiveness of disinformation, in making the public ready for aggression, is the fact that some Americans believed that Saddam Hussein had something to do with 9/11. Immediately after the events, the majority of them believed this

by the time of the invasion. This was the misinforming result of the coordinated efforts of the war makers and media.

People are strongly influenced by media. Its influence is wide-spread in every walk of life... Recently its significance has enhanced due to its effective role in warfare. The war planners of the United States used media as an important instrument of their war policies during the Gulf war of 1991, the Afghan war of 2001, and Iraq of war 2003.

The USA used the media to influence the public opinion in order to have people's support to her attack to Iraq. During the attacks, US Army started killing innocent people and media reporters showed those horrible pictures of dead people and destructed buildings, as a consequence, people changed their view to the war, and started supporting the Iraqi people as Shabir and Iqbal reported:

During Iraq war when the US forces intentionally started killing innocent people refusing to accept US illegal occupation of their country. The independent reporters from different countries began to highlight these atrocities, resulting emergence of some reaction in the western public against innocent civilian killing... attacks at the Palestine Hotel in Baghdad where independent journalist. The attack was resulted in the killing of three and injuring four others (V2- 288).

Also, some statistics show us that the Washington correspondent, were more liberal than in the other countries, as a group. For instance, Tim and Jeffrey say that Povich [1996] reports: "Only 7 percent of all Washington correspondents voted for George H. W. Bush in 1992, compared with 37 percent of the American public" (Groseclose and Milyo 1193).

1.2. TV

The first appearance of television was in 1927, in laboratories, and the first broadcasting of a television programme live between New York and Washington states. But, the regular television programme started in 1939. After that, the USA did not enter the first world, that was far from the war, to keep on the big development. The channels started nearly in the same time in the USA. However, the spread of television did not start just in the 1950s, where it developed and the receptors number, then popularize the broadcast in the American's houses nearly 90% then the whole world (Delyou 148).

Television viewers were more supportive than newspaper readers. Television has a huge role and charisma to rule and control the public. The studies had discovered that the TV is the instrument which has the most powerful understanding and amusement more than radio, magazines... Television as a popular means of communication does not become just an instrument to impart the recorded news or directed through communication satellite, but, it became distinguished by a powerful ability to convince and control, TV became the symbol and communication period. Television's central role of our society makes it the primary channel of the mainstream of our culture.

Doris Graber argues that Television's greatest impact, compared with that of other media, is derived from the ability to reach millions of people simultaneously with the same images (Rhine, Bennett and Flickinger 3).

TV in the USA is one of the major media. Its networks in the United States are the largest in the world. It consists of important channels in every domain such as: news, entertainment. Its Major broadcasting news network like: NBC, ABC, CNN... has special programme and way to broadcast and cover any issue or event.

1.2.1. CNN

"CNN is the most important channel in the American TV channels. It is the abbreviation of "Cable News Network", which was founded on Saturday, June 1st, 1980, by Ted Turner. It was the first channel that provided 24 hour television news coverage. CNN broadcasts from the CNN Center in Atlanta, the Time Warner Center in New York City, and studios in Washington D.C., and Los Angeles. Its programming airs through CNN international, which over 212 countries and territories can see it. Sometimes it is referred to CNN/ U.S. just to distinguish between the American channel from its international channel" (CNN sec 1).

The American media were a response to many events, and have their special effects on the people. CNN covers many issues and important events such as: Presidential speech, elections, Gulf War, and in September, 11th attacks, CNN was the first channel to break the news. It was Anchor Carol Lin who was delivering the first report of the event.

Another example, about the role of CNN in the Gulf War, "during the 1991 Gulf War, CNN was the only network live in Baghdad, and then throughout the war framed the images, discourses and spectacle" (Miller 149).

CNN is one of the premier broadcast news organizations and one of the few whose entire programming is news, as Joan, James, and Ben stated:

Most of its election coverage was of high quality, and it clearly wanted to report the returns with total accuracy. The network offered many hours of very complicated, wide ranging coverage at the highest professional level throughout the evening. The team is experienced, dedicated and committed to the highest principles of reporting. CNN's people, from on-air personnel to the top executives, express anguish over what happened (33).

The channel has created its news web site "CNN.com", on August, 1995. It attracted growing interest over its first decade and is now one of the most popular news websites in the world. CNN.com also has seen an increase according to the previous years in its global news sites (CNN sec 6).

Nowadays, in America, there are different channels which aim at reporting new events; however, CNN was and still the first and the most popular channel that covers the newly happening news in the US and may be in the world.

1.2.1.1. CNN International

CNN is one of the world's news organization and its international channel. CNN International is the leading international news channel in terms of viewer reach. It makes extensive use of affiliated reporters that are local to the events, which they are reporting.

CNN International (CNNI) is the CNNs international television network which brings news, current affairs, politics, opinion, and business programming worldwide. It is affiliated with CNN that broadcasting to the United States and Canada. It covers in most of the countries, in over 200 countries. The current managing director of CNN International is Tony Maddox (CNN International sec 1).

Furthermore, each year CNNI launches new schedules. For example, it adapted many programs that became known towards the foreign countries such as: political news, business, sports, entertainments, life style...

The channel simulcasts CNN/US news casts whenever major events happen in the US or around the world. For example: the crash of the Continental Airlines Flight 3407 in Buffalo, the death of Michael Jackson, as well as scheduled events such as: US elections, Presidential inaugurations. Likewise, CNN/US occasionally turns to CNNI newscasts,

primarily when major international news breaks during the overnight hours in the US (CNN International sec 4).

1.2.1.2. CNN Controversies

CNN has the subject of different controversies that refers to the domestic version of CNN and CNNI. CNN is always accused of having both a liberal and conservative bias. For example, after 9/11 attacks, the majority of the United States news channels said that CNN took a indulgent approach to the Bush administration in the US. Another example which is:

Critics take particularly strong exception to the handling of the Bush administration's rhetoric leading up to the 2003 invasion of Iraq. CNN's then-chief correspondent Christiane Amanpour characterized the behavior of the news media, which she supported and had a major part in it, as 'self-muzzling' and as 'cheerleaders for the Bush war drive against Iraq'. An editorial in the German publication *Süddeutsche Zeitung* compared CNN war coverage to 'live coverage of the Super Bowl', and the Qatar based Al Jazeera news network has criticized CNN for portraying U.S. soldiers as heroes (CNN International sec 1).

CNN creates a serious threat to any company considering its entering all the news. Although, it has been in business since a long time, it revolutionized television news' coverage.

1.2.2. NBC

The most watched television network, the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) is an American commercial broadcasting television network and a former radio network. It

was founded in 1926, and is located in New York City, its offices near Los Angeles, and in Chicago. NBC was the first major broadcast network in the U.S. It has been forced to sell the company as a result of antitrust charges. The network is a part of the media company NBC universal. It has ten other stations and nearly 200 affiliates in the United States and its territories (NBC sec 1).

Like all the American channels, NBC has gone through steps and historical events. The NBC television network grew from its initial post-war lineup of four stations. The early 1950s brought success for NBC in the new medium because of the first big star Milton Berle, who drew large audiences to the channel (sec 2).

At the beginning of the 2000s, NBC was somehow taken a rapid turn for the worse. With the beginning of 2004, 2005 season, NBC became the first major network to produce its programming in widescreen hoping to attract new viewers; however, the network saw only a small courage. In March 2007, NBC offered full-length prime-time television shows, and this was the first for the United States as the market shifts away from traditional television. By midseason 2010-2011, NBC was able to bring viewers by broadcasting some perfect shows and legal drama. It became number one on Monday night because of *The Voice* series (sec 2). In other words, *The Voice* series, helped the channel to return its status.

NBC news division cable has seen the launching of many channels such as MSNBC for general news with a political orientation, CNBC for business news... NBC broadcasts from the US, and can be received throughout most of Canada through cable television and satellite television providers. Also, it broadcasts over the world (sec 7).

Like CNN, NBC has a huge impact on news as everybody views today. It also has gone through different steps to build its respected status. More importantly, the channel focuses more on political issues.

1.3. Newspaper

Newspapers are typically daily or weekly publication that contains news and opinion of current events, articles, and advertising. The newspapers have an interest influence in society; they can easily turn on people emotions with or against an issue or event. This is because the readers tend to believe everything that is written in the newspaper even it might be wrong information.

The most important role of newspapers is to bring us the others' news. News is their interest, they tell us what is happening, not only in our country, by in other countries of the world as well. Without newspapers, we would be like who knows nothing of the outside world. Also, Newspapers are also an important means of advertisement. They help trade and commerce. If a trader or an industrialist wants to increase his business, he can do so by advertising his goods in the newspapers. When anyone reads newspaper should be cultivated more than other sources. They help both the employers and the employees through their needs. The large number of advertisement of every kind is a clear proof of the popularity of the newspapers as a means of advertisement.

1.3.1. New York Times

The New York Times is an American daily newspaper published for the first time in New York City on September 18th, 1851. It has won Prizes more than any news organization. NYT is owned by the New York Times Company, it is the third largest

newspaper in the USA after the Wall Street Journal and USA Today, by the journalist and politician Henry Raymond (The New York Times sec 1).

"But for more than a century, The New York Times has commanded an international readership" (The New York Times (1851-2006) 1). This quotation shows us how the newspaper is famous, and has huge readers, even outside the country. Papers like the New York Times reach beyond an American audience; it is considered one of the most prestigious papers in the world.

In the 1880s, the New York Times transitioned from supporting Republican candidates to becoming politically independent. The New York Times has 10 news bureaus in New York States, 11 national news bureaus, and 26 foreign news bureaus. The websites are the most popular American online newspaper websites, which are receiving more than 30 million visitors per month (The New York Times sec 2).

During the 9/11 attacks, "the New York Times once described by a BBC correspondent as 'liberal' in context of the papers request that George W. Bush apologized for blaming Iraq for 9/11 attacks, of which no evidence was ever found" (sec 7).

1.3.2. USA Today

USA Today is a national American daily newspaper, published by the Gannett Company. It was founded by Al Neuharth in 1982. The newspaper competes with the Wall Street Journal. USA Today remains the widest circulated print newspaper in the United States. It is distributed in all fifty states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam, Canada, and The United Kingdom. It broadcasts from Tysons Corner in Virginia (USA Today sec 2).

"The Gannett Corporation (the largest national newspaper group and owner of USA Today) controlled ninety-nine daily newspapers nationwide" (Dimaggio 15). USA Today is considered as one of the largest national papers, where it covers most of the national and international news.

1.4. Magazines

1.4.1. Foreign Policy Magazine

Foreign Policy is an American magazine, founded in 1970 by Samuel P. Huntington and Warren D. Manshel. There were changes in the magazine, it changed from an academic quarterly to a bimonthly glossy in 1990's. Foreign Policy won National Magazine Award many times for General Excellence. Like all the magazines, it has a website, "foreignpolicy.com" (Foreign Policy 1).

Moreover, it had many contributors such as: Pulitzer Prize-winning military reporter Tom Ricks, 9/11 Commission director Philip Zelikow... It also published the annual Globalization Index and Failed State Index (2).

1.4.2. Newsweek

Newsweek is an American weekly news magazine, it was launched in 1933, by a group of U.S stock holders, published in New York City. It is also distributed throughout the United States and internationally. It is the second largest news weekly magazine in the United States. Newsweek has a series of internal and external contractions (Newsweek sec1).

Newsweek passed through events such as: by May 2010, it had been losing money for the past two years and was put up for sale. The magazine was sold to an audio pioneer

Sidney Harman on August 2nd, 2010. Also, the reporter Michael Lsikoff was the first one who investigated the allegations of a sexual relationship between U.S President Bill Clinton and Monica Luinsky, but the editors spiked the story (sec 4).

1.5. Conclusion

The reality of where the media stands in today's society is considering them as the connection between the people and world news. Over the past twenty years there has been an increase in power throughout the media with regard to politics. The media's original purpose was to inform the public of the relevant events that occurred around the world. The job of the media is to search out the truth and relay that news to the people.

The media are the deliverers of a message, and through this message the audience comprehends and forms opinions on events. This makes the mass media both an opportunity and a threat for the sides engaged in a conflict. An opportunity if the power of the mass media sends a perfect message to the public, but a threat if this power is used by another group who use it to generate negative sentiment and exploitation for their cause.

The USA has a credible media that can decide everything and influence public opinion. Media in America is divided to a lot of sources and can cover different issues. Without media, America would lose the world view to her, for instance, she has a relation with all countries and deal with them and can impact on them whether in trade, economics, or politics, or other life fields.

Chapter Two: Chronological Description of the 9/11 Attacks

2.1. Introduction

It has become known that the 9/11 attacks led to changes in the way that Americans look at the world. The events of September 11th shaped rather than changed contemporary history. The 9/11 events were terror attacks on the *World Trade Center* in New York and on the Pentagon near Washington DC, which were shocking global media events that has a relation to the public attention. These media spectacles were intended to terrorize the US, to attack symbolic targets, and to open a terror spectacles, also to give a weak image to the US and global economy. *The World Trade Center* which was considered as an appropriate symbol of global capitalism of the New York financial land, also, the Pentagon was considered as a symbol and centre of US military power.

Everyone in the world was shocked by the attacks of 11 September, wondering which destruction that it would be possible to bring to the United States, and waiting for what the US and its public responses would be.

In the first survey after September 11th, many questions were asked to the American people, for instance: How have you been getting most of news about the terrorist attacks? From television, from newspapers, from radio, from magazines, or from the Internet?

Mostly, we compare between the reactions of people who get their news primarily from television with those who get news primarily from newspapers. For example, when it comes to the impact of reliance on television and on newspaper for opinions about the

terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001 and their consequences, each source has specific points of view.

There are a lot of reactions of intellectuals that have played a big role in making some Americans change their views towards Iraq and Islam. Noam Chomsky, who was one of the leaders, who reacted to the events and he was completely different from many. He wrote several works, articles, and made interviews about the attacks and expressed his opinion clearly.

2.2. Media Response

2.2.1. TV

Television's central role in our society makes it the primary channel of the mainstream in our culture. People who got most of their news from TV differ in important ways from those who get most of their news from other media sources.

In addition, it is the swiftest medium that persons usually go to get news. For example, when the Pew Research Center asked a sample of American adults, at random, immediately in the days after the attacks, which kind of media that they back first to know about the news about the terrorist attacks on September 11th, 2001, the result was that 88 percent said television (Rhine, Bennett, Flickinger 4). Through that, it is noticed that TV is very important, and is the first medium that most of people return to. Thus, it can have a great influence on shaping the public opinion.

2.2.1.1. CNN

Anyone could believe that a paper like the New York Times, or a network like CNN are favor in one way or another, also, accept some or much of what those foundations report as effective information about what is happening in America and the world.

September 11th attacks were the definite day that CNN and other media outlets made sure that everybody knew, exactly, what happened. The shock was also on such a level because the event was not in Africa, where hundreds of them die without taking it in consideration or interest from the Western World. The attacks on *The World Trade Center* were like an objection at the heart of Western values, commercialism, and trade.

CNN after September 11th considered Bin Laden to be "at the center of an international coalition of Islamic radicals" (Dimaggio 263). This shows that CNN's judgment was precipitated and subjective.

2.2.1.2. NBC

Like all the American channels, NBC news had covered some programmes and interviews to give an idea of the events. During September 11th attacks, the US government called the FBI to be investigated in order to test their claims on the relation between terrorists and 9/11 attacks. Days after, an NBC News reporter has confirmed that terrorists were not the cause of the attacks. So, the FBI had no other option than to declare that there was 'no connection whatsoever' with the events of 9/11 (Hayes 356).

There are other claims of the cause of why would the American government suggest the attacks to preserve their economy. The US economy was collapsing before the 9/11, as NBC's David Gregory had reported, so, the attacks could destroy and weaken the

US more than the economy would do (355). In other words, David stated that the attacks were effective and were able to wreck and destroy the US more than the economy was expected to do.

2.2.2. Newspapers

Diary newsletter covering different areas according to their nature local regional national and international. Track daily production of the newspaper is a collective work functions and technical documentation translation. The first daily newspaper in the world that have responded to the wishes of the general public and mass communication was The Sun 1933. And newspapers are divided in terms of issue to (morning and evening) and in terms of split (international 'national' private 'domestic') ownership (international or private), style (press quality and popular press) (Delyou 86).

2.2.2.1. New York Times

Many editors demonstrated the events in different articles, for example, 'War Without Illusions' was a title of the New York Times editors explained that there was no dispute about 9/11, that represented twenty-first century first American war (Dimaggio 266). We can say that the New York Times is considered as the most respected news medium in the United States; it was seemed as the nation's newspaper.

Like wise, New York Times magazine reporter, Michiko Kakutani, had expressed the September 11 attacks as followed:

A searing view of the tragic events of September 11th, 2001. a view that is at once wrenchingly intimate and boldly sweeping in its historical perspective . . . A narrative history that possesses all the immediacy and emotional power of a novel, an account that indelibly illustrates how the political and the

personal, the public and the private were often inextricably intertwined (Wright sec 1).

Abrahamian stated that, directly after September 11th, the newspaper stated 'A Nation Challenged' section, which lasted to appear for four months. Then, the editors announced that section was considered as finding the causes and committing to finish the coverage of September 11th origins and effects (531).

After the 9/11 attacks, New York Times had incredible suitable role to cover the events. For example, in 2004, the newspaper repeated similar view and discovered that Bin Laden and Zawahiri were not the only ones who are in the process of the attacks, but there are many other members within the group (Dimaggio 263). In other words, they were just a part of these attacks.

In addition, New York Times coverage of the president's speeches featured almost no debate over the framing of the Iraq conflict as part of the war on terror. This assertion had tremendous influence on public attitudes, as indicated by polling data from several sources.

Moreover, he added that after three after September 11th, the New York Times saw that the terrorists were the responsible for attacking Americans, not by chance (Dimaggio 265).

There was an interview with Huntington, the New York Times correspondent asked whether the crisis had proved his horrible prognostications. He thought that Bin Laden had harried the clash which he was not surprised, when he replied, the hijackers were educated since they were stimulated by cultural hatreds, also, when the bloodshed had relation to Islam, he was not surprised by the violence, and the Islam division strengthened this

argument since internal competition made the Muslim world even more bellicose against the West World (Abrahamian 532).

World had discovered the Bush's hidden intentions from providing humanitarian help the Afghan, the following example embodied this: New York Times editors asserted that Bush tried to show the most significant part in the American strategy by helping the Afghan people through which he could win their hearts and minds (Dimaggio 270). In other words, the editors described this action from Bush was considering as an attempt to profit and gain their support.

However, "In the months following September 11th, the New York Times invariably framed the story within this context of Islam. Andrew Sullivan, a devout Catholic, who had recently discovered the virtues of the 18th-century Enlightenment published in the magazine section a long piece entitled 'This is a religious war'. Illustrated with pictures of atrocities that September 11th was 'only the beginning of a new epic war' " (Abrahamian 532).

Each group wanted to accuse the Islam world for example, a writer for New York Times named Mark Danner, commented in his article 'The battlefield for the American mind', that the 19 hijackers that put on the spectacular of September, had done perfectly to bring a new order of purity and Islamic righteousness (533).

In addition, Salman Rushdie participated, in the New York Times magazine, by writing an opened piece entitled 'Yes, this is about Islam', that Huntington would be refined to consider the fact that the Islamic threat had an internal and an external distance (534). Here, we can notice that Huntington, each time, made a harmful and bad side concerning the Islamic world.

In fact, "the New York Times, especially its 'A Nation Challenged', published much on the Muslim world (on Islamic theology, hairstyles, and even weather maps of Afghanistan) but, kept news about the ongoing *intifada* (uprising) safely in other parts of the paper. Ironically, in these same months, the editors admitted for the first time that during World War II they had made the conscious decision to bury information about concentration camps" (535).

Media reported that the Administration of Bush had amplified on the connection between Iraq and Al-Qaeda as a war case, and they considered 9/11 Commission group investigation as an evidence which reported that there is no participated relationship between Iraq and Al-Qaeda.

2.2.2.2. USA Today

The attempt to keep Bush away from Washington would be one of the few decisions that day to draw immediate criticism of the White House. 'President Bush made an initial mistake' the presidential historian Robert Dallek told Susan Page of USA Today. "The president's place is back in Washington" (Hayes 341).

Generally, the media sometimes cover everything whether positive or negative. For example, Blair, when he was in an interview, he was very careful in his speech, but it seems to be that the media caught him by saying that they must show people that there is a relationship between the Weapons of Mass Destruction and the international terrorists who are linked to Al-Qaeda. However, later on, he confessed that he knows that there is no direct relation between Al-Qaeda and Iraq with the September 11th attacks (Miller 5).

2.3. Public Opinion

The next morning of the attacks, the Americans began their day with many questions, that would define a new period in the American life, and their important question was: when is the next attack would be?

In addition, the majority of Americans and media's response to the attacks wanted to know the military reactions, and how would they behave.

September 11, 2001, was a horrible event for the United States. The impact of the event discovered itself in many ways. Although some individuals played out their grief isolation, the others did not, but connected with others. Places like churches, schools, business domains, held moments of shared silence. People needed to be with other people.

Dimaggio highlighted that, the media also have an opportunity to shape public opinion through tone, content manipulation, and issue frames. The U.S. media, with most of the public, reported that the 9/11 attacks were not considered only an attack on the American two towers, but also on the American way of life, and an attack on American values. Most the public called for punishing those who are responsible for killing more than 3,000 innocent victims, who died in the *World Trade Towers*. Before the beginning of the war, the majority of American public accepted the plans of the Bush administration to wage to war in Afghanistan, which appeared in the encouragement of the press domain. After that, the Americans began to promote to use violence against Afghanistan at first, and then against Iraq in the name of fighting terrorism (262).

Directly after the events, the majority of the Americans accused Bin Laden, but he has denied that he committed such a crime and claimed himself innocent from the 9/11 attacks in Washington and New York, and accused the United States of planning such

attacks to achieve their goals in the Middle East. This can be achieved by getting the public opinion support through media (Rhine, Bennett and Flickinger 2).

Although many Americans did not want to hear explanations for the 9/11 attacks that included the U.S. foreign policy which was speaking about the anti-American hatred, that many others did. Although Americans were satisfied with national statements after 9/11, they were also concerned in hearing U.S. foreign policy dissenting voices.

Some researchers discovered that the Americans tried to keep perfect politics specially perfect foreign policy. But, in fact, wars can inspire the public to become better informed. Also, we know that Americans, sometimes, who are uninformed take leaders' opinion side more than the events themselves (Gershkoff and Kushner 2).

Telhami and Kull stated that the problems of the American economy today has a relation with the last years, which the U.S. have done a horrible investigations to know who was behind the 9/11 attacks. Most believed that the over-investment founded in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and using aid to build alliances. So, they believed that the US influence has decreased in the world over the last decade, and this view is highly connected with the belief that the US over-invested in responses to 9/11 (2).

It has been wondered if the actions of Al-Qaeda on September and the following actions by U.S. authorities have any relation to levels of encouragement for government and the public opinion. The September 11th attacks have many consequences such as wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. And the American public have several and different views towards that.

First, in Afghanistan war, a very large majority agreed with the Obama administration's policy to gradually turn over the fight in Afghanistan to the Afghan army and government, decrease US forces by steps, and try to bring the Taliban into

negotiations (2). Also, majority of the Americans wanted the US administration to increase the number of military groups in Afghanistan, but less than half wanted them to turn back completely.

After the war in Afghanistan, there was another goal, war on Iraq. Many researchers suggest that the 2003 war in Iraq receives high levels of public encouragement because the administration of Bush shapes the struggle as an extension of the war on terror, which was the reason of the September 11, 2001, attack on the *World Trade Center* and the Pentagon. That analysis of Bush's speeches shows that the administration consistently Iraq had a relation with 9/11. However, New York Times newspaper coverage of the president's speeches showed almost no debate over the conflict of Iraq as a part of the war on terror. This emphasis had a huge influence on public attitudes (Gershkoff and Kushner 1). For example we can notice that:

A majority believes the US invested too many resources in Iraq, and a slight plurality says the Iraq war was a mistake. However, slightly more say the war helped than say it hurt in the effort to reduce terrorism. Large and undiminishing minorities continue to believe that Iraq was providing support to Al-Qaeda and had a WMD program or actual WMDs. Large majorities of those with such beliefs believe the war was the right thing and reduced the threat of terrorism, while large majorities without such beliefs have the opposite views. A modest majority believes that the US should withdraw its troops according to schedule even if the Iraqi government asks the US to stay another year (Telhami and Kull 2).

In addition, the next morning of the events, in a meeting, there were a lot of claims that Al-Qaeda was not responsible of the attacks, but Saddam Hussein who was

responsible as a revenge from his defeat in the Gulf War (Hayes 351). They accuse Saddam just to make a war and creep to the Middle East countries.

Four months after the attacks, others analysis in articles of January 2002, the information of public opinion shows that Americans still wanted strong wishes for revenge against the 9/11 responsible (Lieberman and Skitka 3). These revengeful desires support for war against Iraq an know where terrorists are hiding, even after controlling the future terrorist attacks.

Some American respondents were asked questions whether Iraq and Al-Qaeda were involved in the 9/11 attacks. Also, they were asked about their opinions about the relationship between Iraq, Saddam Hussein and, the terrorist group Al-Qaeda. There were different ideas; for example, some say there was no connection at all, others say, a few of Al-Qaeda individuals had contacted with Iraqi, but Iraq did not provide real support to Al-Qaeda. On the other hand, others say that Iraq was directly involved in the September 11th attacks.

On the other hand, a large majority says that it is necessary to address the sources of hostility in the larger societies that terrorists come from and rejects an approach that relies solely on military force. A growing majority suggests that the warning and the lesson from 9/11 is that the US is isolates from the other nations, and needs to contact more with other countries (Telhami and Kull 2).

The main reason, that most of the American public supported the war, was that the Bush administration success to convince them that there was a link between Saddam Hussein and terrorism generally, and between Saddam Hussein and Al-Qaeda specifically. Framing the war on Iraq in this way connected with 9/11, leading to support the war in

Afghanistan. The main idea is that each American says thing, and has different point of view. Even they are in the same country, sometimes they think logically.

2.4. Chomsky Response

The opening of the 21th century has begun with: the terrorist attacks of September 11, and the reaction to them, and surely it took a huge number of innocent lives. The aftermath of September 11 are considered as a historic event, which is the fact. These crimes had mainly the most destructing distant point in the world, without declining war. Because there were victims without making war. The aftermath is only one of many illustrations in the world.

The horrible events of September 11th are something quite new in the world affairs. For the United States, this was the first time since the War of 1812 that the national territory has been under attack, or threatened (Chomsky sec 1).

There was an interview conducted with Noam Chomsky by a variety of interviewers, directly after the attacks of September 11, 2001. They asked him several questions about the events and Afghanistan war. For instance, when he was asked about his opinion about the NATO's silence towards the attacks, he answered that the NATO's reasons for hesitation were right because they were affected by the reaction of the European leaders. And there was no serious doubt that the attacks were "external". They recognized that massive assault on Muslim population would be the answer to the prayers of Bin Laden and his associates (sec 3).

Another question was asked about the consequences of the events on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, he answered that the horrible events of September 11 were a vandal disaster for the Palestinians, and Israel took the chance to fight Palestinians with impunity.

Directly after the attacks, Israeli tanks entered Palestinian cities for the first time such as: Jenine, Ramallah, Jericho, and many Palestinians were killed (sec 1).

The interviewer asked Chomsky whether Bin Laden was the responsible of the attacks; he answered as follows:

Bin Laden may or may not be directly implicated in these acts, but it is likely that the network in which he was a prime figure is-that is, the forces established by the United States and its allies for their own purposes and supported as long as they served those purposes. It is much easier to personalize the enemy, identified as the symbol of ultimate evil, that to seek to understand what lies behind major atrocities. And there are, naturally, very strong temptations to ignore one's own role-which in this case, is not difficult to unearth, and indeed is familiar to everyone who has any knowledge of the region and its recent history (sec 3).

His opinion about the war on Afghanistan was as follows: the attacks against Afghanistan, surely, would kill a great number of innocent people. Wild killing of innocent civilians is real terrorism, not a war against terrorism (sec 6).

Chomsky's answer, about his point of view in calling the attacks as an act of hatred, and where did it come from, his answer was:

For the radical Islamists mobilized by the CIA and its associates, the hate is just what they express. The U.S. was happy to support their hatred and violence when it was directed against U.S. enemies; it is not happy when the hatred it helped nurture is directed against the U.S. and its allies, as it has been, repeatedly, for 20 years. For the population of the region, quite a distinct category, the reasons for their feelings are not obscure. The sources of those sentiments are also quite well known (sec 6).

Before September 11, millions of Afghans needed food aid. But, after the attacks, Washington demanded the elimination of helping them. He added, by history, there were many countries which were victims of war, terrorism, hunger... by giving such examples like: the case of Algeria with France... and the crimes of 9/11 attacks are just a historic turning point (Cited in Scraton 68).

The intellectuals supposed that the attacks were not a surprise to the Europeans, which they did not shock by the terrorists' atrocities of the September 11, but they considered that signal did not present any changes (69). Here, we can see that the Europeans were not astonished because America always has an enemy, also, menacing by the terrorists attacks.

At last, in his original interviews and essays, Chomsky analyzes the reasons that led the Muslim world adopt such deadly resentment against the United States prior to 9/11, and it grew as a result of America's militarized retaliations. According to Chomsky, Bush called for a "crusade" against the Muslim world. That was combined with the subsequent invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan, which were like puppets in the hands of radical figures like Osama Bin Laden. Bush's choices ruined a moment of potential political redemption for the US. Chomsky argues that the sympathy of the world lays with America after 9/11; even prominent radical Muslims like Hezbollah cleric Sheikh Fadlallah criticized the tragic events. Yet, the US response to 9/11 further radicalized the Near East. While Osama Bin Laden did not enjoy wide support prior to 9/11, his base grew exponentially when bombs began to fall on Afghanistan and Iraq. As Chomsky predicted, Muslims suffered widespread resentment against a Western nation invading their own (Chomsky on 9/11sec 2).

2.5. Conclusion

Since September 11, 2001 attacks, there was a massive and huge movement that changed the world point of view towards Islam and terrorists. They said that "Al-Qaeda" with the help of Iraq was the responsible of the events as well as Bush administration was sure about. On the other hand, the reactions of the American people were differing from one person to another. Some were supporting Bush to invade Iraq, however, others said that there was no relation between Iraq and Al-Qaeda in 9/11 attacks.

After 9/11, the media thought that Osama Bin Laden was the leader behind these terror attacks. His catch was assumed to be as the most important step in transforming or making the threat of radical Islamist terrorism disappear. After three years, since 9/11, mass media outlets started to change their mind somewhat, accounting Bin Laden as one of many players in the world of Islamist terror, actually he was not the only one who was involved in such events.

The general reaction to 9/11 throughout the American mass media and political establishment was one that decreased critical self-reflection. In fact, the government joined forces with the public relations industry to rise a positive image of the United States throughout the American press and outside

Chapter Three: September 11th Effects on the World

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, we will discuss and discover important sides which were related to 9/11 attacks, dealing with the American propaganda, whether US media covered the events as they happened or they distorted the facts. The Americans and the whole world have different reactions towards such attacks.

The events of 9/11 are considered as the opening tragic incident, in the beginning of the century, in the USA. The conflict left consequences of terrorism, that Bush administration tried to prove that the Al-Qaeda and Bin Laden were the responsible, and should be fought as terrorists.

After September 11th, 2001, a ruthless, tragic, terrible events burned into the minds and hearts of the U.S that these events had consequences and changed their point of view about the Islamic world. Bush administration had created a new system which was law enforcement to face these criminals.

3.2. The American Propaganda

The term propaganda has a nearly universally negative concept. Propaganda is more an exercise of deception rather than persuasion. Partisans often use the touch to refuse any claims made by their competitors while at the same time announcing to never employ propaganda themselves. The United States' War on Terror is one of the most recent repetitions of the use of propaganda in conflict since 9/11.

Based on what NATO has said, Miller stated that: "any information, ideas, or special appeals disseminated to influence the opinion, emotions, attitudes or behavior of any specified group in order to benefit the sponsor, either directly or indirectly" (54). It is a term that the government of the US for the most of time avoids.

"It should be no surprise that the content of the propaganda cranked out quietly to selected journalists or with fanfare in the form of several dossiers or grandstanding appearances before the United Nations, should be riddled with deception" (1). He added, the propaganda machine in the US, since 11 September 2001, has been cranked up to levels which has not seen ever after the Second World War.

The Bush administration has not hesitated to use perfect disinformation to support the case for war. For example, in December, CBS 60 Minutes made an interview with a previous CIA agent who reported: "11 September airplane hijacker Mohammed Atta met with an Iraqi intelligence official in Prague several months before the deadly attacks on 11th September. "Despite a lack of evidence that the meeting took place, "the CBS report noted,"the item was cited by administration officials as high as Vice President Dick Cheney and ended up being reported so widely that two-thirds of Americans polled by the Council on Foreign Relations believe Iraq was behind the terrorist attacks of 9/11" (45).

The US governments have generally realized their internal and external propaganda equipments since September 11th. Media have not coordinated as never did before to justify the war on terror including the attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq and the attacks on liberties of persons at their home. The US government, clearly, believed that they could not rely on the media to report appropriate confirm and direct with the original line, just to win war on Iraq.

Since the 11 September 2001, the US has fixed its propaganda operation. This has put in place a very significant operation with global reach which seems to have no precedent.

"With five out of ten Americans believing that most of the terrorists who carried out the attacks of 9/11 were Iraqis, the American media decided that its readers and viewers were not interested in the plight of Iraqi victims of the war. The New York Times, for instance, said that it aimed to capture the true nature of the war but avoided 'the gratuitous use of images simply for shock value' " (104).

Partially, Bin Laden propaganda came to instigate on hatred and convince Muslims by his ideas, and made his principles clear to the West; however, Western propaganda came to defend and correct these misleading propaganda aspects. Sure, Bin Laden propaganda was misleading and incited to hatred, but, in one way, Western propaganda idea was honest, and incited to public in other way.

September 9/11 events considered as one of the important issues that the American propaganda was interested in. It has led in instigate the world at the Muslims. The American media has participated in spreading the trial between the whole world.

3.3. The World After September 11

After September 11th attacks, there were new monsters, whose names, Osama Bin Laden and the Al-Qaida network, that every presenter had spoken and in all newspapers in the world. It is well-known that on September 11th 2001, harmonic attack hijackers, struck jetliners into each of the New York *World Trade Center* towers and ultimately collapsed down. A third hijacked airliner plowed into the Pentagon, and the fourth hijacked airliner crashed near Pittsburgh, raising speculation that related mission had failed.

In the absence of a final death toll from New York City, the US state department patterns of global terrorism 2001 estimated that nearly 3000 persons died in the attacks, including nationals of 78 different countries in the destruction of the *WTC* alone. A study carried out by the New York City partnership and chamber of commerce calculates the direct and indirect economic costs of the destruction of the *World Trade Center* at 83\$ billion in 2001 (Perl 1).

The response of the administration on September 11th events, was definitive and swift administration officials attributed responsibility for the attacks to the leader Osama Bin Laden and his organization Al-Qaeda. "The doors were opening for USA to go after Al-Qaeda and support structures. The complain involved rallying the international community, especially law enforcement and intelligence component, to shut down Al-Qaeda cells and financial networks" (3).

Talking about the changes that happened in the whole world, after September 11th attacks in US, referring to the influence of significant changes that happened in US foreign policy and defense plans on other part of the globe, it would not have had such massive impacts worldwide.

Many countries are pushed to determine their foreign and defense policy according to US global program since it is the world power. The world finds itself in a new strategic system marked by a minimum of important characteristics:

September 11th events have not only supported the borderless world thesis, but also made sure the dominant meaning of the state. In other meaning territorial boundaries seem to be irrelevant, at the same time, however, civilians believed that the state is the only security they have (Kecita 12).

Also, the US reaction has created a new world system with more complicated relationship among countries. When president Bush declared: "either you are with us or you are with the terrorist". He created a black and white world, in other words a struggle between good and bad. A division like that had put many countries in a very difficult position, and many nations could not accept why war on terror has to be fought under American leadership, and on American values. Other nations are more concerned about their home problems, like: (poverty, ethnic struggles, and economic recovery) rather than terrorism (12).

Russia and China, for example, found a new category of relationship with US, speaking about coalition more than competition, by encouraging the American military innovation (12). Here, we can notice that the September 11th attacks have changed even the major power relations.

In addition, September 11th changed completely the concept of the enemy, and also changed the traditional security issues in international relations. The attack on world trade center and pentagon clearly affirmed that a threat to state does not necessarily come from other states. The threat could come from anywhere, against and by anyone. This what makes terrible situations, and even the use of military forces in such case do not find final and real solutions.

Furthermore, "September 11th" shows that US depends on new values in judging the other states, and that it more worried about terrorism rather than democracy and human rights, especially when US has been forging an anti-terrorism alliance with the Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf, despite that he came to power through a military coup. In short, between the enemy and friend the commitment to fight terrorism will become a

more important indicator for US rather than democracy and human rights, especially that terrorism posed a direct threat to American interests" (13).

what Russia did in Chechnya, and also what Israel did in Palestine using war on terrorism Israel has brutally destroyed Palestine and massacred Palestinians (13). This is an example of what the war has opened up an opportunity for many national regimes to manipulate the issue for their own domestic purposes.

The other impact of September 11th attacks on US "has been the dramatic change in American foreign policy priorities and interests. The doctrine of pre-emption gives US the right to undertake a pre-emptive strike, to destroy what it believes as a threat to its interests, both at home and abroad" (13).

Finally, September 11th tragedy had created a new world where Islam has become the center of attention and suspicion. Some see the September 11th attacks have the evidence for the clash of civilizations between Islam and the west. Others see Islam completely innocent from these events.

3.4. War on Terror

International terrorism has no universally accepted definition, the famous one that US government defines international terrorism as terrorism involving the citizens or property of more than one country. Terrorism is broadly defined as politically motivated violence perpetrated against innocent targets by sub-national groups or secret members. A terrorist group is a group which practices terrorism. This traditional definition focuses on groups and excludes individuals.

Al-Qaeda was formed at an August 11th, 1988, meeting between "Several senior leaders" of Egyptian Islamic jihad; Abdullah Azzam and Bin Laden, where it

was agreed to join Bin Laden's money with the expertise of the Islamic jihad organization and take up the jihadist cause elsewhere after the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan but, before, in 1979, the largest covert operation in history of the CIA was launched in Afghanistan, with the active encouragement of CIA and Pakistan's Inter Services Intelligence (ISI), who turned the Afghan jihad into a global war waged by all Muslim states against the Soviet Union. This project of the US, was entrusted in challenging covert military aid to the Islamic bridges and financing US support to the mujahedeen was presented to the world, as a necessary response: to the 1979 soviet invasion of Afghanistan in support of the procommunist government (Wright 133).

"The years 2000 to the end of 2005 were punctuated by a series of major jihadists inspired terrorist attacks. These events signaled further developments in the rapid evolution of terrorism. On 11th September 2001, international terrorism struck the American homeland. The attacks were 'spectaculars' and seized the attention of the world, galvanizing both the Bush, administration's fight against terrorism and international engagement. Virtually simultaneously, four US domestic flights were hijacked" (Svendsen 39). These attacks represented the first time suicide attacks which had been seen in the beginning of 21 century.

The events of September 11th were considered as one of the horrible attacks, and leave no doubts about the lengths to which some individuals, groups and organizations are prepared to go in the use of violence. Terror is a strategy which proudly denies the conventions of acceptable conflict. Its purpose is to prove as widely as possible a disregard for the limits to a formal conflict.

On 20 September, the nation of George W. Bush had been reminded to danger and called to defend freedom. Sadness had been turned to anger and anger to resolution. They

said whether they bring their enemies to justice or bring justice to their enemies. According to him Al-Qaida, Afghanistan's Taliban regime, and Osama Bin Laden are the terrorists themselves, that called "*Mafia*". Osama Bin Laden and his group Al-Qaeda had inducted and trained thousands of terrorists in more than 60 countries (Scraton 4).

Bush administration successfully shaped the war in Iraq as an extension of its response to September 11th and the war on terror. The administration used the term Iraq with the terms terror, Bin Laden, and Al-Qaeda. People who watched television news about the war in Iraq, they were showed to the Bush administration's rhetoric. When the Americans think about the war on Iraq, the next thing that occurred in their minds is that war has relation between Iraq and 9/11 events, that made them support for the war. Not only people thought this idea, but other scholarship and quotations in the media said that Bush himself believed that Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden were connected. On September 17th, 2001, Bush said, "I believe Iraq was involved," when he was asking about the September 11 attacks. According to a report of Bob Woodward of NSC meetings, the Bush administration framed the U.S. response in the name of an universal war on terrorism, in addition to that, Afghanistan is not the only target, but other nations, including Iraq (Gershkoff and Kushner 526). In other words, Bush intend to expand and invade other regions of Muslims.

Foreign affairs have recaptured the attention of Americans. The terrorists attacks of September 11th, 2001, war in Afghanistan, war in Iraq, and the continuing dangers of terrorism have made deep concern about threats to American security and how America decided to rule the world according to her strategies.

September 11th attacks changed a lot of things. Bush became the most famous American president and the political person of the day. No one knew whether he changed

many things during his presidency, he had changed the way he viewed the world since the terrorist attacks. Many of his closest persons thought sometimes that the horror of watching the *Trade Center Towers* fell down would change him from an arch-unilateralist into a card-carrying had many sides. In this line of thinking, September 11th broke the immunity of America, by saying that it is the threats that most other countries face, and showed the danger of trying to go it alone in a mysterious world (Daalder and Lindsay 78). It was obvious that Bin Laden was behind the attacks. Passenger lists showed three known Al-Qaeda operatives who had been on American Airlines Flight 77, which had flight to the Pentagon. One of them, Khalid Al-Midhar, the CIA would have pay attention the previous year in Malaysia (Woodward 23). This shows that Al-Qaeda was the only responsible behind the attacks.

Bush, the president, and many members of his national security team, believed the Clinton administration's response to Osama Bin Laden and international terrorism, had been so weak as to be provocative, a virtual invitation to hit the United States again (33). Bush administration considered Clinton regime was so weak and did not control the country by executing the terrorists from their region.

Congress has announced that military action would be the opening act in war on terror. Bush continued his speech that they focused on Afghanistan, but the battle is broader, and each nation has a choice to make decision, in this conflict there is no neutral position, who with them is their friend, but who against them is their enemy. They defend not only their precious freedoms, but also the freedom of people everywhere. The attacks on the US assumed as an attack on their freedom, their way of life...(Scraton 8).

The declaration of war on terrorism and the United States military attack on Afghanistan in the wake of September 11th led to warnings around the world. There is no

doubt that the attack on Afghanistan was the reason in the deaths of hundreds of Afghans, whose the only sin was to live in a world that is the harshest and most repressive regimes world, that most of the countries were under.

The Taliban asked evidences that Bin Laden had a relation with the September attacks and if such evidence is justified by a trial, they would offered to handle such a trial in an Islamic court. However, the U.S refused to give any evidence. Each one wandered whether they really wanted to kill people and destroy civilization as it is known. The Bush administration, has never announced the equality illustrated the ideology behind terrorism or convinced us of its harsh fanaticism. The first rule of war is to know your enemy and most Americans do not know their enemy (Kecita 2).

The 9/11 opened the door to a series of military activity globally. The US has been actively engaged in prosecuting the *Global War on Terror* (GWOT). Since September, 2001 and after many years of American efforts that have included the loss of thousands. The countries of the world asked many questions whether the US strategy is working, and whether the US has really understood how to fight an unknown enemy called 'terrorism' (42).

The president Bush, after the terrorist attacks on September 11th, established a new national strategy in order to achieve America's goals. The first step here is the war in Afghanistan and the fighting against Al-Qaida. The U.S could reach some achievements, on the other hand, its failure is too clear either in budget or territories. To sum up, it seems that the war on terrorism is an excuse to protect the American interests and achieve its goals under the Bush principles of spreading democracy and defeating terrorism. The best example is the war in Afghanistan, where the US has no right to invade the country, and destroy it.

3.5. Conclusion

The USA, after 9/11 attacks has changed a lot of things, such as, the view of the Americans to Islamic world, as well the whole world.

Through media, Bush administration tried to give disinformation to support the war on terror, and convinced the whole world that this was a terrorist act, and would do his best to execute him. Because America is stronger and more flexible as a result of these efforts to strengthen the homeland security enterprise, threats from terrorism keep on and continue to evolve.

The fact that the September 11th attacks struck New York and Washington, the two capitals of globalization explain, that not only why Americans were so deeply shocked and moved, but the rest of the world also. For the new generation of Americans, terrorism had been brought into their borders. Terrorism, for Bush administration, was considered as a threat that everyone should be aware of.

General Conclusion

This research is concerned with the American media response to the September 11, 2001 attacks, and the war on terror. The goal behind this study is to show the reaction of the US media towards these attacks, and whether the American propaganda was objective or subjective. Also, the shape of the American public opinion towards these events, as well as the reaction of some intellectuals like Chomsky. Finally, we want also to show how Bush administration was accusing the Middle East and the Islamic world, by considering them as terrorists.

After the September 11, 2001 attacks, the world has changed completely. These events could be considered as the breaking point in both the American history and the world in general.

The USA has incredible sources of media, that were obvious during the attacks. After the attacks, directly, they tried to accuse the Islamic world, and have great influence on the public opinion, and convinced the world that Osama Bin Laden was the responsible of these attacks.

Besides that, Bush administration tried to convince people that the US main fight today does not pit us against the world, but pits the world against the terrorists. American administration also attempted to persuade the people that the Middle East world is their enemy, just to fight them under the cover of terrorists. As a result, they invaded Afghanistan then Iraq.

Throughout this study, most of the information we have gathered was really a distortion of the reality of Islam. As a result, the world started looking at the Middle East

countries as criminals. After all, we can confirm the hypotheses which are; USA media has greatly affected the opinion of American public and the whole world. Besides that, it helped Bush administration to accuse the Middle East. Also, even if the media are very important in America, they do not have a total influence in shaping the public opinion.

Finally, we can say that the USA was and still trying to make a bad picture of the Islamic world. By using the media as a means, the world started looking at Muslims as monsters. And Bin Laden is just a camouflage, that US used to engage the world that the Arabs are not innocent and can do such horrible act. The USA has accused the Islamic world, that they were the responsible of the attacks, was just a reason to invade them and to cover their ugly and atrocious work against the Middle-East countries.

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