Chapter Seven
CRITICAL REFLECTIONS OF MEDIA ATTITUDE

Objective studies: Some events where media openly showed the bias:

1. OKLAHOMA CITY BOMBING:

April 19, 1995, when the Murrah Federal building in downtown Oklahoma city, was bombed, within an hour of the bombing, former Congressman Dave McCurdy was on CBS talking about “very clear evidence of fundamentalist Islamic terrorist groups”. Immediately following the trend, some reporters of CNN’s such as, Wolf Blitzer, accused Arabs of this act of terrorism. Similarly, CBS newswoman Connie Chung declared: “US government sources told CBS News that [the bombing] has Middle East terrorism written all over it”. The way TV networks including CNN, ABC, CBS, NBC, and CBC projected and propagated Muslims as terrorists and Islam as the religion of intolerance, the majority of the people in the USA and Canada believed these reports of media.

Later on after investigation, these reports were found completely false. The Washington Post, April 22, 1995, carried a strong titled “Muslim’s Burdens of Blame Lifts” by Laurie Goodstein and Marylou Tousignants. The real culprit was identified as 27-years old Timothy McVeigh and his ex-army buddy, Terry Nichols. Who performed terrorist act against U.S government. The attack claimed 168 lives and left over 800 injured. Even after Timothy McVeigh was arrested and indicted for the Oklahoma City bombing, New York Times columnist A. M. Rosenthal baldly asserted that "most other attacks against Americans came from the Middle East.”

Muslims were judged by the media and society at large as being guilty before proven innocent. As a result of such hasty and false accusations, in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing there were 227 reported incidents of hostility, both violent and non-violent, against Arabs and Muslims across the US. Men and women of Arab origin were insulted, threatened, cursed, picketed, spat on, and, in a few cases, physically attacked. Vandals broke into homes of Arab-Americans and destroyed property. Other hoodlums vandalized Arab-American businesses and other properties, spray-painting hateful slogans such as "Why don't you terrorists go back to your own country," "Get out of America," "You're not
Americans," 'You dirty Arabs," 'You don't belong here," "Go back home," and 'You will pay for this.'

McVeigh, who may have committed mass murder to avenge the government's slaughter of the religious cult at Waco, but media and rulers depict him as a sadistic, crazed monster. When on Sept 11, 2001, Osama bin Laden struck Pentagon & WTC (as claimed by U.S govt. not yet proved) then the pentagon junta in charge programmed their President to tell that bin Laden was an 'evildoer'. Who envied our goodness, wealth and freedom.\(^9\)

2. GODHRA CARNAGE:

On 27\(^{th}\) Feb, 2002 began the carnage in Gujarat; First in Godhra when 59 persons were burnt alive in compartment no.5-6 of Sabarmati Express and from 28\(^{th}\) February began the carnage of Muslims in central and northern Gujarat.\(^{10}\)

Based on "actual field surveys and counts" in the state of Gujarat, the independent reporters group estimates the toll of death and destruction as follows:

More than 5,000 dead, 40 to 50 thousand homeless in 25 relief camps, including 72 people burned inside their homes in Gulmarg society, 29 people killed in Mehsana village, 46 people killed and burned in a truck on Lunawada highway, 18 people burned in the "Best bakery" in Baroda, 350 Muslims dead thrown in a well near Naroda Patiya, young girls and women molested and raped before burning.\(^{11}\)

Mosques destroyed: 12 in Baroda, 10 in Ahmadabad, all in the villages affected by riots and several converted into Hindu temples.

All the property of small Muslim villages, approximately 200 hotels, two cloth markets (Nawa Bazar and Mangal Bazar with 163 shops) was destroyed.

Twenty to twenty five areas of Ahmadabad were completely burned. Notable reports on what happened in Gujarat by editors Guild says that close to 240 large and small Muslim dargahs, mosques, shrines and graveyards have reportedly been vandalized. Also, most records pertaining to dargahs, mosques, madrassas and graveyards were lost in a fire started by rioters at the office of the Gujarat state Waqf Board on April 2....\(^{12}\)

Former chief of the Indian Navy L. Ramdas in an open letter to the Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee has condemned the anti-Muslim violence in India describing it as genocide and a "pogrom". He said "the entire nation is shocked at the callousness and inefficiency displayed by the law and order
machinery of the government of Gujarat” said Mr. Ramdas. The government he says not only failed to perform its duty to its citizens but also stood by and in several cases actually incited what can best be described as a “pogrom”. 13

In an article titled “A master mind behind the Train Massacre”? In Hindustan Times, 3rd March: reports that Godhra carnage was a planned attack. The kar sewaks had looted the stalls at the station and raised inflammatory slogans that day as had the others over the last 20 days. The train was stopped a kilometre from Godhra near a village called Singalila by someone who pulled the train and that’s when a mob attacks the train. 14

The VHP’s story is that those killed were VHP volunteers returning with their families from a “religious ceremony” at Ajodhya. In fact, numerous discrepancies in the investigation into Godhra throw doubt in the BJP’s own case.

The Railway Minister Nitish Kumar has said that only 9 of the 58 persons killed in the S6 compartment of the Sabarmati Express could be identified from the reservation chart. 41 of the 52 reserved travellers survived the burning of the coach, and several may not even have travelled. Further, although the passengers were returning from Faizabad, the reservations appear to have been made onwards from Lucknow, about 120 km west of Faizabad on the Journey to Ahmadabad. We don’t quite know who was on the train?15

“Interviews with passengers on the train, witnesses to the incident, police and railway officials suggest that the train fire was not a premeditated ambush by young Muslims But rather a spontaneous argument provoked by the Hindu activities, which went out of control.16

Investigations made by the Ahmadabad based forensic science Laboratory (FSL) have shown that almost 60 litres of inflammable material was poured from inside the compartment before it was set on fire.17

New Delhi: Human rights watch on January 14 slammed the Indian government for its role in last year’s sectarian violence in the western state of Gujarat and for using tough new anti- terror laws to crack down on political opponents. “Human Rights watch’s investigation, and those of Indian human rights groups, revealed that much of the (Gujarat) violence was planned well in advance, And was carried out with state-approval and orchestration”. The New York based rights group said in its annual report, AFP reported, “In many cases, the police led the charge using gunfire to kill Muslims who got in to the mob’s
way”. It accused New Delhi of exploiting rhetoric surrounding the global war against terrorism “in order to target religious minorities and political opponents”. All these discrepancies fit with the reality that Sangh Parivar has to cultivate myths and fantasies about nonexistent violence against Hindus. It is actually BJP’s own readiness to vilify Muslims and provoke violence against them. Their political survival has depended on it.

That’s why BJP government has maintained that the attack was preplanned, and is part of a pattern of terrorist behaviour by Indian Muslims. The BJP election victory in Gujarat rested to some extent on the claim that only the BJP could provide national security. All Muslims are agents of Pakistan and are always bent on violence against India, that is, against Hindus in this view.

So for the sake of their own image setting planning and for the fight of being in power they can go to any limits. Be it the murder of thousands, be it the destruction of hundreds of thousands of public or governmental property or be it against the law of government and humanity.

When the concerned citizens Tribunal, a nine member team headed by retired Supreme Court judge justice V. R. Krishna Iyer, made Public its “interim observations”, the report was shocking which reported in The Hindustan Times that “The VHP and Bajrang Dal, according to it, began preparations for communal violence in the state about six months before the Godhra Carnage. This, the tribunal claimed, was told to them by ‘insiders’ in the VHP and Bajrang Dal, who had parted company with the outfits before the Post-Godhra violence. The preparations involved gathering information on collection of arms and ammunition and collecting details about houses, shops and other business establishments of the minority community......

According to Siddarth Varadarajan, ‘The Gujarat pogrom is important because from here onwards anti-minority hate and hysteria become a state stance and publicly pronounced election manifests, not only Gujarat but for parliamentary elections’. Before I conclude, here are some questions that the media need to ask themselves: why did they fail to investigate the whole matter thoroughly and present it again and again before the government? Why did they fail to don the mantle of mediators of peace given their vast potential to shape public opinion? What can be done in this age of ‘broadcast democracy’ to make media take centre
stage in conflict resolution? What are the enabling environments and forces that can help in media democratization so that the press is able deliver in an impartial, unbiased and truthful manner? And finally, what will it take for the media to win back the ‘trust’ of the people which is so central to its own legitimacy claims?

3. 9/11 AND THE REALITY OF ITS EVIDENCES:

On September 11, 2001, American airlines flight 11, a Boeing 767 out of Boston, crashed into the north tower of the World Trade Centre in New York at 8:48 am. Eighteen minutes later, united airlines flight 175, also crashed into the South tower. American Airlines flight 77, a Boeing 757 from Washington’s Duels international Airport bound for Los Angeles, crashed into the western wall of the pentagon at 9:40 am. United Airlines flight 93, a Boeing 757 flying from Newark to San Francisco, crashed near Pittsburgh; as reported by US government.24

This unfortunate and condemnable incident of Sept.11 captured terrorism to the top of the U.S political agenda and produced immediate and profound global consequences, not only politically and militarily but also economically.25 Even a cursory glance at the US media after the attack leaves no doubt that Islam and Muslim world were portrayed as the main threat to the western civilization and culture.26 So Osama bin Laden and the al-Qaeda group was suspected by US as the masterminds of attack. US President stated that the US and its allies would fight against Osama and all countries protecting and supporting terrorism and the entire world echoed with a new slogan - ‘War against Terrorism’.27

The present study is a critical analysis of the events of 9/11 and in support of above analysis, different controversial points which have been raised by independent scientists and engineers who proved themselves to be better than the defenders of official story, been assembled. These scientists have destroyed the credibility of the National institute of Standards and Technology and popular Mechanics reports. They have provided quotes from fire-fighters, police and tenants who became witness of evidence and who’s testimony been generally ignored by defenders of official conspiracy theory. Another suspected issue of the involvement of Jews in the happening of 9/11 which has been discussed in details by leading newspapers, have also been included in present work.

Most of all the focus of this chapter is on the role of media in setting and propagating the whole issue of the long journey of events since from 9/11,
Afghanistan to Iraq war. How the media create the scene as ‘news happened’, its aftermath, and the changing of images and interpretations of news which are essentially ambivalent and exist in the double-sided sense of both representation and misrepresentation? The way the governments’ uses media in war in order to control and manage public opinion both within their domestic public spheres as well as at the larger global levels is also discussed in this chapter.

In the aftermath of attack, the international press has faced tremendous challenges in reporting these events and helping to set the agenda for worldwide public discussion of the issue. The way the media covered the incidence and the tendency in orientation of the news release about the attack shows that how much the initial coverage is needed and crucial for setting the tone for what follows. With the simultaneity of transmission, a large part of the events of 9/11 and its aftermath were told through television images, most of which emanated from news channels.

The 110- story towers of the World Trade Centre were obliterated. The Pentagon suffered massive damage, only this much is clear, much else remains a mystery. Author Enver Masood had added many more troubling questions in his article “what really happened on September 11th remains a mystery”. He mentioned that ‘indeed before one accepts the official version of the events of September 11 as well as Mr. President rhetoric’s about, several relevant questions are left behind and still remained to be answered’ like ....

- What are the odds that all the “Black box” flight recorders were damaged beyond use?
- Why did the south tower of the world trade centre collapse first, when it was not as extensively damaged as the north Tower which burned for almost an hour and a half before collapsing?
- Why did the destruction of the towers appear like a controlled implosion?
- Why did many witnesses claim to hear other explosions within the buildings?
- Why were the alleged hijacker’s names not in the passenger list?
- Why did one of the alleged hijackers reported to be still alive?
➤ Why did one of the alleged hijackers take luggage on a suicide flight, and then leave the luggage and an incriminating note in his car at the airport?
➤ Why did the seat numbers of the hijackers, given in a cell phone call from flight Attendant Madeline Amy Sweeney to Boston Air Traffic control, not match the seat occupied by the men the FBI claims were responsible?
➤ Why were none of the attacking planes intercepted?
➤ How did the terrorist obtain top secret white house and Air Force One codes and signals?
➤ The reason for not returning President Bush promptly to Washington on September 11?
➤ Finally and very significantly, why does the U.S. not hold hearings on these questions, when it would serve the U.S. objective of Keeping American focused on the “war on terrorism”?

THIERRY MEYSSAN’S REPORT OF U.S MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN 9/11:

On April 8, an Arab league think tanks- The Zayed Centre for coordination and follow up (ZCCF), established by the Arab league in 1999- hosted a lecture titled “who masterminded the attack of September 11th”? The guest speaker Theirry Meyssan, ‘The famous French author and writer’ accuses the U.S military of being behind 9/11. His book  *The Frightening Fraud* makes the farfetched claim that the “US invented air attack on Pentagon”.

The ZCCF’s summary detailed Meyssan’s argument as follows: Both congresses and the U.S. media covered up the truth by not investigating events.
➤ It was not reported that the white house’s old executive building was bombed, as was a third building in Manhattan.
➤ Bin Laden’s involvement, “this myth also does not stand analysis, “since he was a previous CIA agent who was visited by the head of the CIA in a Dubai hospital in July.
➤ The 1200 detainees held in the U.S. Knew nothing of the attacks and their names are kept secret so that they cannot be charged.
The American military—to further its interest and hegemony over the world—was responsible for the attacks.

It is a possibility that the planes of Sept. 11 were remote controlled. For two hours before the attack waves from a homing device were recorded transmitting from, and interfering with transmission from, the twin towers and such a device could be used to direct airplanes. If the planes were controlled by remote no high-jackers were needed, thus the passenger lists were fake.

Meyssan’s statement referring to the list of kidnappers shown in the airlines documents, that there were only three passengers identified in flight 11 and two in flight 93: “It is ridiculous enough to believe the story of the passport that was found in the debris of the world trade centre amid such horrible fire and smoke.”

**GORE VIDAL’S CONTROVERSIAL REPORT OF 9/11:**

America’s celebrated writer Gore Vidal’s highly controversial 700 word polemic titled ‘The Enemy within’ published in the print edition of the *London observer* argues that what he calls a ‘Bush junta’ used the terrorist attacks as a pretext to enact a pre-existing agenda to invade Afghanistan and crackdown on civil liberties at home. At the heart of the essay are questions about the events of 9/11 itself and two hours after the planes were hijacked. Vidal writes that astonished military experts cannot fathom why the government’s automatic standard order of procedure in the event of a hijacking was not followed.

These procedures, says Vidal, determine that fighter planes should automatically be sent aloft as soon as a plane has deviated from its flight plan. Presidential authority is not required until a plane is to be shot down. But on 11 September, no decision to start launching planes was taken until 9.40 a.m. eight minutes after air controllers first knew that flight 11 had been hijacked and fifty minutes after the first plane had struck the North tower.

‘By law, the fighters should have been up at around 8.15a.m. If they had, all the hijacked planes might have been diverted and shot down’. Vidal asks why Bush as commander-in-chief stayed in a Florida classroom as news of the attack broke: ‘The behaviour of President Bush on 11 September certainly gives rise to not unnatural suspicions’. He also attacks the ‘nonchalance of General Richard B Myers, acting Joint chief of staff in failing to respond until the planes had crashed
into the twin towers. Asking whether these failures to act imperiously were down to conspiracy, coincidence or errors? 34

9/11 CONSPIRACY THEORY:

Professor David Ray Griffin is the nemesis of the official 9/11 conspiracy theory. In his latest book Debunking 9/11 Debunking, Griffin destroys the credibility of the National institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) and Popular Mechanics reports, annihilates his critics, and proves himself to be a better scientist and engineer than the defenders of the official story. 35

He has presented two conspiracy theories: one is that Muslim fanatics, who were not qualified to fly airplanes, defeated the security apparatus of the US and succeeded in three out of four attacks using passenger jets as weapons. The other is that security failed across the board, not merely partially but totally because of complicity of some part of the US government. Why US authorities seizing the forensic evidence resulting from the destruction of the three would trade centre building, the attack on the pentagon and the crashed airtime in Pennsylvania and prevented any forensic examination of any part of the 9/11 attacks.

According to Griffin, the two WTC towers did not collapse; they blew up and disintegrated as did WTC 7. There is an enormous energy deficit in every account that rules out the use of explosives. Gravitational energy is insufficient to explain the pulverization of the building and contents and the severing of the 47 massive centre core steel columns in each of the towers into convenient length to be picked up and loaded into trucks; much less can gravitational energy account for the pulverization of the top floors of the towers and ejection of steel beams hundreds of feet horizontally just prior to the disintegration of the floors below.

Damages caused by airlines and short lived limited fires cannot explain the disintegration of the buildings. The massive steel skeletons of the towers comprised a gigantic heat sink that wicked away whatever heat the limited fires produced.

NIST’s final report stated that of the steel available to it for examination, only three columns had evidence that the steel reached the temperature above 250 degrees Celsius (482 degrees Fahrenheit). The self cleaning ovens in our home kitchens reach temperatures higher than this and the ovens do not melt or deform.
Steel begins to melt at 1,500 degree °C or 2800 degrees F. Temperature of 250 degree °C would have no effect on the strength of steel. The explanation that the building collapsed because fire weakened the steel is speculative. Open air fires do not produce temperature sufficient to deprive steel of its structural integrity. Steel framed buildings have burned 22 hours in raging infernos, and the steel skeletons remained standing. The WTC fires in the towers lasted about one hour and were limited to a few floors. Moreover it is impossible for fire to account for the sudden, total and symmetrical disintegration of powerfully constructed buildings, much less at free fall speeds that are obtainable only with controlled demolition.

Griffin provides quotes from fire-fighters, police and tenants, who heard and experienced a series of explosions prior to the disintegration of the towers such witness testimony is generally ignored by defenders of the official conspiracy theory.36

Contradictions in the official conspiracy theory leap off the pages and hit the readers in the face for e.g. the evidence that flight 77, a Boeing 757, crashed into the pentagon is the government’s claim to have obtained from the wreckage enough bodies and body parts to match the DNA for each person on the passenger list and flight crew. simultaneously, the absence of passenger luggage, fuselage, wing and tail sections-indeed the absence of a 100,000 pound airliner- is attributed to the vaporization of the airplane due to the high speed crash and intense fire. The incompatibility of vaporized metal but recovered flesh and blood stood unnoticed. Another striking inconsistency in the official conspiracy theory is the difference in the impact of airlines on the pentagon and the WTC towers. In the case of the pentagon the emphasis is on why the airlines caused so little damage to the building. In the case of WTC towers the emphasis is why the airlines caused so much damage.37

THE JEWISH HAND:

In the issue dated September 25 of Urdu newspaper Sehroza Dawat carries a story titled ‘Why America is Fighting An Imagined Enemy, Not the Real One’? The commentator asks: does America really think that Bin Laden and Muslim are responsible for September 11? Is it innocent enough not to know the reality? The
answer is no. according to the commentator; the United States knows too well that Muslims are not responsible for sept.11 and that it is lying to the world.

The reason for this is that if it tells the truth not only its economy but also but also its entire political system will collapse, because the forces actually responsible for the attack control almost every sphere of American life. In a way they have taken United States as hostage. Who are these forces? They are none other than Jews who are taking revenge against the United States for some reason and inciting it to declare a war on Islam. The strongest evidence of their involvement is the fact that 4000 Jews working in the World Trade Centre were absent on that fateful day. Yet the entire global media are against Islam. Bush and his friends’ are well aware of these facts. However since, their life force is in the clutch of the Jews they are unable to tell the truth to the world and have instead launched a global war against an imagined enemy.

On the day of the attack on America, *The Washington Times* quoted a paper by the Army School of Advanced Military studies which said that the MOSSAD, the Israeli intelligence service, “Has capability to target U.S forces and make it look like a Palestinian/ Arab act”. Dozens of Israeli’s were reported to have been arrested, but the role played by this huge Israeli spy ring that may have trailed suspected al-Qaeda members in the United States without informing federal authorities” remains unclear, and “it is no longer tenable to dismiss the possibility of an Israeli angle in this story”.

English weekly *Radiance* covers the September 11 event and publishes excerpts from an article –“Who did it? The Israelis and American Zionists?” – By M. Amir Ali, Managing Director of the Chicago based institute of Islamic information and Education. In Ali’s view the air attacks required the latest technology, scientific know – how, deft coordination, and ample inside information. No Muslim group has those resources. Neither, is it in their interest. ‘The world has to come around’, he argues, ‘to blame where the blame belongs – Israel’. Two other news items of ‘Radiance’ also suggest that it was the handiwork of Jews – ‘Israeli connection in Terror Attack Revealed and 4000 Israeli, WTC employees Absent on September 11’.

The cover story of the issue of *Radiance* (sept.30- October 6) is ‘punish the guilty, not the suspect, by S. A. S. Vasfi. He says that despite Bin Laden’s denial of non-involvement in the September 11 attack the United States seems to be hell
bent upon punishing him. What is his crime? His only crime is that he disapproves of the US military’s presence on the soil of Saudi Arabia, the nerve centre of Islam. What does the US and its allies ‘insistence of punishing Bin Laden, then mean’?

Vasfi’s article in the issue after December 13 asks: ‘Is it not remarkably amazing that not a single Jew had been killed in the collapse of two towers where 4,000 Jews worked?...what does it say?’. His conclusion is straight and dead sure: Mossad and Jews are responsible for it. As proof he quotes Stern Intel that bases its opinion on American intelligence sources and sees Mossad’s hand behind the attack. He also refers to Iranian President Khatami who echoes the Zionist design. The author does not find Mossad’s involvement surprising. Zionists have done such acts repeatedly in the past. During World War II, says he, Zionists themselves sunk a ship carrying illegal immigrant Jews following Britain’s refusal to allow them entry into Palestine. They did it in order to get world opinion on their side. In 1967 before the Israeli attack on Egypt, they destroyed an American ship The USS liberty as it had monitored well before the assault, Israel’s readiness. They also destroyed Prince Edward Hotel in Baitul Maqdis.

The column ‘News and Views’, comments on a piece by K.P.S Gill published in the Delhi-based English daily The Pioneer (September 13). Gill asks: why is it that whenever a terrorist act is committed the world concludes that it is the handiwork of Islamic terrorists? The columnist answers that it is because of deep-rooted conspiracy. Forces defending racism and the hierarchy do not want Islam’s real face revealed. This is indeed a clash of civilizations as identified by Huntington. It is not a mere coincidence that after the attacks on New York and Washington, there is a frontal assault on Islam from all sides. It is indeed the outcome of decade—long efforts. These forces (enemies of Islam) first spread violence through their agents and then pass the buck into Muslims. It is very likely that the same forces are behind September 11, i.e. Jews.

Maulana Muhammad Sirajul Hasan, President, Jamaat-e-Islami Hind, quotes that ‘with such an organized secrecy and so much of resources who can engineer this destruction (September 11)? Some 75 years ago, Iqbal had underlined the greatest weakness of the West: The jugular vein of the West lies in the clutches of the Jews. The history of the World is witness to the fact that Jews
have been the axis of every great mischief and conspiracy.....But they are matchless in the art of blaming others.\textsuperscript{48}

In a newspaper an article printed with the title “U.S planned for attack on al-Qaeda”, MSNBC News, that “President Bush was expected to sign detailed plans for a world wide war against al-Qaeda two days before Sept.11...in many respects, the directive as described to NBC News, outlined essentially the same war plan that the white house, the CIA and the pentagon put into action after the Sept.11 attacks”.\textsuperscript{49}

Mr. Bamford’s (formerly Washington investigative producer for ABC’s World News Tonight) in his book \textit{Body of Secrets: Anatomy of the ultra-secret National Security Agency from the cold war through the dawn of a new century}, reveals that the U.S joint chiefs of staff (JCS) drew up and approved plans for “launching a secret and bloody war of terrorism against their own country in order to trick the American public into supporting an ill-conceived war they intended to launch against Cuba”. Mr. Bamford writes:

“Condemned operation north woods, the plan.......called for innocent people to be shot on American streets; for boats carrying refugees fleeing Cuba to be sunk on high seas; for the wave of violent terrorism to be launched in Washington, D.C; Miami and elsewhere. People would be framed for bombing they did not commit; planes would be hijacked. Using phony evidence, all of it would be blamed on Castro, thus giving Lemnitzer (chairman JCS) and his cabal the excuse, as well as the public and international backing, they need to launch their war”.\textsuperscript{50}

\textbf{5. FROM 9/11 TO AFGHANISTAN: PLAYING THE TERRORISM CARD CONTINUES}

Afghanistan, a country which is connected with China to the northern bordered on the south and southeast by Pakistan, on the west by Iran, and on the north by Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. After the over throw of the communist government in 1992, a broad coalition of Islamic groups- former rebel guerrillas, religious leaders and intellectuals formed in Kabul a 51 members ruling council headed by a president and proclaimed an Islamic republic.\textsuperscript{51}

Afghanistan, one of the world’s poorest countries already devastated by 23 years of war and civil strife following the Russian invasion of 1979. After-1994, a splinter group raised as Mujahidin Known internationally as ‘Taliban’ in
Afghanistan. They emerged as the dominant military force that gradually came to rule about 85% of Afghanistan by 1999. On September 27, 1996 the Taliban, an Islamic fundamentalist guerrilla organization backed by the US, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan, took control of the Afghan capital, Kabul. The rise of the Taliban as a military force is debated. Their supporters maintained that the movement surfaced in Kunduz to enforce public safety and order in reaction to the looting and harassment of the local population by other groups. Their opponents viewed the Taliban as a creation of Pakistan’s inter service intelligence (ISI) in order to gain indirect control of Afghanistan and unhindered access to central Asia. 52

Suicide bombing of the WTC in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington D.C on Sept.11, 2001 were immediately attributed to Osama bin Laden and party al-Qaeda which they claims to be operated in Afghanistan with the knowledge and protection of the Taliban government. 53 US ministry of justice official said, there is some evidence indicating Osama’s involvement...

Modern representative democracy in order to maintain their power and control, have little option but to include citizens in their decision-making to generate a consensus or a ‘collective will’ for their policies. For a nation – state, fighting a physical war involving heavy loss of life, including those of its own soldiers, is too big a decision to take without public support. 54 Pierre Bourdieu calls it as, ‘the reduction of current events as a ‘litany of events with no beginning and no real end, and its resultant effect of depoliticization, that is the public’s disenchantment with political events, is an opinion echoed by many’. 55

US PRESIDENT ADDRESS TO JOINT SESSION AND MAKING WAY TOWARDS ‘WAR ON TERROR’: 56

A state of the union address by the US President to the joint session of the congress and the American people was delivered on September 20th, 2001, preempting and leading up to the war on Afghanistan called ‘Operation Enduring Freedom’ in 2001 and on Iraq named as ‘Operation Iraqi Freedom’ in 2003.

In this strategically important speech Bush builds the opening argument with – ‘On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country’. Expanding on the terrorist action he explains how: ‘The terrorists’ directive command them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans and make no distinction among military and civilians, including women and children. ‘He condemns the terrorists as ‘heirs of all the murderous
ideologies of the 20th century—they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism. Finally he divides the world into two halves—the civilized world and the terrorists. Bush says: ‘the civilized world is rallying to America’s side’.

In this approach Mr. Bush build public support for policies by regularly speaking directly to the citizens and generating positive news content through the press—which, if done well, can provide the governments with what Samuel Kernell declares to be ‘near-monopoly control’ over policy and news agendas.57 And this is precisely what the Bush administration did to make the case for what is called a ‘just war’. Each time President Bush decided on any fresh intervention he first made the grounds for it by a series of highly published media interventions.

Central to the whole debate about how the visual news media create meanings and make us see events in a certain way is Gitlin’s analysis of ‘media frames’ or interpretive patterns. For Gitlin ‘media frames’ are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbolic-handlers routinely organize discourse.58 Durrani argues that the 9/11 incidence and aftermath have caused a severe backlash of hostility from the western media towards Islam.59 Similarly Khalid argues, Islam is regularly equated with fundamentalism, a concoction of the imagination of the US policymakers and media managers, adding that after the 9/11 incident Muslims have started realizing that the American media launched an organized campaign to portray them as terrorists.60 Kaddour says that the 9/11 tragedy afforded the western media with an opportunity to promote stereotypes about Islam.61 It is the advancement of communication technologies which has given the media a role of a key player particularly in developed societies. As Cohen remarks, The Mass media may not be successful in telling us what to think, but they are stunningly successful in telling us what to think about.62

FBI Director Robert S. Mueller III said in the text of a speech released on April 29:

“In our investigation, we have not uncovered a single piece of paper—either here in the United States or in the treasure trove of information that has turned up in Afghanistan and elsewhere—that mentioned any aspect of the September 11 plot.”63
U.S Senator Orrin Hatch said the FBI has a telephone conversation indicating Osama's involvement. German government spokesmen said secret agents of Germany, France, England and Israel also consider that Osama is related to the attack.  

Taliban government denied the report that there was a connection between Osama and the attack. But the Taliban stated their willingness to give up Osama Bin Laden for trial to an international court. Taliban minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmed Mutawakil added that "to conceal their failure, they have searched for a scapegoat, and Osama is the person. He stressed the Taliban view that Osama has no logical capacity to plan the attack. The Taliban government also demanded that president George W. Bush not rush to attack.  

On October 7, 2001, the United States, backed by the United Kingdom and including Afghan Northern Alliance (an opposition group in Afghanistan) began a military attack on Afghanistan in a secret mission named 'operation Enduring Freedom'.

Despite the widespread belief that Osama Bin Laden was responsible for the attack, the evidence was a suspect video declared to be 'bogus' by Bruce Lawrence perhaps the heading American expert on Bin Laden. The US government has never produced the promised report on bin Laden’s responsibility. When the Taliban offered to hand over bin Laden on presentation of evidence, the US government had no evidence to deliver; thus the invasion of Afghanistan.

According to BBC News (Sept. 18, 2001), Niaz Naik, a former Pakistani foreign secretary, was told by Senior American officials in mid-July that military action against Afghanistan would go ahead by the middle of October.

The war in Afghanistan created a million new refugees (adding to the existing five or six million) caused the death of 400 civilians (About 2800 civilians were killed in the September 11 attack). Out of the sight of the television cameras "at least 3,767 civilians were killed by US bombs between October and December 10... an average of 62 innocent deaths a day". According to a study carried out at the University of New Hampshire in the US, this is now estimated to have passed 5,000 civilian deaths, almost double to the number killed in September 11.

Any doubt about the systematic murderous way the US military has operated in Afghanistan is dispelled by a report in the American press in May, of
children gunned down in wheat fields as they slept for four hours. American helicopter gunship saturated the fields and a village with bullets and rockets before landing to disgorge US troops who shot survivors and detained other “suspects.” In fact, the area was renowned for its opposition to the Taliban and the governor of Oruzgan province confirmed that those murdered “were ordinary people, there was no al-Qaeda or Taliban.”

General Tommy Franks of U.S. central command state, “We don’t do body counts”. The impartial observer is required to attempt the comparative body count to judge the effectiveness of strategy of al-Qaeda. The result of the effectiveness of Afghan conflict is:

**Civilians reported killed by US-led military intervention**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Afghanistan (operation Enduring freedom)</th>
<th>Iraq (operation ‘Iraqi’ freedom)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minimum: 1,000-1,300.....70</td>
<td>minimum-9,284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum: 3,000-3,400 .....71</td>
<td>maximum-11,147....72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimum total of civilian casualties (2 wars):10,284</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maximum total of civilian casualties (2 wars):14,547.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Professor Marc W. Harold’s words provide a disturbing but realistic criticism of the reason for the high civilian casualty rate (‘Collateral damage in military parlance). He concluded:

First the US bombing upon Afghanistan has been a low bombing intensity, high civilian casualty campaign. Secondly this has happened not-withstanding the far greater accuracy of the weapons because of U.S. military planner’s decisions to employ powerful weapons in populated regions and to bomb what are dubious military targets. Thirdly, the U.S. mainstream corporate media has been derelict in its non-reporting of civilian’s casualties, When ample evidence existed from foreign places that the U.S. air war upon Afghanistan was creating such casualties in large numbers. Fourthly, the decision by U.S. military planners to execute such a bombing campaign reveals and reflects the differential values they place upon Afghan and American lives. Fifth, this report counters the dangerous notions that the United States can henceforth wage a war and only kill enemy combatants. Sixth, the U.S. bombing campaign has targeted numerous civilian facilities and the heavy use of cluster bombs will have a lasting legacy borne by one of the poorest
most desperate peoples of our world. In sum though not intended to be, the U.S. bombing campaigns which began on the evening of October 7 has been a war upon the people, the homes, the farms and the villages of Afghanistan, as well as upon the Taliban and al-Qaeda.\textsuperscript{73}

The BBC reported on January 3, 2002, that the number of civilian casualties in Afghanistan already exceeded the numbers killed in 9/11 terrorist attacks.\textsuperscript{74}

The number of civilians killed in the three principal incidents probably of al-Qaeda:\textsuperscript{75}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incidents'</th>
<th>No. of casualties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9/11 New York plus Washington D.C.2001</td>
<td>2,996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrid March 2004</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia May 2004</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By these calculations, 3208 civilians have been killed in three of the most significant at Qaeda terrorist operations prior to June 2004. The U.S. led military response to the first incident (If we count both the Afghanistan and Iraq wars) has inflicted a minimum of 4.3 times the number of civilian casualties and a maximum of 4.8 times the number without entering into the morality of so-called precision bombing (which kills civilians as ‘collateral damage’) as against the deliberate terrorist targeting of civilians, it is easy to determine that the al-Qaeda Policy, however reprehensible, has had a considerably lower ‘body count’ of civilians. This is not in any way to justify al-Qaeda’s morally reprehensible policy or to condone the wilful misuse of passages from the Holy Qur’an by those groups which seek to justify the 9/11 terrorist atrocities.\textsuperscript{76}

THE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY LOSS OF AN UNNECESSARY WAR:

Sergei lavrov, the permanent representative of Russia to the UN, remarked in September 2003, that the number of American and allied troops killed in action in Afghanistan\textsuperscript{77} and Iraq\textsuperscript{78} has been considerable. The situation in Iraq is deteriorating with every passing day. Our colleagues from the U.N; who used to be in charge of Afghanistan-related issues, made some simple calculations that if we multiply daily American casualties in ‘Iraq by the number of days the soviet troops were in Afghanistan, the figure would be about 13000; we had that many casualties in Afghanistan.\textsuperscript{79}
The economic cost has also been considerable. In November 2003, President Bush won from congress final approval for an additional 87.5 billion dollar package for military operations and aid in 'Iraq and Afghanistan'.\(^8^0\) The financial cost of the 'Iraq war to the USA alone as on June 5, 2004, was estimated at $116.4 billion dollars or the equivalent of fully-funding worldwide AIDS programmes for eleven years.\(^8^1\)

Richard Bonney has written in his conclusion that the "War against terrorism will continue even if Osama bin laden himself were captured it would not alter the fact that ending terrorism warfare is here to stay. It is immoral and the aims of its proponents are a chimera, if not actually mad. Irrespective of the particular group practicing the strategy, warfare is here to stay because it has been proven to be spectacularly successful and the western powers have few weapons of first choice to combat it."\(^8^2\)

Rown Williams, the Archbishop of Canterbury, commenting on the revised US strategy says: "when random killing as a matter of calculated policy becomes part of a military strategy, we are at once vulnerable to the charge that there is no moral difference in kind between our military action and the terror that it attacks". He contends that "from the point of view of a villager in Afghanistan whose family have died in bombing raid, who has probably never heard of the World Trade Centre, the distinction between what the US forces are doing and what we have done on September 11 will be academic".\(^8^3\)

London leading liberal *Guardian* says that the US does not appear to have learned any lesson from the Sept.11 attacks and the ensuing events." and yet in this almost pathological progression, the Bush administration has by its words and actions, to a large degree, not resisted but assisted and witlessly connived and does so to this inauspicious day.

It destroyed al-Qaeda's bases in Afghanistan, a justifiable response. But it then widened its objectives to "regime change"- not only in Kabul, but in other arbitrary targeted "rogue states".\(^8^4\)

So the manner of disseminating 'breaking news' as events happened in the US itself as well as war coverage in Afghanistan and Iraq shows that mass Media in the United States play a very important role not only in shaping public opinion, but also in influencing the decisions of top government executives and resolving
foreign policy issues so much so that now ‘news organizations determine which wars constitute news, who will cover them and for how long.’

6. U.S INVASION OF IRAQ: A critical analysis of its Motivation and role of Media

Iraq, a Middle Eastern country situated at the North West end of the Persian Gulf. It is bordered on the north by Turkey, on the east by Iran, on the South-east by Persian Gulf, on the south by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, and on the west by Syria and Jordan. Iraq has the world’s second largest proven reserves of Petroleum and was the world’s second largest oil exporter in 1980, before the war with Iran and the Persian Gulf War. Iraq also has substantial reserves of Natural gas.

Barely a year after the U.S led invasion to Afghanistan came whispers of another conflict against Iraq. In a matter of weeks Osama bin laden slipped out of picture and the void was filled by Saddam Hussein-erstwhile ally of the United States and the Arab dictator who was once celebrated by UNESCO as an exemplary Arab leader who paved the way for the modernization of his country and his people.

Since 1991, the U.S had been bombing Iraq in U.S declared no-fly zones. The U.S escalated these attacks, and on March 19, 2003 the US launched over 30 cruise missiles and dropped two one-ton bombs in an attempt to assassinate Saddam Hussein and his family. The reason given by the U.S government was first tried to justify the invasion of Iraq by trying to establish a link between the Iraqi regime and other terrorist organizations like Osama’s al-Qaeda movement, Although Iraq according to CIA, has not supported al-Qaeda. The argument then shifted to the claim that Iraq was in possession of weapons of mass destruction although it is well known that Iraq has never threatened the US and moreover its defence budget is less than one percent of the US defence budget. Then, finally rested on the claim that a ‘regime change’ had to be effected in order to ‘save’ and ‘liberate’ the people of Iraq. Actually the US became unable to convince the world of the danger posed by “Saddam’s weapons of mass destruction,” and contrary to the charter of the United Nations, adapted a policy of regime change’. In fact, the decision for “taking out Saddam” had been made about a year ago.
It became so easier particularly for the US corporate media in their decision making of what to package and how to present American foreign policy by creating a certain image of its opponents. Although chemical and biological weapons production by Israel and treaty violations by the U.S get barely a mention.

Millions of people around the world demonstrated against the war. The churches, both catholic and protestant, have protested, in most cases, vehemently, against war against Iraq. The pope appealed to his followers throughout world to fast on a particular day to protest aggression against Iraq. The world council of churches has also issued a strongly worded statement against the USA for its war against Iraq.

There have been huge demonstrations against the war in New York, Washington and Los Angeles and so many other cities of America. Similarly there were massive protests in other cities of U.K and yet the rulers in USA and UK went ahead with war dismissing these protests with contempt. These powerful individuals manipulate media and propagate lies and half truths to legitimize their aggression against another country. Senator Robert C. Byrd, in a speech on March 19, 2003 said, “We cannot convince the world of the necessity of war for one simple reason. This is not a war of necessity, but a war of choice”. He asked, “why can this president not seem to see that America’s true power lies not in its will to intimidate, but in its ability to inspire?”

Under the caption “Coalition in the dock” Richard Overy in the Guardian says that no one believes that Bush and Blair will be indicted, although they have violated the international law. The law works only against weaker states. “The operation of double standards has been evident throughout the campaign. What the coalition does with impunity is hailed as a war crime when it is committed by the Iraqis. The image of crude American gun law, evident in the efforts to kill Saddam has been justified by international American lawyers, is unlikely to be applied in case Bush or Blair are blown up or shot.”

Scott Ritter, a UN Weapons inspector in Iraq for seven Years said that US secretary of state Collin Powell had misled the UN Security Council earlier this year (2003) when he claimed Iraq had purchased 100 tons of uranium ore from the African nation of Niger. Later, when the documents about the alleged purchases
were shown to UN inspectors, it took 24 hours for them to determine that they were crude fabrications.95

The same information was printed in *Sunday Herald* of 05/04/03 wherein it was published that the Bush administration had admitted that Saddam Hussein probably had no weapons of mass destruction. A senior US official added that America never expected to find a huge arsenal, and arguing that the administration was more concerned about the ability of Saddam’s Scientists which he called the nuclear mujahidin to develop WMD’s when the crisis passed.96

This represents a clearly dramatic shift in the definition of the Bush doctrine’s central tenet- the pre-emptive strike. Previously, according to Washington, a pre-emptive war could be waged against a hostile country with WMD’s in order to protect American security. Now, however, according to U.S official pre-emptive action is justified against a nation which simply has the ability to develop unconventional weapons.

UN inspector who left Iraq just before the war started was searching for four categories of weapons: nuclear, biological, chemical and missiles capable of flying beyond a range of 93 miles. They found ample evidence that Iraq was not co-operating but none to support British and American assertions that Saddam Hussein’s regime posed an eminent threat to the world.97

On nuclear weapons, the British government claimed that the former regime sought uranium feed material from the government of Niger in West Africa. This was based on letters later described by the international atomic energy agency as crude forgeries.98

On chemical weapons, a CIA report on the likelihood that Saddam would use weapons of mass destruction was partly declassified. The parts released were those which made it appear that the danger was high; only after pressure from senator Bob Graham, head of the senate intelligence committee, was the whole report declassified, including the conclusion that the chances of Iraq using chemical weapons were very low” for the “foreseeable future”.99

On biological weapons, the US secretary of state, Collin Powell, told the UN Security Council in February that the former regime had up to 18 mobile laboratories. He attributed the information to a “defector” from Iraq, without saying that their claims- including one of a “secret biological laboratory beneath
the Saddam Hussein Hospital in central Baghdad had repeatedly been disproved by UN Weapons inspectors. 100

On missiles, Iraq accepted UN demands to destroy its al-Samoud weapons, despite disputing claims that they exceeded the permitted range. No banned scud missiles were found before or since, but last week the secretary of state for defence, Geoff Hoon, suggested scuds had been fired during the war. There is no proof any were in fact. 101

Facing calls for proof of their allegations, senior members of both the US and British governments are suggesting that so called WMD’s were destroyed after the departure of UN inspectors on the eve of war- a possibility raised by President George Bush. Other explanations for the failure to find WMD’s include the possibility that they might have been smuggled to Syria or so well hidden that they could take months, even years, to find. 102

Atomic and hydrogen bombs cause mass destruction, first built and used in war by the US and they have cast a peculiar thrall of horror. The quarter- million dead of Hiroshima and Nagasaki had been preceded by nearly a million German and Japanese civilians killed by “Conventional” bombing, whose conventionality was small consolation for the victims. 103

Even supposing that nuclear weapons are uniquely horrible, the Iraq war and its aftermath have only served to confirm what Hans Blix learned, and what the international institute for strategic studies said that Saddam had no fissile material to build atomic warheads; nor did he have the wherewithal for acquiring such material. Had he possessed warheads, he never had the means of striking London, let alone New York. And if he had ever been tempted to lob one at Israel, he would have been constrained by the certain knowledge that Baghdad would have been nuked minutes later. 104

Now a question arises about the real American agenda behind the war? How a super power like the United States invade a pipsqueak power like Iraq- outside the framework of international law and against worldwide opposition –only for its publicly stated reasons, in this case, fighting terrorism, liberating Iraq and triggering a domino effect for the democratization of the Middle East. 105

But the real American agenda is only now becoming clearer that to attack on Iraq means controlling the oil and fossil-fuel riches in central Asia and taking over the world’s second largest source of oil. It means installing a replacement of
Saddam Hussein by its own puppet regime in Baghdad. It means controlling and surrounding a new economic challenger, China, with bases, and intimidating the leaders of its principal economic rival, Europe by undermining NATO, and setting off a trade war.\textsuperscript{106}

An investigation by the Hong Kong-based Asia times in January found that the potential vast energy sources in central Asia have become critical for the deeply troubled US economy, and for the industry interests, notably the Bush Family itself. So the US was frantically developing "a network of multiple Caspian pipelines."\textsuperscript{107} If there were map of American military bases established in the region to fight "the war on terrorism", what would immediately strike is that it would follow almost exactly the route of the projected oil pipeline to the Indian Ocean. Isn't it means behind the "operation enduring freedom" of Afghanistan and "operation Iraqi freedom" is, controlling oil and fossil fuel riches in central Asia and thereby controls the economies of Europe and Asia. Israel's friends in the US, Deputy Secretary of defence Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle, and others, want Iraq, Iran, and Syria disarmed so as to leave Israel the unquestioned power in the middle East.\textsuperscript{108}

When one looks for common factors shared by key government and media players who "vastly exaggerated" the threat from Iraq, one is immediately struck by the fact that virtually all these players have close ties to Israel. How could so many persons in government and media be so wrong about these threats from Iraq when meagre resources and readily available facts, could see that the "crisis" was a sham.\textsuperscript{109}

In his conclusion, Professor David Ray Griffin reminds us that the 9/11 attack has been used to start wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, to plan an attack on Iran, to curtail constitutional protections and civil liberties in the U.S, to radically expand U.S military budgets and the power of the executive and to enrich entrenched vested interests.\textsuperscript{110}

Kari Lydersen has written in an article 'US plan for global domination tops project censored annual list' that "The lies and deceptions Bush and his minions were feeding to the media are making their way into public discourse and are being covered fairly extensively in the press, in columns by Paul Krugman and Maureen Dowd in the NY Times and in wide ranging reporting at the Washington Post, and elsewhere. But far, far less is known about the planning and the actors
that brought us this foreign policy disaster? What ideas and worldviews motivated the push to overreach and try to dominate the globe, with Iraq as step number one? What secrets, manoeuvres behind the scenes policy power struggle after the attacks of 9/11, led the US to invade a country that had nothing to do with 9/11”?

It is amply clear once again that the barely veiled reference given by U.S. to pre-emptive strikes on Muslim countries, US unilateralism in policy matters, and a seemingly endless war on terror especially on the countries suspected of supporting terrorism is seems to be a part of high level policies of superpower and their allies. In this scenario, there is a little doubt that U.S corporate broadcast media, especially television will continue to be a vehicle via which political and military agendas will be mediated, promoted and presented; and the US’s continuing war on terror will be fought to a large extent through media and information wars. But viewers and readers need to hold these media accountable by demanding their right to hear viewpoints and perspectives from across the worldwide public opinion spectrum.

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5. Goenawan Muhammad, p. 192


13. Enver Masood, pp. 208-209


17. “Godhra Bogie was burnt from Inside” *Times of India*, July 3, 2002, Delhi


19. Ibid.


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29. Enver Masood, pp. 211-212


32. available online at www.zccf.org.ac/LECTURES/E2_Lectures/L201.htm retrieved on 1-2-2010


34. Accessed from http://www.observer.CO.UK/review/story/0,6903,819932,00.html retrieved on 22-2-2010


36. Ibid


38. “The Jews were standing near Twin towers and rejoice while they where crumbling” This news was published in leading magazines as well as on various website like http://whatreallyhappened.wikia.com/wiki/IsraelI_Art_students; also see http://youtube.com/watch?v=hs89VNH-eeY&feature=related; and, http://youtube.com/watch?v=upqueIfVKW&feature=related retrieved on 3-4-2010

39. Sehroz Dawat 25, September, p-1

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42. Ibid:17


44. (Sept-30-october 6) Vasfi 2001a:6


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47. Pioneer, 2001, Sept 13. Years of occurrence and other details are not given as mentioned in Peter Van Der Ver (et al), Media war and terrorism, London: Rutledge Curzon,2004, p-146


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56. The state of union address has been procured from the white house websites as cited in Saima saeed, pp. 183-186.


67. BBC News, September 18, 2001; also in Enver Masood, p. 213.


69. Ibid.


72. There is an incident-by-incident online database: www.iraqbodycount.net/

73. <www.cursor.org/stories/civilian_deaths.htm>

74. ‘Citing an American academic, a BBC report on [3 January 2002 stated] the number of Afghan civilians killed by U.S. bombs had surpassed the death toll of the 11 September attacks. Nearly 3,800 Afghans had died between 7 October and 7 December, Prof. Marc Herold of the University of New Hampshire said in a research report. Basing his findings on data collected from news agencies, major newspapers and first-hand accounts since the attacks began, Herold placed the civilian death toll conservatively at 3,767. “I think that a much more realistic figure would be around 5,000”, he reportedly said. This figure was well in excess of the estimated 2,998 people killed in the 11 September attacks on New York and Washington, the BBC report added.’ UN Integrated Regional Information Network, 7 January 2002: <www.globalpolicy.org/wtc/analysis/2002/0107civil.htm>; <www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/1740538. stm>

75. According to the website dedicated to 11 September 2001 victims, the number recorded as at 7 July 2004 was 2996 victims, comprising WTC Victims: 2626; Flight 11 (America Airlines) Victims: 87; Flight 77 (American Airlines) Victims: 59; Flight 93 (United) Victims: 40; Flight 175 (United) Victims: 5;
In order to advertise a conference in the UK on 11 September 2003, the al-Muhajiroun group courted deliberate controversy by placing a poster on the internet entitled 'the magnificent 19 that divided the world on Sept 11th', with images of the 9/11 terrorists and a smiling bin Laden, together with the Qur'anic passage 'they were youths who believed in their Lord and we increased them in guidance' (Q.18:13). The image could not fail, as the newspaper caption put it, to give the impression of an 'extremist poster' which 'celebrates [the] 9/11 killers': The Times, 25 August 2003. The author downloaded the poster from the website in October 2003, but as at 9 July 2004, the offending website (www.almuhajiroun.com) was no longer active.

The message of the poster in any case seemed to be at variance with the position defined by Shaykh Omar Bakri Muhammad on the same website the previous year, in which he rejected three different but, in his view, equally mistaken interpretations of the term jihad. These interpretations were: 1) that the purpose of jihad was the forcible conversion of non-Muslims; 2) that its purpose was the establishment of an Islamic state; 3) that jihad referred to the personal efforts of the individual to become 'a model citizen in whatever society one finds oneself in'. Having rejected all of these interpretations, he continued: 'rather, jihad is the method adopted by Islam to protect land, honour and life and to save humanity from slavery to man-made regimes'. Shaykh Bakri stressed that when fighting to liberate occupied Muslim land, 'the divine rules of jihad must be observed, i.e. Muslims are forbidden from killing women, children, the elderly... unless [they are] killed accidentally and unavoidably because, for example, they are located amongst the enemy. But the military institutions and governments of any country occupying Muslim land are legitimate targets and if its liberation cannot be achieved without their destruction, then their destruction will become obligatory.' This position was at variance with the al-Qaeda strategy e.g. of targeting 'impious' Muslim regimes. Memri Special Dispatch 435, 30 October 2002: www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Page=subjects&Area=jihad&ID=SP43502

The BBC reported as early as 19 September 2001 that the activities of the al-Muhajiroun group were being monitored: www.news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/
1552682.stm. Bakri was reported on 18 November 2002 as stating that cyber-attacks were a likely strategy of al-Qaeda: ‘in a matter of time you will see attacks on the stock market[s]’, he said, referring specifically to the markets in New York, London and Tokyo: <www.computerworld.com/securitytopics/security/story/0,10801,760000,00.html>

77. <www.jihadunspun.com/articles/08212002-Casualty_Report/casualty03.html> retrieved on 3-9-2010

78. www.antiwar.com/casualties retrieved on 4-9-2010


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81. <www.costofwar.com/index-aids.html> retrieved on 8-9-2010


84. Ibid, p. 327.


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89. Ibid p. 235

90. Peter Dahlgren, “The third world on TV News: Western ways of seeing the other” in W.C. Adams (ed), Television coverage of international Affairs, Norwood: Ablex, 1982, pp. 45-66

91. Enver Masood, p. 97.

92. Ibid p. 236

93. ibid
94. Dr. Iqbal S. Hussain, *Terrorism in Action - Civilizations at War*, p. 257
95. accessed from [www.businessweek.com](http://www.businessweek.com), May, 2003.
100. [http://www.commondreams.org/views03/073006htm](http://www.commondreams.org/views03/073006htm). retrieved on 22-12-2010
103. Geoffrey Wheatcroft, “Weapons of mass destruction” The concept of WMD is dishonest. When they are in friendly hands we call them defense forces”. *The Milli Gazette* 80 Vol. 4. No. 10, 16-31 May, 2004, p. 27.
104. Ibid
106. Ibid
108. Enver Masood, p- 236.
109. ibid p-61.