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## **George W. Bush and Islamophobia after the 11/9 Attacks**

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## **Dedication**

I dedicate this humble work to all the members of my family, specifically my mother and my father, for their support in the fulfillment of this research paper.

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## **Abstract**

The attacks of 11 September 2001 on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in the United States were a turning point in the history of the country and the whole world in general. The response of the Bush administration, including the president's speech, the safety policy and the war declaration to terrorism (Muslims) triggered a great hatred of the non-Muslim Americans towards the Muslims and the Arabs. This 'bleeding' friction gave birth to a violent tide of animosity and antipathy that was known as Islamophobia. The intent of the current work is to assess the extent to which President Bush's management of the event negatively fomented sentiments of bitterness and antipathy of the American non-Muslims vis-à-vis American Muslims and Arabs. To undertake this investigation, a descriptive analytical approach was undertaken, taking into consideration three elements. These concerned: (i) the state of the Muslim Americans before the terrorist attacks, (ii) the event's management by the Bush administration, and its aftermath, alluding evidently to the rise of Islamophobia, (iii) and lastly the impress of media in the optimization of Muslims in negative images. The findings confirm the wide impress of Bush's anti-terrorism policy in nurturing sentiments of hatred, but also stresses the media's misrepresentation of Muslims in the wide spread of wrong and negative portrayal of the Arabs, and the Muslims. The paper puts into evidence the fact that pre-existing clashes may simply re-generate when new sparking events arise, and emphasizes the need for the clinching of the peace culture through improving the Western negative view about the Muslims.

## Table of Contents

Dedication.....	I
Acknowledgments.....	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
General Introduction.....	01
<b>Chapter One: Muslim Settlement in America and their Life before the 9/11Attacks</b>	
1. Introduction.....	03
2. First Coming of Muslims to America.....	03
3. Modern Immigration of Muslims to the USA.....	06
3.1 Reasons behind Modern Immigration.....	06
3.2 Waves of Modern Muslim Migration.....	07
3.2.1 The First Wave of Immigrants.....	07
3.2.2 The Second Wave of Immigrants.....	08
3.2.3 The Third Wave of Immigrants.....	08
3.2.4 The Fourth Wave of Immigrants.....	09
4. Muslims' Life in America and their Relations with other Religious Groups.....	10
5. Muslim Organizations in America.....	11
5.1 The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA).....	11
5.2 The Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC).....	12
5.3 The Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR).....	12
5.4 The American Muslim Alliance (AMA).....	12
5.5 The Free Muslims Coalition (FMC).....	12
5.6 The National Association of Muslim Lawyers (NAML).....	13
5.7 KARAMAH: Muslim Women Lawyers for Human Rights.....	13
6. Conclusion.....	13

**Chapter Two: George Bush and Islamophobia after the 9/11 Attacks**

- 1. Introduction.....15
- 2. Bush and Islamophobia.....15
  - 2.1. Overview about Bush’s Administration.....15
  - 2.2 The 9/11Attacks.....16
  - 2.3 The Response of the Bush Administration after the 9/11Attacks.....18
- 3. Meaning of Islamophobia.....20
- 4. Intensification of Islamophobia.....23
- 5. The Policies of Security after the 9/11 Attacks.....25
  - 5.1 Institutional Discrimination.....25
  - 5.2 Social Discrimination.....26
  - 5.3 Economical Discrimination.....26
- 7. Conclusion.....26

**Chapter Three: Media Misrepresentation of Muslims after the 9/11attacks**

- 1. Introduction.....28
- 2. The Role of Media in Society .....28
- 3. Arabs and Muslims in the Western Media.....29
- 4. Media Misrepresentation of Muslims after the 9/11 Attacks.....31
- 5. Women and Hijab.....33
- 6. Conclusion.....35
- General conclusion.....37
- Works cited.....40

<b>List of Appendices</b>	45
<b>Appendix A:</b> Osama Bin Laden’s Fatwa of 1996	45
<b>Appendix B:</b>	
George W. Bush Address to Joint Session of Congress Following 9/11 Attacks	55

### **List of Acronyms**

ISNA: the Islamic Society of North America

MPAC: the Muslim Public Affairs Council

CAIR: the Council on American Islamic Relations

AMA the American Muslim Alliance

FMC: the Free Muslims Coalition

NAML: the National Association of Muslim Lawyers

KARAMAH: Muslim Women Lawyers for Human Rights

OIG: Office of Inspector General

FAIR: federation for American immigration reform

# Chapter one

**Muslim Settlement in America and their Life before the  
11/9 Attacks.**

## **General Introduction**

The clash between the West and the East is not a new phenomenon. It originated in the Muslim/Christian rivalry during the middle Ages, and is still continuing in the modern world, given the support given to it, inadvertently, either by politicians, religious men, or the media.

One of the tragic events that developed and raised the discrimination toward Muslims was the 9/11 attacks in the United States on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon which marked a turning point in the history of the United States and the whole world in general. Furthermore, the issue that sparked much debate in the USA, Europe and also the Arabic world.

It was Islam and Muslims who were the first to be accused of these attacks which were largely propagandized by the media, the latter portrayed negative and horrifying images about Muslims and Arabs. The objective of this research work is to evaluate George Bush's administration of the 9/11 terrorist crisis, and its repercussion on the advent of Islamophobia. For that sake, the following research question is addressed:

-to what extent did Bush's presidency alleviate or enhance hatred against Muslims?

In that scope, it is hypothesized that:

-though George Bush's speech following the terrorist attacks was designed to alleviate anti-Muslim sentiments, the security and safety measures undertaken by his administration played in the opposite direction.

-the large impress of Western media on public opinion played a crucial part in the misrepresentation of Muslims and Arabs after the 9/11attacks, and, henceforth, the amplification of Islamophobia.

The present work relies on a descriptive analytical method that uses an archival material. The memoir has been divided into three chapters. The first examines the Muslims' settlement in America and their life before the 9/11attacks, taking into consideration the specificities of each immigration wave, the Muslims' interaction with the other races, and the channels by dint of which they promoted their interests. The second chapter explores the response of the Bush administration to the terrorist attacks, as well as the increase of Islamophobia. The last chapter tackles media misrepresentations of the Muslims and Arabs after the 9/11attacks.

## **Chapter One: Muslim Settlement in America and their Life before the 11/9 Attacks**

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Undertaking this research paper was not an easy task; the major obstacle was the lack of documents available locally. A no less significant factor was the slender time afforded for such a historical study.

## **1. Introduction:**

The number of Muslims in America is interestingly increasing, marking consequently Islam as the third largest religion in the United States after Christianity and Judaism. American Muslims came from different backgrounds, and along different periods of time. Their settlement necessitated the promotion of their common interests through the creation of organizations that would participate smoothly in the American life. This chapter sheds light on the history of Muslims in America, how they came to the new land, and their varying waves of immigration. In addition, it explores the various factors that pushed them to immigrate to America, and their relationship with the other races.

## **2. First Coming of Muslims to America:**

The history of Muslims in America goes back to more than 400 years; scholars agree that Muslims came into America during the seventeenth century. Although there are other pieces of evidence which suggest that there were Muslims on Columbus' ships, other speculations argued that there were Muslims who predated his trip to the New World. According to the American writer, Suleiman Shahid, the Muslims were the first explorers of America in the tenth and twelfth centuries before Columbus (29).

The first clearly documented arrival of Muslims in America occurred in the seventeenth century with the arrival of slaves from Africa as Jane I Smith claimed in her book *Muslims in the West after 9/11*. Scholars generally agreed that Islam made its way to the American continent during the hot era of the slave trade that is the period stretching from the seventeenth century till the nineteenth century. This implied that in this period many Muslims were there as slaves. Other speculations argue that from a quarter to a third of the enslaved Africans brought to the United States were Muslims (30).

In a TV show program (2010), Jerald F Dirks talked about the history of Muslims in America as sailors on one hand and as slaves on another hand. He stated that Muslims came both with Columbus and before him in his expedition to the New Land: 'we Muslims were here with Columbus in 1492, we Muslims were here long before Christopher Columbus ever thought of coming to America' (20). Early Arabic books hinted to the sailing of a number of Muslims to America, the most important of which was the research undertaken by Abdullah Hakim Quick flaunting Arabic. For Jerald, those books documented many Muslims, among whom khachkhach Ibn Said Aswad who had sailed from Andalusia (Spain and Portugal

now) 600 years before Columbus crossed the Atlantic to the new land (that is in the ninth century). Explaining the reason behind the voyage of such early Muslims to a very distant land, historian and philosopher Abu Hassan Ali ibn al-Hussain ibn Ali al-Masudi mentioned the love of adventurers:

Some people feel that this ocean is the source of all oceans and in it there have been many strange happenings. We have reported some of them in our book *Akhbar az-Zaman*. Adventurers have penetrated it at the risk of their lives, some returning safely, others perishing in the attempt. One such man was an inhabitant of Andalusia named Khashkhash. He was a young man of Cordoba who gathered a group of young men and went on a voyage on this ocean. After a long time, he returned with a fabulous booty. Every Spaniard (Andalusian) knows his story (Al Masudi 184).

A hundred years later (tenth century), another Muslim undertook the trip to that portion of land for discovery purposes. This was Ibn Farouk, the famous geographer and the scientific advisor of the king of Sicily. Al Idrissi wrote in his book *Kitab al-Mamalik wa-l-Masalik* about a group of eight Muslims who had sailed in the twelve century west across the Atlantic from Andalusia and arrived to two new islands unknown to them. This was reported as follows:

A group of seafarers sailed into the sea of darkness and fog (the Atlantic Ocean) from Lisbon in order to discover what was in it and to what extent were its limits. They were a party of eight and they took a boat which was loaded with supplies to last them for months. They sailed for eleven days until they reached turbulent waters with great waves and little light. They thought that they would perish so they turned their boat southward and travelled for twelve days. They finally reached an island that had people and civilization but they were captured and chained for three days. On the fourth day, a translator came speaking the Arabic language! He translated for the King and asked them about their mission. They informed him about themselves, and then they were returned to their confinement. When the westerly wind began to blow they were put in a canoe blindfolded, and brought to land after three days sailing. They were left on the shore with their

hands tied behind their backs. When the next day came another tribe appeared, freeing them and informing them that between them and their lands were a journey of two months (Al-Idrisi 184).

Jerald argued that in addition to the Muslims' voyages from Andalusia to the New Land there were also voyages from what is now called Morocco. For example, Sheikh Zin Eli dines Ibn Ali Almassir sailed west from Morocco across the Atlantic reaching the New World in the year 1291. For him, the most impressive of all was sailing from West Africa, precisely the manding kingdom of Mali around 1310. The sultan or the king of that empire, who was named Abu Bakhari, sent two expeditions west across the Atlantic with a huge number of people who reached the new land and did not return to their country. The veracity of this expedition is evidenced by the South American Indian tribe teaching of the manding ideogram as a form of communication.

Apart from the Muslims' voyage to the New Land as sailors, some Muslims were displaced by force to America in order to save their life, such as people from Spain (Moriscos). In order to expand the Spanish inquisition, the Pope ordered churches to force people to convert into Christianity, so large numbers of Moriscos (former Muslims of Spain and Portugal) also came to the Spanish colonies, including many areas of what is today the United States. Although enslaved people were denied freedom of religion, many did practice their faith in secrecy and passed it on to their children, and a number of them converted to Christianity from fear of murder and threat. There are several autobiographies of Muslim slaves that had survived from this period, including some by individuals who were involved in the abolitionist movement and were Union soldiers during the Civil War.

Jerald talked about three important Moriscos brothers "the Pinzon brothers" who had sailed with Columbus in his expeditions and contributed in discovering America. The first one was Martin Pinzon, the captain of the Pinta, his brother Vicinity was the captain of the Nina, and the third one, Francisco, was the pilot of the Pinta. They helped organize Columbus' voyages which introduced Europeans to the New World. The Pinzon Brothers were in fact Muslims related to Abuzayan Muhammad III, a Moroccan Sultan.

Following Columbus's epoch, many Muslims came with the Spanish conquistadors as volunteers to set foot on the new land as a way of escape. Many of them arrived as slaves from Africa and other areas, lived in colonial and antebellum America; so lot of them became well known among them the famous slave Estivanico of Azamour who was called an Arab

Negro or Steven the Moor, a Muslim who came from Azamore on the Atlantic Coast of Morocco. He was sold into slavery in Morocco and brought to the U.S. He was among the first two persons to reach the west coast of Mexico in an exploring overland expedition from Florida to the Pacific Coast. It is reported that Estevanico acted as a chief guide for a Spanish expedition to explore a new territory.

In 1538, Estevanico led a voyage from Mexico with Friar Marco, in search of the mythical Seven Cities of Cibola, in which time he discovered Arizona and New Mexico. He was the first member of a different race reported to have visited the North Mexican Pueblos. He was killed in the city of Cibola, one of the Seven Cities of the Zuni Indians, which is now New Mexico. Friar Marco learned of his murder from an Indian messenger while following Estevanico's trail to Cibola.

Therefore, names of Muslims were documented in history. Those Muslims and Arabs had a role in the discovery of America before Columbus's voyages, with him and after. They were hence immigrants to a melting pot land where they established a new life, made relationships, and participated in different domains in the country. The subsequent centuries, quintessentially the nineteenth and twentieth century's, witnessed an upsurge of a modern movement of Muslim immigration to the United States.

### **3. Modern Immigration of Muslims to the USA:**

During the nineteenth and twentieth century's, the United States received immigrants from Arab and Muslim countries in waves, and the different historical events which interrupted this flow of immigration changed its character and led to the transplantation of many people.

#### **3.1 Reasons behind Modern Immigration:**

Explaining the reasons behind the upsurge of this modern immigration, Abd Alrazek Alzahrani, a professor of sociology in the Islamic University of Imam Muhammad bin Masoud, states two factors: 'the push factors and the attractive factors'. These factors differed from one person to another, from one time to time, and from one region to another (Abd Alrazek Alzahrani161). For him, a large number of Muslims immigrated to the United States during the twentieth century because of a set of push factors which are mentioned below:

1. The lack of economic opportunities in many Islamic countries.
2. Desertion of Communist persecution for those who living in were living in China, former Soviet Union, and Eastern Europe.

3. Deliverance from authoritarianism and dictatorship in some Islamic countries.
4. Escape from foreign occupation, especially for the Palestinians.
5. Weak educational opportunities in many Islamic countries, especially in the field of sciences such as medicine, engineering, chemistry and physics.
6. Evasion of racism, especially in countries where there were Muslim minorities such as India, the Philippines, and Sri Lanka.

### **3.2 Waves of Modern Muslim Migration:**

The modern movement of Muslims' immigration to the United States occurred in different phases. According to the Islamic network Educating for Cultural Literacy and Mutual Respect, there are four waves of Muslim immigration phases to the United States were prevalent. These include the first wave from the mid 1800's to the early of 1900's; the second wave after the world war one; the third wave after World War II; and the fourth wave from 1965 to the present.

#### **3.2.1 The First Wave of Immigrants:**

Muslims and Arabs (Christians) in general from the Middle East began to migrate to the United States in about 1875. The first wave came primarily from what was known as the Levant, which was later divided into Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine. Most were migrant laborers, uneducated, unskilled, and from peasant backgrounds (sojourners). They settled in the eastern part of the United States, the mid west and along the Pacific coast. Motivated by success stories brought back from Lebanese Christians who had preceded them, they expected to achieve a degree of financial prosperity and then return to their native countries. Lacking proficiency in English, many became peddlers. Others found employment in factories and mines, or became grocers or shopkeepers. Their willingness to work hard often brought not only capital but improved their social status and living conditions. Many Muslims came for better opportunities to enhance their personal fortunes, not to build Muslim communities in America. As it turned out, of course, many who expected to return home never did so, and as time passed, they were joined by members of their families and by other Muslim immigrants. The earliest immigrants came between 1875 and 1912 mainly from the greater Syria, the majority of them from this area were Christians and others were Muslims.

**Table1:** the figures of the first wave.

Society	Religious identity	Religious values	Gender equality	Democratic values	Sexual liberation
Islamic	Muslim	82.5	57	70.8	23.6
Western	Muslim	75.5	75.3	75.4	37.1

### 3.2.2 The Second Wave of Immigrants:

After World War I, the end of the Ottoman Empire led to the second wave of immigration from the Middle East because of the great devastation and the damages of wars endured by people. It was a period of Western colonial rule in the Middle East, led by Britain and France. The Arab country was governed under the mandate system. At that time, many Muslims decided to move to the West for political and economical reasons. The Islamists also tried to find several other advantages to a U.S. residency, including opportunity for most people to advance economically. In fact, many of them came to America seeking a chance to better their fortunes.

**Table2:** large majority of U.S. Muslims adults are citizens.

U.S. citizens	All U.S. Muslims	Foreign born U.S. Muslims
Born in U.S.	82	69
Naturalized	42	40
Not U.S. Citizen	18	31

### 3.2.3 The Third Wave of Immigrants:

After World War II, the third wave saw a growing number of Muslim immigrants. This wave witnessed new comers from countries outside the Middle East. Immigrants included Muslims from different places such as Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Also, there were Muslims from India and Pakistan after 1947.

Immigration from the Middle East included Palestinians in a majority who came to the United States after the Arab-Israeli war to escape political oppression. Many of them were from urban areas, and others were drawn from influential families. They were better educated

than their predecessors. The population of the USA increased 1.3 million newcomers in a single year; most of them were poor immigrants, belonging to the third class.

**Table3:** Muslims workers in America.

Type of jobs	All U.S. Muslims	U.S. born	Foreign born	Third class
Education	41	35	45	23
Agricultural	20	32	11	51
Manufacturing	28	10	41	2

**3.2.4 The Fourth Wave of Immigrants:**

The fourth wave brought a huge number of Muslims to the United States. This tide of immigration is still continuing today as people continue to move away from their homelands for education, work and for a variety of other reasons, especially after the Act of Immigration which allowed many people from the Middle East, Asia and Africa to immigrate to the United States. This is clearly expressed by Aminah Beverly Mc: ‘The civil rights movement of the 1960s opened the doors for Muslim immigrants as it did for other non European immigrants of color’ (Walnut Creek, Lanham 161)

**Table 4:** Muslim student in America with regard to other religious groups.

Religious group	Number	Percentage
Christian	1724	43.8
Muslim	456	9.1
Spiritual	187	4.8
Pagan	79	2
Buddhist	78	2
Hindu	77	2
Jewish	75	1.9

All in all, the modern movement of Muslims to the United States in the nineteenth and twentieth century's resulted in the transplantation of a large group of Muslims and Arabs along four phases. Those people came from the Middle East, Asia, Africa, as well as other places such as Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. They were pushed to this new land primarily for economic and political security; while others were attracted by the fulfillment of better education and work opportunities. At this level it is interesting to see how those Muslims interacted with the other groups.

#### **4. Muslims' Life in America and their Relations with other Religious Groups:**

The American Muslim community comprised both of native (American natives who converted to Islam) and immigrant Muslims, in addition to contemporary residents such as students. The American Muslims, who had grown in a number close to almost six million after 1947, succeeded steadily in fusing Islam into an American religion, but these Muslims seemed to be much more concerned about how to survive as a religious minority in a largely non-Islamic society (containing a wide number of Christians, followed by Jews, and other minor religious groups). In fact, the Muslims population after the fourth wave comprised nearly 10% of the population in America (John L. Esposito 216).

**Table 5:** Numbers of Muslims in contrast with the other groups

<b>Religious group</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Christian	65
Muslim	10
Jewish	8
Buddhist	7
Pagan	4
Hindu	3
Spiritual	3

The Muslims had concerns about their identity and involvement in the American society that paralleled those of their Jewish neighbors. In some places (New York city, Manhattan ect...), the Muslims constituted a minority among people whose ways were unfamiliar to them; while in other places, they formed a majority for example when they joined together to pray. Even as a majority, they often found their way of life threatened by political antagonisms, secular indifference, and the trends of globalization. More particularly, the Christian-Muslim relations were sometimes marked by constructive living together, and other times by rivalry or violent conflict. In fact, the Muslims resisted adaptation and change amidst a Judeo-Christian society where secular values governed peoples' lives. All these factors and others such as each community's relative degree of access to political power, economic resources, or social influence affected interaction between the Muslims, the Christians, and the other groups.

Today, both of the Muslims and the Christians comprise together nearly more than the world's population. Their present-day relationships in the U.S and in other countries affect reciprocally one another, and their long interaction obliges them to make important contributions through working together in areas such as social and racial justice, defense of human rights, safeguarding religious freedom, and conflict resolution. However, this is not all the time an easy undertaking as the American Muslims continue to live as a minority in a dominant culture that is specifically hostile to Islam, and which retains a Judaeo-Christian ethos despite the separation of church and state. It is notable now to enquire into the channels and institutions created by the Muslims to cater for their rights.

## **5. Muslim Organizations in America:**

The Muslims established many organizations in order to serve their Muslim community, and to preserve and defend their rights especially after many events which led to the increase of hostility toward the Muslims. In her report "the diversity of Muslims in the United States", Qamar-Alhuda mentioned the main important organizations which will be stated in what follows.

### **5.1 The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA):**

The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) is the national Sunni association of Muslim organizations that provides a common platform for presenting Islam, supporting Muslim communities, and developing educational, social, and outreach programs, such as interfaith dialogue. It is located in Plainfield, and Indiana. The Islamic Society of North America was first founded in January 1963 as the Muslim Students Association under the leadership of

Tayyb Yunu. In the beginning, the ISNA's staff comprised 120 workers and 250 volunteers. And later its membership increased steadily. Among its missions was the unification of the Islamic organizations and society as a whole.

### **5.2 The Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC):**

The Muslim Public Affairs Council has been working since 1988 for the civil rights of American Muslims and a constructive relationship between American Muslims and their political representatives. MPAC strived for the promotion of an American Muslim identity by fostering grassroots activities and by training a future generation of Muslim activists in the political process. The MPAC initiated a "National Grassroots Campaign to Fight Terrorism" that consisted of the endorsement and participation of over 600 mosques and Muslim institutions across the country.

### **5.3 The Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR):**

The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) is the nation's largest Muslim civil rights and advocacy group, with regional offices nationwide and in Canada. The national headquarters, established in June 1994 by Nihad Awad, is actually located on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. prior to its creation; the CAIR's staff included 70 members, in addition to 300 volunteers. The CAIR has been aggressive in condemning all acts of violence against civilians by any individual, group, or state.

### **5.4 The American Muslim Alliance (AMA):**

The American Muslim Alliance (AMA) is a national civic organization determined to transform the American Muslim community by training and supporting Muslims in the U.S. political system. It was founded in February 1995 by a collation of U.S. Muslims brotherhood groups to encourage the political participation and to defend civil liberties. The organization tried to work toward three goals: the identification of Muslims who are capable of running for office in the U.S. Congress or a state's legislature; the support of qualified American Muslims elected as delegates to the Democratic and Republican state and national conventions; and the stimulation of leaders for American mainstream politics.

### **5.5 The Free Muslims Coalition (FMC):**

The Free Muslims Coalition (FMC) consisted of American Muslims and Arab Americans who agreed that the Muslim community needed to reject religious violence and terrorism. The FMC was created before 9/11 to promote secular democratic institutions in the Middle East and in the Muslim world by supporting Islamic reformation efforts. The organization promoted a modern secular interpretation of Islam which held peace and democracy as its

principal creeds as other faiths and beliefs. It tried to encourage Muslims and Arabs to be proud of their faith as its founder said ‘The only way that we as a people can make a profound difference and improve the quality of live for all Muslims is if all of us make a difference individual’ (Quamar al huda 376).

### **5.6 The National Association of Muslim Lawyers (NAML):**

It was originally known as Muslims JD when it began in 1996 as an informal e-mail discussion group. it took the National Association of Muslim Lawyers (NAML) name in 2000 after two successful conferences. Today it is the largest and most influential Muslims attorney group in the United States .The aim of the National Association of Muslim Lawyers (NAML) was to serve American Muslims, the general public, and the legal profession by promoting justice for all peoples as well as improvements in American laws and the American system of justice. NAML maintained that a sustained involvement in American executive, legislative, and judicial decision-making processes was essential to the long-term prosperity and assimilation of Muslims into American society.

### **5.7 KARAMAH: Muslim Women Lawyers for Human Rights:**

The Muslim Women Lawyers for Human Rights (KARAMAH) was created in 1993. It worked to protect the human rights of Muslims in the United States and in Muslim societies in general. KARAMAH (meaning dignity in Arabic) aimed to provide support through education, grassroots advocacy, and activism. Since its formation, the organization has been committed to dialogue, peaceful conflict resolution, and the promotion of democratic institutions.

## **6. Conclusion:**

In conclusion, the transplantation of Muslims to America passed through different periods of time, and witnessed variant events. Their drift to this vast land started a long time ago that dates back to the ninth century where Muslims, motivated by the desire to discover new lands, sailed to this continent. Other Muslim adventurers followed suit in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, contributing thereby to the discovery of the New World. The age of the slave trade which followed Columbus’s enterprise witnessed the arrival of many Muslim slaves from Africa. Later, the nineteenth and twentieth century’s marked a larger tide of immigration that stretched over four periods: the first between 1875 and 1912, the second after the First World War, the third after the Second World War, and the last after the 1960’s. The first two waves brought people from the Middle East; while the other waves witnessed the arrival of newcomers from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. These tides of modern immigration

## **Chapter One: Muslim Settlement in America and their Life before the 11/9 Attacks**

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were caused by ‘the push and attracting factors’ that obliged many Muslims to move from their countries to America in order to build a new life, and prosper politically and religiously. In the process, they succeeded to make new relationships with different races, and establish their own constitutions as an ethnic community. They also tried to integrate in the community of multi-national communities in spite of the antagonisms and rivalry with the Judeo-Christian society. This was made feasible through the establishment of many organizations in order to serve their Muslim community, and most importantly cater for its interests politically, economically, and religiously. However, this relatively peaceable life was to witness a radical change after the 9/11 attacks. This new facet of life will be documented in the second chapter.

# Chapter two

**George Bush and Islamophobia after the 11/9 Attacks**

### **1. Introduction:**

The beginning of the twenty-first century marked a turning point in the history of the Muslim Americans. The terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, which occurred on September 11 2001, were largely to change the destiny of those people. The tragic events made a point of transformation in the Islamic world and the Western one, generating a great hatred vis-à-vis Muslim peoples whatever their social positions, picturing them as the first cause behind the attacks. This evidently culminated in the increase of pressures and discrimination against them. As a reaction to that, President George Bush undertook a number of decisions to alleviate that crisis, including among other things his famous speech in the Congress. So this chapter sheds light on President George bush's management of Islamophobia that followed the 9/11 attacks. It explores the following elements: overview about Bush's administration, the 9/11 events, response of the Bush Administration to the events, emergence of Islamophobia, the clash of civilizations and the different forms of discrimination toward the Muslims.

### **2. Bush and Islamophobia:**

The most momentous event that epitomized the presidency of George W. Bush was the crisis of terrorism unleashed by the 9/11 events that took place on September 11 2001. The president had then to manage the state of security of the USA without nurturing hatred against Muslim Americans and Arab Americans. To investigate that issue, it is notable to provide an overview about the president, and then dwell over the 9/11 attacks and their aftermath.

#### **2.1. Overview about Bush's Administration:**

President George W. Bush was the 43rd president of the United States. He came into the administrative center on 20 January 2001 following a highly controversial election during the previous year. After a Supreme Court decision to stop the recount in Florida, and despite having missed the nationwide popular challenge by more than half a million votes, he eventually won 271 electoral votes to legalize his office. This made him the fourth president elected in US history without a plurality of the popular vote, and the first since Benjamin Harrison in 1888. When President Bush came to authority, his preliminary eight months saw no major foreign policy initiatives, but rather an important consideration for domestic issues. His election platform was one of a humble foreign policy. However, Bush, like all aspiring presidents, had a foreign policy program. Throughout his presidential campaign, Bush argued for obvious foreign rule way. Firstly, Bush wanted to end what he viewed as unclear military

## **Chapter Two: George Bush and Islamophobia after the 11/9 Attacks**

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missions on the world stage. Bush's second foreign policy objective would take the US a step further towards unilateralism. His objective was to further US homeland security through the restructuring and reviving of the national missile defense system. But this was not enough to prevent the terrorist attacks. Yet by far the major concern of his administration was to manage the terrorist crisis of the 9/11 attacks. It is pertinent then to delve into this event.

### **2.2 The 9/11 Attacks:**

The terrorist attacks which destroyed the world trade center in New York City on September 11th, 2001, on the morning of Tuesday were a series of four coordinated terrorist attacks by the Islamic terrorist group al-Qaeda against the United States. 19 Islamic extremists hijacked four airplanes which they used for suicide purposes. Two planes hit the twin towers of the World Trade Centre in New York City, the third plane was directed against the Pentagon outside Washington, D.C., and the fourth plane crashed in a field in Shanksville, Pennsylvania. The attacks killed about 2974 people (2,750 in New York, 184 at the Pentagon, and 40 in Pennsylvania), injured over 6000, and caused at least 10 billion in infrastructure and property damage. All the 19 hijackers died in the incident. Among those who died in New York, there were 343 New York City firefighters, 23 New York City police officers, and 37 officers at the Port Authority. About 75-80% of the victims were men. Additional people died of the 9/11 attacks related cancer and diseases in the months and years following the attacks.

Osama bin Laden, a Saudi Arabian born in 1957 in Riyadh, was the instigator of the attacks. He was a very religious man who led an armed jihadist group called al-Qaeda or Taliban. From a young age he felt as if the Muslim society had been 'embarrassed and humiliated' by the West which was being led by the U.S (Lansford, T., Watson, R.P. and Covarrubias 29). He claimed that Islam was under attack and that the only way for this to change was by attacking America. Osama bin Laden's Fatwa of 1996 "Declaration of War Against the American's Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places" was one of the major motives behind the 9/11(see appendix A), when he said that" Your brothers in Palestine and in the land of the two Holy Places are calling upon your help and asking you to take part in fighting against the enemy -your enemy and their enemy- the Americans and the Israelis. They are asking you to do whatever you can, with your own means and ability, to expel the enemy, humiliated and defeated, out of the sanctities of Islam". In addition Osama bin Laden declared that" The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies--civilians and military--is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy mosque from their grip, and in order for

## **Chapter Two: George Bush and Islamophobia after the 11/9 Attacks**

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their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim. This is in accordance with the words of Almighty God, «and fights the pagans all together as they fight you all together," and "fight them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in God." This fatwa elucidated bin Laden's disapproval of the U.S. military existence in Saudi Arabia after the Gulf War, the sanctions which were imposed on Iraq, as well as the U.S. support for the Jewish state of Israel whilst attacking Palestine. This shows that the disapproval of U.S. policies in the Middle East played a major part in motivating the attacks. The Commission Report stated that bin Laden wanted to deal with modernity and globalization (260). Yet although he wanted to bring a change to Middle East policy, Bergen believes that al-Qaeda's ability to do so was quite impossible (45).

The 9/11 Commission Report précised that the 9/11 attacks did not just appear over night, but had been structured up decades prior to the attack. Many terrorist plans were 'weaved', including a truck bomb intended to bring down the World Trade Center in February 1993; plans to blow up the Lincoln and Holland tunnels as well as other landmarks in New York City. Other events comprised the October 1993 – event, known as the 'Black Hawk Down', where American helicopters had been shot down. In October 2000, a plot was revealed where U.S. airliners which were crossing the Pacific Ocean were programmed to be blown up. In the same year an al-Qaeda team from Yemen tried to sink the USS Cole by making a hole in its side with explosives on a motorboat.

These plots were not a surprise. There were plenty of warnings which were given out revealing al Qaeda's intention to kill the Americans. By spring / summer 2001, the U.S. intelligence organization 'was flashing red' with the amount of warnings being received with regards to al-Qaeda plans (National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States 259). The Commission Report stated that the information which was being received seemed to be more associated to an attack overseas and not at home, though the U.S. was the objective for such plans.

In Bergen's analysis, these attacks were not prevented from happening because of a lack of information on al-Qaeda's plans, but they had more to do with the fact that the Bush Administration did not seriously imagine that such an attack on the U.S. was likely to happen (50). This leaves the idea that these attacks could have been avoided. He also claimed that the

## **Chapter Two: George Bush and Islamophobia after the 11/9 Attacks**

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Americans failed to do so because the administration was more focused on Iraq being the central threat to America and were ‘frozen in a Cold War mind-set’ (44) .

In fact, Bin Laden expected a different response after the 9/11. Bergen argued here that the crash designer had the idea that the West was weak and that it could simply be defeated. He expected either cruise missile strikes or the withdrawal of the West from the Middle East. Yet, this was not the case and the U.S. response proved to be in fact the opposite.

### **2.3 The Response of the Bush Administration after the 9/11 Attacks:**

In an address to Congress made soon after the 9/11 attacks (see appendix B), President George W Bush said that” 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”, he mentioned the difference between peaceful Islam as it was practiced by millions of Americans and citizens of other nations, and the enemy of America, a radical network of terrorists:

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 (George W. Bush Address 68).

Bush tried clearly to dismiss any anti-Muslim stand on the part of the American administration. By doing that, he was not simply appeasing the fears of the Muslims and Arabs in the USA and beyond it, but he was also destining his words the non-Americans in order to dissuade them against any violent retaliation against the Muslims. In other words, he wanted to show his citizens that there was a glaring difference between the Muslims and Arabs on one hand, and the instigators of the terrorist attacks. It was al Qaeda which had to be considered as the fierce enemy alongside with the governments supporting it. The president pointed also to the positive attitude of the Americans vis-à-vis Islam, particularly its call for peace. He added that it was those terrorists who dirtied Islam, and “darkened its reputation”.

## **Chapter Two: George Bush and Islamophobia after the 11/9 Attacks**

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However, in public opinion all over the nation, this difference between the real teachings of Islam, and the wrong interpretations by the terrorists was soon forgotten. Hence, Muslims became linked with terrorism from the moment it was revealed that the Hijackers were Muslims.

Side by side with the president's speech, other measures were undertaken by the Bush Administration which launched the 'Global War on Terror' as a response to the 9/11 attacks. Lindsay states that 'fighting terrorism became not just a priority, but the priority.' (Lindsay, J.M 766). Bush had frankly declared that America 'will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbored them.' Therefore, the war was to go beyond non-state actors to include regimes which harbored and supported these terrorists. According to Bergen, this finished up distorting the rule of law (52).

President Bush also made a provocation to the world when he said: 'every nation, in every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists' (qtd Boyle. M.J 191). After declaring the war against terrorism, Bush affirmed that this battle needed to be taken overseas 'bringing the war to the bad guys', (qtd Lindsay 766). This eventually led to the war in Afghanistan and Iraq as being the focal points for terrorism. But according to Boyle, there were many critics who did not think it was possible to go to war against a method or terrorism. Bergen remarked that by going to war with two states in the Muslim world, Afghanistan and Iraq, it was as if the U.S. was going to war with Islam – something which Osama bin Laden himself had claimed (Bergen 52). Explaining the reasons behind America's decision to fight those states, Gibbs argues that the Bush Administration used the attacks and the threat of terrorism as an excuse in order to progress and apply certain objectives which the administration had already decided on prior to 9/11. This could be seen later in the case of Iraq with the fabricated news of weapons of massive destruction.

It becomes clearly apparent here that the administration of Bush tried to manage a national crisis of security by appeasing the fears of the Americans and alleviating the sentiments of hatred vis-à-vis the Muslims, but this simply degenerated by nurturing sentiments of hatred and giving birth to Islamophobia. It is then worth exploring this issue.

### 3. Meaning of Islamophobia:

Islamophobia was defined by many scholars, and mentioned in a lot of articles and books. Before defining the term, it is important to know what a phobia is. According to Bourne:

In clinical psychology, a **phobia** is a type of anxiety disorder, usually defined as a persistent fear of an object or situation in which the sufferer commits to great lengths in avoiding, typically disproportional to the actual danger posed, often being recognized as irrational. In the event the phobia cannot be avoided entirely, the sufferer will endure the situation or object with marked distress and significant interference in social or occupational activities (50-51).

According to Merriam-Webster dictionary, phobia is an exaggerated, usually inexplicable and illogical fear of a particular object, class of objects, or situation. It may be hard for the afflicted to sufficiently determine or communicate the source of this fear, but it exists.

In recent years, a specific phobia has gripped Western societies - *Islamophobia*. Ingrid Romberg defines Islamophobia as the fear of Muslims and Islam which leads to a hostility and often discrimination against individuals and communities. Jocelyne Cesari argued that the first occurrence of the term Islamophobia appeared in an essay by the Orientalist Dinet in *L'Orient Vu De L'occident* (1922). It is only in the 1990's that the term became common, and associated with a discrimination faced by Muslims in West Europe. However, the negative perception of Islam can be traced back through the multiple confrontations between the Muslim world and Europe from the Crusade to colonialism.

The term Islamophobia is frequently connected with the belief that all Muslims are fanatics, have a violent tendency towards non-Muslims, and that they all reject values like equality, tolerance and democracy. For Alaa Bayoumi, Islamophobia is the exaggerated fear, hatred, and hostility toward Islam and Muslims. He adds that is perpetuated by negative stereotypes resulting in bias, discrimination, and the

## **Chapter Two: George Bush and Islamophobia after the 11/9 Attacks**

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marginalization and exclusion of Muslims from America's social, political, and civic life.

Yaser Ali defined Islamophobia as an ‘unfounded hostility towards Islam; a fear or dislike of all or most Muslims’ (1034). In his article “Runnymede”, he listed eight characteristics of Islamophobia that remain useful and applicable today:

- 1) Islam seen as a single monolithic bloc, static and unresponsive to new realities.
- 2) Islam seen as separate and other. (a) Not having any aims or values in common with other cultures. (b) Not affected by them. (c) Not influencing them.
- 3) Islam seen as inferior to the West—barbaric, irrational, primitive, sexist.
- 4) Islam seen as violent, aggressive, threatening, supportive of terrorism, engaged in ‘a clash of civilizations.’
- 5) Islam seen as a political ideology, used for political or military advantage.
- 6) Criticisms made by Islam of ‘the West’ rejected out of hand.
- (7) Hostility towards Islam used to justify discriminatory practices towards Muslims and exclusion of Muslims from mainstream society.
- (8) Anti-Muslim hostility accepted as natural and normal.

The origin of Islamophobia according to Yaser Ali is Orientalism. In this regard, he describes Orientalism as the process of Arab racialization, according to which the Arabs were relegated to the back when compared with other races. The racialization of Muslims and Arabs stems from the consistent employment of an “us” versus “them” mentality, excessively propped up for the justification of military campaigns in the Arab world. The racialization of Arabs is not simply contingent on phenotypical differences; rather, this racialization of difference is driven by a perceived clash of values and exacerbated by cultural ethnocentrism. This process of “othering” is based on assumptions about culture and religion instead of phenotype. It is not based on racial divides; instead it conforms to the process of racialization that has characterized the ways in which the dominant elements in society have interacted with minority ethnic groups more generally (jamel Badawi 19).

With regard to the first uses of the term, scholar Sheila Musaji says that the first known use of the French word Islamophobie appeared in a book, written in 1916, by Alphonse Etienne Dinet, a painter who was a convert to Islam. In an English version of his book, the word was translated as ‘feelings inimical to Islam’, not as Islamophobia. Two years later,

## **Chapter Two: George Bush and Islamophobia after the 11/9 Attacks**

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Alphonse Etienne Dinet and the Algerian intellectual Sliman ben Ibrahim published a book entitled *Biography of Islam's Prophet Muhammad* where they used the term *Islamophobie*. Robin Richardson writes that in the English version of the book the word was not translated as “Islamophobia” but rather as “feelings inimical to Islam. Dinet’s biographer, Denise Brahimi, used it in 1984 as if it was established and accepted. Dahou Ezzerhouni cited also several other uses in French as early as 1910, and from 1912 to 1918. These early uses of the term did not, according to [Christopher Allen](#), have the same meaning as in contemporary usage, as they described a fear of Islam by liberal Muslims and Muslim feminists, rather than a fear or dislike/hatred of Muslims by non-Muslims.

As to the first use in English print, it appeared in an article by Edward Said in 1985:

The connection ... between Islamophobia and antisemitism’ and criticised writers who do not recognise that ‘hostility to Islam in the modern Christian West has historically gone hand in hand’ with antisemitism and ‘has stemmed from the same source and been nourished at the same stream’ (Said 8-9).

The next recorded use of the word in English was in an American journal in February 1991, referring to anti-Muslim hostility in the former Soviet Union. In the UK the word occurred in a book review by Tariq Modood in *The Independent* on 16 December 1991. Modood used the term twice, but on neither occasion with the implication it needed explanation or definition, or that it was his own coining. It did not appear in the book he was reviewing, *Sacrilege and Civility: Muslim Perspectives on the Satanic Verses Affair*, published by the Islamic Foundation, Leicester. He mentioned Alain Quellien who talked in his PHD thesis about Islamophobia where he stated: ‘For some, the Muslim is the natural and irreconcilable enemy of the Christian and the European; Islam is the negation of civilization and barbarism; bad faith and cruelty are the best one can expect from the Mohammedans’ (Allama Dr. Sani Salih Mustapha 107).

#### **4. Intensification of Islamophobia:**

In his article “Beyond Islamophobia and Islamophilia as Western Epistemic Racisms: Revisiting Runnymede Trust’s Definition in a World-History Context”, Mohamed H Tamdjidi mentioned Romon Grosfoguel and Eric Mielants who hinged into the issue of Islamophobia in their article “The Long-Durée Entanglement Between Islamophobia and Racism in the Modern/Colonial Capitalist/Patriarchal World-System” in 2006. They asserted that Islamophobia might be new in the recent historical context, yet its equation with racism and the practice of racial othering was by no means a new phenomenon when considered in the world historical context of ‘the emergence, development, and decline of the modern world-system’ (qtd hamdjidi 59). This is glaringly revealed in what follows: ‘Islamophobia is simply a new word that expresses the latest organizing principle of a longstanding religious, cultural, and Orientalist, racism toward Islam as an alternative civilizational project’.

This idea of Islamophobia as a fear of the Islamic other is not new but is a structurally essential and historically growing phenomenon in the modern world-system that has taken different forms in entanglement with religious, cultural, orientalist, and epistemic racism. Its function has been to enable imperial rule over the Islamic other by justifications relating supposed confrontations with a “people with the wrong “god” or “people without a civilization,” barbaric, inferior, violent, exotic, sexist, and irrational, whose knowledge is not worthy of serious intellectual consideration (Grosfoguel and Mielant) .

In brief, though Islamophobia existed since a long time that goes back to the Crusades, its occurrence in modern times has increased steadily, particularly after the terrorist attacks of 11 September. This phenomenon was enormously amplified by the media which excelled in the negative portrayal of the Muslims. For study purposes this point will be tackled in the third chapter. It is pertinent now to consider how the terrorist attacks amplified the phenomenon of Islamomphobia.

In their article “Post-9/11: Making Islam an American Religion”, Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Nazir Nader Harb stated that the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks provoked a quick rise in anti- Muslim sentiment in America (2) . The mistrust of Muslims, however, was arguably well ensconced in the American psyche even prior to the attacks. They added

## **Chapter Two: George Bush and Islamophobia after the 11/9 Attacks**

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also that the reaction to the 9/11 attacks had a negative influence on public perception of immigration. The attacks increased feelings of vulnerability and fear while strengthening the sense of national identity and belonging in relation to in-groups versus out-groups.

They added also that the attacks of 9/11 had been analyzed in different ways as constituting a point of transformation in American history after which everything had changed including perceptions about the world and one's surroundings, and relation to and consciousness of a broader political geography, including levels of religiosity and what it means to hold a particular religious view or identity in the United States. Some American Muslims reported that 9/11 introduced an era of intensified suspicion about Islam and Muslims on the part of non-Muslim neighbors, colleagues, classmates and friends.

In the aftermath of 9/11, a consolidation of national identity occurred against those who appeared Muslims, and, as a result, they were subjected to several civil rights violations. Shortly after 9/11, the federal government quickly enacted a corpus of legislation targeting Muslims and Arabs in the uniting and strengthening of America by providing appropriate tools required to stop and frustrate terrorism, signified by the "The Patriot Act".

The conservative columnist, Ann Coulter, wrote on September 12, 2001, concerning Arab and Muslims "we should invade their countries, kill their leaders, and convert them to Christianity". So Muslims and Arabs were considered as terrorists and were accused of being the first murderers of the attack since they had used their faith and race as a motivation to attack the USA. According to Richard Cohen, writing in the *Washington Post* one month after 9/11:

One hundred percent of the terrorists involved in the Sept. 11 mass murders were Arabs. Their accomplices, if any, were probably Arabs too, or at least Muslims. Ethnicity and religion are the very basis of their movement. It hardly makes sense, therefore, to ignore that fact and, say, give Swedish au pair girls heading to the United States the same scrutiny as Arab men coming from the Middle East (47).

### **5. The Policies of Security after the 9/11 Attacks:**

After the attack on the United States, Muslims and Arab witnessed the rise of hostility, hatred, and discrimination that were legalized under the shade of policies of security. In her article "American Muslim Minorities: the New Human Rights Struggle", Ashley Moore cited three kinds of discrimination against Muslims: institutional, social and economical discrimination.

#### **5.1 Institutional Discrimination:**

In the wake of the World Trade Center attacks, the U.S. government fractured down on immigration policy and national security measures. In October 2001, the U.S. Patriot Act was signed into law with almost no Congressional debate. The Patriot Act permitted the Attorney General to detain non-citizens suspected of terrorism without a warrant, and authorized new surveillance guidelines for U.S. law enforcement agencies. Moreover, in July 2003, the Clear Law Enforcement for Criminal Alien Removal Act (CLEAR) was passed to give local law enforcement the power to enforce federal immigration laws. The combined implementation of the Patriot Act and the CLEAR Act resulted in increased surveillance of Muslims. Ashley Moore in her article stated: "Muslims have their work cut out. Just like African-Americans during the Civil Rights Era had to join together to address the issues of discrimination and hatred toward them, so too will Muslims and it will not be without challenges."

Muslims (citizens and non-citizens) were denied council and formal charges while being detained for extended periods of time. According to the Office of Inspector General (OIG), the average time from arrest to clearance was 80 days. Surveillance of Muslims was ongoing in mosques, on the Internet, and through library records, bank accounts, and places of employment.

The measures undertaken by the Bush administration imply clearly the degree of American hatred, intolerance, and violence of the Americans towards the Muslims.

### **5.2 Social Discrimination:**

In addition to the legislative violation of civil liberties, Muslims faced physical abuses and social discrimination. The Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice reported allegations of abuse including: telephone, internet, and face-to-face threats; minor assaults; vandalism; shootings; and bombings of homes, businesses, and places of worship. Muslims suffered from all the kind of social discrimination, and the negative intervention and bad treaties to them. In 2007, the council on American Islamic Relations reported receiving about 1,900 complaints of abuse and noted that anti-Muslim physical violence increased by 52 percent between 2003 and 2004 (Ashley Moore 92-93).

### **5.3 Economical Discrimination:**

The Muslim workers suffered another form of discrimination known as economic discrimination. They reported that they had been victims of employment discrimination. Workers reported name calling by co-workers, such as “terrorist” or “Osama,” and complained that employers barred them from wearing the headscarf or participating in prayer times. Complaints like these in 2010 were up nearly 60 percent from 2005 (Ashley Moore 93). Mary Jo O’Neill, Regional Attorney of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, remarked that there was a level of hatred and animosity that was shocking (Greenhouse 2010). Astonishingly, while Muslims made up only 2 percent of the U.S. population, they composed nearly one quarter of religious discrimination claims filed by the EEOC Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in 2010. Economic discrimination in the U.S. against Muslims was predicted to climb as the recession continued.

### **7. Conclusion:**

To sum up, the aftermath of 9/11 attacks drew the Muslims and Arabs in a long sphere of hatred and discrimination that gave birth to the phenomenon of Islamophobia. Muslims became then associated with violence, barbarism, and terrorism. Though the talk of president Bush tried to make a difference between Islam and terrorism, and show that Muslims might be good or bad, the nation’s policies of security boosted all forms of discrimination (institutional, social, economical), harnessing thereby the negative attitudes of the non-Muslim Americans towards the American Muslims and the Arabs. This Islamophobia

## **Chapter Two: George Bush and Islamophobia after the 11/9 Attacks**

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stretched even wider to antagonize on one hand the Western world, and on the other hand the Arab world. It should be noted, however, that this antagonism existed from the past in the form of racism and Orientalism, and the clash between the West and the East is still continuing to the present time. An important channel behind the extension of this hatred of Muslims was the media which will form the focus of the third chapter.

# Chapter three

**Media misrepresentation of Muslims after the 11/9attacks**

### **1. Introduction:**

The attacks of 11 September 2001 on the World Trade Center in the United States were a turning point in America and in the world in general. It was the time talk in by politicians, thinkers and of course media, talking all about one important thing: who did this terrorist attack? The Muslims and Arabs became, henceforth, in front of American and European media; they were accused of being terrorists and hijackers.

The media played an important role in covering such events by representing Muslims through bad images and portraying them as evils, barbarians and non civilized people. As a result, American and Western people formed wrong and negative views about the Muslims and increased their hostility toward them. They began to see them as "terrorists", "refugees" or "Militants".

This chapter tries to attempt the role of media and how it portrayed a biased view of Muslims and Arabs. In specifically tackles the misrepresentation of Arabs and Muslims, and sheds light on the Western stand as to the Muslim women who wore the Hijab (headscarf) after the event. It eventually discusses the extent to which those negative representations impressed the spread of Islam among Americans.

### **2. The Role of Media in Society:**

The present time era is the time of using media. It is the age of technology, communication and information. Mass Media is more persistent than ever before. It has really turned the world into a small village. The traditional role of mass media is defined as a means which informs, educates, entertains, and persuades people. The media can bring change in behavior and attitude of the people by emphasizing certain issues. The role of media is to shape opinion and presents a particular version as reality. It also plays an important role in structuring the audience's perspectives about the issues that happen around the world. Mass media is indeed a force for integration dispersion, and individuation in society.

With the emergence of modern communication technology, the society as a whole is now a simple hostage at the hands of the media. Indeed, people have become more attached to media with all its different types. Media is essentially one way of trading and marketing of products and prejudices. The latter unleash consequently questions as to whether people are

## **Chapter three: Media misrepresentation of Muslims after the 11/9attacks**

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being managed, manipulated, massaged and brainwashed by the media. In this vein, it is necessary to explore how the media represented 'others', particularly the Arabs and Muslims.

### **3. Arabs and Muslims in the Western Media:**

To start with, it is a necessary to differentiate between the terms "Arab" and "Muslim," which tend to be used interchangeably in the Western media. Arabs are members of an ethnic group of people who reside in North Africa, the Middle East and the Arabian Peninsula. Muslims are those who choose Islam as their religion. Most Arabs (more than 90%) are Muslims. However, the majority of Muslims are not Arabs. The majority of Muslims come from India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, all of which are non-Arab countries.

In 1980, journalist Djelloul Marbrouk noted that the Arab in the American television stood for 'terrorism, hijack, intractability, perverseness, cruelty, oil, sand, embargo, boycott, greed, bungling, comedic disunity, primitive torture, family feuds, and white slavery'. Shaheen dwelt on the same negative image. In his book *Reel Bad Arab*, he pictured generally the Arab in an ugly image:

He is swarthy and bearded, rich and filthy, dabbling in dope smuggling and white slavery; swaddled in white robes, he carries a curved knife, rides a camel and abuses young boys. He knows a thousand vile curses such as 'May the fleas of a diseased camel infect the hair of your first born (157).

Shaheen also provided examples of many programs that portrayed the Arabs in a negative way in the late 1970s, from Hollywood pictures and productions such as *Vegas*, *Fantasy Island*, and *Charlie's Angels* to comic strips such as Brenda Starr and Dennis the Menace. He equally provided examples of anti-Arab and anti-Muslim coverage from reputed news shows such as *60 Minutes* and *20/20*, in addition to regular news bulletins that associated Arabs and Muslims with terrorism

In 1981, Slade analyzed a poll of American attitudes and perceptions towards Arabs and found that Americans had little knowledge of Arab culture, history, or contributions to the world. She reported that Americans commonly thought of Arabs as "anti-American," "anti-Christian," "unfriendly," and "warlike." A few years later, precisely in 1984, Shaheen noted that "the stereotype of Arabs remains omnipresent, appearing in new programs and dated

### **Chapter three: Media misrepresentation of Muslims after the 11/9attacks**

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reruns" (113). He reported on an interview with a CBS Vice President who confirmed the black vision about the Arab, saying that he "had never seen a 'good Arab' on TV," and that Arabs were rather usually portrayed as "warmongers and/or covetous desert rulers" (114).

In the mass media, Arabs have been portrayed as wealthy, barbaric, violent, corrupt, dishonest, religious fanatics, ignorant, abusers of women, and fanatic terrorists. Additionally, Arabs were typically displayed with a black beard, headdress, and dark sunglasses. According to Shaheen (2001) "Muslim Arabs have been the most maligned group in the history of cinema, characterized by excessive stereotyping that exceeded negative images of Blacks, Native Americans, Asians, Hispanics and Jews" (112). Shaheen, like Said when he said that Arabs and Muslims are associated either with lechery or bloodthirsty dishonesty, Shaheen also he links Hollywood images to politics and power. He claimed that Hollywood images and politics are linked and they reinforce each other: "Policies enforce mythical images and mythical images help reinforcing policies".

Having discussed Western views about Arabs, it is of interest now to examine the Western stand as to Muslims. Said (1997) argues that the image of Islam in the U.S. media has always been influenced by a framework of politics and hidden interests and is therefore laden with 'not only patent inaccuracy but also expressions of unrestrained ethnocentrism, cultural and even racial hatred, and deep yet paradoxically free-floating hostility'. He characterizes the image as involving "highly exaggerated stereotyping and belligerent hostility"

Edward Said, himself an American Christian scholar, stated that malicious generalizations about Islam had become the last acceptable form of denigration of foreign culture in the West, and that what was said about the Muslim mind, or character, or religion, or culture as a whole could not be said in mainstream discussion about Africans, Jews, other Orientals, or Asian. He talked also about movies made about Muslims and television speech where Muslims were depicted negatively. In that scope, he stated:

In movies and on television, the Arab is associated either with lechery or bloodthirsty dishonesty. He appears as an oversexed de-generate, capable, it is true, of cleverly devious intrigues, but essentially sadistic, treacherous, low. Slave trader, camel driver,

## **Chapter three: Media misrepresentation of Muslims after the 11/9attacks**

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money changer, colorful scoundrel: these are some traditional Arab roles in the cinema. (Edward Said 262).

Hollywood's misrepresentations of Islam and Arab Muslims had a great impact on people's opinion and shaped the way people perceived Muslims. They clearly influenced how people thought, acted and reacted. Arab Muslims were repeatedly depicted as villains or negative/deviant characters in Disney movies, cartoons, computer games, comic books, books, magazines, newspapers, television and radio shows. Shaheen (2001), for example, contended that Arabs in Hollywood movies were "hardly ever seen as ordinary people, practicing law, driving taxis, singing lullabies or healing the sick" (10).

The USA Today/Gallup Poll conducted in 2006 tried to assess the extent to which the misrepresentations of Islam and Muslims in mass media impacted Americans' feeling towards Muslims. The results displayed that 48% of Americans believed that torturing suspected terrorists was often or sometimes justified. 39% of Americans considered that the Muslims living in the U.S. were not loyal to America. More than one-third of Americans held that Muslims living in the U.S. were sympathetic to Al Qaeda; while early one-fourth of Americans said they would "not like to have a Muslim as a neighbor" (Mediead.org).

### **4. Media Misrepresentation of Muslims after the 9/11 Attacks:**

The 9 11 attacks on the World Trade Center were so tragic and catastrophic; causing, thereby, a great horror to the American citizens and all people in general, and contributing evidently to the negative representation of Muslims. The American media seized this opportunity through the production of a significant amount of news coverage on Islam and Arabs. Many of the media stories presented the American audiences with a variety of Muslims stereotype ranging from the violent Muslims to the victimized veiled women and religion fanatic.

On September 13, 2001 Bill O'Reilly, on his popular *The O'Reilly Factor* shown on the Fox News Channel, said it "doesn't make any difference" who you kill in the process of retaliation against the attacks (FAIR). On the same day, syndicated columnist Ann Coulter wrote:

### **Chapter three: Media misrepresentation of Muslims after the 11/9attacks**

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This is no time to be precious about locating the exact individuals directly involved in this particular terrorist attack.... We should invade their countries, kill their leaders and convert them to Christianity. We weren't punctilious about locating and punishing only Hitler and his top officers. We carpet-bombed German cities; we killed civilians. That's war. And this is war. (Ann Coulter 264).

The West started the promoting of scientific and intellectual thought and considered themselves more civilized than other races. They justified this attitude by their dynamic development and enlightenment unlike Islam and Muslims whom they portrayed as backward, and violent. Though the stereotype of Muslims had been continuously practiced for thousands of years as examined earlier; this view became more heavily imprinted in the minds of Americans and Westerners, especially after the terrorist attacks t in New York and Washington in September 2001.

The main difference between the past and the present stereotypical images of Arabs and Muslims in the USA lied essentially in the means and frequency. In addition to the past images about the Muslims and Arab (“erotic”, “ignorant”, “slave traders”), other features were added to the list. In fact, after the 9/11 attacks, expression such as “terrorists”, “fundamentalists”, “bloody thirsty” were more frequently ascribed to the category of Muslims and Arabs. According to Nacos and Torres-Reyna, “following the terrorist attacks of September 11, the news about Muslim Americans and Arabs ... changed from overwhelmingly *episodic* to mostly *thematic*” (15).

In their book the Representation of Islam and Muslims in the Media, the Age of Herald Newspapers, Sharhman and Bianca argued that the depiction of Muslims and Islam constructed them as the other, immature, even backward ethnic or foreign people who needed to be controlled by the Western society. They added also that the media produced images of Muslims and Islam as others by describing them as militant, sexist, undemocratic and suicide bomber. They also stated the media representation of Muslim men in white robes and long bears, and uneducated women in Hijab disregarded totally the diversity of Islamic practices. For them, print media pictured Muslims in negative stereotypes and misinformed readers of Islam as a religion and culture. (4).

## **Chapter three: Media misrepresentation of Muslims after the 11/9attacks**

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*The* media plays a role in creating images of different groups, while simultaneously creating the boundaries of whom “we” are and who are “they” in the sense of identity and race. Henry and Tator dealt with this idea as follows:

Radio, television, the print media, and other systems of representation... Those are elements out of which we form our identities. These vehicles of cultural production help shape our sense of self, our understanding or what it means to be male/female, and our sense of ethnicity, class, race, and national identity. They help us understand who is us, who is them (4).

Briefly, the mass media became paramount in determining how the Americans viewed the Muslims, creating consequently wide gaps between the two groups. Almost half of all articles represented Islam and Muslims in the media as a threat just to provoke fear, anxiety and bad images toward them. Those dark narratives about Islam and Muslims were done with closed not open ways of thinking, talking and engagement. This was likely to increase insecurity and vulnerability amongst Muslims; provoke anxiety, fear and panic amongst non-Muslims. It was also unlikely to help diminish levels of hate crime and acts of discrimination against Muslims.

### **5. Women and Hijab:**

The September 11 terrorist attacks and the consequent political tensions deeply affected the lives of many Muslim women residing in the United States. Those who wore the Islamic headscarf (or hijab) became an especially easy target for scapegoating, since this religious dress code was seen as the most definable marker of the faith. Along with a dramatic increase in hate crimes targeting Muslim individuals and institutions, the local media and affiliated associations stressed a dramatic increase in human rights violations specifically targeting women. Such acts included the attempted forceful removal of their hijab and public taunting with ethnic aspersions. This fast rise of violence centering on this cultural practice reasserted continuing racism, sexism, and ethnocentrism against ethnic minority women.

Some heads-carved women in the United States found themselves in a precarious position. No longer did the headscarf reflect an individual decision about personal faith and

### **Chapter three: Media misrepresentation of Muslims after the 11/9attacks**

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dress. Rather, it marked the Muslim woman as a member of the enemy and a legitimate target of aggression arising out of societal prejudices against a religion that had been recast as a hostile political ideology. Her personal beliefs and individual behavior were irrelevant to the harsh judgments she faced from a largely suspicious and fearful public. She became associated with another stereotype: a disloyal, anti-American, terrorist or terrorist sympathizer”.(Sahar F.Aziz 114).

The Western media was long occupied by targeting and misrepresenting Muslim women’s dress code, with the hijab, or veil which many Western reporters viewed as “oppressive” to women. Interestingly, few Muslim women confirmed this claim in their own words. In fact, a 2005 Gallup Organization survey, where over 8,000 face-to-face interviews were conducted with women in eight Muslim countries, revealed that the “hijab, or headscarf, and burqa...seen by some Westerners as tools of oppression, were never mentioned in the women’s answers...,” and the majority of the women surveyed did not see themselves as oppressed (Andrew N.Weintraub 208).

The real mystery is thus why the coverage of the veil so dominated Western media, even in articles not as number of stories centered on topics wholly unconnected with the hijab, yet reporters made it a point to mention it to readers nonetheless. Examples included a story in *USA Today* of a Muslim American businessman who helped Muslims finance their homes through interest-free mortgages. In 2005, Reporter Elliot Blair Smith started his story with this anecdote: ‘On a sunny afternoon, Yahia Abdul-Rhman ignores the broken air conditioner in his Mortgage-finance Company’s cramped Southern California office. Around him, three dozen employees, some of them Muslim women veiled in scarves, toil amid the rising heat and stacks of paper clutter... (Elliot Blair Smith 1)’. These “veiled women” were never mentioned again in the story, yet they appeared in the lead. One might charitably interpret the reporter’s mentioning of the veiled women to demonstrate just how hot the atmosphere must have been for them, given that the air conditioner was broken. But even if this explanation was plausible, for audiences conditioned to equate veiling with oppression, the reference (perhaps inadvertently) reproduced the stereotype of the oppressed and helpless Muslim woman, who had to endure the scorching heat with a head cover adding to her misery.

## **Chapter three: Media misrepresentation of Muslims after the 11/9attacks**

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In her article “The Muslim “Veil” Post-9/11: Rethinking Women’s Rights and Leadership”, Sahar Aziz, a professor of law at Texas, talked about the veil where she stated that it was a symbol of subjugation in the 1990 s. She argued that some Western feminists categorically denounced the headscarf as a symbol of patriarchy. They doubted that a Muslim woman could “decide” to wear it. Rather, the perception was that she was forced by male (or female) family members or indoctrinated from youth to accept it as obligatory for her spiritual salvation. (Sahar Aziz 08).

Sahar Aziz added also that the veil’s issues of subjugation changed to an issue of terrorism after the 9/11 attacks in the United States where many heads-carved women found themselves in sensible positions, experiencing some forms of discrimination in ways similar to Muslim men. The headscarf engendered their subordination in ways overlooked by generic strategies against anti-Muslim discrimination. Specifically to many, it marked a woman as a terrorist sympathizer, an inassimilable foreigner, and an oppressed woman. Having analyzed how Western media epitomized harshly the Muslims and Arabs, heightening thereby the phenomenon of Islamophobia, it would be interesting to see whether this affected the expansion of Islam, particularly among Americans.

### **7. Conclusion**

As already mentioned earlier in this chapter, media has a crucial role in the society since it contributes to the spread of information to the whole society through the provision of news in different domains. This has consequently the ability of shaping public opinion and impressing their attitudes as to current issues.

Arabs and Muslims started to be in the front of the media since a long time, yet the terrorist attacks of 2001 in the United States increased the representation of Arabs and Muslims as “them”, and from the outset of this attack the bad images and the discrimination toward them became more widespread than before. The different types of media, especially the Western ones, displayed in their front pages big titles that Muslims and Arabs were terrorists and Hijackers. Muslim Women also took part in the broadcasting of ugly images and bad stereotypes related to their wearing of the hijab. They were described as uneducated and oppressed.

### **Chapter three: Media misrepresentation of Muslims after the 11/9attacks**

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In shaping bad images and negative views about Muslims and Islam, the Western media contributed to the huge spread of hate, discrimination and fear from Arabs and Muslims (Islamophobia) on one hand, but it also contributed on another hand, to creating a kind of curiosity among Americans and Westerners to ask questions about the religion of Islam. Likewise, many of them found themselves attached to this religion and decided to convert to it, disregarding all the negative representations of Muslims.

# **General Conclusion**

## General Conclusion

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The present work tried to investigate George .W. Bush's administration of the terrorist attacks which took place on September 11, 2001 in the United States, with a view to assessing the extent to which the president's management of the crisis alleviated the hostility towards the Muslims, commonly known as Islamophobia. Such a task required the exploration of three points, namely the settlement of the Muslims in America and their interaction with the other races, Bush's handling of the September events and the advent of Islamophobia, and finally the stake of media in amplifying the hostility towards the Muslims.

The settlement of the Muslims in North America goes to a remote time in history, precisely the ninth century when some adventures sailed to this land in search of treasures. Later, many Muslim explorers followed suit in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Subsequently, Columbus's expedition brought many Muslim slaves from Africa. A larger movement of immigration occurred in the nineteenth and twentieth century's that stretched over four periods: the first between 1875 and 1912, the second after the First World War, the third after the Second World War, and the last after the 1960's. The newcomers, who were motivated by economic, political, and religious prosperity, comprised people from the Middle East, Easter Europe, and the Soviet Union. In the process of this migration, they succeeded to settle and comingle with other races, in spite of the antagonisms and rivalry with the Judeo-Christian society. This was censured by dint of a number of organizations that catered for the promotion of Muslim interests.

The terrorist attacks that hit the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were, indeed, horrifying events that marked deeply the lives of the Americans, and the world in general. They unleashed a great number of deaths, but more tragically, they triggered sentiments of fear and anxiety. President Bush had to address the nation to fulfill three targets:(i) appease the distress of the Americans and re-establish optimism for the future; (ii) display Americans' strength in combating terrorism not only in America, but also outside it; (iii) and assure the Muslim Americans about their non-victimization for the terrible incident by insisting on the nice teachings of Islam and the complete disparity between the Muslims and Arabs on one hand, and the Muslim terrorist on the other hand. Consequently, he delivered speeches to both of the Congress and the nation. He undertook many actions such as 'the global war on terrorism', exemplified by the declaration of war to Afghanistan and Iraq. Yet, those efforts could not stop the tide of anger and hatred that was directed to Muslims, generating the rise of Islamophobia. Muslims became then associated with violence, barbarism, and terrorism. This

## General Conclusion

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Islamophobia stretched even wider to antagonize on one hand the Western world, and on the other hand the Arab world. Yet, one should not lose sight of the fact that this antagonism existed from the past in the form of racism and Orientalism. The sole difference lied in the intensity of the movement.

Western media had a bid contribution in the spread of Islamophobia. In fact, they added more fuel to Muslim hostility through the misrepresentation of Muslims and Arabs, portraying them as terrorists, hijackers, fundamentalists, bloody thirsty, religion fanatic, sexist, undemocratic and suicide bomber. Media attacked *also* Muslim women who wore the hijab as uneducated and oppressed persons.

Such negative depiction of Muslims and Islam constructed them as the other, immature, even backward ethnic or foreign people who needed to be controlled by the Western society. Those dark images were done with closed not open ways of thinking, talking and engagement. This was likely to increase insecurity and vulnerability amongst Muslims; and provoke anxiety, fear and panic amongst non-Muslims. Ironically, the media had another effect on the Americans as many grew curious about that religion. They wanted to check the evils that had been propagandized by the media, and in the process they ended by converting into Islam.

In brief, the September terrorist attacks were so terrifying that they produced a great cataclysm in feelings, and attitudes amongst Americans. Hence, whatever the efforts made by President Bush to minimize the growth of hostility towards Muslims, they were vain. Moreover, the impress of media on public opinion was so powerful that it could only endure this hatred. Nowadays, Islamophobia is still gaining more field, and shows feeble chances of extinction. The latter requires a sound commitment on the part of the world community in order to reduce the negative views of Westerners toward Muslims, ameliorate their representation in media, and construct a better harmony between Muslims and the West.

This positive relationship necessitates that governments strive to make their educational systems largely favorable to the ingraining of empathy and cultural sensitization. Furthermore, Western politicians, administrators, and thinkers ought to consider the dangers that might emanate from cultivating bad images about Muslims whatever the envisaged interests because violence breeds violence and insecurity that stand as a bar for economic prosperity.

## **General Conclusion**

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As to Muslim and Arab governments, their stake in bettering the image of Islam is extremely important. In this scope, the suggestions of Shahzad Ali, Muhammad Khalid and Muhammad Idrees Lodhi mentioned are glaringly interesting. Muslim countries should develop their media channels, establish internet sites in Western languages as well as published material in the form of journals, booklets and books in order to counter propaganda of West and America about Islam and Muslim countries. Muslim thinkers must better explain Islam by writing books and articles, giving lectures and arranging meetings, with people of other religion. On the other hand, a conducive environment for research and cooperation between Muslims and Western scholars in the arena of political debate, culture, history, and religion and media studies should be promoted for the cultivation of mutual understanding, and tolerance.

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## **Appendix A: Osama Bin Laden's Fatwa of 1996**

### **Osama Bin Laden's Jihad**

and text of Fatwa's and Declaration of War

### **Osama Bin Laden "Declaration of War against the Americans Occupying the Land of the Two Holy Places" 1996**

(This Fatwa was redistributed in 1998)

Our youths believe in paradise after death. They believe that taking part in fighting will not bring their day nearer; and staying behind will not postpone their day either. Exalted be to Allah who said: {and a soul will not die but with the permission of Allah, the term is fixed} (Aal Imraan; 3:145). Our youths believe in the saying of the messenger of Allah (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on him): "O boy, I teach a few words; guard (guard the cause of, keep the commandments of) Allah, then He guards you, guard (the cause of ) Allah, then He will be with you; if you ask (for your need) ask Allah, if you seek assistance, seek Allah's; and know definitely that if the Whole World gathered to (bestow) profit on you they will not profit you except with what was determined for you by Allah, and if they gathered to harm you they will not harm you except with what has been determined for you by Allah; Pen lifted, papers dried, it is fixed nothing in these truths can be changed" Saheeh Al-Jame' As-Sagheer. Our youths took note of the meaning of the poetic verse:

"if death is a predetermined must, then it is a shame to die cowardly."

and the other poet saying:

«Who do not die by the sword will die for other reasons; many causes are there but one death".

These youths believe in what has been told by Allah and His messenger (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on him) about the greatness of the reward for the Mujahideen and Martyrs; Allah, the most exalted said: {and -so far- those who are slain in the way of Allah, He will by no means allow their deeds to perish. He will guide them and improve their condition. And cause them to enter the garden -paradise- which He has made known to them}. (Muhammad; 47:4-6). Allah the Exalted also said: {and do not speak of those who are slain in Allah's way as dead; nay -they are- alive, but you do not perceive} (Bagarah; 2:154). His

messenger (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on him) said: "for those who strive in His cause Allah prepared hundred degrees (levels) in paradise; in-between two degrees as the in-between heaven and earth". Saheeh Al-Jame' As-Sagheer. He (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on him) also said: "the best of the martyrs are those who do NOT turn their faces away from the battle till they are killed. They are in the high level of Jannah (paradise). Their Lord laughs to them ( in pleasure) and when your Lord laughs to a slave of His, He will not hold him to an account". narrated by Ahmad with correct and trustworthy reference. And: "a martyr will not feel the pain of death except like how you feel when you are pinched". Saheeh Al-Jame' As-Sagheer. He also said : "a martyr privileges are guaranteed by Allah; forgiveness with the first gush of his blood, he will be shown his seat in paradise, he will be decorated with the jewels of belief (Imaan), married off to the beautiful ones, protected from the test in the grave, assured security in the day of judgement, crowned with the crown of dignity, a ruby of which is better than this whole world (Dunia) and its' entire content, wedded to seventy two of the pure Houries (beautiful ones of Paradise) and his intercession on the behalf of seventy of his relatives will be accepted". Narrated by Ahmad and At-Tirmithi (with the correct and trustworthy reference).

Those youths know that their rewards in fighting you, the USA, are double their rewards in fighting someone else not from the people of the book. They have no intention except to enter paradise by killing you. An infidel, and enemy of God like you, cannot be in the same hell with his righteous executioner. Our youths chanting and reciting the word of Allah, the most exalted: {fight them; Allah will punish them by your hands and bring them to disgrace, and assist you against them and heal the heart of a believing people} (At-Taubah; 9:14) and the words of the prophet (ALLAH'S BLESSING AND SALUTATIONS ON HIM): "I swear by Him, who has my soul in His hand, that no man get killed fighting them today, patiently attacking and not retreating ,surely Allah will let him into paradise". And his (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on him) saying to them: "get up to a paradise as wide as heaven and earth". The youths also reciting the All Mighty words of: {so when you meet in battle those who disbelieve, then smite the necks.....} (Muhammad; 47:19). Those youths will not ask you (William Perry) for explanations, they will tell you singing. "There is nothing between us need to be explained, there is only killing and neck smiting." And they will say to you what their grandfather, Haroon Ar-Rasheed, Ameer-ul-Mu'meneen, replied to your grandfather, Nagfoor, the Byzantine emperor, when he threatened the Muslims: "from Haroon Ar-Rasheed, Ameer-ul-Mu'meneen, to Nagfoor, the dog of the Romans; the answer is what

you will see not what you hear". Haroon El-Rasheed led the armies of Islam to the battle and handed Nagfoor a devastating defeat. The youths you called cowards are competing among themselves for fighting and killing you. Reciting what one of them said: The crusader army became dust when we detonated al-Khobar with courageous youth of Islam fearing no danger, If (they are) threatened, "The tyrants will kill you," they reply, "My death is a victory. I did not betray that king, he did betray our Qiblah. And he permitted in the holy country the filthiest sort of humans. I have made an oath by Allah, the Great, to fight whoever rejected the faith. For more than a decade, they carried arms on their shoulders in Afghanistan and they have made vows to Allah that as long as they are alive, they will continue to carry arms against you until you are -Allah willing- expelled, defeated and humiliated, they will carry on as long as they live saying: O William, tomorrow you will know which young man is confronting your misguided brethren! A youth fighting in smile, returning with the spear colored red. May Allah keep me close to knights, humans in peace, demons in war. Lions in Jungle but their teeth are spears and Indian swords. The horse's witness that I push them hard forwarded in the fire of battle. The dust of the battle bears witnesses for me, so also the fighting itself, the pens and the books!

So to abuse the grandsons of the companions, may Allah be pleased with them, by calling them cowards and challenging them by refusing to leave the land of the two Holy Places shows the insanity and the imbalance you are suffering from. It's appropriate 'remedy, however, is in the hands of the youths of Islam, as the poet said: I am willing to sacrifice self and wealth for knights who never disappointed me Knights who are never fed up or deterred by death, even if the mill of war turns In the heat of battle they do not care, and cure the insanity of the enemy by their 'insane' courage. Terrorizing you, while you are carrying arms on our land, is a legitimate and morally demanded duty. It is a legitimate right well known to all humans and other creatures. Your example and our example is like a snake which entered into a house of man and got killed by him. The coward is the one who lets you walk, while carrying arms, freely on his land and provides you with peace and security. Those youths are different from your soldiers. Your problem will be how to convince your troops to fight, while our problem will be how to restrain our youths to wait for their turn in fighting and in operations. These youths are worthy of commendation and praise. They stood up tall to defend the religion; at the time when the government misled the prominent scholars and tricked them into issuing Fatwas (that have no basis neither in the book of Allah, nor in the Sunnah of His prophet (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on him)) of opening the land

of the two Holy Places for the Christians armies and handing the Al-Aqsa Mosque to the Zionists. Twisting the meanings of the holy text will not change this fact at all. They deserve the praise of the poet: I rejected all the critics, who chose the wrong way I rejected those who enjoy fireplaces in clubs discussing eternally. I rejected those, who in spite of being lost, think they are at the goal, I respect those who carried on not asking or bothering about the difficulties, never letting up from their goals, despite all hardships of the road, whose blood is the oil for the flame guiding in the darkness of confusion. I feel still the pain of (the loss) Al-Quds in my internal organs. That loss is like a burning fire in my intestines I did not betray my covenant with God, when even states did betray it!

As their grandfather Assim Bin Thabit said rejecting a surrender offer of the pagans: "What for an excuse I had to surrender, while I am still able, having arrows and my bow having a tough string?! Death is truth and ultimate destiny, and life will end any way. If I do not fight you, then my mother must be insane!"

The youths hold you responsible for all of the killings and evictions of the Muslims and the violation of the sanctities, carried out by your Zionist brothers in Lebanon; you openly supplied them with arms and finance. More than 600,000 Iraqi children have died due to lack of food and medicine and as a result of the unjustifiable aggression (sanctions) imposed on Iraq and its nation. The children of Iraq are our children. You, the USA, together with the Saudi regime are responsible for the shedding of the blood of these innocent children. Due to all of that, whatever treaty you have with our country is now null and void. The treaty of Hudaibiyyah was cancelled by the messenger of Allah (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on him) once Quraysh had assisted Bani Bakr against Khusa'ah, the allies of the prophet (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on him). The prophet (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on him) fought Quraysh and concurred Makka. He (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on him) considered the treaty with Bani Qainuqa' void because one of their Jews publicly hurt one Muslim woman, one single woman, at the market. Let alone then, the killing you caused to hundreds of thousands Muslims and occupying their sanctities. It is now clear that those who claim that the blood of the American solders (the enemy occupying the land of the Muslims) should be protected are merely repeating what is imposed on them by the regime; fearing the aggression and interested in saving themselves. It is a duty now on every tribe in the Arab Peninsula to fight, Jihad, in the cause of Allah and to cleanse the land from those occupiers. Allah knows that there blood is permitted (to be spilled) and their

wealth is booty; their wealth is booty to those who kill them. The most Exalted said in the verse of As-Sayef, The Sword: {so when the sacred months have passed away, then slay the idolaters where ever you find them, and take them captives and besiege them and lie in wait for them in every ambush} (At-Tauba; 9:5). Our youths knew that the humiliation suffered by the Muslims as a result of the occupation of their sanctities cannot be kicked and removed except by explosions and Jihad. As the poet said:

"The walls of oppression and humiliation cannot be demolished except in a rain of bullets. The freeman does not surrender leadership to infidels and sinners without shedding blood no degradation and branding can be removed from the forehead." I remind the youths of the Islamic world, who fought in Afghanistan and Bosnia-Herzegovina with their wealth, pens, tongues and themselves that the battle had not finished yet. I remind them about the talk between Jibreel (Gabriel) and the messenger of Allah (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on both of them) after the battle of Ahzab when the messenger of Allah (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on him) returned to Medina and before putting his sword aside; when Jibreel (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on him) descend saying: "are you putting your sword aside? by Allah the angels haven't dropped their arms yet; march with your companions to Bani Quraydah, I am (going) ahead of you to throw fears in their hearts and to shake their fortresses on them." Jibreel marched with the angels (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on them all), followed by the messenger of Allah (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on him) marching with the immigrants, Muhajeroon, and supporters, Ansar. (Narrated by Al-Bukhary). These youths know this: if one is not to be killed one will die (anyway) and the most honourable death is to be killed in the way of Allah. They are even more determined after the martyrdom of the four heroes who bombed the Americans in Riyadh. Those youths who raised high the head of the Ummah and humiliated the Americans- the occupier- by their operation in Riyadh. They remember the poetry of Ja'far, the second commander in the battle of Mu'tah, in which three thousand Muslims faced over a hundred thousand Romans:

How good is the Paradise and its nearness, good with cool drink, But the Romans are promised punishment (in Hell), if I meet them I will fight them. And the poetry of Abdullah Bin Rawaha, the third commander in the battle of Mu'tah, after the martyrdom of Ja'far, when he felt some hesitation: O my soul if you do not get killed, you are going to die, anyway. This

is death pool in front of you! You are getting what you have wished for (martyrdom) before, and you follow the example of the two previous commanders you are rightly guided!

As for our daughters, wives, sisters and mothers, they should take prime example from the prophet (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on him) pious female companions, may Allah be pleased with them; they should adopt the life style (Seerah) of the female companions of courage, sacrifice and generosity in the cause of the supremacy of Allah's religion. They should remember the courage and the personality of Fatima, daughter of Khatab, when she accepted Islam and stood up in front of her brother, Omar Ibn Al-Khatab and challenged him (before he became a Muslim) saying: "O Omar , what will you do if the truth is not in your religion?!"

And to remember the stand of Asma', daughter of Abu Bakr, on the day of Hijra, when she attended the Messenger and his companion in the cave and split her belt in two pieces for them. And to remember the stand of Naseeba Bent Ka'b striving to defend the messenger of Allah (Allah's Blessings and Salutations may be on him) on the day of Uhud, in which she suffered twelve injuries, one of which was so deep leaving a deep lifelong scar! They should remember the generosity of the early woman of Islam who raised finance for the Muslims army by selling their jewellery. Our women had set a tremendous example of generosity in the cause of Allah; they motivated and encouraged their sons, brothers and husbands to fight- in the cause of Allah- in Afghanistan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Chechenia and in other countries. We ask Allah to accept from them these deeds, and may He help their fathers, brothers, husbands and sons. May Allah strengthen the belief - Imaan - of our women in the way of generosity and sacrifice for the supremacy of the word of Allah. Our women weep not, except over men who fight in the cause of Allah; our women instigate their brothers to fight in the cause of Allah.

Our women bemoan only fighters in the cause of Allah, as said: Do not moan on any one except a lion in the woods, courageous in the burning wars Let me die dignified in wars, honourable death is better than my current life Our women encourage to Jihad saying:

Prepare yourself like a struggler; the matter is bigger than words! Are you going to leave us else for the wolves of Kufr [infidels] eating our wings?! The wolves of Kufr are mobilising all evil persons from everywhere! Where are the freemen defending free women by the arms?! Death is better than life in humiliation! Some scandals and shames will never be otherwise

eradicated. My Muslim Brothers of The World: Your brothers in Palestine and in the land of the two Holy Places are calling upon your help and asking you to take part in fighting against the enemy -your enemy and their enemy- the Americans and the Israelis. They are asking you to do whatever you can, with your own means and ability, to expel the enemy, humiliated and defeated, out of the sanctities of Islam. Exalted be to Allah said in His book: {and if they ask your support, because they are oppressed in their faith, then support them!} (Anfaal; 8:72)

O you horses (soldiers) of Allah ride and March on. This is the time of hardship so be tough. And know that your gathering and co-operation in order to liberate the sanctities of Islam is the right step toward unifying the word of the Ummah under the banner of "No God but Allah»).

From our place we raise our palms humbly to Allah asking Him to bestow on us His guide in every aspects of this issue. Our Lord, we ask you to secure the release of the truthful scholars, Ulama, of Islam and pious youths of the Ummah from their imprisonment. O Allah, strengthen them and help their families.

Our Lord, the people of the cross had come with their horses (soldiers) and occupied the land of the two Holy places. And the Zionist Jews fiddling as they wish with the Al-Aqsa Mosque, the route of the ascendance of the messenger of Allah (ALLAH'S BLESSING AND SALUTATIONS ON HIM). Our Lord, shatter their gathering, divide them among themselves, shaken the earth under their feet and give us control over them; Our Lord, we take refuge in you from their deeds and take you as a shield between us and them Our Lord, show us a black day in them! Our Lord, show us the wonderment of your ability in them! Our Lord, You are the Revealer of the book, Director of the clouds, you defeated the allies (Ahzab); defeat them and make us victorious over them. Our Lord, You are the one who help us and You are the one who assist us, with Your Power we move and by Your Power we fight. On you we rely and you are our cause. Our Lord, those youths got together to make your religion victorious and raise your banner. Our Lord, send them your help and strengthen their hearts. Our Lord, make the youths of Islam steadfast and descend patience on them and guide their shots! Our Lord, unify the Muslims and bestow love among their hearts! Our Lord, pours down upon us patience, and makes our steps firm and assists us against the unbelieving people! Our Lord, do not lay on us a burden as Thou didst lay on those before us; Our Lord, do not impose upon us that which we have no strength to bear; and pardon us and grant us protection and have mercy on us, Thou art our patron, so help us against the unbelieving people. Our Lord, guide this

Ummah, and make the right conditions (by which) the people of your obedience will be in dignity and the people of disobedience in humiliation, and by which the good deeds are enjoined and the bad deeds are forebode. Our Lord, bless Muhammad, Your slave and messenger, his family and descendants, and companions and salute him with a (becoming) salutation. And our last supplication is: All praise is due to Allah. Usamah bin Muhammad bin Laden Friday, 9/4/1417 A.H (23/8/1996 AD) Hindukush Mountains, Khurasan, Afghanistan.

\*\*Text Supplied by: Muhammad A. S. Al-Mass'ari; CDLR (Committee for the Defense of Civil Rights in Saudi Arabia)

### **OSAMA BIN LADEN: Text of Fatwa Urging Jihad against Americans -1998**

**Published in Al-Quds al-'Arabi on February 23, 1998**

Statement signed by Sheikh Usamah Bin-Muhammad Bin-Ladin; Ayman al-Zawahiri, leader of the Jihad Group in Egypt; Abu- Yasir Rifa'i Ahmad Taha, a leader of the Islamic Group; Sheikh Mir Hamzah, secretary of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-

Pakistan; and Fazlul Rahman, leader of the Jihad Movement in Bangladesh

Praise be to God, who revealed the Book, controls the clouds, defeats factionalism, and says in His Book "But when the forbidden months are past, then fight and slay the pagans wherever ye find them, seize them, beleaguer them, and lie in wait for them in every stratagem (of war)"; and peace be upon our Prophet, Muhammad Bin-'Abdallah, who said "I have been sent with the sword between my hands to ensure that no one but God is worshipped, God who put my livelihood under the shadow of my spear and who inflicts humiliation and scorn on those who disobey my orders." The Arabian Peninsula has never--since God made it flat, created its desert, and encircled it with seas--been stormed by any forces like the crusader armies now spreading in it like locusts, consuming its riches and destroying its plantations. All this is happening at a time when nations are attacking Muslims like people fighting over a plate of food. In the light of the grave situation and the lack of support, we and you are obliged to discuss current events, and we should all agree on how to settle the matter. No one argues today about three facts that are known to everyone; we will list them, in order to remind everyone:

First, for over seven years the United States has been occupying the lands of Islam in the holiest of places, the Arabian Peninsula, plundering its riches, dictating to its rulers, humiliating its people, terrorizing its neighbors, and turning its bases in the Peninsula into a spearhead through which to fight the neighboring Muslim peoples. If some people have formerly debated the fact of the occupation, all the people of the Peninsula have now acknowledged it. The best proof of this is the Americans' continuing aggression against the Iraqi people using the Peninsula as a staging post, even though all its rulers are against their territories being used to that end, still they are helpless. Second, despite the great devastation inflicted on the Iraqi people by the crusader-Zionist alliance, and despite the huge number of those killed, in excess of 1 million... despite all this, the Americans are once again trying to repeat the horrific massacres, as though they are not content with the protracted blockade imposed after the ferocious war or the fragmentation and devastation. So now they come to annihilate what is left of this people and to humiliate their Muslim neighbors. Third, if the Americans' aims behind these wars are religious and economic, the aim is also to serve the Jews' petty state and divert attention from its occupation of Jerusalem and murder of Muslims there. The best proof of this is their eagerness to destroy Iraq, the strongest neighboring Arab state, and their endeavor to fragment all the states of the region such as Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Sudan into paper stateless and through their disunion and weakness to guarantee Israel's survival and the continuation of the brutal crusade occupation of the Peninsula. All these crimes and sins committed by the Americans are a clear declaration of war on God, his messenger, and Muslims. And ulema have throughout Islamic history unanimously agreed that the jihad is an individual duty if the enemy destroys the Muslim countries. This was revealed by Imam Bin-Qadamah in "Al- Mughni," Imam al-Kisa'i in "Al- Bada'i," al-Qurtubi in his interpretation, and the shaykh of al-Islam in his books, where he said "As for the militant struggle, it is aimed at defending sanctity and religion, and it is a duty as agreed. Nothing is more sacred than belief except repulsing an enemy who is attacking religion and life." *On that basis, and in compliance with God's order, we issue the following fatwa to all Muslims* The ruling to kill the Americans and their allies--civilians and military--is an individual duty for every Muslim who can do it in any country in which it is possible to do it, in order to liberate the al-Aqsa Mosque and the holy mosque from their grip, and in order for their armies to move out of all the lands of Islam, defeated and unable to threaten any Muslim. This is in accordance with the words of Almighty God, «and fights the pagans all together as they fight you all together," and "fight

them until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in God." This is in addition to the words of Almighty God "And why should ye not fight in the cause of God and of those who, being weak, are ill-treated and oppressed--women and children, whose cry is 'Our Lord, rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from the one who will help!'" We -- with God's help -- call on every Muslim who believes in God and wishes to be rewarded to comply with God's order to kill the Americans and plunder their money wherever and whenever they find it. We also call on Muslim ulema, leaders, youths, and soldiers to launch the raid on Satan's U.S. troops and the devil's supporters allying with them, and to displace those who are behind them so that they may learn a lesson. Almighty God said "O ye, who believe, give your response to God and His Apostle, when He calls you to that which will give you life. And know that God cometh between a man and his heart, and that it is He to whom ye shall all be gathered." Almighty God also says "O ye who believe, what is the matter with you, that when ye are asked to go forth in the cause of God, ye cling so heavily to the earth! Do ye prefer the life of this world to the hereafter? But little is the comfort of this life, as compared with the hereafter. Unless ye go forth, He will punish you with a grievous penalty, and put others in your place; but Him ye would not harm in the least. For God hath power over all things."

Almighty God also says "So lose no heart, nor fall into despair. For ye must gain mastery if ye are true Osama Bin Laden

Source : <http://www.mideastweb.org/osamabinladen1.htm>.

## **Appendix B: George W. Bush Address to Joint Session of Congress Following 9/11 Attacks**

delivered 20 September 2001

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, and 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 Osama 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, and 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](http://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 uniforms, 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.

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