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**Terrorism as a Political Instrument in the George W. Bush  
Administration**

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Requirements for the Master Degree in Culture and Civilizations**

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## Dedication

I dedicate this humble work to my truly outrageous and brilliant mother, **Boudechiche Fatma**, who has always loved and supported me unconditionally and who has always taught me to work hard for the things that I aspire to achieve. I am thankful to **Beyarassou Abed El Ouheb**, my father, for always believing in me and for his ever-present support of my personal endeavors towards learning.

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## Dedication

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### **Abstract**

The thesis studies terrorism as a political instrument in the George W. Bush administration. It focuses on terrorism as a political tool as it sheds light on the definition and types of different political tools and the way they are used. Furthermore, the study is significant in providing in-depth analysis of the motivational reasoning behind adopting terrorism as a means to achieve political ends. This study analyzes that extent to which U.S policy used terrorism during Bush's presidency. Moreover, it elucidates the implication of harnessing terrorism to reach political ends. Under the stated goal of increased national security, George W. Bush managed to use terrorism as a tool to promote new wars and security proposals. Using terrorism as a political tool had engendered material as well as symbolic implications both domestically and internationally.

## ملخص

تقوم هذه المذكرة بدراسة استعمال الارهاب كأداة سياسية في ادارة الرئيس جورج بوش الثاني . حيث يسلط هذا البحث الضوء على استعمال الارهاب كأداة سياسية من خلال تقديم تعاريف و انواع الادوات السياسية المختلفة و طريقة استخدامها. كما ان الدراسة تقوم بتحليل المنطق وراء تبني الارهاب كوسيلة لتحقيق الاهداف السياسية. تحقق هذه الأطروحة في مدى استعمال الارهاب للوصول الى اهداف سياسية من خلال رئاسة جورج دبليو بوش . بالإضافة الى ذلك، توضح آثار استخدام الارهاب للوصول الى الاهداف السياسية. تحت الهدف المعن المتمثل في زيادة الامن القومي ، تمكن الرئيس بوش من استعمال الارهاب للترويج لحروب واقتراحات أمنية . حيث أدى هذا الاستغلال الى اثار مادية ورمزية على الصعيدين الداخلي و الدولي

## List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
The US PATRIOT Act	Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism

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## Introduction

Terrorism is one of the most debatable phenomena in modern times. However, a common definition can be still provided. The word, in its broader sense, is the direct use of violence and physical attacks against both innocent civilians and military bases to reach the greatest impact possible. It is a representation of psychological warfare that provokes an emotional response from people. Also, the word represents an extreme form of aggression in which civilians are attacked. The term itself holds a pejorative sense as it elicits very intense reactions. The phenomenon is not new as it has grown along with humanity, thus, it is deeply rooted within the development of different civilizations.

The threat of terrorism has caught the attention of the world including media portrayals, lay concerns, government policies and scholars' analysis. One would argue that terrorism is always considered morally wrong due to all the negatives impact that it causes especially the direct violation of basic human right, the right to live, as well as many other kinds of transgressions. Governments, on the other side, tend frequently to find ways to justify its usage to attain political purposes.

Different political tools might be used to promote specific agenda and attain support for particular policies such as social media, sport, and religion. The main concern of the study, however, is terrorism and its utilization by governmental agencies. Throughout the theoretical analysis of using terrorism as a means to achieve a political end, it has been found that terrorism could be significantly beneficial to governments; its ability to create fear among people make them vulnerable enough to be directed in a manner that policy makers would take advantage of. The ability to exploit terrorism to shape public opinion through media with the supervision of governments can value or devalue any terrorist event they desire. It is only normal to find that media would focus more on terrorist events done in the country but not done by the country.

In dealing with the topic of terrorism, one could not overlook the 9\11 attacks that the United States witnessed .Tuesday, September 11, 2001, is without a doubt, an unforgettable day to the Americans and most likely the world as well. The day when nineteen young men hijacked four US airlines and crashed two of them into the World Trade Center Tower in New York City and the Pentagon. Around three thousands of people were killed and more than six thousands were injured. The four attacks were perfectly coordinated; each one departed from the other with an hour and forty minutes. These terrorist events that were planned by the Islamic group El-Qeada under the leadership of Osama Bin Laden have sharply changed the American society and the world as a whole. Americans were in a state of hysteria and panic; people's behaviors were unexplainable and unpredictable especially towards Muslims.

The Bush administration has certainly witnessed one of the most critical times in the American history. The need to assert control was crucial; Americans put their faith in their leader to give them justice and held their full trust in his ability to secure the nation. It is fair to note that President Bush's elections were questionable with reference to the incident with his democratic opponent El Gore. Yet, in the middle of this crisis, his approval ratings peaked to reach the highest in the presidential history. One of the direct incomes of these attacks was the president's decision to engage in a global war that was called "War on Terror". It was an attempt to ride the world from the radical organization El Qaeda and any government that supports it. The war included military invasion of Afghanistan; the hometown of El Qaeda and then Iraq whose president was accused of having direct relations with the terrorist organization. War on terror extended to include another global program to arrest any person who was suspected to be part of a terrorist affair and to be tortured in Guantanamo Bay prison in Cuba.

The campaign did not only involve matters of foreign affairs but also domestic matters. The Patriot act was a major legislation passed by the president as an attempt to protect the

nation from future attacks. Also, the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security responsible for surveillance and intelligence-gathering programs, as well as the Federal Bureau of Investigation and various other measures to spread security around the country. Terrorism gave Bush administration the authorization to act in whatever way it saw fit.

The implications caused by the political deployment of terrorism by George W. Bush are evident. Bush's policies violate Americans' privacy through acts such as the patriot act. The extreme surveillance acted upon Americans is claimed to violate their civil liberties. Muslims who managed to coexist peacefully within the American society struggled, against hatred and discrimination exercised by the new laws. Bush administration's utilization of terrorism to pass laws that serve its interests affected public opinion as well. People started to question the legitimization of the decisions made especially war on Iraq. It also influenced the approval rating of the president leading to other issues within its party. As far as the world is concerned, an anti-Americanism notion has grown more than usual. The world was furious of The United States entitlement to spread peace around the world. The US gave itself the right to spread its policy under the justification of cleansing the world out of terrorism. Basic human rights were violated in the Guantanamo Bay prison and also in the direct military clashes.

The reason behind the choice of the theme is to fulfill the curiosity of understanding how terrorism is used for political gains, more specifically by the President of the United States George W. Bush during one the most critical times in US history. The research paper significance lies in scrutinizing the implications of such utilization on the United States and the World. Therefore this work is an attempt to answer a range of questions that will help understand terrorism as a political tool in George Bush administration. Thus, this investigation attempts to provide answers to the following questions: What is meant by a political tool? How terrorism is used as a political means? How terrorism was employed to

shape public opinion? How was Bush able to use this fear and hatred of terrorism to start a war on the concept itself? To what extent did President Bush use terrorism to serve his objectives?

This thesis is sectioned into three main chapters. The first chapter is concerned with the theoretical analysis of terrorism as a political tool; it is divided into three main parts. The first part of the chapter discusses different definitions of the term political tool as well as some of its types. The point behind relating various types to terrorism is to show the diversity of these tools and the various ways in which they are politicized. The second part is more specific as it thoroughly analyzes terrorism and the ways in which it is used in the political field. The last is a general overview of the moral conflict behind the usage of terrorism as a means to achieve political end.

The second chapter is the core of the thesis. It elucidates the whole deployment of terrorism by the administration of George W. Bush. It is sectioned into four parts. The first part analyzes the circumstances that the administration met; the election of the president and the approval rate among Americans before 9\11. The second part paves the way to fully understand how terrorism is politically deployed through the analysis of war on terror which included major events such as war on Afghanistan and war on Iraq .The third section deals with the domestic level. It explains how the administration used terrorism as an instrument to set legislations that serves its best interests. The last part discusses a profound concept that was consistently used by George W. Bush, which is political fundamentalism.

The last chapter deals with implications of using terrorism to gain political interests. These effects did not merely change Americans but the world as well. The chapter starts with how the usage of terrorism and its effect on Americans including Muslims. It moves further to discuss how the public opinion changes did. The effects also encompass the Republican Party

which the president Bush is part of. It discusses other implications on the world among which human rights.

In a journal article entitled, *Understanding the Terrorist Threat: Policy Implications of a Motivational Account of Terrorism*, Edward Orehek and Anna Vazeou-Nieuwenhuis claim that terrorism is particularly structured to gain attention and trigger a psychological impact. It is therefore made in such a way to maximize this effect (249). In his Master thesis entitled, *Terrorism: a Tool for Shaping Public Opinion*, Jonathan Voisich argues that elites employ terrorism as both concept and action to pass their foreign policy agendas.

Recently, promoting foreign policy agendas of the Reagan and George W. Bush administrations capitalized on terrorism in distinct ways through manipulating public opinion. As for George W. Bush, terrorism was used to empower fear and outrage. As a reaction to 9/11 attacks, the most exceedingly awful acts of violence in the country's set of experiences are still vivid in most people's minds, terrorism was successfully deployed to advance new security proposals and wars since it is a promptly accessible instrument. Bush had successfully connected the term terrorism with the war in Iraq as well as the fear of future attacks of terrorism in order to drive us into a war on terror, an endless war, providing the government full power to engage in all areas around the world with the mentioned objective of ending terrorism while keeping the country safe (Voisich 1-2).

President Bush took advantage of 9/11 attacks to engage in a war against terrorism that involved military forces' interference in countries that the United States suspected to be related to terrorist organizations such as EL-Qaeda and Taliban. However, Iraq was not the case; there were no direct relations of Iraq with any organizations as such. Thrall and Erick state that Iraq did not sponsor EL-Qaeda, yet the Bush administration seized the opportunity to resolve issues in Iraq as the region was considered as a central front of the war on terror



(4). Years after Iraq's invasion, the claim that the United States had other hidden political agenda in that area became more flagrant.

This thesis is concerned with Terrorism as a Political Instrument in the George W. Bush Administration. It probes into how terrorism was used during the presidency of George W. Bush and to what extent it was used. In order to investigate and answer these questions three approaches were used .The historical approach which is used to provide different examples of political tools throughout history. The descriptive approach provides a comprehensive understanding to the subject matter. Third, the analytical approach is essential to analyze data including charts, tables and graphs.

## **Chapter One**

### **Terrorism as a Political Tool**

This chapter is based on a historical analysis of terrorism as a political tool. The first part of the chapter discusses different definitions of the term political tool as well as some of its types. The point behind relating various types to terrorism is to show the diversity of these tools and the various ways according to which they are politicized. The second part is more specific as it thoroughly analyzes terrorism and the ways in which it is used in the political field. The last part is a general overview on the moral conflict behind the usage of terrorism as a means to a political end.

#### **1.1. Political Tools**

In order to understand terrorism as a political tool, it is important to first define the term political tool. Approaching different definitions explains the logic behind using terrorism as a political instrument. Equally important, providing different types of political tools is mainly to demonstrate the variation and the diversity of the term itself. Examples within the types of political tools elucidate the concept even more.

##### **1.1. 1. Definitions**

Political tools are instruments employed by governments to reach the desired outcome and that could be achieved through economic tools such as taxes, spending, incentives and regulations, and various other tools (Cairney 1). In another definition, political instruments are defined as “a set of techniques by which governmental authorities wield their power in attempting to ensure support and effect (or prevent) social change” (Vedung21). It is necessary to note that the definition sheds light and puts great emphasis on the purposive nature of the instruments. These tools have a goal either to induce change or to avoid it, and this nature is to remind us that they are not put haphazardly but rather installed for a particular

and specified aim. The quote above also highlights the effectiveness and support provided by the tools. These instruments are divided into three categories, (1) regulatory, (2) economic and (3) soft. The logic behind using the first type of instruments is the government willingness to define the frameworks of different interactions taking place in society. The economic types of tool, however, are concerned with the financial and economic support for social and economic activities, whether positively or negatively. The final type known as the soft tools is cooperative and voluntary i.e.; not subjected to any obligatory measures (Borràs and Edquist 4-5). Political instruments can be economic, social, financial...etc. The diversity of tools increases the possibility of reaching different political aims.

### **1.1.2. Types of Political Tools**

Mere definitions might not be sufficient to fully understand the meaning and usage of political instruments, therefore, providing examples of tools would further explain their importance in the process of attaining political aims. There are various tools which could be politicized which are aspired from different aspects of life. Politicians tend to find creative ways to manipulate their ways to citizens.

#### **1.1.2.1 Social Media**

Social media is any medium used for interactive communication in which feedback is provided. It is characterized by the possibility of real interaction, the reduction of anonymity, a sense of similarity, instant response as well as the engagement of any social networking act is entirely based on members' convenience (Carr and Hayes 48). From the definition it can be understood that social media help facilitates the connection between people, more specifically between them and politicians. The media possesses great power of connecting and influencing a worldwide audience and limit the distance between different cultures but it also provides an ideal environment for exploitation (Calcutt 113). People are easy to manipulate through social media, the visual and audio representation of different issues easily influence people. Social

media is considered an instrument to improve the impact of the internet on politics through the empowerment of networking characteristics, the ability to create immense political digital communities, and generate further political contents and debates (Calderaro 784). Elections, for instance, is extremely affected by the development of different applications of social media. Political actors progressively make use of social media as campaign instruments during elections, the recent changes in these platforms were of great encouragement for them to embrace new features to attain various portions of the electorate (Bossetta 2). Social media was of major help in the removal of national leader in the Philippine, the former president himself admitted that the text messaging generation was behind his downfall (Shirky 28). Social media's ability to generate political aims is exploited by politician and policy makers to spread different agenda and attain various political goals.

#### **1.1.2.2. Slavery**

To attain political objectives, slavery was employed as an instrument to fulfill such purpose. An augmentation in the political conflict between the south and the north over the question of slavery marked the decades leading to the Civil War. In the decade before the Civil War, the struggle over the admission of Kansas as a state was the embodiment of the South's attempting to employ the institution of slavery as a political tool to help in this battle. In their attempt to admit Kansas as a slave state, Southern political forces went to great lengths, hoping that the newly created state would boost the South's political power. The term "Slave Power" is utilized to describe an oligarchy of slaveholders who acted in varying ways of unison to take control over state and national politics to favor their interests. The idea of such a class of men in the United States, attempting to limit federal power to favor their interests, had existed since the debate over the ratification of the Constitution in 1787 (Vaughn 50). When the data of industrial and agricultural products is combined, at least fifty-three percent of the South's overall economic products were the responsibility of slaveholders who

were employed in agriculture, in other words, the slaveholders were the most important figure in the South's economy. Another significant factor in determining the impact of slaveholders can be found in data regarding how political discourse might have been circulated.

Census data relating to education, urbanization, transportation, and the press provides a context to the Slave Power's potential to dominate the southern masses. Since slaveholders controlled the largest section of the economy, it can be rationally assumed that they were capable to take advantage of their influential positions and guide their regional populace in a way that would have been imagined less in the North. By whatever technique, though representing only a small fraction of the population, slaveholders and their interests were well represented in government. The Democratic bill to admit Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution in 1858 was the most desperate and last major attempt made by the South to push slavery westward to increase the national influence of the Slave Power (53-54). The South struggled to admit Kansas as a state; therefore slavery was utilized as a tool to fulfill such objective.

### **1.1.2.3. Sport**

Since Ancient Greece, sport has been a part of human history. It has become a manner to link between distinct cultures that have been disconnected socially, politically, or economically (Mcdevitt 141). Since the late 19th century and particularly the 20th century, sport has become a critical element of not only citizens but also their government. In their favor, governments have constantly sought ways to politicize it. As countries have attempted to implement policies in regard to sport, it has only been natural that the large popularity has permitted government to integrate them into foreign policy practices. Also through sport, governments have looked to further their national identity and international relations. Moreover, with the process of globalization, nations have become even more interdependent and frequently have utilized sport to empower their diplomatic ties and this commonality has

permitted nations to employ sport as not only a domestic political instrument but also an effective tool of foreign policy. Although the sport has frequently been mixed with politics, many tried to divide the two which has been naught. The notion that one nation attempts to gain an advantage and display its dominance is very accurately seen through sport. Nations have attempted also to incorporate it into various public policies, not only to use sport to further their legitimacy (Reichlmayr).

History has shown the way sport can be used as political tool. China became a communist nation before the beginning of the Cold War. Almost immediately China and the United States of America cut-off all diplomatic relations and then became legitimate enemies as China supported North Korea in the Korean war. However, Pin Pong sport played a prominent role in opening relations between the two nations. On April 13, 1971 the United States Pin Pong team became the first officially approved group to visit China since 1949. This visit lasted one week and eventually led to a private meeting between Enlai and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger which opened the door to the visit by President Nixon in 1972. The Ping Pong sport permitted them to open up a relationship that had been adversarial for thirty years (Guoqi 138). Sport played an important role as means of peace and positive relations between communist China and democratic United states.

#### **1.1.2.4. Religion**

Religion can be an effective tool in politics. This has been a phenomenon in different political contexts all over the ages. Religion is utilized by politicians to gain political goals. The most apparent reason why politicians appeal to religion is that religious gatherings which serve as excellent platforms for political meetings. By addressing such types of gatherings politicians give the impression that they are religious themselves, creating the image of a trustworthy, a religious, and a person of morality. By attending religious gatherings and utilizing religious jargon, politicians create the impression that they are making an appeal on

affiliates to religions which generates in the followers of the religion the willingness to become supporters of the political party based on the assumption that the politicians are 'one of us'. "Giving religious recognition is gaining political support" (Beyers 159). There are however several other motives for utilizing religion as a political instrument. Religion is also used as a tool for political mobilization. Hence, religion is implored by politicians to bridge the linguistic and ethnic split and plan a path that unites the nation (Eze14). Moreover, it is argued by the political scientists Usman and Imran, "Religion has a solid affect in shaping the political attitudes and beliefs of the individuals. It is one of the key elements of politics" (qtd.in Eze 6). Religion impacts the political behaviors of people in a powerful way. Furthermore, religion has been used by both religious and secular politicians to raise their electoral gain. Several survey data demonstrate a strong connection that exists between religion and political behavior, particularly between religious motives and the push to select a candidate in the election (Assyaukanie 454-455).

#### **1.1.2.5. Terrorism**

Although the international community do not yet adopt a specific definition for terrorism but it is widely understood as an act of violence that targets civilians intending to pursue political and ideological goals (human Rights, Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism 5). It is considered, par excellence, a strategy of a surprise because small groups need to compensate for their weakness in numbers and destructive capability (Crenshaw 14). The general definition of terrorism indicates that it is used for political purposes. Movements for instance that lack the means to use constitutional methods of political advance tend to use terrorism as a replacement (Rich 257). Hence, terrorism is a strong tool that it used effectively to install various political agendas and to reach political interests.

Probably terrorism is the most pejorative and intense term in the English language. The nation's policymakers make use of it to justify actions and policies that the American public

would dislike in virtually any different context. American presidents have authorized the use of skyjacking, sabotage, mass deportations, military coups, and assassination when reacting to terrorism. American leaders employ secret courts to prosecute suspected terrorists based on guilt by association and hearsay testimony. They reserve the right to jail American citizens and deport aliens who support terrorist groups finically, even in cases when those implicated are not aware of the illegal activities. Americans are held accused of terrorist activity in solitary confinement for more than two years without the benefit of a trial. Undetermined confinement of alleged terrorists and public contemplation of government legalized torture show the extremes American leadership will take into account in the fight against terrorism (Winkler 1).

Both legal and political scholars did not agree on one specific definition of terrorism which makes it a subject for many controversies. Consequently, countries define the phenomenon of terrorism according to their political interests, and hence each country defines terrorism, self-defense, and resistance differently. A great effort was exerted by the international community and regional organizations to reach a united and comprehensive definition of the different types of terrorism. However, it failed because of the variations of international views and political interests and trends throughout the international community (Farag 324-325). Terrorism has no universal definition and every nation defines according to its own interests, hence it is used to justify various actions and policies a leader makes in the course of fighting terrorism.

## **1.2. In-Depth Analysis of Terrorism as a Political Tool**

Terrorism's use in the political sphere is mastered by different governments and presidents around the World. The exploitation of the terrorist events is aimed to create fear. Governments manipulate fragile people and direct them towards desired policies. Terrorism's



employment encompasses the public opinion as well. People's perspective about terrorism helps politicians spread their Propaganda easily.

### **1.2.1. Creating Fear**

It is significantly wise to consider terrorism as a strategy; its components might be understood through a detailed analysis. Terrorism is an entirely one-sided operation, either the powerless against powerful enemies, or vice versa, the powerful, especially governments and military forces, against powerless nations, consequently resulting into the breaking of political routine of the area in which it prevails (Tilly 27). The German commander and leader of the Nazi Party Himmler expressed that "The best political weapon is the weapon of terror. Cruelty commands respect. Men may hate us. But, we don't ask for their love; only their fear" (Heinrich Himmler Quotes). The previous quote indicates that the essential aim behind using terrorism is to install a sense of instability and fear among the targeted group. This insecurity is prompted by media reports and political agenda as noteworthy attacks that need to be taken care of, hence, terrorism could only be effective if it provokes emotional response (Orhek and Vazeou-Nieuwenhuis 251). Terror does not affect people similarly because they possess different fear dispositions; they tend to react to similar threatening events or dangerous people in a completely different way (Hatemi et al. 32). The fear created by terrorism can lead to notable changes in society, and the aspects and quality of everyday life, even further destabilize the government and the social order as a whole at the extremes. Fear is used to disturb the order of society and decrease its capability to flourish, moreover, terror can be a tool to attract publicity for a certain cause, or promote personal ambitions, or provoke a response to ensure the expansion of a particular conflict, or to improve the image of given group or government, or to weaken targeted political rivals, or to achieve a sort of psychological or metaphysical liberation (Scheffler 6). Furthermore, fear renders people less able to assimilate new information i.e., in a state emotionally evoked by fear a person reject

additional cognitive demands, that is the capacity to process new information, more importantly, it affects social processes related to attachment such as vulnerability, feeling of exposure. This state of fragility which people experienced is used to change people's point of views on political issues and make them take action in a desired way by politicians.

### **1.2.1. Shaping Public Opinion**

Public opinion matters on problems of foreign policy. For any long-term policy to succeed domestic support is a necessity. Working hard is a must for the government to dictate how these foreign policy decisions appear to the American public. It is not only mandatory for them to expose why each particular engagement is the proper course of action but also to show the rightness of their cause to get public opinion on their side. In recent times, elites have selected to use one specific propaganda tool as an aid to find a backup for distinct foreign escapades is the rhetoric surrounding terrorism. The utilization of terrorism can take many forms. One encompasses backing up terrorist groups that suit within the foreign policy agenda of the U.S. by promoting them as fighters of freedom. This can also include the employment of terrorism as a promoter and instigator of fear and anger. Although the term may have different broad definitions and its use to describe specific groups is politicized, it remains a negative term that evokes very intense reactions (Voisich 1). In order for any foreign policy to work, there must be domestic support behind it. Public opinion influence what the government will do and will not do. Terrorism is instrumental for gathering public support for foreign policy initiatives.

Today, many terrorist groups are being supported by states formally and informally. This form of support can range from protection within a country, equipping them with arms and money, and aiding them to recruit (Voisich 8). Why then would a recognized state internationally take risk of punishment and condemnation from their international rivals to support a group classified as being terrorist? First, the state may not agree with such

classification and supports the group for reasons of ideology. Though in most cases, groups get labeled as terrorists for their conduct and not from or because of their ideological pursuits. Without personally getting their troops involved, support of these groups states permits to pursue actions. This kind of action is also a much cheaper foreign policy initiative that states can deploy from their repertoire. These groups can even topple regimes or influence policy that a state wants to be changed. A state can fully convert a group from being chaotic and in danger of being demolished, to a force of nature to be reckoned with by other states (Voisich 8). This behavior can be observed from countries such as Pakistan in their support of radical groups in Kashmir the Indian army, also from Iran in the support for the Lebanese Hezbollah and Hamas (Byman 2).

A number of researches were carried out to show how and why public opinion matters to elites in foreign policy issues. However, views on the impact and the importance of public opinion on foreign policy seem to vary among researchers. On the one hand, consensus had appeared to show that public opinion not only did not influence foreign policy decisions but that it was unrelated to it (Voisich 11). Early research appeared to propose that public opinion had little to no influence on foreign policy. An examination suggested that state department officials had almost no interest in public opinion and that it did not take place in making their decision (Cohen 12). Another showed that regarding foreign policy presidents had free reign dictating what the nation would do (Levering 11). Consensus appeared to demonstrate that public opinion did not influence decisions of foreign policy but was completely unrelated to it.

On the other hand, there has also been much other research carried out showing how and why public opinion is important to elites in foreign policy issues. Public opinion had a powerful influence on government policymaking around the creation of military budgets yet not the entire force behind decision making (Hartley and Russet 905). Moreover, a research

argued for the notion of conditional political responsiveness. Within this theory, five propositions appear that dictate how a president will react to public opinion. First, many decisions will be made by the president during any foreign policy action or debate that may or may not be ordered by public opinion. Second, as the majority position augments on a problem the president becomes more likely to prefer such a position. Third, the higher the prominence of the problem to the public the more likely the leader is sensitive about it. Fourth, the president has the most pressure to favor a problem when there is high salience and an obvious consensus around a particular issue. Getting through decision stages explores how the public attention and preferences move in predictable ways (Knecht 56). Most recently, an examination was carried out on how the public can constrain and impact the process of making decisions of their rulers in areas of foreign policy. It is argued that the reliability of information from elites to the public marks how well people can pressure their presidents. For this to happen, there are two necessary conditions. The first is carried through politically effective opposition to elites that can tell the public about the dishonesty and failings of those working above them. The second is the availability of media institutions to convey the opposition ideas and emotions to the public at large. If there is any type of constraint on the government by the people it represents, both of these parts are necessary and must work together (Baum and Potter 75). This shows that public opinion matters to a great extent in areas of foreign policy.

Public opinion on human rights as well as violence against civilians is significant. Early research appeared to suggest that human rights were of little concern to the public. Few deductions were brought. One was that a president's opinion on human rights did not influence public opinion and human rights as a goal for foreign policy was not significant. Another was that human rights support takes place normally among the US population but only so far. Support for human rights starts to decrease when they might interfere with more

significant foreign policy ends. This research did not state that the government had the authority to do as it pleased; it indeed gave the impression that human rights were not a specifically interesting aspect of public opinion in regards to foreign policy. Also while it is true that when foreign policy factors are involved support for human rights does decrease, the majority of people still prefer human rights despite how it may influence foreign policy (Geyer and Shapiro 386). This shows that Americans do care about human rights in the abstract in a very passionately.

The choices a government makes when deciding what course of action to take abroad are indeed affected by public opinion. It does not always influence every situation the same, but when opinion is swayed in one tendency about a prominent problem it becomes much more complicated for a president to go against it. Public opinion on problems such as terrorism and human rights also supports the idea the governments cannot readily support such groups that participate in activities that fall under such a definition. This leads governments to actively attempt to shape public opinion to fit their agenda. Framing is utilized as a manner to tie together ideas and concepts so the public will as well. People such as the president use framing to shape how certain issue is looked at (Voisich 14).

### **1.2.1.3. Framing Terrorism**

Humans are exposed to the media which is a powerful instrument that can be utilized to shape people's perceptions of social issues. The avoidance of such exposure is nearly impossible in contemporary society; consequently, understanding how the media impacts its audience is important (Dabbs 1). Likewise, it has become increasingly common to understand mass communications through the concept of framing in the fields of social psychology, media studies, or public opinion (Norris et al. 6). The most basic definition of framing is when emphasis is put on specific things, causing the public to focus on that item of discussion (Voisich 54). If public opinion is affected by elites then the framing and the language

employed within becomes significant. Hence, the importance of framing lies in providing elites with the influence which is a different and significant tool to use in order to shape public opinion (1). Additionally, If a frame does not possess "magnitude," an aspect that is shocking enough to draw readers in, it will not be effective in sticking around (Entman 31). The most significant frames are the ones that have a lasting effect on its readers.

Furthermore, a journalist constructs a frame based on the context of the period and does not sadistically construct it to be misleading. Successful stories are what journalists aim to and it is a must for them to use techniques that will draw readers (Dabbs 3). Furthermore, "Some words, phrases, symbols, and images are thought to evoke emotions, engage cognition, and access memories in ways that others do not" (Woods and Marciniak 16). This leaves a lasting influence and makes the story more interesting. The impact of the frame is so strong that the whole interpretation of a story can be influenced by a change in one word or phrase; therefore, it is important to take great care when constructing a frame (Dabbs 3). All of these points considered, the media is important in the construction of public opinions.

### **1.3. The Moral Conflict**

Terrorism can cause enormous impact on the societies that it targets. These effects can be social, psychological, financial and several other things. One would question the moral behind using this violence especially to attain one's political interests. On this matter, there are two conflicting views when it comes to the deployment of terrorism as a means to a political end. The first wave which justifies its usage whereas the second wave that entirely dismisses the justification.

#### **1.3.1. The First View**

This view believes that terrorism can be justified mainly because it is a means to a far greater end. International violence labeled as "terrorism", which targets innocent civilians and directly violates basic human rights, is justified as a necessity, an action which must be

performed to avoid a greater evil. Evil described in this case is portrayed as cruel oppressiveness, injustice, and the exploitation of people's lives by the unjust use of power (Cohan 904). In the case when governments misuse power for their interest it is acceptable to use violence. Furthermore, the existence of differences in ideologies around the world have reinforced hatred and fueled war for centuries. The most horrifying crimes of terrorism were mainly justified behind the belief that one's way of living is superior to the other. The best illustration history can provide is the German Nazism; the conviction and self-entitlement of being a Master race were quite popular in Nazi Germany and did not vanish and still predominant nowadays, the building of such ideology was empowered by eugenics, the notion of a clean Aryan race paved the way to ethnic cleansing (Mossin 21). Political violence achieved through terrorist acts whether by state or non-state terrorists is ethically justified. Non-states often claim that they are responding to a system of oppression while governments justify the attacks on the foreign nation and military occupations as self-defense, a response to defend victims (Webel and Arnaldi 12).

### **1.3.2. The Second View**

The second view believes that terrorism should never be justified under any circumstances; ideologically or religiously. Terrorism must never be politically deployed. The values that lie at the heart of the charter of the United Nation and various other international organizations such as respect for humans, the rule of law, rules governing armed conflict the protection of civilians, and the peaceful resolution of conflict are attacked by terrorism. Terrorism aims at the destruction of human right; more specifically right to life, right to liberty and to right to physical integrity. It exceeds further to impact daily life order, it destabilizes governments, destroys civil society, and most importantly jeopardizes peace and security, the effect of terrorism does not only include human rights but also economic aspects of life (Human Rights, Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism 7).

## **Chapter Two**

### **How was Terrorism used by the George W. Bush Administration?**

The second chapter elucidates the harnessing of terrorism by the administration of George W. Bush. It is sectioned into four parts; the first part analyzes the circumstances that the administration faced; the election of the president and his popularity before the terrorist events of 9/11. The second part paves the way to fully understand how terrorism is politically deployed through the analysis of war on terror which included major events such as war on Afghanistan and war on Iraq. The third section deals with the domestic level as it explains how the administration used terrorism as an instrument to set legislation that serves its best interests. The last part discusses a profound concept that was consistently used by George W. Bush; political fundamentalism.

#### **2.1. The George W. Bush Administration before the 9/ 11**

It is highly important to observe the Bush administration before the famous terrorist events of 9/11 in order to thoroughly analyze the ways according to which terrorism was deployed later on for political purposes. The aim behind such a comparison is to show the extent to which terrorism had helped the president to gain more jurisdictions. Such enormous changes in the balance of power would have never been attained if it was not justified by terrorism.

##### **2.1.1 The 2000 US Elections**

George Bush won the 2000 elections and became the 41<sup>st</sup> president of the United States. The 2000 election night between the democratic candidate El Gore and the republican candidate George W. Bush was a disaster .TV networks announced that Al Gore won the state of Florida which indicated that he won the presidency but hours later Florida was awarded to Bush (Samples et al.10).Bush moved to the White House under vastly unfavorable



circumstances; he lost the popular vote but won a bare majority in the electoral college, and that was achieved due to flawed ballot designs in the voting machines and outdated voting equipment, which made the process of counting votes quite impossible, therefore the intervention of the supreme court was a necessity, the election was eventually certified by five out of nine conservatives justices (Mann 2). The administration emerged from a quite contested presidential election only through the peculiarities of the American electoral system and the notorious way that the ballots have been handled in the state of Florida (House 2). Bush has transformed from being a president with questionable legitimacy who had been elected in a suspicious way to attain immense political emergency powers. The Bush administration justified its actions by citing the Article II to the U.S. Constitution that emphasized the power of the president as a commander in chief. The American society was inclined to blindly trust him and to fully believe in his ability to help the nation overcome the mess created by the terrorist events and maintain the safety of the nation.

### **2.3. The Uses of Terrorism at the International Level**

The Bush administration utilized terrorism to make a number of changes abroad. This includes the call for a war on terror, an endless war that gave George W. Bush full power to engage in all areas around the world. This war encompasses the invasion of Afghanistan and later the war on Iraq. The creation of Guantanamo Bay camp was also another part of the war on terror which was used for abusive interrogation.

#### **2.3.1. War on Terror**

The 9/11 terrorist assaults made many changes in the United States and around the globe at large. Terrorism emerged as a novel enemy that the country was determined to destroy and a tool to be used to attain their political goals. Its emergence came into existence in the form of Al Qaeda and Taliban. The act of terrorism came to shape the discussion of foreign policy

after 9/11 events (Voisich 36). The terrorist assaults caused deep fear, anger and hatred that later would be used by the Bush administration to gain more power.

The Bush Administration made use of the natural fear that generates from the threat of international violence to grow the military industry in addition to its presence throughout the globe. It would also result into existence the modern surveillance state American found themselves in. It was all sold out at indispensable actions in order to protect Americans against another terrorist attack. This war was not only initiated but also was forged (Voisich 36). The question that comes to the forefront is how was Bush able to utilize this hatred and fear of terrorism to push for War on Terror?

Bush speeches' statements mixed the protection of the government and statement of threat themes; a strategy that the leader would constantly use. On the one hand, the truth had been relied to the public; there was a threat with no employment in panicking. But, the semblance of threat was sought to be kept high by Bush and define the war on terror as widely as possible in order to provide himself as much freedom of action as possible (Rubin).

After the senseless attacks of 9/11, the American public was terrified and sought leadership from their president. As Jeffrey Simon writes, "Terrorism is a complex and frightening experience for the general public and it becomes natural to look toward Washington for guidance and reassurance"(qtd.in Rubin).In times of crisis, terrorism in particular, leads a terrified public to look for their leader's to guide them. The public makes attempts understanding concerning who is accountable for the attacks, why the country has been attacked, and what response will be the most effective. In the short run, the public looks to the president to reassure them that the nation will be safe again (Winkler 2).A fearful public that sought leadership from their president with the most efficient response only explains how Bush was capable to push forward the war on terror.

One day after September 11, Bush began his campaign to sell the war. Americans' fear of terrorism developed as the leader reminded them of the very actual dangers they went through. In his September 11 address, the president declared the onset of the "war against terrorism". Bush promised not to differentiate between terrorists and host countries mirrored the support for military action against nations even if they did not knowingly give shelter to terrorists (Dimaggio 18). The war on terrorism reflects the power of the politics of fear while also reinforcing policies and social changes that invigorate public fears (Altheid 88). Capitalized on the use of American public fear from another terrorist attack, George W. Bush was able to go in war on terror.

It is important to highlight that support for war was significant. 75% of respondents in one post-September 11 polls agreed that the United States, "Should take military action against a nation that knowingly allowed the terrorists who are responsible for these attacks to live in their country, even if the country played no role in the attack". The support of military intervention from the public denoted that George W. Bush had little difficulty in selling pro-war messages (Dimaggio 18).

The Bush administration sought for ways to sell fear to the public. Employing fear of terrorism can be very effective as well as persuasive. Bush-Cheney administration employed a fearful public and Congress to proceed with it extremist agenda, and making the media their weapons to aid continually result fear and ready the public to accept their freedoms being curtailed to protect and secure them(Kellner 628). Mueller demonstrates, "The many ways the threat of terrorism has been overblown by what he calls the terrorism industry in the attempt to keep public fear of terrorism high and the polices against terrorism well-funded" (qtd. in Voisich 41). Fears were not only cultivated but exaggerated by the government to fund their anti-terrorist policies. However, with a nation craving blood-revenge and Osama's bin Laden head Bush's popularity soared. Furthermore, Bush also confirmed that his administration held

in charge those nations that assisted terrorism—a state that could legitimate and nurture military interventions for years to come (Kellner 628).

### **2.3.2. War on Afghanistan**

Bush ordered military invasion of Afghanistan as a result of noncompliance of Taliban to U.S. demands. The U.S. attack began immediately a month after the famous events of 9/11 on October 7, 2001. These strikes led to the overthrow of Taliban and the scattering of al Qaeda in the region. Despite the fact that Ben Laden was not captured but Afghanistan was no longer a solid base of any kind of operations performed by al Qaeda, many members of the organization fled the neighboring countries such as Pakistan. Consequently, Taliban became an insurgent group in its own country as the northern alliance warlords stepped in and took control of the capital city of Kabul by mid-November. It was announced by the pentagon that Taliban was defeated however the war was to be continued (Dimmagio 20). The motive behind the invasion was to fight terrorism, it was believed that the regime of the country was harboring terrorist specifically al Qaeda, and more importantly, producing and distributing weapons of mass destruction to them. The second justification is firmly related to the first which is democracy, it was believed that the only way to fight terrorism is through the promotion of democracy, the whole military invasion was justified by the notion that transparency and accountability must be provided for these rogue states. Regional stability and humanitarian assistance need to be achieved in the area (Santos and Teixeira 14).

These were the justifications that the United States provided for its citizen and for the world as to why the military interface was necessarily inevitable. Bush Administration never took into account another consideration besides the war. The USA was guided by an ideological motivation and never sought reconciliation. The main interest was to change the regime in Afghanistan and there were no scope and hope of any kind of cooperation with the current organization (Connah 73). Bush Administration blamed Afghanistan for the terrorist

events of 9/11 and used it as a tool to intentionally block and construct Afghanistan in order to manipulate it militarily; this discourse was primarily how the invasion was justified (Beck and Jensen 29). Connah also argued that US forces in Afghanistan attempt at denying any responsibility for the deaths resulted of the war, such attacks do not fit with principles of a just war and are considered unlawful, they do not differentiate between combatants and civilians (79). The United States did not assume responsibility for its own violations which would lead to the emergence of an evitable state of anger in the world.

### **2.3.3. War on Iraq**

A number of justifications were offered from the part of the Bush administration for its decision to start a war against Iraq. Initially, an emphasis was placed on the threat to U.S. national security posed by Iraq's alleged possession of weapons of mass destruction and ties to international terrorists. More recently, democracy in the Middle East had been stressed by Bush. Along the way, Saddam Hussein's despotic rule and human rights abuses had been also highlighted by the administration (Duffield). Bush offered himself not only the license to go for war on Iraq but also intervened in other nation's course of action. However, the actual motive behind Bush call for intervention in Iraq remained subject for much debates.

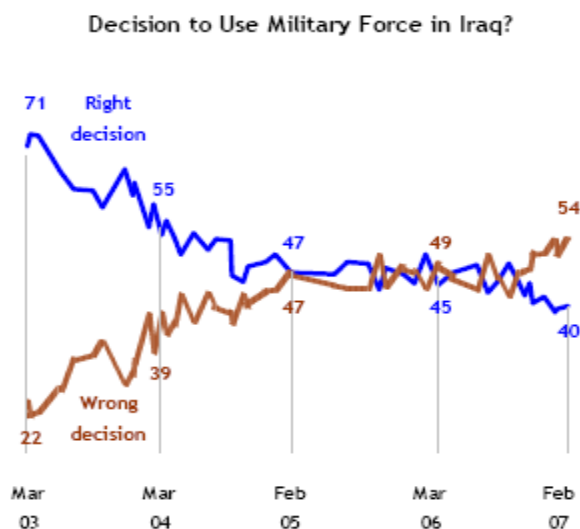
Bush claimed that Iraq had connections with 9/11 terrorist assaults. The administration of Bush the son then would use such rhetoric to launch a war on Iraq. It is important to note that, Bush employed his presidential speeches to claim Iraq's ties with the attacks on the Twin Towers and that the proper course of action was to start a war on Iraq. An index was made as to observe how many times terror or words related to that of Al 'Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden were deployed in the course to launch a war on Iraq. It was found that both words were not only used together regularly but very often in the same context. It was observed that from September 12, 2002, to May 2003, the subjects of Iraq and terrorism were regularly intertwined. Out of the third-ten speeches given in this period, twelve made a reference to Iraq

and terror in the same paragraph and then positioned them within the same sentence. A discussion of terrorism in four speeches presented the first mention of Iraq leaving the public with the impression that Iraq was a logical extension of the terrorism discussion. The Bush administration successfully framed the war in Iraq as an extension of its response to September 11 and the war on terror (Gershkoff and Kushner 527).

It was observed that senior and junior Bush were reluctant and not gifted speakers. However, the 9/11 attacks forced Bush to perform several major speeches. Unfortunately, he utilized his bully pulpit in an attempt to convince Americans of the threat of the Iraqi regime; a crisis that did not exist. The administration successfully made links between Saddam Hussein and Osama bin-Laden; two characters who had no work together. One was a secular anti-Islamist Muslim, the other a religious radical. Regardless, the administration connected Iraq with Afghanistan using the “many fronts” logic (both wars symbolized the fight against terrorism) (Tulis 218). It is also important to highlight that, George W. Bush allegations to invade Iraq were not only limited to Iraq’s relation with Al’ Qaeda but also the Iraq’s ability to acquire weapons of mass destruction.

However, by means of constant use of fear and threats from another terrorist attack, the Bush Administration did not only to gain the public’s support but also directed it the way they wanted it to go. In this regard, the Pew Research Center has tracked trends in Public Opinion about the War in Iraq from 2003 to 2007.

**Figure1.** Decision to Use Military Force in Iraq?



Source: <https://www.pewresearch.org/2007/03/15/trends-in-public-opinion-about-the-war-in-iraq-20032007/>

A majority position until the beginning of 2005 had the belief that the war was the right decision. After 2005, opinion on this matter continued to be divided until late in 2006. Again the majority supported keeping the American troops for a longer good deal. By late 2005, the number of people supporting withdrawal was parallel or surpassed the number saying United States troops ought to stay in Iraq (Keeter). This shows that the Iraq was highly supported post 9/11 but such support dropped later on.

#### **2.3.4. Guantanamo Bay Camp**

It is evident that after 9/11 attack, Bush Administration was responsible to fight the threat of terrorism that the nation has witnessed and to prevent future similar attacks from happening again. The administration took great advantage of the terrorism card that was used to serve its interests. President Bush signed on September 17, 2001, a secret order in which he gave the CIA far reaching powers to capture and kill terrorists and for that mere reason the agency received a \$billion extra funding. The president did not supervise each operation individually but rather gave the approval to the head of CIA counterterrorism center which details about the whole thing were kept secret from the public (Thimm10). Thimm also argued that

president Bush issued a memo on February 7, 2002 to justify the violation of the Geneva convention, a convention that protects individuals in critical times in the attempt of humanitarian treatment of war. Prisoners who were believed to be involved in terrorist events or have any kind of relation to any suspicious organization were held in locations without any access to US courts; they were either detained in Afghanistan or moved to Guantanamo Bay naval base in Cuba. The CIA requested instructions from the government in regards of the methods to be used in the handling of prisoners, and was granted full allowance in the interrogation methods, and without any hesitation the CIA staff directly agreed on all the brutal techniques in the search for answers (13).

Students of the military intelligence, who were trained to deceive, manipulate, humiliate and inflict severe painful measures on prisoners, used various techniques including beatings, sleep deprivation and other psychological and physical acts, were supported by the Bush administration. And despite the fact that international newspapers shed light on these brutal American interrogation practices, the administration rejected any criticism of its legal position or allegation of prisoner abuse and insisted on the fact that the treatment of prisoners was humane, it is necessary to mention that President Bush condemned foreign countries for such practices, such as Cuba, Burma, North Korea, Iran and Zimbabwe but took zero accountability for doing practically the same thing (Bravin 81). The realization of the fact that the US, a nation which promotes freedom and democracy, is responsible for severe violations of human rights is fundamental.

#### **2.4. The Uses of Terrorism at the Domestic Level**

The use of terrorism by the administration did not only include international changes. The exploitation of the terrorist events and the chaotic situation that the country lived through exceeded to reach internal matters. Bush made considerable changes at the domestic level during his presidency, changes that served his interests and the spread of his agenda.



### 2.4.1. The PATRIOT Act:

9/11 attacks affected almost all American. A 2002 Pew Research report tracked the emotional impact among Americans. The picture below shows the report's findings:

**Figure 2.**The 9/11 Emotional Impact of 9/11 Attacks among Americans

Widespread Emotional Impact				
	Great deal	Some	Not much/ not at all	Don't know
	%	%	%	%
National	67	25	8	*=100
Women	74	23	3	*=100
Men	58	28	13	1=100
New York	73	21	5	1=100
Women	85	11	3	1=100
Men	61	32	6	1=100
Washington	72	22	5	1=100
Women	75	21	4	*=100
Men	69	23	7	1=100

Source:<https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2002/09/05/i-americans-and-911-the-personal-toll/>

This data revealed that on the national level, two-thirds say the terrorist attacks had a great emotional influence on them, about a quarter, however, say it had some impact. One-in-ten claim that the attacks did not move them a lot. Demonstrating the national scope of the

tragedy, the emotional impact was only slightly greater in the targeted cities than elsewhere; about three-quarters in the Washington D.C. and New York City areas say they were moved a great deal by the attacks. Women felt more severely impacted than men. Compared to fifty eight percent of men seventy four percent of women nationally say they were moved a great deal, a pattern which was mirrored in New York and, to a lesser scope Washington ( The Pew Research Center).Such levels of fear among Americans explain how the Bush administration was able to pass anti-terrorist legislations such as the Patriot Act.

Following the 9/11 attacks this act was passed rapidly due to the back of fears that the nation was not doing enough for its own protection. An increased surveillance was brought with this action everyone with the U.S. When investigating into possible terrorist actions, law enforcement agencies were given considerable amounts of power and leeway. It allowed terrorist subjects the indefinite detention without the ability to see a lawyer. Americans were losing many civil liberties guaranteed to them in the constitution in the name of increased protection against future terrorist threats with the passing of this act (Voisich 39). It is evident that the September 11 attacks caused huge fear and anger among Americans. The Bush administration used such fear to change many things at home and abroad:

The Bush administration, aided and abetted by U.S. corporate media, manipulated a politics of fear to push through a right-wing agenda that included the Patriot Act, massive changes in the legal system, a dramatic expansion of the U.S. military, and U.S.-led military intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq.(Kellner 622)

The Bush Administration supported by media managed to create anti-terrorist policies and promote its political agenda. Furthermore, the Bush administration utilized the high levels of fear to pass anti-terrorist legislations that generates the increase of surveillance that of the

Patriot Act. Owing to the high levels of fear the public the threat felt by congress members, the Patriot Act was easily passed. The Congress felt that it needed to act (Altheid111).

#### **2.4.2. The Department of Homeland Security**

The 9/11 attacks, without a doubt, changed the United States in a manner that was irreversible. Officials in the bush administration alongside with the president eagerly started a wage of responses to protect the security of the nation. One of the biggest changes was manufactured in the national security system through the creation of The Department of Homeland Security, the third largest department after the Defense and Veterans Affairs. It is highly important to note that the homeland security system in general was in a desperate need of major changes. It has been handled the same way for years, but the 2001 attacks gave President Bush the opportunity to change the old fashioned strategies. A new approach was adopted to overcome the painfully insufficient ways of dealing with terrorism. Bush administration started to reconstruct intelligence procedures such as the FBI and other federal agencies, the creation of such department is needed to script a national homeland security. The main objectives of its creation were to prevent any future attack, reduce vulnerability to an attack and minimize the damages resulted by an attack in case of its occurrence.

President Bush did not only used the terrorist attacks as an excuse to achieve those goals and further establish a special military unit to defend America but also to spread its control over citizens. The homeland security department combined 22 federal agencies and more than 180.000 employees into a single department (Koelster59). The creation of department of homeland security shifted the attention of policy makers and the public to addressing the nation current vulnerability to terrorist attacks, there were battles over the federal budgets of funding the department but was overlooked because it was believed that it is disturbing to let congress and the executive branch's disputes to interfere in the nation's top urgent priority; protecting itself from terrorism (Daalder et al. 6).

### **2.4.3. The Expansion of Federal Bureau of Investigation Power (FBI)**

The federal Bureau of investigation is the central law enforcement agency in the U.S. department of justice, its formation dates back to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in 1907 by special investigators in the justice department who were assigned to enforce federal criminal statutes. President Theodore Roosevelt asked the U.S congress to create a new law enforcement agency but Congress declined his request. The president, however, proceeds to create the bureau by an executive order in 1908. Initially the bureau's jurisdiction included a limited number of federal offenses which are related mainly to interstate commerce yet the bureau definitely grew out of this limitation to gain more authority and to become the most important federal law enforcement in the United States (Deflem 348). The Bureau's authorities developed throughout time mainly within the attempt of dealing with different crisis the country endure.

After the terrorist attacks of 9/11 director Muller, who was assigned by president bush to lead the bureau, made enormous changes. He gave the bureau the authorization to deal with cases of counterterrorism and counterintelligence activities within the American soil, he went further and establish a new organization unit of headquarters to even reinforce its legitimacy, the director ,under the supervision of Bush, dramatically increased the number of terrorism task forces to bring together local agencies with FBI to develop coordination with other agencies (Raffaelli et al. 13), therefore, terrorism expressed in the September events helped the FBI to get rid of all the legal restrains and to expand its investigative and intelligence capability, taking advantage of a crucial period of fear , vulnerability and uncertainty of the American society. These authorities were claimed under the aim of protecting the nation from any future terrorist attacks.

### **2.5. The Role of Media in Politicizing Terrorism**

It is undeniably evident that the terrorist 9/11 attacks have evoked an enormous wave of different feelings within the American society; fear, grieve, sadness and anger. The media played a profound role in reporting each step of the events, starting from the live strike of the tower to the different debates and opinions, feeding and empowering those feelings. Podcast television has permitted dangerous extremists to vent and promote the most aggressive views, which created a consensus around the urgent need for immediate military action the American television features logos such as “America’s New War”, and other provocative slogans that heated the war discourse, driving the country into a hysteria and making it certain that there would be a military response. Radio, as well, was part of this campaign, it was even more frightening than televisions, talk radio encouraged hatred and hysteria calling for violence against Arabs and Muslims, and even mainstream radio news became hyper dramatic with patriotic speech (Kellner 49).

The media granted the case significant attention under the supervision and support of administration. The president also offered a series of short radio broadcast, in which he gave mere reports with zero arguments as to policy’s practicality concerning the way in which the situation is, or to be, handled (Murphy 612). The Bush administration relied on a variety of media management approaches which were deployed by previous presidents .First, the presidential team avoided full disclosure of any administration shortcomings but consistently shedding light on unrealistically optimistic portrayals of the different policies made by the president, the administration officials also tried to use media to showcase the president and to present him as a wartime commander by drawing attention to the administration accomplishments in the crisis of the terrorist events in order to improve the president standing in public opinion polls, which is very vital to the election (Farnsworth and Lichter 333). Media’s choice of focusing on one issue over the other plays great role in reaching specific aims.

## 2.6. The Rise of Political Fundamentalism

George W. Bush successfully used the 9/11 attacks to intertwine religion in politics leading to the rise of political fundamentalism. The First amendment to the US constitution does not only guarantee free exercise of religion; it also separates church and state. However, the first response of the Bush administration following 9/11 was characterized as Domke claims by the rapid move to intertwine “conservative religious faith, politics and strategic communication” (qtd.in Nabers and Patman 175). Therefore, shifted toward a form of “political fundamentalism” that provided comfort, familiarity and “a palatable moral vision” to an uneasy and a shell-shocked public (Nabers and Patman 175). Bush took advantage of the terrorist events to combine religion with politics that gave the public a sense of relief. Furthermore, Domke writes that, “Political fundamentalism is offered and defined here as an intertwining of conservative religious faith, politics, and strategic communication” (6). Domke asserts that political fundamentalism is possible to reemerge if four characteristics are present. The first characteristic is the occurrence of country- challenging crisis, the second characteristic is the country's political leaders are religiously conservative; political leadership proficient in strategic communications is the third characteristic and news media with considerable emphasis on politician communications is the fourth one. If all of these characteristic are covered an environment in which political fundamentalism takes place which has a possibility to have the influence and power in America (10-11).

George W. Bush has exercised this new fundamentalism in both foreign and domestic affairs, and even evaluation. Fundamentalism in foreign policy is evident in Iraq invasion (House 3). The Bush administration made use of political fundamentalism to gain public’s support and hence to attain political objectives . Nabers and Patman emphasize that . . . “political fundamentalism initially proved effective in solidifying public support for the Bush

administration” (182). In times of crisis, the political fundamentalism gave its people confidence and comfort, in return the Bush administration gained people’s support.

Following the terrorist assaults of 9/11, a number of speeches were made by the president Bush. All of these speeches were characterized by a religious tone. House asserts that “Bush’s speeches have taken on a quasi-religious, liturgical tone, with phrases like “axis of evil,” compared to Reagan’s “the evil empire” (3). Moreover, through the use of phrases such as “good versus evil” Bush managed to present a world that is separated into binaries. The Bush administration constantly gave itself the definition of good and those who were terrorist or its adversaries as bad or evil (Nabers and Patman 179). Bush even claimed that going for a preemptive war is God’s will and hence he won public’s support. 9/11 provided the Bush administration unusual opportunity not only to launch a preemptive war and to pass new legislations but also to combine religion with politics.

George W. Bush emerged from contested elections with a questionable legitimacy. However, after the terrorist assaults of 9/11 his legitimacy was no longer questionable and it was even manifested in the polls of public opinion. There is no doubt that the attacks caused huge fear and anger among Americans. Therefore, terrorism became the country’s biggest enemy that was determined to end. The national crisis triggered by the events of 9/11 was utilized by the Bush administration to launch a war on terror, leading to major changes both domestically and internationally.

Domestically, George W. Bush used fear from terrorism as a tool to establish the department of Homeland Security as well as to pass anti-terrorist legislation such as the Patriot Act. The act provided enforcement agencies such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation huge amounts of power. It is important to note that media played a significant role in creating mass hysteria among Americans leading them to ask for immediate military action. Although, the First Amendment to the US constitution puts clear that the state and

church must be separated, Bush took advantage of the terrorist events to combine religion with politics

Internationally, the war on terror brought with it the invasion of Afghanistan and later the war on Iraq. A number of justifications were given in the course of such interventions. The primary motive behind the invasion of Afghanistan is to fight terrorism. While the Iraq was justified by claiming that the country's acquisition of weapons of mass destruction. However, the Iraq war was mainly an extension of the war on terror. Furthermore, the camp of Guantanamo Bay was used under the name of enhanced interrogation techniques to cover what they actually were, systematic abuse of prisoners. The camp was another section of the war on terror justified by the Bush administration as necessary to protect against terrorism.



## Chapter Three

### Implications of Deploying Terrorism as a Political Instrument

The last chapter deals with implications of using terrorism for political interests. These effects did not impact only The Americas but the world as well. The chapter starts with the politicization of terrorism that affects primarily Americans including Muslims and moves further to discuss changes in public opinion. The Republican Party could not avoid the collateral damage because of such change in public opinion toward Bush. Finally it discusses other various implications especially the direct violation of human rights, the latter lead to the spread of an anti-American sentiment.

The Bush administration's responses to the attacks of September 11, 2001, expanded to include anti-terrorist legislation such as the Patriot Act. The act was enacted as a direct reaction to the attacks with the stated goal of dramatically strengthening America's national security. The US constitution guarantees Americans their rights and civil liberties, rights that were later infringed under the name of such increased protection against terrorism.

#### **3.1. The USA PATRIOT Act and Civil Liberties Violation**

After the 9/11, George W. Bush administration continued to utilize terrorism as political instrument to attain political objectives. Various legislations in response to terrorism were created including the US PATRIOT Act. Soon after the terrorist assaults, precisely, on October 26, 2001, this act was passed by the US congress and signed by President George W. Bush. The Patriot Act is an acronym that stands for "Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism" ("The USA PATRIOT Act - a Civil Liberties Briefing"). Various critics hold this act as an infringement of civil liberties and a violation of Americans' rights especially those protected by the US constitution. The utilization of executive orders, military tribunals and the legal designation of detainees as "enemy combatants" had eroded civil liberties. In efforts to fight terrorism, the

United States has selected to curtail some liberties, freedoms, and due process rights of democracy (Freeman 232-233). Moreover, The American Civil Liberties Union maintains that under “war on terrorism” label, the Executive Branch was given sweeping new powers that were unnecessary to keep us safe as it undermined the Bill of Rights. The Administration then began a wave of policies, executive orders, practices and regulations that also endangered our rights (“The USA PATRIOT ACT and Government Actions That Threaten Our Civil Liberties”). With the creation of this act, the Executive Branch gains more power, particularly over the judicial branch and a number of restrictions were posed in order to protect Americans from another terrorist attack, causing a loss of individual liberty.

Bush’s declaration of the Patriot Act prevented citizens from their constitutional rights and violated the US constitution. The First Amendment to the US constitution puts it clear that, “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances”(Cornell Law School, “First Amendment”). The First Amendment guarantees freedom of speech and press. It also emphasizes freedom of religion as it forbids any law that violates the promoted rights and freedoms. Bush’s Patriot Act, however, stands in complete opposition to the First Amendment. The act infringes the First Amendment through authorizing the FBI to start investigations of Americans because of their freedom of speech exercise freedom of speech exercise. Freedom of speech is violated under the Patriot Act because it forbids recipients of search orders from telling other people about those orders even if there is no actual necessity for such secrecy (American Civil Liberties Union, “Surveillance under the USA/PATRIOT Act”).

The Patriot Act of 2001 did not just violate the First Amendment; it also falls in contradiction with the Fourth Amendment. The US constitution reads:

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized. (Legal Information Institute Fourth Amendment)

The Fourth Amendment insures the protection of people's possession, the preservation from unreasonable researches and seizures without convincing reason. Contradictory to the principles of the Constitution, title II of the patriot Act, Section 201 reads; "Authority to intercept wire, oral, and electronic communications relating to terrorism promotes surveying E-mails and phone conversations of people who are just suspected of being terrorists"(US Congress). This authorized access to Americans' E-mails and phone conversation is a direct abuse of the Fourth Amendment. The Patriot Act violates it since this authorization is based on probable reasons. Also terrorism is left vague on purpose in order to extend the scope of the act, thus permitting for possible conflicts and pitfalls with some civil liberties (Khalil 4).

The Patriot Act continues to challenge the US constitution by violating its core values. The Fifth Amendment to the US constitution protects individuals from being jailed without due process of law. Bush's Patriot Act disregarded the Fifth Amendment and violated it. The most illustrative example is that provided by Chemerinsky in which he writes:

Jose Padilla, an American citizen, was apprehended at the Chicago O'Hare airport under suspicion of a plan to detonate a bomb on U.S soil. Although he was apprehended in 2002, he was not indicted for any crime until 2005. (qtd. in Gyori 4)

This means without formal accusation, Padilla was held for straight three years. It also means that he was not afforded due process. The US political culture made liberty and freedom of Americans core values that were later clearly stated in the Bill of Rights. However, with

acknowledging the debatable Patriot Act, Americans' basic rights were violated under the claim of protecting the national security. Many years after this anti-terrorist legislation was passed, many Americans started to realize the potential of these civil liberties violations (Gyori 5).

### **3.2. Muslims**

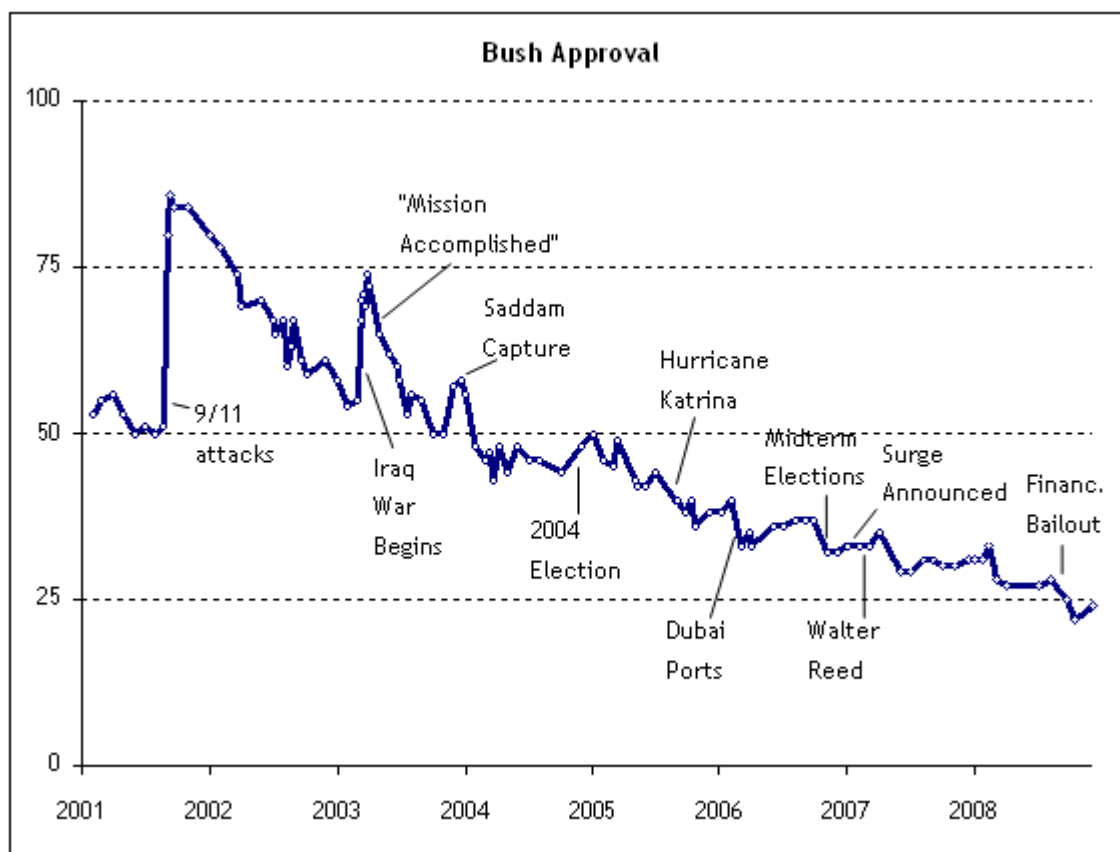
Post 9/11, George W. Bush enacted various governmental policies that were seen as a reaction to the attacks. Scholars referred to Bush's policies after 9/11 as the "most aggressive campaign of ethnic profiling since WWII" (Lustick 44). Bush's policies encouraged even more hatred and discrimination against Arab Americans. Moreover, Bush's policies had primarily targeted Muslims that were suspected for terrorism. The Patriot Act, written in response to the 9/11 terrorist assaults, in theory it is applicable to all citizens, but it was passed with "Muslims in mind" and in practice denies them their civil liberties by enabling law enforcement authorities to raid their houses, mosques, and offices capitalized under the war on terror (Geneive 12).

The Patriot Act was utilized to deport permanent residents and to deny visas to foreigners. One of the most popular cases that sparked great within the Muslim community was that of Tariq Ramadan. He is a prominent Muslim scholar who was incapable to enter the United States to accept a teaching position at the University of Notre Dame. Ramadan's case became central to efforts by civil liberties groups and academics to challenge the denial of U.S. visas to foreign scholars (Jaschik). The Department of Home Land Security never exposed the specific charges against Tariq Ramadan; instead it "merely stat[ed] that the Patriot Act allowed the U.S. government to deny his visa on suspicion of terrorist connections" (Geneive 12). To say the least, Bush's policies had unfairly treated Muslims.

### **3.3. Public Opinion**

It is already revealed that the election of President Bush was under shady circumstances, many Americans questioned its legitimacy. The terrorist attacks of 9/11 gave him full authorization to prevent any future attacks which allowed the administration to pave the way to reach its political objectives with no consideration of the outcomes of these severe measurements. The Americans were entirely in state of panic, they put their confidence in their leader to act on their behalf and protect them. Domestic support for the administration was given right after the attacks. a final congressional approval was issued on 15 September 2001 to a resolution permitting president Bush to use ‘all necessary and appropriate force’ against those who committed the attacks, at the same time, President Bush consistently won popular approval ratings in polls hovering 90% marks during the beginning of its policy and early stages of the war on terror. Similarly, after seven months of the attacks on Washington and New York, a Pew Research Center survey showed that the majority of Americans (83%) to be more specific approved the US-led military campaign against the Taliban and al-Qaeda (Nabres and Patman 180). The media also played a major role in shaping public opinion through tone, content manipulation, and frames. The administration of Bush managed to successfully frame war on Iraq as an extension of its responses to September 11 and the war on terror. It related allusion of Iraq with term terrorism, Bin Laden and al-Qaeda , the rhetoric of the president that was expressed, engendered one-sided flow of information. People who used to watch the news about the war on Iraq were easier to manipulate by the administration (Gershkoff and Kushner 180).

**Figure 3.** Bush Approval



Source: <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2008/12/18/bush-and-public-opinion/>

This figure is based on Pew research survey that was conducted in 2008. It gives a detailed description of President Bush approval ratings. The first few months of his presidency were not very impressive. The attacks of September 11, 2001 have profoundly changed the situation. His approving rates increased to reach the highest percentage during his two terms. The public showed broad acceptance to use military interference to combat terrorism, the post 9/11 climate of opinion was broadly accepting of an approach to U.S. national security. And even after much of the public opposed the war on Iraq, he still had considerable support. However, his rating approval started decreasing after he was re-elected due to the many factors, one of which is the case of Iraq. In December 2008 Pew research center survey show that just 11% of people will remember president Bush as an outstanding or an average president, it is by far the lowest positive end of term rating for any of the past four presidents.

However, Bush's influence on public opinion over the years of his presidency is seen in ways that go well beyond his personal unpopularity ("Bush and Public Opinion").

### 3.4. The Republican Party

Even Bush's greatest supporters did not believe that his government would find traction. However, after 9/11, all Americans from different political persuasions mobilized to his side and his legitimacy was no longer questionable. Bush's popularity was even manifested in the polls of public opinion. Due to the President strong popularity and leadership in his war on terror, seats in both houses were overwhelmingly taken by the Republicans and undisputed control of Congress had been resolved (Jacobson 701). Moreover, Bush has exceeded Reagan with his unprecedented and dramatic efforts to construct his party at the congressional, organizational levels, and grassroots. His efforts managed to make salient series of electoral successes for Republicans at all spheres of government. Up to the elections of 2006, the party had never been so powerful since the 1920s (Milkis and Rhodes 461). The terrorist assaults transformed American public opinion and mainly reshaped Bush's image. Hence, Bush used the high popularity that he enjoyed after the attacks to make notable series of successes for the Republican Party.

**Figure 4.** Job Approval Since 2004 Election

	Dec 2004	May 2006
	%	%
Approve	48	33
Very strongly	34	19
Not strongly/DK	14	14
Disapprove	44	56
Very strongly	35	45
Not strongly/DK	9	11
Don't know	8	11
	100	100

Source: <https://www.pewresearch.org/2006/06/06/bushs-troubles-shake-the-gop-base/>

This figure is based on Pew Research Center survey conducted April 27-May 22, to provide a more detailed breakdown of how public opinion has changed since the election. As

public approval of George W. Bush faced low levels, supporters of the leader are increasingly hard to detect. In the months following his re-election, nearly half of the nation rated Bush's job performance favorably. In May 2006, only a third of Americans do so, however more than half (56%) disapprove of his performance (Kennedy and Dimock). The latter figure shows how public opinion changed and mainly declined.

Over time, Bush and the Republican Party moved together when they declined following a peak just after the September 11 attacks (Jacobson, "The Effects of the George W. Bush ..." 178). Bush's standing with the public made a direct and a powerful effect on his own party's standing (Wilentz). It is also claimed that, "If parties are judged by the performance of their presidents, the Republican Party could not hope to avoid the collateral damage during the Bush presidency" (Jacobson, "The Effects of the George W. Bush..." 177). Bush's performance affected the popular standing of the Republican Party. Moreover, "Bush's second term, which provoked the longest period of low and downward-trending approval ratings on record, thus inflicted considerable damage on the Republican Party's image, popular support, and electoral fortunes" (Jacobson, "The Effects of the George W. Bush ..." 171). With Bush's second term evoking the longest period of low and mostly declining approval ratings on record, the Republican Party faced considerable collateral damage.

### **3.5. The World**

On September 11, 2001, The United States witnessed a deadly terrorist attack that did not only affect the American society but had caused tremendous effects on the world as a whole. The administration responsible at the time under the leadership of President George W. Bush took severe measures to prevent any future attacks. The fight against terrorism was used as an excuse to reach specific political agenda and to promote certain ideologies. The world at first did truly sympathize with the Americans until it was evident that some actions were only



taken for the US's political interests and without any solid basis. This international position was later known as Anti-Americanism.

### **3.5.1. The Spread of Anti-Americanism**

The term was defined by many scholars and from various perspectives, defined the concept from five different angles; the first angle is a dichotomy which is understood either seen as pro or anti-Americans, it is either one supports Americans or is simply against them and this is the most short and straightforward interpretation of the term. Another definition treats the concept as a tendency that slides across pro or anti-American feeling depending on the issues, the time, and the place. It is important to note that this definition is a bit situational and partial as it is generally used by opinion pollsters in their questionnaire to measure both negative and positive perception of America. The third definition regards Anti-Americanism as a pathology that makes people allergic to all the things Americans do. Another definition sees the concept as prejudice, often one-sided and offers an undifferentiated view of America, although a prejudice against the powerful is important in order to prevent uncritical acceptance and apathy towards political and economic dominance. The last definition is more complex than the others according to which anti-Americanism is seen as an ideology that is invoked when people simply dismiss an argument as just being an ideology that opposes what they believe in; an Anti-American mindset (O'connor<sup>5</sup>).

The notion of anti-Americanism has existed alongside with the creation of America itself but the main emphasis in this piece of writing is not to be put on the history of the concept but rather on it as an effect of using terrorism in political matters. The policies adopted by George W. Bush administration helped to maximize the feeling. Senator John Kerry claimed that the policies of the Bush administration in the election campaign of 2004, had unnecessarily antagonized US's allies and supporters which made it difficult to reach its goals, and this sentiment made it even harder to fight terrorism (Katzenstein and Keohane

275). The Iraq war had only confirmed the worst stereotypes and prejudices of US militarism, unilateralism and imperialism. The United States expected complete and unquestioning support and loyalty in its campaign against terrorism only to be discovered later that it aimed to reach specific agenda and objectives to protect its vital interests (Shifter 109). This fact gave the world the opportunity to grow an Anti-American sentiment.

The attitudes towards the United States and the American people have shifted from mid-2002 into 2007 in Europe and in the Muslim countries due to the invasion of Iraq and the transformation of Iraq amidst the insurgency. The torture scandal in both Guantanamo naval base in Cuba and in Abu Gharib prison in Baghdad has equally deepened the feeling. According to the Pew Global attitude survey, the attitude towards the US in Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Pakistan, turkey has sharply declined (Chiozza 21). Similarly, a large majority of people and not merely the Islamic groups (who are most affected) is against US policies and any form of presence of its dominance in overt and covert forms, also they are opposed to the collaborative role of political leadership including military establishment with US and other foreign players. It is worth mentioning that all public opinions surveys conducted by Gallup or other US/Western organization have consistently resulted in a popular opposition to the US policies by a highly overwhelming number of people in Pakistan, ranging from 70 to 80 percent (Ahmad 40).

### **3.6. Human Rights**

It is evident that the Bush administration used terrorism as an instrument to reach political purposes, such as justifying the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq .The human right cause has appeared several times and Bush military interference, without a doubt, has caused many questions in regards of the way in which prisoners and suspects of theorist events were treated. The International human rights law that deals with the detention of suspected terrorists has been entirely denied by the US. Bush Administration insisted on the exclusive

application of the international humanitarian law instead of accepting the pre-established rules of the law. The US stressed the difference between Al Qaeda and 'regular' armed forces to justify neglecting essential rights-protecting elements of that body of law such as the right to an individual determination of combatant status and of whether, as a combatant, one is entitled to be treated as a Prisoner of War. Thus the US's approach sidesteps not only the methods for protection from arbitrary detention in international human rights law, but also those extant in international humanitarian law (Fioana De Londras73). Thus, the US's approach is one that poses what could be categorized as an external challenge to international human rights law hence, it is agreed that the US violated basic human rights. The United States has violated the human rights in the treatment of prisoners who are suspected to be part of any terrorist act in the Guantanamo Naval base as well as Abu Ghraib prison and it was accused of hypocrisy since it promotes all forms of democracy and freedom in foreign governments, and the policies adopted by the Bush Administration have been counterproductive and caused profound damage to the international cause of human rights (Wilson15). And it was more evident when photos of Taliban and Qaeda prisoners got leaked in January 2002. The prisoners appeared to be held in a sensory deprivation conditions which include the usage of masks, earmuffs, heavy wool caps, gloves, hand and feet bound by the US military agents at the naval base of Guantanamo bay, Cuba. This event caused a worldwide outrage that made European diplomats, lawmakers, and analysts openly criticize the Bush administration (Reitan 58). US military's images also included physical and sexual abuse of inmates in Abu Gharib in Baghdad. Another report got leaked in February 2004 by the international committee of the Red Cross also concluded the misconduct of prisoners including both physical and psychological coercion and the disproportionate use of force. By 2005, this systematic torture of prisoners had spread in military units in Iraq which were torturing suspected insurgents through the use of strangulation, sexual molestation, hanging

prisoners by their arms, breaking limbs, and using an electric drill for kneecappings (Hancock 810). It becomes then more than evident that one of the major effects of politicizing terrorism is the direct violation of human rights in the treatment of war detainees.

The usage of terrorism by the administration of George W. Bush in the attempt to gain political interests has caused irreparable effects. The impact of such exploitation did not affect a certain category but rather the whole world. US citizens, on one hand, were manipulated by Media to different feelings and images for the sake of creating a certain public opinion, on the other hand, their liberties were restricted by the different policies adopted to fight the phenomenon. Muslims, who used to coexist peacefully within the American, lived under huge pressure. The Republican Party was affected as well, problems started to accumulate inside it. The effects moved towards the world to include the violation of human rights. These violations have led to the spread of a notion that is aggressive towards the United States; the world developed an anti-American feeling due to the fact that terrorism was politicized.

## Conclusion

Terrorism is a deeply-rooted phenomenon that many countries experienced once in their history. The act of intentional violence is not new as it has grown along with humanity. However, its usage as a strategic instrument to attain political purposes is not as old. One would argue that such a horrific event would never be intentionally used to reach hidden political agenda; it however, proved to be quite beneficial. Although the United States of America was greatly known to be the leading power of the new world system, it was not immune from any terrorist attack. The 9/11 attacks are a solid proof that caused one of the most debated changing events in US history during the Bush Administration. 9/11 attacks were later used by the Bush Administration as a political tool to attain many objectives both at home and abroad.

Political tools are instruments that are utilized by the government to achieve political objectives. Moreover, political tools are mainly designed to gain support and make influence. Terrorism is a political tool that is used by policymakers to install fear and to reach political interests. Countries define this phenomenon according to their political interests so that each country defines terrorism, self-defense, and resistance differently. Policymakers make use of terrorism to justify their actions that they would abhor in virtually any other context. Presidents tend to divert to the most violent actions in response to terrorism such as skyjacking, sabotage...etc.

Both the World Trade Center and the Pentagon are considered as icons of U.S. economic power and military force. Attacks on these sites had material as well as symbolic effects making the United States vulnerable to terrorist assaults. The attacks were not only the worst in the nation's history but also an opportunity that could be exploited by those in power. With 9/11 attacks, terrorism was an easy and an available tool that could be employed to promote new wars and security proposals. Bush related the term terrorism to the push for war in Iraq

and Afghanistan as well as the fear from future terrorist attacks. War on terror was fought in different regions around the world with the stated purpose of putting an end to terrorism while keeping the nation safe.

George W. Bush used the public's fear from terrorism to start a war on the concept itself. This war was not only initiated but was forged through the use of terrorism as factor of fear to proceed with interventionist strategies. This was all sold out as indispensable actions to protect the nation against terrorism. Abroad, this war called for wars on both Iraq and Afghanistan. At home, the war on terror brought about many changes to life. One of the major changes was enacting the Patriot Act.

The Patriot Act brought an increased surveillance on Americans. It provided law enforcement agencies such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation huge amounts of and power when investigating probable terrorist actions. Indefinite detention of terrorist subjects without being able to see a lawyer was permitted under this act. Moreover, the Patriot Act has been utilized to deport permanent residents and to deny visas to foreigners. It allowed the government to violate individuals' privacy by accessing to their email and recording phone conversations without their permission. Also, the government has the right to jail anyone who is accused of terrorism without having a trial. In the name of increased protection from future terrorist attacks, Americans were losing their civil liberties and rights that are guaranteed to them in the constitution.

The invasion of Afghanistan was also part of the war on terror that was justified by terrorism. The purpose behind the invasion was to fight terrorism, it was claimed that the regime of the nation is harboring terrorist particularly AlQaeda, and most importantly, is producing and distributing weapons of mass destruction to them, the second justification is firmly linked to the first which is democracy, it was believed that the only way to combat

terrorism is through the promotion of democracy, the whole military invasion was justified by the notion that transparency and accountability must be given for these rogue states.

In 2003, a whole level of commitment was brought to the war on terror by the Iraq war. Although sometimes separated from the war on terror and referred to as confiscating weapons of mass destruction and overthrowing Saddam. The war on Iraq for sure was an expansion of the war on terror objectives. At first, it was not obvious how it was linked to 9/11, Al Qaeda, or Bin Laden for that matter. Later, it appeared to lead USA to a military intervention in a nation over questionable reasons. The push for war on Iraq enjoyed high approval from the public, but started to drop soon after realizing that there were no weapons of mass destruction.

Dealing with Guantanamo Bay camp was another policy that the US engaged in as part of its war on terror after the events. The camp was created under the pretext of enhanced interrogation techniques to hide what it truly was systemic abuse of prisoners. It was set up under the administration of Bush and run by the CIA to question those suspected with terrorist acts. The camp became another part of the war on terror justified by the Bush administration as increased protection against terrorist threat.

Media played a notable role in pushing forward a climate of anger and fear. It reported each step of the events starting from the live strike of the tower to the diverse debates, opinions, feeding and empowering those feelings. The administration officials sought to utilize media to draw attention to the president and to present him as wartime commander to promote his new policies.

The way terrorism was deployed by the Bush administration had been felt both at home and internationally. After the events, George W. Bush enjoyed high popularity echoed through high manifestations in the polls of public opinion. Such strong popularity helped President Bush make notable series of successes for the Republican Party. Undisputed control of Congress had been resolved. Therefore, Republicans were given the opportunity to pick up

seats in both houses. However, George W. Bush popularity declined dragging with it the Republican Party after realizing that there were no weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. Considerable damage followed the party's image, support, and electoral gains. The use of terrorism also led to the increase anti-Americanism; a concept that has always existed .The policies adopted by President Bush lead to maximize the feeling. Bush's policies violated the US constitution, human rights, and civil liberties.



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