PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA
MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH
YAHIA FARES UNIVERSITY



FACULTY OF ARTS AND LANGAUGES
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES
ENGLISH SECTION

The Presence of Myth about ''The Other'' in the American Political Discourse. Case Study: Hollywood and Official Institutions' Representation of Arabs and Muslims and Its Role in "War on Terror"

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master Degree in Applied linguistics

supported on 16/06/2022

Submitted by :

- ✓ **Hadjer BOUZIANE**
- ✓ **Oussama BOUKHELKHAL**
- ✓ **Mohamed IRKI**

Supervised by : Dr Abdelkader KERMAZLI

university year 2021/2022

Table of Content :

Dedications…….. I
Acknowledgement……..II
Abstract……III
List of Abbreviations……..IV
List of Tables…… V
List of Figures…….. IV

General Introduction:

1. An Overview of the Research Topic ..……. ……16
2. Aims of the Research …… 16
3. Statement of the Problem ……..17
4. Research Hypotheses……..17
5. Research Design and Research Structure……..18

Chapter one: Review of Literature

Introduction……..19

1.1. Definitions and pertinent ideas……..19
1.1 Misrepresentation of the ‘’Other”
Introduction……19
1.1.1 Critical Race Theory ……19
1.1.2 Orientalism ……20
1.1.3 Terrorism ……20
1.1.4 Propaganda about the ‘’Other’’ ……22

1.2 Semiotic Theories and Models…..
1.2.1 Introduction……22
1.2.2 Definition of Semiotics……22
1.2.3 Peirce’s Model ……23
1.2.4 Barthes’ Model……23

1.3 Critical Discourse Analysis……24
1.3.1 Introduction……24
1.3.2 What is CDA……25

1.3.3 Ideological Construction……..26
1.3.4 Fairclough's Three-Dimentional Model of CDA……27

1.2 Historical Background

Introduction……28
2.1Myth Construction ……..29
2.1.1 Definition of Political Myth ……..29
2.1.2 Characteristics of Myth……29
2.1.3 Stages of Formation of the Myth……..29

2.2 The Relationship Between Orient and Occident ……..31
2.3 Chronology of Islamophobia……33
2.4 The Role of Hollywood in vilifying Arabs and Muslims……35

Conclusion……28

Chapter Two: Research Methodology

Introduction…… 36
2.1 Research Method……...36
2.2 Research Object……36
2.3 Data Sources and Sampling……36
2.3.1 *True Lies*……36
2.3.2 *Executive Decision*……37
2.3.3 *The Siege*……37
2.3.4 George W.Bush President's 9/11 Address to the Nation……37
2.3.5 George W.Bush President' s Address to Congress and Nation….37
2.4 Research Instrument……37
2.5 Data Collection Procedure……38
2.6 Data Analysis Procedure……38
2.6.1 Barthes' Model of Analysis……38
2.6.2 Peirce's Model of Analysis……38
2.6.3 Fairclough's Model of Analysis……38

Chapter Three : Findings and Findings Discussion

Introduction……..38
3.1 Scenes Description……..38
3.2 Scenes Discussion ……..41
3.3 General Discussion……..52
3.4 Bush's Rhetorics Analysis……..55

Conclusion……61

General Conclusion and Suggestions ……62

Limitations……63

Reference List

Appendices

Appendix 1
Appendix 2

Dedication :

Words can never express my deep love and gratitude to my soul mate,my husband Ahmed , to my little man , the heart of my body Mohamed Ouassim , and my two roses who embellish my life, my daughters ,Nihel and Rhizlene .

My deep love and profound affection go to my dear father and mother to whom I owe a great debt.

To my three dear sisters : Aida ; Nour Imene ; Yasmine and dearest brother Omrane , who believe in me and surround me with their care and love , and to whom I wish successful lives.

My deep gratitude , respect and thanks , to my supervisor Dr.Abdelkader Kermazli .

To all my dear friends and collegues who believe in my capacities . Special thanks to my best friend Nadjia who never let me down , and whom I wish all the best.

To my dear uncle who inspired me to study English, and whom I wish much more success.

To my father , mother , sisters' in law , who encouraged me during my curriculum.

My deep love and admiration , to my greatest teacher in life ,the writer 'Djoubrane Khalil Djoubrane ' who made me feel how great is to be a woman .

To every person who will have the occasion to read this modest work.

Hadjer Bouziane

Dedication:

First, I'd like to thank Allah for all his glory and grace, without his blessings, I would not have been able to wake up every day with the energy to fulfill my life requirements including my thesis.

I dedicate my dissertation paper to the love of my life, my mother whose support is the fuel to my happiness.

In addition to my family members, my four brothers: Mohamed, Rachid, Lokman and Zakaria.

To my lovely future wife who shall remain nameless.

Finally, this whole work is dedicated to my beloved Father whose memory never ceases to exist, May Allah have mercy on his soul.

Oussama Boukhelkhal

Dedication

This study is whole heartedly dedicated to my beloved mother who has been my source of inspiration and gave me strenght when I thought giving up .

She who continually provided moral, spiritual and emotional support.

To my brothers , sisters and supervisor , who helped me with their motivational words and advice encouraging me to finish this work.

Special thanks to my partners Oussama and Hadjer.

Mohammed Irki

Ackowledgments

First of all ,we would like to thank Allah the almighty who helped us fulfil this research.

We would like to express our sincere appreciation to our respectful and respectable supervisor Dr. Abdelkader Kermazli for his understanding and compassion , and whose contribution to this work , considerably , added to our modest experience.

We are also grateful to the teachers of English Deparetement at Yahia Fares University who helped us with their advice and collaboration during our whole curriculum.

Special thanks to our two teachers of Methodology module , Mr.Oussama Boukhelkhal who has never let us , even in his hardest times , and Mr.Zenai Samir for his endless kidness and help.

Abstract:

This study aims to taking a fresh look at the political myth about Arabs and Muslims through their representation in,both,American political institutions and Hollywood production.Moreover,this research attempts to investigate how this myth is reshaped to meet the demands of an intended agenda about War on Terror.To this end, a literature about some pertinent ideas and historical background , about : the clash of civilization ; the misrepresentation of the ''Other'' ; the American exceptionalism ; CRT and Islamophobia , is reviewed. In order to describe, explain ,analyse and interpret our data, a descriptive and qualitative method is adopted , as it is the most applicable to our research typology .Three before 9/11 attacks films are selected,which are : *True Lies ; Executive Decision and The Siege ;* besides; two after 9/11 attacks George W.Bush's rhetorics . One research instrument is used while collecting needed data ,which is the note taking while observing instrument .The study adopts two models of analysis .First , the semiotic Barthes'and Peirce's models ; to analyse 21 selected scenes .Second , Fairclough' s three-dimentional model of CDA ; to analyse Bush's two 9/11 attacks speeches. Findings reveal that ,both, Hollywood three selected films and Bush's two rhetorics , perpetuate Islamophobic representations against Arabs and Muslims .They both correlate violence to Islam , strengthen the clash of civiliation and highlight the narratives of ''Otherness'' and American exceptionalism . According to our projections , we conclude that Hollywood is ,not simply a leisure activity to entertain viewers , but it's rather a means used by certain lobbies to normalise and insert a particular ideology in the subconsciousness of the common mass. Another confirmation to our hypotheses , is that Bush's discourses are shaped by institutional and power relations sustained by the working on pre-exiting myth about Arabs and Muslims. Thus,this myth gets its power and legitimacy to determine how American society acts in the real world towards War on Terror.

List of Abbreviations

CRT : Critical race theory……..19

CDA : Critical discourse analysis……..24

IDFs : Ideological discursive formations……..26

CIA :Central Intelligence Agency……37

NWO : New World Order……..38

List of Tables

Table one : Scenes Description……..39

Table Two : Rhetorics Text Analysis……55

List of Figures

Charles Sanders Peirce……23

Chiara Bottici……29

David Chandler……22

Michael Meyer……24

Norman Fairclough……25

Roland Barthes……24

Ruth Wodak……24

Umerto Eco……22

General Introducion

1-An Overview of the Research Topic :

This study deals with the complex notion of political myth about the representation of Arabs and Muslims within American context , before and after 9/11 attacks, and its role in War on Terror. The clash of civilisation , American exceptionalism ,'' Otherness'' ,Orientalism , Islamophobia and terrorism , were the main themes of severel previous studies which are highlighted in our research. In his 1996 book ''The Clash of Civilisation and the Remaking of World Order'', Huntington states that the preservation of the Western power is directly subordinated to the adaptation to different other civilisations,otherwise ,the West is destined to decline . In other words, the West clashing ,according to Huntington , is ''the greatest threat to world peace'' (pp318-321). Thus ,Huntington ,in addition to other scholars , such as Edward Said , has anticipated that the clash between U.S. and Islamic culture would be the purest invidious racism . However , Hollywod production about Arabs and Muslims , besides the Islamophobic rhetorics ,has perpetuated prejudices against Arabs and Muslims that serves as fuel to the coming War on Terror.

2-Aims of the Research :

We have noticed that there is a salient resemblance between the 9/11 attacks in U.S.A. , and the fictitious narrations depicted in the pre - 9/11 Hollywood movies . For that , we have decided to conduct this research that aims to take a fresh look and to investigate how could a myth against Arabs and Muslims have been constructed long side American history to drive the public opinion and political decisions in order to meet the demands of an intended agenda about War on Terror .To this end , several research questions arise as they are mentioned in the coming paragraph.

3-Research Problems :

Our starting problematic is if ,the myth about the ''Other'' , in general ,and Arabs and Muslims ,in particualr,is a natural phenomenon that has existed within the American society from night to day , or it has , rather ,nurtrued with time among historiacl and socio-political circumstances.

To this end,problems and questions at issue in the present research arise as the following : What impact can a myth about ,both , the American exceptionalism and ''the Otherness'' , do on the collective American consciousness ? How could Hollywood films vilify Arabs and Muslims as Terrorists ? What are the textual features and liguistic properties employed in Bush 's rhetorics during 9/11 attacks against Arabs and Muslims ? How could Hollywood industry and official institutions concretise the myth significance in order to legitimise and normalise the War on Terror ?.

In an attempt to answer our research questions,and before testifying our data,three main hypotheses , as mentioned in the following paragraph , are to be confirmed or disconfirmed later.

4-Research Hypotheses :

We hypoyhesise that :

1-The misrepresentation of Arabs and Muslims as villains and terrorists, is simply , the reflection and the result of what Arabs and Muslims are for real ,i.e.,Hollywood reflects the anxiety of time . It , objectively ,represents Americans as protagonists and heroes by giving them positive status with positive traits , on one hand ,and represents Arabs and Muslims as antagonists , with all usual negative traits , such as :uncivilised ; women abusers ; dangerous ; brute ; barbarian ; rapists ; murders ; on the other hand.

2-The misrepresentation of Arabs and Muslims in Hollywood , is not a simple American fantasy against them ,it's rather a created theory and practice by which they become a material for investment ,and then their image is accepted to be naturalised in the American subconsciousness.

3-Propagandistic and tactically chosen language with ‘’lexical triggers’’ are used in the President Bush’s speeches and his administration to mobilise the audience to react against terrorists.

4-By combining, linguistic and non linguistic signs, with power , pre-existing mythical narratives about American exceptionalism and the Other barbarism are sustained .

5-Research Design and Research Structure :

In order to make our study more reliable ,Three before 9/11 attacks films are selected,which are : *True Lies ; Executive Decision and The Siege ,*besides, two after 9/11 attacks George W.Bush’s rhetorics. The choice of the data is based on their appropriateness to meet our aims’ demands . One research instrument is used while collecting needed data ,which is the note taking while observing instrument.The study adopts two suitable analyses : semiotic and critical linguistic .The first ,corresponds to Barthes’and Peirce’ s models ,adopted to analyse 21 Hollywood selected scenes .The second, corresponds to Fairclough ‘s CDA three-dimentional model ,adopted to analyse Bush’s speeches.The choice of these models enables us to describe, explain ,analyse and interpret our data . A descriptive and qualitative method , thus , is adopted,as it is the most applicable to our research typology. Our findings , with their description are classified in charts. Screen shots of the selected scenes are joined to their discussions. While for the full two Bush’s rhetorics , they are found in the appendices.

Chapter One : Literature Review

This chapter is divided into two main sections .The first section is about some needed conventional definitions and pertinent ideas .It is ,also, divided into two subsections .The first subsection, involves some notions about : the ‘’Other’’ ; CRT ; Orientalism ; terrorism and propaganda.The second subsection ,involves an overview on two main fileds in applied linguistics, which are semiotics and critical discourse analysis , in addition to their main models of analysis that we judge useful to the present study.The second section is about a historical background needed to reconsolidate our study.It’s also divided into two subsections.The first one explains the concept of the myth,its characteristrics,and its stages of formation.While the second one,is dedicated to put,under our lens ;as analysers, historical and socio-political circumstances ,about : the relationship between the Orient and the Occidents over time,the chronology of Islamophobia and the role of Hollywood in sustaining it.

1-Definitions and Pertinent Ideas:

1-1 Misrepresentation of ‘’ The Other’’

Under an American lens,there is an obvious image and a long history of the ‘’Other ‘’ racial stereotyping . Several theories , definitions , studies , TV shows , newspapers’ articles and Hollywood films , are the leading sources of propagandistic images of ‘’the Other’’ .’’The Other’’is ,generally , depicted as villain,dangerous ,barbarian, brute ,murder,and uncivilised . In order to deeply describe , analyse and interpret how the ‘’Other’’ is depicted and misrepresented in the American society ,we need to highlight some definitions and pertinent ideas.

1-1-1 Critical Race Theory (CRT)

A 1995 book by Crenshow describes critical race theory as “ challenging the ways in which race and racial power are constructed and represented in

American legal culture,more generally,in American society as a whole" (as cited in Mala Corbin,2017,p.463).

CRT is a theory that is created by legal scholars and emerged in the 1970s . It states that ''race''is not only an individual biological production , but also ,a social construction ,i.e., it is an association created and maintained by dominant power, and then embedded in the public minds .The aim of this theory is to make a link between the biological structure and the behavioral one in order to justify the oppression of the ''Other''. This idea will be deeply described and interpreted through our selected data.

1-1-2 Orientalism :

According to Saïd (1978) definition ,

> Orientalism is not a mere political subject reflected passively by culture ; neither a collection of texts about Orient ; nor a geographical distinction of two halves , It's rather a distinction of geopolitical awareness into sociological, philosophical, historical and economic texts. It's a creation and maintain of series of ''interests'' that reflect a certain will and intention to understand , control, manipulate, incorporate what's a manifestly different world (p.20).

For the West , ''Orient '' is seen through prejudice and racist lens . ''Orients'' are uncivilized,unware of their culture ,uneducated ,and backward.

1-1-3 Terrorism :

There is a lack of a universal definition of terrorism .

The recent definition of Oxford Dictionary (n.d) is that terrorism is" The use of violent action in order to achieve political aims or to force a government to act " (para.1).

The FBI (n.d) has defined terrorism as , '' Violent , criminal acts commited by individuals and/or groups who are inspired by , or associated with ,designated foreign terrorist organization or nations (state-sponsored)"(para.1).

The 2001 USA PATRIOT Act ,defines terrorism as , " a violent action that's intended to intimidate or coerce a civil population or influence the government (as cited in Mala Corbin,2017,p.457).

Thus, most definitions argue that terrorism is a violent act that threats the government and the public.

1-1-4 Propaganda about the ''Other ''

As with terrorism, there is no a single definition of ''propaganda ''. But the term has inevitably some specific characteristics. Long side the American history , propagandistic images about the ''Other'' were remarkably present in its media. Mala Corbin (2017) explains that the main feature of propaganda is its manipulativness ,i.e.,''the intentionally undermining reasoned analysis '' (p.473). For instance , lies are a good example of manipulation and one of the well known propaganda techniques . Another technique is advertising , by creating positive association to its product .According to Mala Corbin ,there are two main components of the propaganda : '' the flowed racial ideologies'' and ''white supremacy myth''.The first one ,is the association of pre-existing cognitive errors in order to mobilise ratialised stereotypes . Mala Corbin explains that ''political institutions' terrorism propaganda , intentionally,exploit predictible cognitive errors by making stereotypes of Arabs and Muslims the most readily available image of terrorists ''. The second myth , as she adds ,is ''white supremecy myth '' ,i.e.,whites have never been considered are terrorists ; even the violent white Christian acts have never been classified as terrorist acts ,but rather as psychopathic individual behaviours (p.475-478).

To sum up, CRT and propaganda are tools used to spread a certain ideology about the ''Other'' , moreover , they don't only identify the ''Other'' ,but they create myths about the ''Us''.One of these myths is white innocence,white purity,and white superiority.

1-2 Semiotic Theories and Models

Movies ,TV shows, or television series, are not only made to entertain viewers, but there are ,remarkably, full of signs that cannot be detected or interpreted without backing to the prior knowledge of the scientific discipline known as semiotics.For this aim ,and in order to give more reliablility to our study , we , inevitably , have to cover some concepts and models that serve our analysis.

1-2-1 Definition of Semiotic

Semiotics according to Eco (1979) ‘’is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign ‘’ (p.7).Danesi (2004) states that ‘’ semiotics is the science that attempts to answer the following questions : what does X mean? The X can be anything from a single woed or gesture , to an entire musical composition or film ‘’(p.3).Thats is to say ,a single word or a gesturecan be the reason for the sign recognition.Hence,words a body language in different platforms, are representation of a variety of signs.Saussure defines it ,in his book ‘’ Course in General Linguistics ‘’ (1915) as ‘’ Ascience that studies the life of signs within society is concivable, it would be part of social psychology and consequenthy of general psychology, I shall call it semiology .Semiology would show what constitues signs, what laws govern them ‘’ (as cited in Danesi , 2004,p.3).

Chandler (2007) highlights that “the sign is the whole that results from an association of the signifier with the signified and the relation between those two ,is called signification”(p.15).He is ,here,referring to Saussure’s dyadic model.

Charles Peirce is another linguist and American philosopher whose contribution to the field of semiotics is very significant. He adopts a different model than the one used by De Sausure. Peirce model is triadic. It means that sign means it is constituted of three elements :

- The representamen : the form which the sign takes or elsewhere called the sign vehicle.

-The interpretant or the sense made of the sign.

-The object which is something beyond the sign to which itrefers .

Thus, Frensh besides American schools, argue about that sign ,whether linguistic or non linguistic, is any object, or relation ,or representation that has a specific function.

1-2-2 Peirce' s Model of Analysis

Peirce in his modelcategorises a signintothree groups :

1-An icon .Which is a sign that refers to the object that takes almost the same characteristics as the representamen ,such as, a picture of a person.

2-An index .Which shows evidence of what is being represented. A good example ,is using an image of smoke to indicate fire.

3-A symbol .Which has no resemblance between the signifier and the signified. The connection between them must be culturally learned. Numbers and alphabets are good examples .

1-2-3 Barthes ' Model of Analysis

Modern semiotics is influenced by the works of Roland Barthes who came up with new ideas in this field. His semiotic theory focuses on how signs and motions or photographs represent different cultures and ideologies in different ways. These messages are established in two ways :denotation and connotation. Dennotation is the literal meaninig of the signs, whereas connotation is the suggested meaning of the sign in a relation to the cultural conventions associated with it.

Barthes states the collective unconscious meaning created as a result of the semiotic process is called myth. He proposes that a myth is a chain of semiotic events which when experienced or seen by members of a society creates a subconscious meaning.

1-3 Critical Discourse Analysis:

1-3-1Introduction:

For an ideology to be robust, it is a must that it should be believed, taken and implemented by the common mass. What was prohibited in the past, today is a norm. And the norm of today can turn into the taboo of the future. The Dynamic chain of ideologies requires various means by which a social group shifts from believing an idealogy to another. Political discourses are an essential means through which the former phenomenon can be materialised. It is argured that the best way to approach the analysis of any discourse from a critical point of view, is CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis). Wodak &Meyer(2001) state that '' CDA scholars play an advocatory role for groups who suffer from social discrimination » (p.15) .

As there is a direct link between social affairs and political discourses which by definition attempt to solve societal problems, CDA can generate a major contribution to the real undestanding of a given political discourse.As the core of study is to analyse and then interpret ,Bush ‘s rhetorics , we have to cover

some definitions and models stated by CDA

1-3-2 What is CDA:

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), is a critical approach through which a study of various discoureses is dedicated. CDA scholars tend to analyse discourses in relation to their context as they shed hight importance to the existance of a relationship between language and society, Meyer (2001) states that ‘’One important characteristic arises from the assumption of CDA that all discourses are historical and can therefore only be understood with reference to their contextaccordance with this CDA refers to such extra linguistic factors as culture, society, and ideology. In any case, the notion of context is crucial for CDA, since this explicitly include..and ideological components and thereby postulates an interdisciplinary procedure ‘’ (p.15). Furthermore, CDA carries the analysis of a certain discourse in relation to its historical background. Fairclough (1995) declares ‘’ I think that CDA ought ,in contemporary circumstances, to focus its attention upon discourse within the history of the present ‘’(p.19). History is the context within which a political discourse or any other sort of discourses can take place. It provides the understanding of the reasons behind the shape and the manner through which a discourse is presented.

Fairclough (1995) arguesthat, ‘’ It is argued that the orderliness of interactions depends in part upon such naturalised ideologies. To 'denaturalize' them is the objective of a discourse analysis which adopts 'critical' goals ‘’ (p.24) .Hence, on a basic level, social interactions can reach intelligibility through what is known as shared knowledge or back ground knowledge. CDA scholars tend to go beyond taking the shared knowledge as a point of understanding ,but rather seeking further questions to reach deeper investigations. Wodak & Meyer (2001) state ‘’ Whatever the case, in respect of the object of investigation, it is a fact that CDA follows a different and a critical approach to problems, since it endeavours to make explicit power relationships which are frequently hidden, and thereby to derive results which are of practical relevance ‘’ (p.15).

On that note, it is concievable to envisage the perception of common people of different kinds of discourses as different from what can be demonstrated from a CDA perspective.

1-3-3 Ideological Construction:

Fairclough (1995) introduces the term social institutions and how ideologies are constructed within them, he states ‘’I view social institutions as containing diverse 'ideological-discursive formations' (IDFs) associated with different groups within the institution’’. He adds that there is usually one IDF which is clearly dominant. Each IDF is a sort of 'speech community' with its own discourse norms ,but also, embedded within , and symbolized by the latter, its own 'ideological norms. He adds ‘’ Institutional subjects are constructed, in accordance with the norms of an IDF, in subject positions whose ideological underpinnings they may be unaware of (Critical and descriptive goals in

discourse analysis) '' (p.27). That is to say, discourse norms are determined by IDFs, and by extension, social institutions give birth to the belief of a certain ideology by the common mass regardless of their awareness.

Finally, Fairclough (1995) in a few words resumes his definition of CDA ''By 'critical' discourse analysis I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power '' (p.132).

In simplified terms, CDA aims to uncover the practices, events and texts' relationship with ideology and power.

1-3-4 Fairclough's Three-dimentional Model of CDA

Fairclough , is the first who asserts the relationship between language and power,and who considers that discourse does not only limit to talk and text ,but it's rather a social practice besides a social power underlying it.In addition, Faiclough 's approach doesn't just study language ,but it attemps to bring together linguistically oriented discourse and sociopolitical thoughts relevant to this discourse. We cannot talk about a text without reference to discursive relations of conventions and background knowledge.

Fairclough 's three-dimensional model (1995),proposes that there are three stages of analysis accompanied with three distinct levels .The relation between

the three stages is not linear, but rather inter-connected ,i.e., the analyst needs to inter-shift when necessary, from one stage to another (pp 34-39).

1-***Text Analysis : corresponding to the micro-level.***

It consists of the description of the discourse, as a discursive event ,and its textual features in terms of : vocabulary, content, intersexuality, literary advices,grammar,nominalization,agency,comparison/contrast, and so on.

2-Processing Analysis : corresponding to the meso-level.

It consists of the interpretation of the discourse,as a discursive practice,in relation to its context,i.e.,the production of the discourse regarding : the topic and its purpose,the subject position of the adresser ; the addressee ;and their roles ,used objects,the place and time of the discourse.

3- Social Analysis : corresponding to the macro-level.

It consists of the explanation of the discourse in relation to the socio-political structure basing on the fact that any discourse is shaped by

Institutional and social power relations sustained by the working of ideologies.

2-Historical Background:

In this section, we take a look over ideological,historical and socio-political knowledge that serve us to know the roots and origins of the dilemma of myth and its construction , on one hand, and about the clash between the Western and Oriental civilizations,on the other hand.Moreover we highlight narratives about Islamophobia and its construction long side the American history.The aim of this socio-historical recall ,is to point the origin of the misrepresentation of the

''Other'' ,in general, and the Arabs and Muslims ,in partical, within the American context.

2-1- Myth Construction

2-1-1-Definition of Myth:

The word myth has long been a problematic concept .The old definition has always been linked to superstitions *vs* reality ,however,and through time ,the concept''myth'' goes beyond. *A 2006 book by* Bottici & Chanlland explains that political myths are" determinations for act that always reinforce themselves (as cited in Esch,2010,p.321).

Myth definion is more explained by its characteristics.

2-1-2-Characteristics of Myth:

The myth ,as stated in 2007 Bottici's book , has three characteristics:

-Signification: is a human product to understand the unknown .

-Work on myth: myth is continually reproduced ,rinterpreted and retransmitted.

-Powerfull: myth gives power to language ,it determines how we act in the real world.

(as cited in Esch, 2010,p.321).

2-1-3- Stages of Formation of Myth

'' Storytellers also rule this society '' , said by Plato in his book *Republic* to show how important stories are in the human society. Man uses stories since his early existence in earth as a tool to teach ethics and to create and share a common cultural beliefs that hold people together during time of scarcity and fears. Stories are what onnect the present with both past and future, making people always looking for stories and interfers in building up themselves .

Influential stories are sticky and memorable therefore they can be shared and reshared by wider groups until they acquire the status of narrative . A narrative is the story of stories which is able to resist and stay circulating for a long time being told and retold by different groups, becomes viewed other truth and cannot be falsified or questioned . In this case , it ,automatically gains the myth status .Both ,myth or narrative are believed to be true by substantial group of people .Not all narratives are able to acquire the status of myth as explained by (Bottici,2016, p.4).

Myth ,then, cannot naturally happen , it is constructed from a simple neutral story that gets its power from the reproduction by different members of the social group at its different levels .With the repeated exposure to it,the myth gradually becomes ingrained in the collective subconscious of members . The myth flexibility and perpetuality, in addition to its portability to be tailored and reconstructed , allows politicians to reshape it in the desired way to fit the intended agenda. Bell (2003) highlights that myths are constructed and shaped often by deliberate manipulation and intentional action(p.75).

For a political myth to be successful,it has to go through three stages according to Moulton (2016):

1. Initial Framing Stage :
   The myth is framed and defined as important story or narrative.

2. Diffusion and Normalization:
   In this phase , the myth is thrown to the public,it is spread out and told repeatedly by members of the community .In this stage , the narrative becomes a part of normal life widely accepted as a fact , and becomes a basis for social and cultural action .In other words , it is taken for granted.

3. Sacralization:
   In this final stage ,the narrative becomes a myth and it is used as a central part of a policy mode of being.

   (Moulton,2016,n.p).

The United States of America ,like any other nation , has its own myths that are often evoked in a different shape every time they are needed in the political sphere.The American exceptionalism, together, with the civilised vs uncivilised , are the two main myths that dominated the American politics' history.Americans believe that they belong to a unique nation that must play its role as a leading country .''The evil other'' gives legitimacy to military involvement in a number of conflicts and crisis ,during the American history. .These two main myths have always been the main motivators for the West conquest of the red Indians territories .Indians are brutally killed and dehumanized just because they are different .Later on, and during the Cold War ,the two myths are excessively used in various fields .They appear in sport ,art ,military inventions , and economy .Americans have been fascinated with their superiority over the Soviets ,and have been proud of their dominance.

The dismantle of the Soviet Union was the mark of the end of the Cold War paving the way to what is called the New World Order NWO. The traditional enemy disappears and soon has to be replaced with a new one that fits the new era .

In this study , and after a historical projection over the previous events ,we examine and analyse the work done on the pre- existing myths about the ''Other'' , and how they are modified and reshaped to form a successful political myth about Arabs and Muslims .Moreover, we invest how this myth directly interfers in mobilising pulic tawards War on Terror.

2-2- The Relationship Between Orient and Occident Over Time:

Huntington(1993) argues that the most important distinctions among people are not longer ideological, political, or economic, they are cultural (p.21).He divided the world into eight main civilizations : Sinic , Japanese , Hindu, Orthodox ,Western , Latin American , African , and Islamic. Islamic civilization, according to Huntington, includes : Arabian region, North African , Central Asia, Turkey, Persian and Malay subdivisions.He states that,before 1500.A.D.,civilizations were separated geographycally.By 1500 A.D., an eventual Western domination of ideas ,values ,and religion has , slowly but

surely, taken place. Huntington, then , adds that the relations between civilizations have moved in the twentieth century,from unidirectional to multidirectional.He refutes the idea of Western culture hegemony and states that Western civilizations influenced and were influenced by smaller, lesspowerful civilisations around the world (p.59).

Huntington adds that the conflict between the West and Islam has increased in the late of the 20th century for many reasons. Firstly ,Muslim population growth has generated a large number of unemployed people that lead to immigration to the West . Secondly,the Islamic Resurgence has given Muslims renewed confidence regarding the West. Moreover,the collapse of communism has left Islam as the main threat for the West ,in other words,after the defeat of Soviets,the war left behind a coalition of Islamist organisations intended on promoting Islam against all non-Muslim forces.It has also left experienced fighters,camps,and logistical facilities.For instance,Afghan War and the Gulf War became '' civilizations wars '' ,because the West has interfered militarily in a Muslim conflict.While Muslim governments were initially divided,Arabs and Muslim opinion was from the first anti-West (pp.211-248-259).

The conflict between Islam and the West focused less on territory than on border intercivilizations issues ,such as,human rights ,democracy,control of oil, weapons proliferation,migration,western intervention,and Islamic terrorism.These fault lines wars generated fears and insecurity between both sides.

Saïd (1978) highlights the relationship between Orient and Occident from another lens.He considers that orientalism is the made of vocabulary, discourse,scholarship imagery ,and doctrines with supporting institutions by the Occident towards the Orient (p.10).He also states that : ''the relationship between Orient and Occident is a relation of power ,of dominance,of varying degrees of a complex hegemony..The Orient was''orientalized'' ,not only because it was discovered to be '' oriental'' ,but also it could be that is submitted to being-made Oriental''(pp.13-14).

From an American view ,orientalism is linked to American political and economic role in the middle east,i.e,the American interests towards the Orient was primary political regarding some historical accounts,but created by the instructions and culture.

2-3- Chronology of Islamophobia :

Considerable understanding of sociocultural values , negative social out-group attitudes, xenophobia,andnationalism are some of the factors contributing to what might be termed « the new racism » of the century.

L.Walker(2013) develops that between 17 th and 18 th century , Anglo-Americans dominated the world in slave trade.Negative stereotypes of African Muslims , belonging to their colonies , were reinforced and used as rhetorical tools by American Puritan ministers .Muslim anticolonialist views,accompanied with a resistance to convert to Christianity, interfered to form an American perspective of Islam.Minorities of Muslim immigrants coming from American African colonies ,and portrayed by media , represented an internal threat to American ideals and social order.He adds that between 1920s-1930s,White Supremacy movement and Ku Klux Klan groups against black Americans,encouraged the latters to convert to Islam as new national identity (pp.97-98). He adds that reviewers tresse that after the WW2 ,and during the Cold War,Muslim immigrants in U.S.A demonstrated the epitome of American values, because the religious expression of Muslims was an expression of American freedom,unlike the imagined repression of religion in the Soviet Union (p.99).

In addition,a 2013 book by Hammer , highlights another facet of Islamophobia noticed over female gender.She portrays that Muslim women are subjugated by Muslim men ,and that the predominant threat to Muslim women in America are '' unprovoked attacks''in public places by bigoted strangers (as reviewed in L.Walker ,2013,p.99).

Islamophobia ,thus ,is caused by : unprovoked attacks,hate crimes,bigotry, xenophobia,and other misaligned believes.The only view of Islam by Americans is that of media portrayed insecurity, violence,and fear , designed to attract large audience.

Mala Corbin (2017) attempts to discuss the issue of '' why terrorists are always Muslims ?''.She , regarding the'' theory of race'' , explains that propaganda is based on two stands.The first one,is the unconscious cognitive stand ,where terrorists are represented to be'' brown'' Muslims.The second stand relies on the myth of ''white ''privilige and innocence (pp.456-461).

These two stands are based on pre-existing false ideologies,i.e.,Arabs and Muslims ;and before 9/11 ; are represented as exotic, dangerous,and uncivilized .On the other hand , according to her , when a ''white'' Christian commits a terrorist attack,he is considered as an exception,but not terrorist.She adds that the discriminatory evaluations towards Arabs and Muslims,are the product of unconscious cognitive process,i.e.,our minds use short cuts while processing data .One of these process,she explain ,is categorising people regarding their ''race''. Consequently,once one is put in a context of terrorism,he would unintentionally associate it to Muslim and brown(p.464).

Eventough,not all Arabs are Muslims and not all Muslims are Arabs,but the two facets are always linked in the American public imagination.Besides , a dangerous overgeneralization regarding Arabs and Muslims is set within the American society.

3-3- The Role of Hollywood in vilifying Arabs and Muslims

Hollywood,undoubtly, is considered as one of the greatest universal entertainers. Its ability to reach people of all ages , races ,sexes and ethnicities in all over the world, makes it the best tool to spread out and diffuse the new tailored myth. Nowadays, Hollywood's movies reach nearly everyone.

Cinematic illusions are created ,nurtured and distributed worldwide .Hollywood has a long history of defaming Arabs and Muslims in many movies (Shaheen,2004,p.4) .

From the earliest days of Hollywood, filmmakers have portrayed Arabs and middle eastern in exotic ethnic terms .Most Americans have never met an Arab or Muslim during their whole life so the only way to know about, is through the movies they watch .Creators of popular culture form their opinion of a group of people,in part, based on what they read , hear on the radio and see on television.They are inundated and influenced by a continous flow of "seen one seen them all " . Shaheen (2004) studies more than 900 movies in which Arabs appeared, he found out that 95% of those movies portrayed the Arabs as villains and dangerousas mentions (p.28) . He ,also , attempts to find the reasons behind the stereotypes about Arabs. He asks some producers if it is ethical to perpetuate ethnic or racial stereotypes ,yet he gets negative responses. He states that movie-makers are victims themselves to stereotypes, they grew up watching the same typical representations of Arabs and Muslims . For this reason , they are unaware of what they are doing. Self perpetuating is what makes stereotypes so powerful. According to him ,some producers use the violent news images of extremists as an excuse for their negative portrayals of Arabs, they believe they are doing nothing but telling the truth. Shaheen highlights that the government involvement what is permitted and what is censored has a role in the longevity of the Arabs and Muslims negative portrayals. In the interest of its political agenda, some are willing to spread hate to reach certain goals. According to him , " Ethnic stereotypes do not die off on their own, but they are hunted down and terminated by those whom the stereotypes victimize" (p.190).

To conclude, the narrative about Arabs and Muslims has its roots from the earliest time .Starting during the American slave period, to the discrimination , to the Cold War , to the First Gulf War , arriving to post 9/11 attacks period.Thus this narrative takes the characteristic of the myth after a long process of working on it.

Arabs and Muslims are hardly visible in Hollywood,and if they exist ,they are obviously,depicted aasbrute,murders,rapists,abusers of women,sleasy. All the other ethnic groups who suffered stereotypes acted fiercely against

discriminatory portraits, which is not the case of Arabs and Muslims who are slow to mobilize and react. Their zero presence in movie industry gives them no power to make things change or at least to make a balance .

Chapter Two : Research Methodology

As our research belongs to social sciences, we try carfully to chosse the most appropriate methodology. A qualitative and descriptive method is adopted. Our sample is three before 9/11 attacks Hollywood movies ; besides, two couter-terrorism Bush rhetorics. To this end one instrument is adopted,which is, the note taking sheet instrument.Finally, to analyse our data ,we adopt three suitable semiotic and linguistic models, that are : Barthes' , Peirces ' and Fairclough 's models.

1-Method :

In order to conduct our research,we have adopted a qualitative descriptive method.It envolves collecting and analysing data to understand specific signs,concepts,opinions, and experiences.It is the most appropriate method to our research which core's is to describe and analyse how American people experience the world about the ''other'' ,basing on pre-existing socio-cultural and political myths.

2-Research Object :

The study focuses on the analysis of both , linguistic and non linguistic signs, in some Hollywood movies and 9/11 attacks Bush's rhetorics ,and how Arabs and Muslims are portrayed.

3-Data sources and Sampling:

Our data are intentionally collected from what we have already watched and followed, before ,during, and after 9/11 terrorist attacks.

3.1. True Lies (Cameron ,1994) :

It is a 1994 Hollywood movie ,directed by James Cameron.The film is about the life of Harry Tasker(Arnold Schwarzenegger) ,a secret agent in U.S. Counter-

Terrorism and Intelligence Agency.He meets ,Juan Skinner,a billionaire art dealer who is paid by an Islamic terrorism group called''Crimson Jihad '' that is led by Salim Abu Aziz.The movie ends by failing any terrorist attempt of bombing.

3.2 Executive Decision (Baird ,1996):

Executive Decision is a Hollywood film directed by Stuart Bird, released in 1996. Its events portray a hijacking committed by a group of terrorists carrying a dangerous bomb that would cause damaged in the U.S. territories if the plane landed. The film also depicts the rescue done by a U.S .military group and their struggles to save the passengers on the plane.

3.3 The Siege (Zwick ,1998):

Is a Hollywood film released in 1998 by Twentieth Century Fox and directed by Edward Zwick .The movie is one of the most controversial movies of its style as it predicts the 9/11 attacks. It tells a story about the capture of a Muslim leader, Ahmad Bin Talal ,who was behind a terrorist bomb attack targeting a U.S. building in Saudi Arabia.His followers ,later on the movie, launch a serie of attacks in New York City .As a response ,an FBI team led by Anthony Hubbard (Denzel Washington) with his partner Frank Haddad (Tony Shalhoub) is in charge of hunting those terrorists and dismantling their secret cells . Despite the assistance of the CIA agent Elise Kraft (Annete Bening) ,more lives are lost in the repeated explosions throughout the City . As a result the martial law is declared by General Devereux (Bruce Willis).

3.4.George W.Bush's Two Rhetorics :

9/11 Address to the Nation.

9/20 President's Address to Congress and Nation.

4-Research Instrument :

One instrument isused in our study,which is : the note takingsheet,i.e.,notes are takenfromparticularscenesand speeches.

5-Data Collection Procedure :

-Data are collected from three Hollywood movies ,which are carefully and repeatedly watched, in addition to a 9/11 and 9/20 Bush's speeches ,that are detailedly read and listned. Bush's two rhetoric are found in the appendeces.

- Using note taking sheet and making screen shots, specially of relevant scenes and words .

6-*Data Analysis Procedure :*

6.1.Using Barthes ' model : to analyzing denotative and connotative meanings.

6.2.Using Peirce' model : to analysing symbolic,iconic and indexical signs .

6.3.Using Fairclough 's CDA three-dimentional model in analysing Bush's speeches.

Chapter Three : Findings and Findings Discussion

Our findings are classified into two parts. The first part contains a table for describing the selected scenes, the scenes discussiong using Barthes' and Peirce's models, and then there is a general discussion.The second part ,contains another table for describing '' trigger words'' highlighted in Bush's two rhetorics , it also contains an interpretative and explanatory analysis ,applying Fairclough CDA thri-dimentional model.

Part One :

1-Scenes Description

Findings description of 21 selected scenes is shown in the following table

N°	Scene Description	Time spotted/film
1	The scene is about a group of U.S. military soldiers of different ethnic origins conducting an operation.	00 :04 :11 – 00 : 04 : 32 (Executive Decision)
2	This scene depicts « terrorist » speaking in Arabic for the first time.	- 00 : 58 : 22 (Executive Decision)
3	The leader of the « terrorist group » was holding what seems to be the Quran.	01 :04 : 45 – 01 :04 58 (Executive Decision)
4	The learder of the « terrorists » is reading the Quran.	01 :07 : 11 – 01 :07 16 (Executive Decision)
5	The terrorist shoutingAllahAkbar after knowing that their big leader was released from the U.S .government.	01 : 21 :37- 01 :22 :01 (Executive Decision)
6	The leader saying that « the people of Islam are the sword of Allah, with it i will strike deep in the heart of the infidels »	01 :21 :37- 01 :22 :00 (Executive Decision)
7	The appearance of the sleeper.	1 : 51 : 20- 1 : 52 : 33 (Executive Decision)
8	A bombing attack on an American building outside of the USA soil.	Opening scene (The Siege)

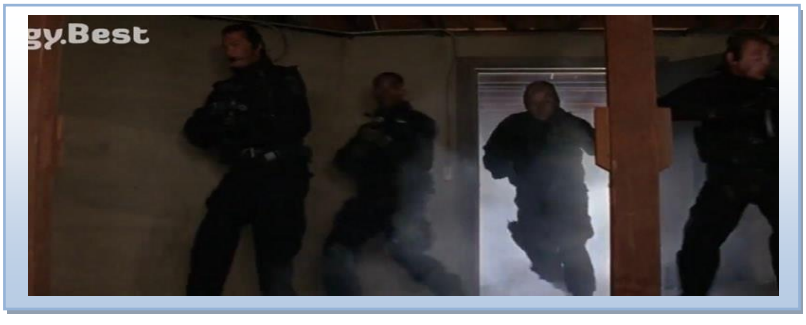
9	Bill Clinton president of the U.S.A during a press conference.	00 :01 :01 (The Siege)
10	The picture of Bin Talal as suspect number one responsible for the bombming.	00 :00 :51 (The Siege)
11	Sand dunes with car rolling passing by camels	00 :01 :24 (The Siege)
12	The scene of EL Muathin calling for the prayer	00 :03 :39- 00 :04 :21 (The Siege)
13	Bin Talal in a sell reciting some Quranic verses and while being watched by the general Bruce wilis	00 :02 :57- 00 :03 :35 (The Siege)
14	The suspected « terrorist » exchanging fire with the FBI agents using AK47 as a weapon.	00 :49 :18 (The Siege)
15	The vice president saying « they are attacking our way of life »	01 :12 :27 (The Siege)
16	The protagonist Harry, riding a horse, is pursuing the terrorist riding a motorcycle.	00 :36 :01 (True Lies)
17	Aziz slaps his mate ,Juan, during a discussion happens after she commits a mistake.Juan doesn’t show any act of refusal.	00 :25 :50 (True Lies)

18	Harry, the protagonist, meets a Persian lady,Juno,in the palace.	00 :08 :04 (True Lies)
19	Aziz, the terrorist leader, makes a threating video sayting : « we, the Crimson Jihad, will rain fire on one major U.S. city, each week, until you, America, pulls all military forces out of the Persian Gulf, and until our demands are met »	01 :33 :35 - 01 : 35 :23 (True Lies)
20	A party in Switzerland hosted by an Arab billionaire .in the outside a Mercedes car is arriving with an invitation written in Arabic ,the guest is a rich Arab,enters the palace and meets the protagonist.	00 :01 :36 (True Lies)
21	Aziz, is making a rhetorical discourse, adressing his group in Arabic : « The sea is our backs, and the enemy is in front of us, that we cannot escape anymore »	01 :42 : 23 (True Lies)

2-Scenes Discussion,Peirce'And Barthes' Model :

We have adopted the two most pertinent semiotioc models in analysing our data ;Peirce'and Barthes' ; because they are the most suitable and relevant models to our study. Signs are described whether they are iconic,indexical,or symbolic.Their connotative signification is also mentioned.

Scene 1:(Baird,1996,00 :04 :11)



The scene depicts an attack on a building with people inside, done by the U.S military soldiers that happens to be from different race profiles such as Asian, Latin and African .This by extention shows the " American exceptionalism" through their acceptance of diversity.

Scene 2:(Baird,1996, 00 : 58 :09)



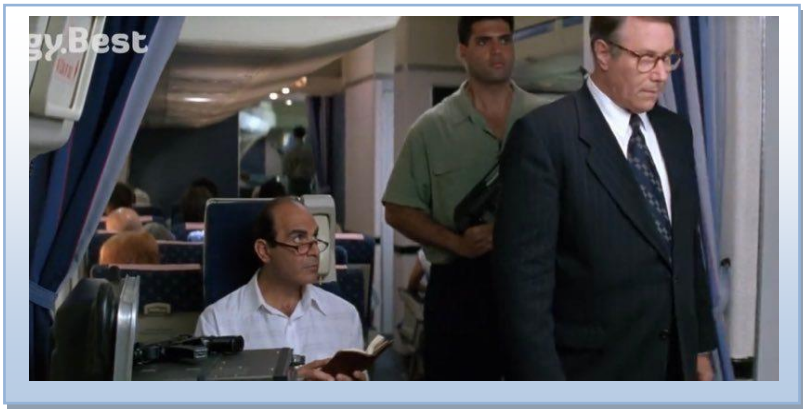
Draws the line of who are the protagonist of the event and the Arabic language is an item of difference between the Americans and the "Others".

Scene 03::(Baird,1996, 01 :04 : 45)



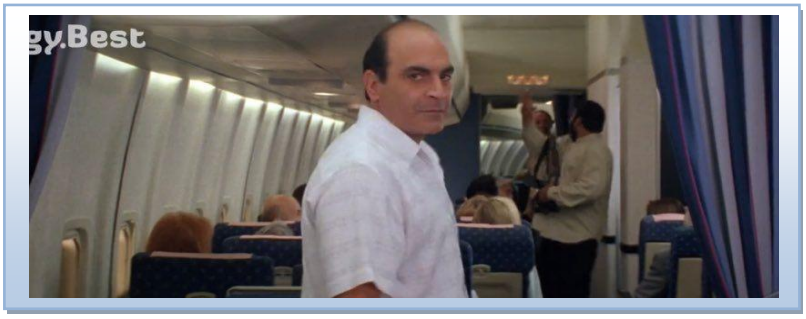
This scene is a depiction of a clash of civilization as the man was holding what seems to be the Quran and hints the link between religion and terrorism.

Scene 04: :(Baird,1996,01 :07 :11)



This scene is a confirmation of scene number 03 as the leader of the terrorist group was holding and reading the Quran.

Scene 05: :(Baird,1996,01 :21 :37)



There is a direct relationship between terrorism and Islam as the terrorist are shouting'' Allahou akbar'' in a happy manner. It also demonstrates that the book the leader of the terrorist were reading was the Quran.

Scene 06: (Baird,1996,01 :21 :37)



In this scene, a solid relation is built between Islam, terrorism and violence as the speaker who represents Islam is using violent expressions involving Islamic words.

Scene 07:(Baird,1996,1:51:20)



The term "sleeper" is introduced for the first time, which stands for Muslim citizens of the U.S. The sleeper here represent a very huge hurdle against the U.S. soldiers as he was in the control of the bomb inside the plane .

Scene08:(Zwick,1998,00:00:09)



The scene shows from the bombing attack that targeted American buildings in Saudi Arabia. This iconic sign of destruction can be an indexical sign as well , anyone can easily understand how barbaric are those who committed this attack.

Scene09:(Zwick,1998,00:01:01)



Bill Clinton was the president of the USA from 1992 to 2000. Iconic picture is used as a hint to show the time of the attack as clear and direct denotative meaning. The use of the iconic representation is to put the audience where it looks like real atmosphere and prepares them to take the content of the movie as if it is real life. The presence of the president who is the highest official leader gives significance and importance to the movie content.

Scene10:(Zwick,1998,00:00:51)



Ahmed Bin Talal ,suspect number one in the attack, clearly he looks like Bin Laden. It is a symbolic representation to link the attack to the Islamic Qaeda.

Scene11:(Zwick,1998,00:01:24)



This is a mute scene, Luxury Mercedes car is a symbol of the West world industry and technologies ,cruising in the sand dunes which are considered to be the homeland of Arabs and Muslims. There are no buildings and two men riding two camels which can be interpreted as backwardness and primitiveness ,the concept of otherness and badly representing them

Scene12:(Zwick,1998,00:03:39)



The call for prayer in many other movies is always used or considered as a signifier of place, which is usually a Muslim country, but in this scene other cameras start to zoom out, it reveals the MasdjidIs located on the heart of New York City, the capital of the West civilization. It gives a connotative meaning That the Muslims and Arabs are living in the American big cities and infiltrated in its society.

Scene13::(Zwick,1998,00:02:57)



Bin Talal in his cell reciting some Quran being watched by the general, there was no conversation in the scene but it carries an unspoken message. It is one of the first scenes in the American movie industry that directly connects Islam with terrorism . It gives watchers the impression that Islam is behind the barbaric thought of its followers

Scene14 :(Zwick,1998,00:49:18)



In this scene, FBI agents raides an appartment where three terrorists were inside. The three men are talking in Arabic, A symbolic way to share their race and and their ethnic group. During the fire exchange an AK47 was used by one of the terrorists, this can be considered as a symbolic indication of the classical enemy of the united state.

Scene15:(Zwick,1998,01:12:27)



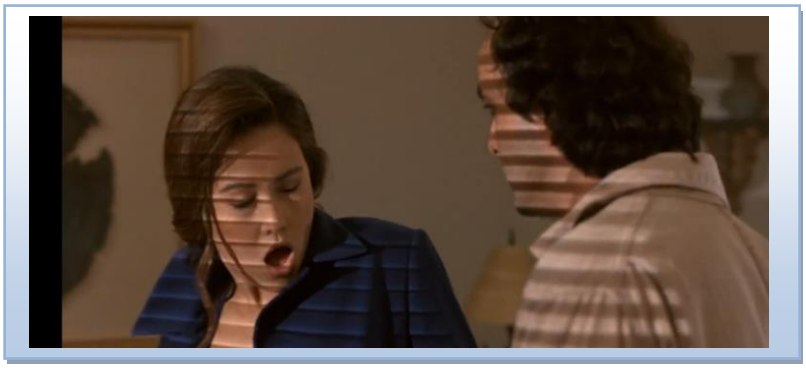
’’They are attacking our way of life’’, it it is said by who’s supposed to be the vice president, The issue of civilization and identity is brought back again in this scene.

Scene 16 :(Cameron,1994,00:36:01)



During the pursuit of the terrorist ,the protagonistrides a horse running carefully,saying ''sorry'' to others,while the antagonist rides a motorcycle,andrunsviolently, without any considering to the other .The former refers to the American prestige and elegance,while the latter refers to the Arabic uncivilisation and barbarism.

Scene 17:(Cameron,1994, 00:25:50)



Slapping Juan by Aziz is an indexical sign that refers to Arabs and Muslims' violence,barbarism,and women abuses.

Scene 18 :(Cameron,1994,00:08:04)



Palace statues are iconic signs that represent Persian civilisation. The protagonist shows his interest and knowledge about a Persian antique statutes,that dates from 600 B.C. The existence of priceless antique statues in a palace instead of a museum,is an indexical sign that refers to the Persian lack of civilization.

Scene 19: (Cameron,1994 , 01:33:35)



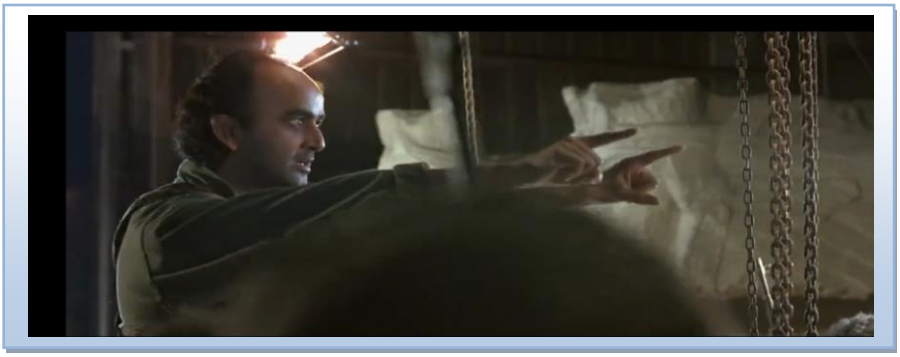
the use of ''textual triggers'', as symbolic signs, in the terrorist's rhetoric,such as, the incursive ''we''; ''each week'' and ''until'' ; indicates the terrorist threat and intimidation towards America.

Scene20:(Cameron,1994,00:01:36)



The protagonist,Arnold Schwarzenegger, is a white man withblueeyes .He drinks champagne, dances tango,in ease with guests,speaks many languages.He is introduced with music of victory.He represents the typical image of a civilized and secular American man.On the other hand ,the business man isbrown, bearded, wearing an Arab attire,jewelleries, lives in a luxurious palace in Switzerland .He representsthe typical ,wealthy but primitive, image of an Arab man.

Scene 21:(Cameron,1994,01:42:23)



The used sequence is borrowed from Tarek Ibn Ziad famous quotation during the''Islamic Conquest''of the ''Christian Spain ''.The sign refers to barbarism vs civilization.

3-General Discussion :

Arabs and Muslims' misrepresentation can not be ignored in the popular film industry dominated by Hollywood.Arab /Muslim's representation is rare,but once exists ,it's obviousely problematic. 21 scenes have been selected from three before 9/11 films ,which go in line with our research objectives ,namely :''True Lies'' ;''Executive Decision'' ; and ''The Siege''.The findings reveal that the three movies represent Arabs/Muslims as antagonist to Western values.Shaheen (2001) validates this point, writting : ''Most of the Arab characters in 900 American movies were racist.Characters and their ordinary day life are presented in a distored way by the western media''(as cited in Mesic ,2008 ,p.2). In each film ,we can observe and opt scenes that contribute to ''myth construction'' about islamophobia and terrorism. Scenes of various hidden meanings are inserted in a dramatic context as the viewer would sympathise and relate to some events of reality , and ends up with what is known in the literatue realm as the catharsis . More than one political myth and narratives about Arab/Muslims on one hand,and Americans on the other hand, are shown in the three movies,as the following :

-Correlation of Violence with Islam :

Arab/Muslims in most of the scenes are shown in bombing sequences using heavy weapons and nuclear arms .They are present in large homogenised groups.This violence' image is linked to Islam in many vains. The use of Quran ,praying in Mecca,calling for Allah,are clear associations to violence.The symbolic and iconic signs used in the three movies are not hard to detect .Reciting the Quran by Bin Talal in ''The Siege'' ,is an indice to link Islam with terrorism.In addition ,in scene 12,one of the first scenes in ''The Siege'' ,a Muaadhin is calling for prayer on the roof of a mosque situated in the middle of New York City .Besides ,scene 3 depicts a man who seems holding the Quran ,scene 5 then,comes to confirm the religious representation when the terrorist group shout ''Allahou Akbar''.

-Otherness and Clash of Civilisation :

In the three movies,Arabs/Muslims are represented as foreigners who are refugees or illegal immigrants where the majority speak an accent and wear different clothes .

Characters are mainly stereotyped as originated from Middle East and North Africa , such as , Iraq ,Iran , Algeria , Palestine and Libanon. The movies show that Arabs and Muslims are interchangeable terms ,eventhough not all Muslims are Arabs ,neither all Arabs are Muslims .This ,by extension , demonstrates the enemy who represents the ‘’Other’’.Here ,in the three movies , the ‘’Other’’ is culturally different , as Islam is not the main religion of the West ; neither Arabic language is .

Speaking in Arabic in scenes 2, and in the two terrorist rhetorics in scenes 19 and 21 , is a point of difference which constitues a clash of civilisation . Eventhough , in some scenes Arab-Americans are depicted good elements who participate in counterterrorism , they still remain secondary characters. More than that , it’s noticed that a new type of terrorism is introduced through the three movies , i.e. ,the ‘’ sleeper’’ whose contributions not only don’t add to the real life ,but also it ,indirectlly,help the terrorist manifestation . In scene 7,the term ‘’sleeper’’ was introduced by the American agent ,which refers to the non-American civilian who is in help of terrorists as he is in control of bomb of the plane.He is a Muslim living between the Americans who ,by the end, turns to be a very big struggle for the safety of the whole American nation.

Physical appearance of Arabs/Muslims is also a sign of clash of civilisation.Arab/Muslims are depicted ‘’brown’’,with long beards,wearing turbans with shalwar kameez,green jackets, using heavy weapons that attribute fear towards the other.Physical attributes are associated to brutal actions and intimidating behaviours ,as a result,the viewers are made to associate their traits to Islamic fundamentalism.Moreover ,Muslim women characters are rarely shown in the three movies,and if they are so ,they are often shown in conflict with their hidjab and appearance . In other words ,the act of taking off the hidjab is portrayed as a sign of freedom.In addition,otherness and clash of civilisation is highlighted in scene 17,slapping woman is a sign of barbarism and women abuses ,that reflects that Arab/Muslims are extremely undemocratic,violent,sexist,and uncivilised.They are even untrustworthy even if they live in America or somewhere else in the West world.These inter-linked representations are an introduction to the idea that Muslims who are going to be shown later ,are also a threating part of the American society.

-American Exceptionalism :In the three movies ,American protagonists are given positive status with many positive traits.On the other hand ,antagonists have all the usual negative traits.They also show that the U.S. military forces

,who are equipped with up-to-date technology , are exceptional in stopping terrorists from crashing chemical weapons . Americans are shown as heroes who can save the nation by their courage and bravery .This representation reflects the revival of American Exceptionalism in a new context . American Exceptionalism is demonstrated by the acts of diversity and acceptance of other cultures .The hero in ''True lies'',speaks many languages : Persian,Frensh,and Arabic.He ,also, has a considerable knowledge about other's civilisation . In scene 1 ,in ''Executive Decision'',the U.S military group is a mixed of ethnicities,moreover ,the hero in'' The Siege'' is a black man, which raises the idea of being an American is a question of origin.However , Hollywood proves that there is always conundrums while portraying Arab/Muslims which expose it to vulnerable criticism.

To conclude ,according to our projections on the three movies,we notice that Hollywood has perpetuated islamophobic rhetorics against Arab/Muslims.It has ,remarkably contributed to the institualisation of prejudices against Arab/Muslims.The production of movies that misrepresent Arab/Muslims is a long term process that started even before 9/11 terrorist attacks.Violence,Islamophobia,otherness,American exceptionalism and heroism,victimisation ,are all pre-existing narratives that are reproduced in to serve a specific agenda at that time.We also conclude that the relation between Hollywood and its audience is bi-directional,i.e , Hollywood represents the power to spread a given ideology ;through movies ;toward its large public from all the world,on one hand ,and it produces what the audience expects,on the other hand.Thus ,there is a strong correlation between events depicted in movies and public support.

Part Two :

*George W.Bush 's Rhetorics Analysis :*Fairclough's*Three-dimentional Model*

It's the most appropriate model that enables us to focus on the signifiers that make up the text ,the arrangement of expressions,the choice of words and so on.Besides,it helps us to match the choice of those signifiers to their historical and socio-political circumstances . Another reason for adopting Fairclough 's model ,is that it provides multiple kinds of analysis : descriptive , interpretative ,and explanatory. For this purpose , two most influencial Bush's rhetorics have been chosen ,that are :

9/11 President 's Address to the Nation , delivred the night of 11/9 attacks , and 9/20 President's Address to Congress and Nation. The choice is intentionally adopted , because this two speeches ,remarkably ,highlight the American myths about exceptionalism and ''Otherness''. Lexical items in question are highlighted within the two speeches in the appendix

1-Text Analysis (Micro-level Analysis)

Word/Sentence	Textual feature	Text Description
Evil ,anger,chaos,terrorist,attacks,worst human nature,targeted,	Lexical items : choice of words	Used to refer to the ''Others'',victimisers,uncivilised people,known for their extreme acts against the common mass ,and any bad acts that would cause harm on the individual level or on the public level.
The greatest ,the best ,the brightest, the biggest.	Superlatives	Used to refer to the American supremacy and exceptionalim that represent the fundamental origin myth that acts as a

		schema in which events come to be interpreted
‘’We’’ , ‘’Our’’ **-‘’Why do they hate’us’ ?’’** **-‘’ ‘Our’ army is strong’’.** **-‘’ Either you are with ‘us’.. ‘’**	Inclusive pronoun	Itindicates group membership : the inclusive ‘’our’’ ‘’we’’ ‘’us’’ give the speaker the authority to speak to other members who are in the same business together,the ‘’we’’ and ‘’our’’ represent a rational value between the listener and the speaker as people belonging together to the same community with the same destiny.
-‘’But they failed’’	Literary device: Underestima-tion	The speaker intends to show that ,as anyother terrorist attack,this act is coward and nothing would stop the nation for fighting it.
-‘’To protect citizens aroud the world’’. **-‘’our allies’’** **-‘’Bringing terrorists and their**	Overgeneralis a-tion	The speakers tries to globalise and internationalise the issue.This political myth has greatly an influence to the creation and the

harbors to justice'' **-''Peace and security of the world''**		construction of foreign policy about a would a planned War on Terror.
'The grammatical root ''Americ''	Overlexicalis-ation	It is used 28 times in order to trigger the emotional side of nationalim and patriotism
Psalm 23 : **''Eventhought I walkthrough the valley of the shadow of death,Ifeel no evil for you are with me''** **-''those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah''.** **-''America stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time''.**	Literarydevice : Allusion	The speaker is motivating the audience by their religious spiritual and historical backgrounds.He strengthens the exceptional nature of Americans and the idea of God's chosen nation which has a unique mission to spread its values ,recalling previous victories to make the war look winnable.

2-Processing Analysis :(Meso-level Analysis)

In order to interpret the speech ,we use the basis of Fairclough 's key questions ,to analyse a situational context.It's important to ask the coming questions about :

-The time of the discourses :

When are they produced ? Why the first speech is produced the day of 9/11 and the second on 9/20 ?

-*The place of the discourses :*

Could the discourse have been produced outside U.S.A ?

-*The situation :*

What contextual circumstances influence the production and the perception of the discourse ?

-*The topic and itspurpose :*

What the rhetorical topic is about ?And what is its main objectif ?

-*The adresser and the adressee* :

Who is the rhetoric's producer ? Who are the consumers ?How are they consuming the discourse ?

On September 11 ,2001 , America was under terrorist attacks.Two jetliners were slammed into New York City's World Trade Center,and another crashed into the Pentagon ,Virginia.The U.S President ,George W.Bush delivered an urgent speech ,adressing the American nation,on 11 September .Another is delivred , few days later ,on 20 September,White House,Washington ,D.C.The second speech is addressed in front of the Congress members ,who are considered to be the highest official level of American institutions .

The first online speech is delivred immediatelly the day of terrorist attacks from the U.S capital ,to show how much the event threats the national and international security,and how urgent to react is. In addition ,the goal from this urgent discourse is to make a '' rally effect'' , i.e. , a sudden and substantial increase in public approval of the president that occurs in respobse certain kinds of dramatic events.

The producer in his rhetorics uses'' lexical triggers ''and ''language of propaganda'',which were tactically chosen in order to ,not only grap his audience' attention,but also to mobilise them to react, as the function of language is not just communicating information,but rather asking for reaction.

The two pre-existing mythical narratives about '' American exceptionalim'' and the ''other'' barbarism,which have already long been embeded in the American unconsciousness ,have deeply helped the audience to cope with the current problem.The objectif of this discourses is to produce a ''rally effect'' then declaring an official ''War on Terror''.

3-Social Analysis (Macro-level Analysis)

In order to explain how socio-political myth about ''War on Terror''operates in the American society ,it's necessary to back to American history,and the role of the official rhetorics .The belief in the exceptional nature of Americans and the mission to spread values and to fight against evil have long been existed within the American unconsciousness .After the WW2 and the collapse of USSR , America shifted to a new role :from the Cold War to terrorism.The myth about ''otherness'' and terrorist threat continued to exist but remained in the tactical level .However , after the 9/11 attacks ,the myth starts to have a new and concrete significance.Tow main questions are arisen :

-How do Bush's two speeches reinforce and recreate the political myth ?

-What new representation and practice are legitimised and normalised through the speeches ?

Answering the questions can help to go to a broader sociopolitical context .When 9/11 speech was delivered to the nation , Americans were still under the tragedy and the shock. At that moment ,the political myth about terrorim was still unstable and invisible in the audience' minds ,yet it is available in current situation .The speech offers the Americans a new subject position to read the world,i.e.,the circumstances of text production and text reception are gradually integrated in their minds. Longside time , the myth about terroriem and the necessaty to fight it is beeing sustained in the Americans' minds . On the 20 of September , another speech is delivred , but this time the objectif is to , officially declare War on Terror .The new information ,delivred in the speech , is automatically matched to the pre-existing schemata about the ''other'' and the ''God's chosen nation''.Ideology, here,is in its most powerful position.The audience ,as a result,becomes naturalised with the idea of War on Terror.

Bush, in his 9/20 speech answers to the question he asks " why do they hate us ? ", inforcing the existing myth of civilized vs uncivilized. He correlate all what is good and compatible with the word "civilization" to " Us" group ,whereas all what is bad and against the values of civilization is attributed to the "Other" . Bush, in addition, praises all the freedoms Americans have ; freedom of religion, freedom of speech and freedom of vote ,while emphasizing at the same time that this freedoms don't exist on the other side. He illustrates that people in Afghanistan have been brutalized , religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate, women are not allowed to attend school and you can even be jailed for owning a TV or if your beard is not long enough. Bush states that the aim of this group isn't to make money but their goal is to impose their radical beliefs on Americans , this is made easy by relying on the existing myth about Arabs and Muslims that they are rich and wealthy , but uncivilised and barbarians.Othering in a war discourse is very important. Both sides of the conflict has to be known and well defined. Bush uses "we", "us" and "America/ American" to refer to who belong to thecircle of " Us". He doesn 't keep it exclusively to Americans but he adds all NATO members to it,when he says "an attack on one is an attack on all". Bush, in order to make the "Us group'' in his speech as big and strong as possible, included all the 80 countries that have lost citizens in the attacks. "Others" in Bush's speeches are terrorists who follow Islam as a religion, they belong to a radical group called "Al Quaeda" which takes Afghanistan as basis to plot evil and destructionwith the help of other groups located in other regions of the world. Bush calls them enemies of freedom who want to kill Americans.Bush ,then ,addresses the Muslim people, praising Islam by calling it a religion of peace ,and that it is freely practiced in the U.S.A. and in many other countries that are considered to be friends. He fellows right after by calling the terrorists as traitors to their own faith who are trying to hijack Islam and impose their radical vision that was rejected by most Muslim scholars. Bush uses this strategy in order to narrow the "Them" circle and make the enemy more defined and known. He kepts the door open to all those who does not share the terrorists vision,to join the " Us" circle .

It might be possible to see the formation of a new discursive hegemony through this two mythical discourses.Our study argues that the 9/11 discourse and the 9/20 discourse have a direct effect ,by combining language and power ;and underlying legitimacy ,over the society.They also explains how pre-

existing myths about exceptionalism and terrorism ,are introduced in the language of ''War on Terror''.

To conclude ,our study ,using Fairclough's three-dimentional model, starts by analysing the textual features of Bush's 11/9 and 9/20 speeches : from a grammatical ;lexical ;and literary lens.This textual analysis ,has lead to formulate new questions regarding the new production and reception of the text in its specific sociopolitical situation .But in the same way,these findings will return to the starting point of textual features ' description and interpretation ,in other words,the three analytical dimensions are inter-linked and inter-dependent,that what strenghens the approprietness of the model in analysing rhetorics.

Conclusion :

This research has been divided into three chapters in order to describe, analyse ,and discuss the representation of Arab/Muslims in both Hollywood and political institutions ,and how myth about terrorism is constructed. For the aim of confirming our hypotheses and answering our research questions,two research methods,semiotics and CDA's, has been,respectively, applied on three relevant Hollywoodian movies and two 9/11 American rhetorics.

We conclude that islamophobia,as a political myth, is not a natural phenomenon that has existed from night to day,it has rather emerged and nurtured with time.Hollywood industry is a fundamental means that produces entertainment which is accompained with fuel to anti-Arab/Muslim public sentiment.Movies,thus,are used for propaganda by creating images in the viewers'collective subconsciousness.We, also, conclude that Hollywood has succeed in vilifying Arabs/Muslims as terrorist through a long process of production.Exceptionalism,clash of civilisation, ''Othering'', and War on Terror,have always been the main themes that dominated its movies ,starting from the periods of The Cold War,to The Gulf War,to the 9/11 attaks pre-period.All these narratives has been ,repeatedly,reproduced and reintroduced in the three selected films : True Lies, in 1994 ; Executive Decision in ,1996 ;and The Siege ,in 1998.

The same is found to be the case with political speeches.George W.Bush's two rhetorics ,'' 9/11 Adress to the Nation'' and '' President's Address to Congress and Nation'',redefine the War on Terror and invite the public to participate by associating pre-exiting narratives and myths .language ,thus,is not a simple means of communication,neither a simple means of political debates,it's rather a socio-political manifestation along side consumers that works on ''the rally effect'' from a simple declaration of 9/11 attacks to the annoucement of a would ,legitimate and reasonable, successful War on Terror.

Hence,all of textual features and linguistic properties,used in Bush's speeches has highlighted the importance of language in the myth reconstruction and reproduction.

General Conclusion and Suggestions :

As a general conclusion,we come up that ,neither Hollywood ,nor Bush's speeches have invented the myth about ,both, Arabic/Muslim terrorim and American exceptionalism,but they both exploited them using linguistic and non linguistic signs.This myth is constructed from a simple representation that , gradually and through history and time , gets its power and legitimacy. It had to pass through three inevitable stages ,which are : initial framing,diffusion and finally normalisation and sacralisation.The myth brings its workability from its reproduction ,reinterpretation,and retransmission ,under the norms of the Ideological Discursive Formations (IDFs) which are practiced by different members of the social group ; at its different levels , i.e. , starting from the lobbies to the public opinion and the common mass,regardless its awarness.We finally conclude that political decisions about War on Terror has reshaped the myth in the way that fits the entended agenda about the would coming geo-political changes in the world.

Suggestions :

" Ethnic stereotypes do not die off on their own, but they are hunted down and terminated by those whom the stereotypes victimize" Shaheen (2004,p.190).

After describing and analyzing ; American movies ; American counterterrorism rhetorics ; and American institutional decisions about War on Terror ,and after analyzing events followed 09/11 attacks , such as Afghanistan War and Iraq War , we end up with some suggestions:

-The same waythe stereotype was constructed , will be the way to deconstruct it and wipe it away from people unconscious, from all around the world.

-Arabs/Muslims need more presence in Hollywood in form of actors, directors or even producers. Their presence allows them to influence the type of the community representation in movies.

-The community ,itself, has to organize and form a lobby that can be heard when protesting . More importantly , Arabs /Muslims have to show the true peaceful and tolerating teachings of Islam to others .

Limitations

-Due to the constrained time,we could not take a large sample of analysis.

-Our model doesn't contain films after 9/11 attaks to compare them with those of before of 9/11 attacks.

-Some data bases were inaccessible in websites , others were paid , others were hackered due to the Russian-Ukrainian War.

- Final research touchs were hardlly done due to the internet disturbance during the Algerian Baccalauriat final exams.

-We initially aimed to conduct our research by integrating quantitative research method,i.e, making a questionnaire and interviews with Arab-Americans who live in U.S.A. and those who contemporain the 9/11 attacks,for the aim of giving a vivid credibility to our study.

-We also failed to make a rendy-vous with the American Embassy in Algiers, as a credible source of information and statistics.

Reference List

- Baird,S. (1996).*Executive Decision*. Warner Bros. https://yes.egybest.works/movie/executive-decision-1996/

-Bell,D. (2003*). Mythscapes: Memory, Mythology, and National Identity*. file:///C:/Users/LEADER%20ITM/Downloads/Mythscapes_Memory_Mythology_and_National.pdf

-Bottici ,C.(2016*). Myth: Chiara Bottici.* http://www.politicalconcepts.org/myth-chiara-bottici/

-Cameron,J.(1994).*True Lies*. 20th Centuary Fox.Retrieved from https://beetvapk.app/

-Chandler,D.(2007).*Semiotics:The Basic (2nd ed)* . New York: Taylor and Francis. Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/LEADER%20ITM/Downloads/Semiotics_the_Basics.pdf

-Danesi, M. (2004) . *Messages, Signs and Meaning: A Basic Textbook in Semiotics and Communication (3rd ed).* Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press Inc. https://books.google.dz/books?id=lDI4mBnS8OoC&printsec=frontcover&dq=danesi+2004&hl=en&sa=X&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=danesi%202004&f=false

-Eco, U.(1976). *A Theory of Semiotics*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press/London: Macmillan.Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/LEADER%20ITM/Downloads/Umberto_Eco_Semiotics_and_the_Philosophy.pdf

-Eidenmuller,M.E (2001-2022).*American Rhetoric.*Retrieved from https://www.americanrhetoric.com

-Esch, J. (2010). *Legitimizing the "War on Terror": Political Myth in Official-Level Rhetoric*. Political Psychology, 31(3), 357–391.

http://www.jstor.org/stable/20721298

-Fairclough,N.(1989). *Languge and Power*.Retrieved from https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/language-in-society/article/abs/norman-fairclough-language-and-power-london-longman-1989-pp-x-248/573142AE9CE2F8B8D12B32A458723BDC

-Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis. The Critical Study of Language.* New York, United States of America: Long Man Publishing. file:///C:/Users/LEADER%20ITM/Desktop/Critical%20Discourse%20Analysis%20The%20Critical%20Study%20of%20Language%20(Norman%20Fairclough)%20(z-lib.org).pdf

-Huntington,S.P.(1993).*The Clash of Civilisation and the Remarking of World Order*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1996.Retrieved from https://www.beyondintractability.org/bksum/huntington-clash

-Mala Corbine,C.(2017).*Terrorist are Always Muslims but Never White : at the Intersection of Critical Race Theory and Propaganda*.Fordham Law Review,86,(2).Retrieved from https://core.ac.uk/works/50760562

-Moulton,J.(2016). *Political Myths and How to Study Them*. The UACES Graduate Forum Committee. https://crossroads.ideasoneurope.eu/2016/05/18/article-6/

-Peterson,P. (2016).*Legitimacy, Popularity and the Construction of Political Myth: Contemporary Discussion*.Retrieved from https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1406404/FULLTEXT01.pdf

-Said,E.W. (1978).*Orientalism.*London and Henley :Routlege & Kegan Paul.Retrieved from

https://sites.evergreen.edu/politicalshakespeares/wp-content/uploads/sites/33/2014/12/Said_full.pdf

-Shaheen, J. G. (2004). *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies People*. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social. Science, 588, 171–193. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1049860

-Terrorism definion.*FBI*.Retrieved May 10,2022 from https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/terrorism

-Terrorism definition.*Oxford dicionary*. Retrieved March 20,2022 from https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803103209420#:~:text=The%20calculated%20use%20of%20violence,%5B...%5D

-Walker,C.W.(2013).*Islamophobia in America : The Anatomy of Intolerance*. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/3753134/Editor_Islamophobia_in_America_The_Anatomy_of_Intolerance

-Wodak , R & Meyer, M. (2001*). Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. London, United Kingdom: SAGE publications LTD .

file:///C:/Users/LEADER%20ITM/Desktop/Methods%20of%20Critical%20Discourse%20Analysis%20(Introducing%20Qualitative%20Methods%20series)%20(Professor%20Ruth%20Wodak,%20Michael%20Meyer)%20(z-lib.org).pdf

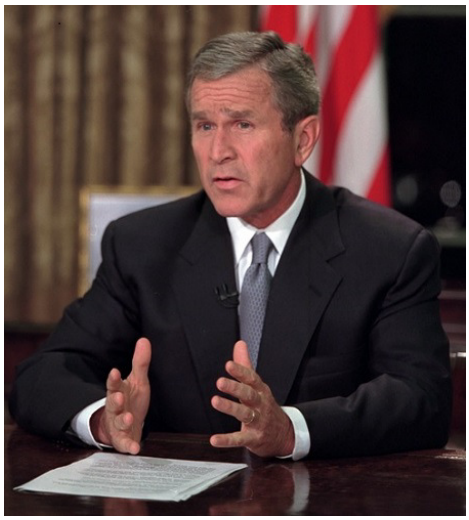
-Zwick,E. (1998).*The Siege* . *Twin River Productions*.Retrieved from https://w.egybest.bid/movie/the-siege-1998/#download

AmericanRhetoric.com

George W. Bush

9/11 Address to the Nation

delivered 11 September 2001, Oval Office, White House, Washington, D.C.



[AUTHENTICITY CERTIFIED: Text version below transcribed directly from audio.]

Good evening.

Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts.

The victims were in airplanes or in their offices: secretaries, business men and women, military and federal workers, moms and dads, friends and neighbors. Thousands of lives were suddenly ended by evil, despicable acts of terror.

The pictures of airplanes flying into buildings, fires burning, huge -- huge structures collapsing have filled us with disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger. These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our nation into chaos and retreat. But they have failed.

Our country is strong. A great people has been moved to defend a great nation. Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America.

These acts shatter steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve. America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world. And no one will keep that light from shining.

Today, our nation saw evil -- the very worst of human nature -- and we responded with the best of America. With the daring of our rescue workers, with the caring for strangers and neighbors who came to give blood and help in any way they could.

Immediately following the first attack, I implemented our government's emergency response plans. Our military is powerful, and it's prepared. Our emergency teams are working in New York City and Washington D.C. to help with local rescue efforts. Our first priority is to get help to those who have been injured, and to take every precaution to protect our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks. The functions of our government continue without interruption. Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight and will be open for business tomorrow. Our financial institutions remain strong, and the American economy will be open for business as well.

The search is underway for those who were behind these evil acts. I have directed the full resources of our intelligence and law enforcement communities to find those responsible and to bring them to justice. We will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbor them.

I appreciate so very much the members of Congress who have joined me in strongly condemning these attacks.

And on behalf of the American people, I thank the many world leaders who have called to offer their condolences and assistance. America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism.

Tonight, I ask for your prayers for all those who grieve, for the children whose worlds have been shattered, for all whose sense of safety and security has been threatened.

And I pray they will be comforted by a Power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23:

> *Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil for you are with me.*

This is a day when all Americans from every walk of life unite in our resolve for justice and peace. America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time. None of us will ever forget this day, yet we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world.

Thank you. Good night. And God bless America.

AmericanRhetoric.com

George W. Bush

Address to Joint Session of Congress Following 9/11 Attacks

delivered 20 September 2001



[AUTHENTICITY CERTIFIED: Text version below transcribed directly from audio]

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President Pro Tempore, members of Congress, and fellow Americans:

In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this chamber to report on the state of the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people.

We have seen it in the courage of passengers, who rushed terrorists to save others on the ground -- passengers like an exceptional man named Todd Beamer. And would you please help me to welcome his wife, Lisa Beamer, here tonight. We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion. We've seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers -- in English, Hebrew, and Arabic.

We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own. My fellow citizens, for the last nine days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union -- and it is strong.

Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done. I thank the Congress for its leadership at such an important time. All of America was touched on the evening of the tragedy to see Republicans and Democrats joined together on the steps of this Capitol, singing "God Bless America." And you did more than sing; you acted, by delivering 40 billion dollars to rebuild our communities and meet the needs of our military. Speaker Hastert, Minority Leader Gephardt, Majority Leader Daschle, and Senator Lott, I thank you for your friendship, for your leadership, and for your service to our country. And on behalf of the American people, I thank the world for its outpouring of support. America will never forget the sounds of our National Anthem playing at Buckingham Palace, on the streets of Paris, and at Berlin's Brandenburg Gate.

We will not forget South Korean children gathering to pray outside our embassy in Seoul, or the prayers of sympathy offered at a mosque in Cairo. We will not forget moments of silence and days of mourning in Australia and Africa and Latin America. Nor will we forget the citizens of 80 other nations who died with our own: dozens of Pakistanis; more than 130 Israelis; more than 250 citizens of India; men and women from El Salvador, Iran, Mexico, and Japan; and hundreds of British citizens. America has no truer friend than Great Britain. Once again, we are joined together in a great cause -- so honored the British Prime Minister has crossed an ocean to show his unity with America. Thank you for coming, friend.

On September the 11th, enemies of freedom committed an act of war against our country. Americans have known wars -- but for the past 136 years, they have been wars on foreign soil, except for one Sunday in 1941. Americans have known the casualties of war -- but not at the center of a great city on a peaceful morning. Americans have known surprise attacks -- but never before on thousands of civilians. All of this was brought upon us in a single day -- and night fell on a different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack. Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking: Who attacked our country? The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda.

They are some of the murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya, and responsible for bombing the USS Cole. Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world -- and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.

The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics, a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam. The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans, and make no distinctions among military and civilians, including women and children. This group and its leader -- a person named Usama bin Laden -- are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan, where they are trained in the tactics of terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction.

The leadership of al Qaeda has great influence in Afghanistan and supports the Taliban regime in controlling most of that country. In Afghanistan, we see al Qaeda's vision for the world. Afghanistan's people have been brutalized; many are starving and many have fled. Women are not allowed to attend school. You can be jailed for owning a television. Religion can be practiced only as their leaders dictate. A man can be jailed in Afghanistan if his beard is not long enough.

The United States respects the people of Afghanistan. After all, we are currently its largest source of humanitarian aid; but we condemn the Taliban regime. It is not only repressing its own people, it is threatening people everywhere by sponsoring and sheltering and supplying terrorists. By aiding and abetting murder, the Taliban regime is committing murder.

And tonight, the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban: Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats, and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities.

Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating. These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. The Taliban must act, and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate.

I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It's practiced freely by many millions of Americans, and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah. The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them. Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped, and defeated.

Americans are asking, why do they hate us? They hate what they see right here in this chamber -- a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms -- our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other. They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa. These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us, because we stand in their way.

We are not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions -- by abandoning every value except the will to power -- they follow in the path of fascism, Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends: in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies. Americans are asking: How will we fight and win this war? We will direct every resource at our command -- every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war -- to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network.

Now this war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo two years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat. Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.

Our nation has been put on notice: We're not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans. Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security. These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight, I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me -- the Office of Homeland Security. And tonight I also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort, to strengthen American security: a military veteran, an effective governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend -- Pennsylvania's Tom Ridge. He will lead, oversee, and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy to safeguard our country against terrorism, and respond to any attacks that may come.

These measures are essential. But the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it, and destroy it where it grows. Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents to intelligence operatives to the reservists we have called to active duty. All deserve our thanks, and all have our prayers. And tonight, a few miles from the damaged Pentagon, I have a message for our military: Be ready. I've called the Armed Forces to alert, and there is a reason. The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud. This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom.

We ask every nation to join us. We will ask, and we will need, the help of police forces, intelligence services, and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded -- with sympathy and with support. Nations from Latin America, to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world. Perhaps the NATO Charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on all. The civilized world is rallying to America's side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror, unanswered, can not only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And you know what? We're not going to allow it.

Americans are asking: What is expected of us? I ask you to live your lives, and hug your children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat. I ask you to uphold the values of America, and remember why so many have come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith. I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, libertyunites.org, to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you to give it. I ask for your patience, with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security; and for your patience in what will be a long struggle. I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy. Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity. They did not touch its source. America is successful because of the hard work, and creativity, and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy before September 11th, and they are our strengths today. And, finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform, and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow, and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead.

Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do. And ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives, for what you have already done and for what we will do together. Tonight, we face new and sudden national challenges. We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights, and take new measures to prevent hijacking. We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying, with direct assistance during this emergency. We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of terrorists before they act, and to find them before they strike.

We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America's economy, and put our people back to work. Tonight we welcome two leaders who embody the extraordinary spirit of all New Yorkers: Governor George Pataki, and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. As a symbol of America's resolve, my administration will work with Congress, and these two leaders, to show the world that we will rebuild New York City.

After all that has just passed -- all the lives taken, and all the possibilities and hopes that died with them -- it is natural to wonder if America's future is one of fear. Some speak of an age of terror. I know there are struggles ahead, and dangers to face. But this country will define our times, not be defined by them. As long as the United States of America is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror; this will be an age of liberty, here and across the world.

Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our moment. Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom -- the great achievement of our time, and the great hope of every time -- now depends on us. Our nation, this generation will lift a dark threat of violence from our people and our future. We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage. We will not tire, we will not falter, and we will not fail.

It is my hope that in the months and years ahead, life will return almost to normal. We'll go back to our lives and routines, and that is good. Even grief recedes with time and grace. But our resolve must not pass.

Each of us will remember what happened that day, and to whom it happened. We'll remember the moment the news came -- where we were and what we were doing. Some will remember an image of a fire, or a story of rescue. Some will carry memories of a face and a voice gone forever.

And I will carry this: It is the police shield of a man named George Howard, who died at the World Trade Center trying to save others. It was given to me by his mom, Arlene, as a proud memorial to her son. It is my reminder of lives that ended, and a task that does not end. I will not forget this wound to our country or those who inflicted it. I will not yield; I will not rest; I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people. The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them.

Fellow citizens, we'll meet violence with patient justice -- assured of the rightness of our cause, and confident of the victories to come. In all that lies before us, may God grant us wisdom, and may He watch over the United States of America.

Thank you.