

# Global Terrorism with a Focus on the USA

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## **ABSTRAKT**

Bakalářská práce je rozdělena na dvě části, na teoretickou a praktickou. Obsah první kapitoly teoretické části se zaměřuje na vysvětlení pojmu „terorismus“, jsou zde zahrnuty všechny možné aspekty tohoto jevu, stejně tak i snaha o podrobnější popis teroristů, jejich organizací i jejich strategií k útoku. Druhá část pojednává o historii terorismu a poté poukazuje na jeho současnou situaci. Zbytek teoretické části je soustředěn především na USA. Podává popis událostí z 11.zář 2001, co jim předcházelo, co přesně se přihodilo a co jim následovalo, včetně Americké i celosvětové reakce na tyto události. Závěr této části se snaží nastínit možný budoucí vývoj terorismu, kdy se autor práce snaží poukázat na oblasti, které mohou hrát do budoucna důležitou roli v otázce terorismu.

Praktická část je tvořena z dotazníkového šetření, které se snaží poukázat na hloubku zájmu českých občanů o tuto záležitost. Vypracovaný dotazník je zanalyzován a výsledky jsou pro jednodušší porozumění vloženy do grafů.

Klíčová slova: terorismus, teroristé, útoky, USA, svět, 11.zář 2001, politika, odezva.

## **ABSTRACT**

The bachelor thesis is divided into two parts, the theoretical one and the practical one. The content of the first chapter of the theoretical part is focused on the explanation of the term “terrorism”; it involves all possible aspects of terrorist attacks as well as trying to give a detail description of the terrorists, their organizations and their strategies of attacking. The second chapter deals with the history and the current situation of terrorism. The rest of the theoretical part is then focused on the USA. It describes the events from 11<sup>th</sup> of September 2001, what preceded, what happened and what followed, including America’s as well as the world’s response. The end of this part is trying to foreshadow a possible future of terrorism, discussing questions, which may have an important impact.

The practical part comprises of a questionnaire, which tries to show the interest of Czech people in the terrorist issue. The questionnaire is analyzed and the results are put into graphs to make it easier to understand.

Keywords: terrorism, terrorists, attacks, USA, world, 11 September of 2001, policies, response.

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**DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY**

I hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own and certify that any secondary material used has been acknowledged in the text and listed in the bibliography.

May 14, 2009

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## INTRODUCTION

On 11<sup>th</sup> of September 2001 the terrorists showed the world their power. They did something no one ever dared to do before. They attacked the most powerful country in the world – the USA, leaving really devastating consequences. This way the terrorists also left an emergency message for the whole world – do not underestimate us, you saw what we are able to do. Yes, everyone saw the damage they caused and everyone has begun to worry. Since these attacks terrorism has become very actual problem and nowadays we can talk about it as a global issue. There is probably no person who would not know what happened that day and who would not be somehow influenced by the September events, whether directly or indirectly. Until that, people were quite apathetic towards terrorism, in other words they did not care about it. But the painful assault that the USA suffered has changed the attitudes of most of these people. Since that the whole world has become to be much more interested in this matter and that is the reason why I have decided about this topic.

In the theoretical part of this thesis I would like bring in not only the most general knowledge about terrorism the people should know, but I would like to go a little bit deeper and point out some more specific information about terrorism, such as the historical terrorist events, September 11 events and world response towards the terrorist issue.

A questionnaire-based survey, related to the topic was done in order to find out how much are the Czech people involved in this matter. It should also show their overall interest in world events, whether have their attitudes towards terrorism issue changed since the 9/11 attacks or not or their overall interest towards the USA and its policy. These facts should be discovered by a questionnaire, which constitutes of 20 simple questions and which has been available on the internet, so that opinions of people from all over the Czech Republic could be used and analyzed.

People have been encountering terrorism for ages and terrorism has gradually become a part of our lives. The survey should show that people did not care about terrorism until the USA was attacked. I suggest this will be one of the features shown by the results of the survey, along with the dissatisfaction and bitterness towards the USA, resulting from Bush administration and his declaration of war on terrorism or disfavor for world participation in the war. Before evaluating the survey I generally expected quite low interest of Czechs towards the terrorism issue, because the Czechs are considered to be a nation of poor

involvement in vital issues, but as you will see the results of the survey brought relatively surprising figures and they showed the opposite.

## **I. THEORY**

## **1 INTRODUCTION TO THE TERM TERRORISM**

Terrorism has existed for a really long time, occurring in our lives as well as in lives of our ancestors. It is a kind of eternal thing, because it has always been here and will probably remain forever. However, to find the right definition of this term is not that easy as it may seem, because even if there are some common elements, connecting the terrorist acts, the way the terrorism is committed as well as the purpose of doing it, is often very different.

Some people, or rather some groups, use terrorism to stand up to a tyranny, very often represented by the state government. Their purpose is to fight against some unsuitable rules and regulations, binding their freedom in some way and they fight in hope for a change for the better. Considering the others, some of them may use this extreme act, because they are not able to keep equivalent fighting with someone much more powerful, so their tactic is to weaken the stronger ones and to gain some kind of advantage over them. Others just want to show their power this way, to make themselves more visible in the world, so that people would know who they are and what exactly they want. Another cause of terrorism is built on religious background or beliefs, but religion is often just a justification of the act, not a purpose. Unfortunately, there are also those, who do that for its destroying act itself, people with a brute-force approach. But these deviants without any purpose of doing such a thing are an exception among terrorists.<sup>1</sup>

Of course, one can not peep into these peoples' minds to see their different thoughts, but when examining the terrorist attacks, there are usually some general actions in common and they are essential for defining the term terrorism.

### **1.1 Definitions of terrorism**

The following definitions of terrorism were created either by different state department authorities, governmental agencies or independent organizations and they are globally known and used.

#### **1.1.1 FBI**

“Terrorism is the unlawful use of force against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in the furtherance of political or social objectives.

Domestic Terrorism involves groups or individuals whose terrorist activities are directed at elements of our government or population without foreign direction.

International Terrorism involves groups or individuals whose terrorist activities are foreign-based and/or directed by countries or groups outside the United States or whose activities transcend national boundaries.

### **1.1.2 Department of Justice**

Terrorism is the use of force or violence, or threatened use of force, against persons or places for the purpose of intimidating, or coercing a government, its citizens, or any segment thereof, for political or social goals.

### **1.1.3 Department of State**

Terrorism is premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national or clandestine agents usually intended to influence an audience.”<sup>2</sup>

### **1.1.4 U.S. Department of Defense**

“Terrorism is calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological.”<sup>3</sup>

## **1.2 Terrorism and its common elements**

Terrorism is very diverse, the reason is different, the terrorists are specific, the place varied, the strategy has not always the same tactic, the attack is of divergent extent and the effects depends on all of these aspects. One would say that the terrorists are always trying to be somehow original or maybe even eccentric in their acting, but if we study the terrorist events more deeply, we would find some similarities connecting them.

These common elements are the only way how to prevent the events from not occurring again. When we find them out, we will be able to make the right and adequate

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<sup>1</sup> Randy Gonzalez, *Law Enforcement Tactics In Response to Terrorism* (Dr. Randy Gonzalez Publications, 2002), p.1.

<sup>2</sup> See Gonzalez, *Law Enforcement Tactics In Response to Terrorism*, p.1.

<sup>3</sup> Amy Zalman, “The Many Definitions of Terrorism“, About.com, [http://terrorism.about.com/od/whatisterroris1/ss/DefineTerrorism\\_4.htm](http://terrorism.about.com/od/whatisterroris1/ss/DefineTerrorism_4.htm).

countermeasures. Therefore, I would like to focus on some of these common elements in the following part.

**1.2.1 General features of terrorism**

When we take a look at terrorism from more general point of view, we are able to say that any planned violent act, committed on public open space in order to cause large damage and to raise fear and panic among people, may be considered as terrorism. It also usually includes some hidden message and the strike is unexpected.

Table I: General features of terrorism

1.	Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)
2.	Unlawful and violent tactics
3.	Selected targets of opportunity
4.	Maximum use of the media
5.	Political motivation
6.	Civilian targets
7.	Planning and organization

Source: Gonzalez, *Law Enforcement Tactics In Response to Terrorism*, p.5.

**1.2.2 Terrorists**

Even if the terrorists are all individuals with their different traits of character, there are still some features classing them into one group. They are no amateurs, but very well organized “soldiers”, trained to achieve their goals at all costs. They can handle all kinds of weapons, they are acquainted with technologies, they are resolved and they are not afraid of dying. This and the fact that the terrorists do not negotiate as matter of their general principle makes them the most dangerous villains in the criminal world.<sup>4</sup>

Another thing classing them in one separate group is the fact that they do not consider their actions as something evil, but rather as some kind of heroism. They are convinced that they are doing the right thing and that they are actually the good ones fighting against the bad ones. President Ronald Reagan once said that “one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter.”<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> See Gonzalez, *Law Enforcement Tactics In Response to Terrorism*, p.2-5.

<sup>5</sup> John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, “The American presidency Project“ (Santa Barbara, CA: University of California), <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=37376>.



The terrorist are always orthodox followers of their organizations and the only truth is what they learn there.

The former president of USA George W. Bush talked about terrorists this way: “We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions – by abandoning every value except the will to power – they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends – in history’s unmarked grave of discarded lies.”<sup>6</sup>

### 1.2.3 Terrorist tactics and weapons

Terrorists use many types of tactics, which often correspond with the force they use to meet their targets. If we stray into history we will see that bombs, grenades or land mines were the most frequently devices used by terrorists. Nowadays we live in a modern world and with the development of new technologies the arsenal of terrorist has widen. Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) are the greatest fear today and that make the terrorists the worst threat in the current society. This possibility is the reason why terrorism became so globally redoubtable and why the states and their governments do everything to defeat it.

Table II shows three chosen most recurrent terrorist tactics with their definitions. In the appendices you may find the whole list of the most frequent terrorist tactics. These tactics are explained in their original form or for their original purpose, but as time goes by, these tactics take new meanings or they are being combined together. The attacks from September 11 2001 are perfect example. It was not just typical hijacking tactic; it combined two tactics, hijacking and suicide attack. Why? Maybe to show of how great importance the message is. The more acute the message is, the more devastating effect will come. If you are not a terrorist, you will always just guess what their real motives are.<sup>7</sup>

Table II: Terrorist tactics and weapons

Suicide Attacks	Violent action against other people or property by an attacker aware that he or she will be killed.
Hijacking	An illegal seizure of an aircraft, ship or vehicle in transit in order

<sup>6</sup> About.com, “2001: September 11 attacks - Guide to September 11 Terrorism in America“, About.com, [http://terrorism.about.com/od/originshistory/p/11\\_September.htm](http://terrorism.about.com/od/originshistory/p/11_September.htm).

<sup>7</sup> About.com, “Terrorist Tactics and Weapons“, About.com, [http://terrorism.about.com/od/tacticsandweapons/Terrorist\\_Tactics\\_and\\_Weapons.htm](http://terrorism.about.com/od/tacticsandweapons/Terrorist_Tactics_and_Weapons.htm).

	to send it to another destination, frequently with the intention of taking passengers hostage.
Assassination	A murder of some political or other well-known figure.

Source: About.com, "Terrorist Tactics and Weapons".

## 2 HISTORY OF TERRORISM

From the historical point of view, the terrorism can be divided into three main categories. The first one is connected with the use of violence or threats when usurping new lands or when building up and expanding new colonies. It means that the terrorist tactic was used mostly for territorial purposes. The second category is dated at time, when the states were already formed. But they were built on different beliefs or principles and some individuals or groups or maybe even other states did not identify themselves with them and this way many conflicts arose. The last category is related to current society. Nowadays, the terrorism is multi-faced. It is not just a territorial problem, or a battle of beliefs or principles. It is used as justification of all possible vicious deeds and one really does not know what the real cause of it is. And most importantly, with new technologies and new weapons coming into use, with countries being closer related to each other and with an increasing role of media, terrorism has been spreading all over the world and nowadays we talk about it as a global issue.<sup>8</sup>

### 2.1 Worldwide history of terrorism

The roots of terrorism might be seen as old as the existence of human beings itself, because everyone has some good as well as some evil side of character. But this point of view is not relevant when summarizing the most important terrorist events in the world history. Therefore, the following part will focus only on recorded humans violent actions in order to attain some political objective or to exert an influence on the world order that way.

#### 2.1.1 Up to the 20<sup>th</sup> century

The first group considered to commit something quite similar to terrorism was a Jewish group called Sicarri, dated back in the 1<sup>st</sup> century. Its members used different kinds of violence to get rid of the Romans, who occupied Judea. Sicarri murderers were also known as Zealots. They were infamous especially for kidnapping and mugging.

In the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century an Islamic sect known as Hashishiyyin (nowadays known as “Assassins”) was responsible for murdering, executing and attacking some very important political figures in that time Persia and Syria. They always struck during

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<sup>8</sup> Parvesh Singla, “The Manual of Life: Understanding Terrorism” (Parvesh Singla, 2008), <http://books.google.cz/books?id=NkCiK1HWa4YC&printsec=frontcover>.

daylight, so that the violation would be seen by as many people as possible and would frighten the rest of the political scene. The members of this group might be seen as the real predecessors of today's terrorists, because they were considered by their co-belligerents as heroes, who died for some common good. They were actually the first suicide attackers recorded in the world history.

French revolution was also full of such violent events. In 1793, the French sovereign Maximilien Robespierre ordered to kill all the enemies of the revolution in order to gain absolute control over the land. His justification for the act was that it was the only way how to establish a democracy in the country. This event might be considered as a kind of an incentive for those terrorists who decided to use violence in order to change the existing system to better one.

In Russia, Narodnaya Volya was a group whose members were not satisfied with the Tsarist regime and in order to change the ruling situation somehow, they targeted their violence upon the main political figures. They used mainly shootings and bombings for the assassinations. It was the beginning of the time when newly developed weapon technologies were afterwards used by the terrorists for their assault purposes.<sup>9</sup>

### 2.1.2 From the 20<sup>th</sup> century

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the terrorism began to spread all over the world and it was a time when many terrorist organizations were formed. Terrorism became started to intensifying and the attacks as well as their effects began to be more devastating than ever before. Therefore, terrorism became to be one of the most discussed issues in the public.

The 20<sup>th</sup> century is characterized by two World Wars with their main participants trying to change the world order. Both of the wars were very destructive and millions of people died. World War I ended in 1918. People died for their countries and terrorism did not occur a lot in that time. The terrorist groups held back in silence and waited. The only really active terrorist group of that time was the Irish Republican Army, formed in 1916. IRA members were attacking many places in England, especially the public ones, in order to show dissatisfaction with the position of the Irish within England. They wanted to establish an independent Irish state and their actions should have forced the British

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<sup>9</sup> Amy Zalman. "History of Terrorism". About.com., <http://terrorism.about.com/od/whatisterroris1/p/Terrorism.htm>.

authorities to change the situation. After World War II new sentiments and ideologies such as communism brought a new form of terrorist tactic – the guerilla tactic. Another tactic, favorite among terrorist that time and especially in the late 1960s, was hijacking. “In 1968, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine hijacked an El Al Flight. Twenty years later, the bombing of a Pan Am flight over Lockerbie, Scotland, shocked the world.”<sup>10</sup> This is the first time that terrorism became a prominent international issue.<sup>11</sup>

The year 1972 is known especially for the Munich Olympics events. A Palestinian group calling itself Black September kidnapped Israeli athletes in order to negotiate on the release of some Palestinian prisoners. But their political goal was not achieved and the athletes were later killed. Since that these events are known as Munich Massacre.<sup>12</sup>

“Terrorism in the United States also emerged. Groups such as the Weathermen grew out of the non-violent group Students for a Democratic Society. They turned to violent tactics, from rioting to setting off bombs, to protest the Vietnam War.”<sup>13</sup>

In the 1990s, the religious terrorism became to be used by many terrorist groups. Groups such as Al Qaeda, Hamas and Hezbollah, justify their violent actions on Islamic ground, plus other terrorist networks which had arisen from other religions such as Christianity, Hinduism or Judaism have begun to be very active all over the world and most of them have been classed into the most dangerous category of terrorists. There is one thing the Islamists mostly have in common and it is the strong hate directed towards the Americans. At first, they attacked the U.S. citizens mostly outside the USA, but later came also attacks on the U.S. land.<sup>14</sup> For example, in August 1998, Al Qaeda struck for the first time in a wider range. Bomb attacks on U.S. embassies in East Africa cost lives of 224 people, including 12 Americans. About one year later Osama Bin Laden, the head of Al Qaeda terrorist network, was added to the FBI’s “Ten Most Wanted Fugitives” and up to five million dollars were offered to be a reward for any information leading to his arrest and conviction.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> See Amy Zalman. “History of Terrorism”.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> U.S. Department of Justice, “Terrorism in the United States 1999“, U.S. Department of Justice, <http://www.fbi.gov/publications/terror/terror99.pdf>.

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century the terrorists showed their real brutal face. On 11 September 2001 the terrorists attacked the most dominant power in the world, the USA and killed almost 3,000 people. New York Twin towers of the World Trade Center were fully destroyed with everyone being in the building that time. It was the most shocking event in the history of terrorism and it has brought fear to all human faces all over the world. Since these September events and also London bombings in 2005 when Islamic suicide bombers attacked the public transport system in London, causing death to more than 50 people, the countries have realized the imminent danger of rising terrorism. Therefore, most of them have become involved (whether directly or indirectly) in the war on terrorism, declared by the USA.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> House of Commons Library, “11 September 2001: The Response“ (House of Commons - Library, London, GB, 2001), <http://www.parliament.uk/commons/lib/research/rp2001/rp01-072.pdf>.

### **3 11 SEPTEMBER 2001**

It looked like a normal day, but at the end of the day the whole world was shocked and thousands of people cried. This day the USA suffered a painful assault, unpredictably, unexpectedly and for many people unreasonably. The attacks were directed on America and their effect was really destructive. It destroyed buildings, it destroyed lives of almost 3,000 people and it destroyed the American soul and pride for a certain time. There is probably no person who has not heard about the September events of 2001, which means that even if these events were directed towards the USA, the whole world has become involved in this matter. Since that, the terrorism has become the real global issue.

The following chapter deals with 9/11 events in more details. It tells not only what happened, but also what was shortly before and what came after. The last subchapter then deals about different kinds of speculations following these events.

#### **3.1 What preceded**

4 American planes, 19 Islamic men, 4 buildings - the plan was very well drafted and the men were very well prepared to achieve their goal at all cost.

The first plane was American Airlines Flight 11, flying from Boston to Los Angeles. The plane left Boston at 7:59 AM. Five Islamic men, Mohamed Atta, Abdul Aziz al Omari, Satam al Suqami, Wail al Shehri and Waleed al Shehri, boarded the flight without any problems. The airport controllers did not find anything suspicious about them and their behavior.

The second plane was United Airlines Flight 175, flying also from Boston to Los Angeles. The plane's depart was at 8:00 AM. Another five Islamic men, Marwan al Shehhi, Fayez Banihammad, Mohand al Shehri, Ahmed al Ghamdi and Hamza al Ghamdi, boarded the flight and again, the men had no problems getting through the security measures at the airport.

The third plane was American Airlines 77. Five more men, Khalid al Midhar, Majed Moqed, Hani Hanjour, Nawaf al Hazmi and Salem al Hazmi were ready to board the plane, which was flying from Dulles International Airport in Washington D.C. to Los Angeles. Finally, all of them passed through the security checkpoints after some inspection and boarded the plane. The plane took off at regular time 7:50 AM.

The last flight was United Airlines 93. Saeed al Ghamdi, Ahmed al Nami, Ahmad al Haznawi and Ziad Jarrah boarded the plane at Newark airport. Their direction was San Francisco.<sup>17</sup>

„The 19 men were aboard four transcontinental flights. They were planning to hijack these planes and turn them into large guided missiles, loaded with up to 11,400 gallons of jet fuel. By 8:00 AM on the morning of Tuesday, September 11, 2001, they had defeated all the security layers that America’s civil aviation security system then had in place to prevent a hijacking.“<sup>18</sup>

One of the most tragic days in the USA history began.

### **3.2 What happened**

The terrorists began their plan without any problem. The first step was boarding the planes. All of them managed to pass through the airports security checkpoints, even with knives or box-cutters. Shortly after the planes took off and reached a cruising altitude, the terrorists began their hijacking mission. They stabbed some flight attendants and some of them they used for gaining access into cockpits. Then they wounded or killed the pilots and the terrorists who were trained to handle an airplane took the control over the planes and directed them their own way. And what was their direction?

The American Airlines Flight 11 and the United Airlines Flight 175 were originally directed to Los Angeles, but the terrorists went off this course and they headed for New York. “At 8:46 AM the first hijacked plane crashed into the North Tower of the World Trade Center (WTC) and at 9:03 AM the other one crashed into the South Tower of the building.” One hour and 13 minutes after the first crash into the Twins, the South Tower collapsed and 29 minutes later the North Tower collapsed as well.

The American Airlines Flight 77 had originally its way to Los Angeles as well, but at the end the plane hit the Pentagon building. This happened at 9:38 AM.

The last plane, United Airlines Flight 93, was the only plane of these four, where the terrorists did not meet their target - The White House. The passengers of the plane faced the hijackers and they sacrificed themselves in order to stave off the coming disaster. They

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<sup>17</sup> National Commission on Terrorist Attacks, *The 9/11 Commission Report*, (W.W. Norton & Co., 2004), p.1-4.

<sup>18</sup> See National Commission on Terrorist Attacks, *The 9/11 Commission Report*, p.4.



fought and the result of their courage was that the plane did not hit the White House, but crashed in Shanksville, Pennsylvania at 10:03 AM.<sup>19</sup>

### 3.3 What followed

The reactions to these events were immediate. All television and radio stations came with the breaking news already after the first crash of the day. People could watch the damaged North Tower of WTC live on TV just few minutes after it happened and through the television screen they witnessed the second crash, following few minutes later.

The help came shortly after the crashes. Police officers, firefighters, construction workers, medical professionals and everyone else who was nearby risked their lives to help the people inside the damaged buildings, but the collapse of the Towers came just too soon and the evacuation then could not be done. The Twin Towers collapsed, leaving hundreds of people under their wrecks and injuring many people in a near surrounding. Only in Pentagon, the headquarters of the United States Department of Defense was the evacuation partly practicable, because the building was not completely destroyed.<sup>20</sup>

After the four tragic crashes “all plane traffic in the United States was halted and the president authorized the military to shoot down aircraft if necessary.”<sup>21</sup> The atmosphere was full of feelings, especially with fear, pain, sorrow, despair, hate, anger and misery. Everyone was shocked and much of the USA business was nearly shut down. That time, there was probably no person who would not be sure what had been going on that day and everyone talked about the terrorist attacks.

By the afternoon, the hidden face of the terrorists began to be uncovered. The prime suspect was Osama bin Laden and his terrorist network Al Qaeda.

At the end of the day, at 8:30 PM, President Bush appeared in public with a statement addressed to all Americans. He said: “This is a day when all Americans from every walk of life unite in our resolve for justice and peace. America has stood down enemies before, and we will do so this time. None of us will ever forget this day. Yet, we go forward to defend freedom and all that is good and just in our world.” By this statement has the terrorist-hunt

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<sup>19</sup> See National Commission on Terrorist Attacks, *The 9/11 Commission Report*, p.4-14.

<sup>20</sup> See House of Commons Library, “11 September 2001: The Response“

<sup>21</sup> About.com, “2001: September 11 attacks - Guide to September 11 Terrorism in America“, About.com, [http://terrorism.about.com/od/originshistory/p/11\\_September.htm](http://terrorism.about.com/od/originshistory/p/11_September.htm).

began and “this day’s events were the precipitating factor in the Bush administration’s decision to wage a ‘war on terrorism’ for the foreseeable future.”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> See About.com, “2001: September 11 attacks - Guide to September 11 Terrorism in America“.

## 4 RESPONSE

The events from September 11 can be seen as a breaking point, by attacking the most dominant power in the world and shocking the whole world that way. No wonder that these events logically brought panic and fear to all humans. The events evoked many questions, such as “How to protect ourselves?”, “How to prevent other terrorist attacks?”, “How to respond to the terrorist threat?” and many others. Almost the whole world then has begun to cooperate to solve these issues.

Since that moment countries have realized that they have one common enemy. Alliances have formed and the countries have become closely involved. They have taken many new precautions as well as having made some improvements of the existing ones to make these events not repeat. They have been providing each other with help (financial, military, medical, informational, etc.) and they have been trying to find some suitable ways how to destroy the enemy.

This chapter deals with the reactions to September 11 events and with the counter-terrorism strategy following these events. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first one is focused only on the USA, because it was the USA who took the main control and responsibility after the events, and the second one treats of the response of others, who just followed.

### 4.1 America's response

After the attacks the U.S. authorities realized many disturbing facts. Firstly, the safety measures of the USA were too poor and the USA was not prepared for such a threat. If there were better safety measures throughout the country, such massive attacks could have been prevented from happening. Secondly, there was no immediate reaction to the first attack on WTC and the U.S. authorities showed really tragic incompetence that day. Considering that the attacks did not happen at the same time, but after certain time intervals, the latter attacks could be avoided for sure. But they were not and it has raised many questions about the U.S. information and safety system.

Second thing which brought discussions was the attack itself. The September events could be considered as a real historic event, because they were different than other terrorist attacks seen in the world. The difference was especially in the target and in the way it was done. Firstly, only few had the audacity to attack the USA until that day and secondly, when that, nobody had managed to do that at such a rate – during the daylight, in the most

populated area and with success. No wonder then that the USA saw that as the real threat to the whole world and therefore decided to stop the terrorists at all cost.

#### 4.1.1 Safety measures in the USA

The first thing that had to be done was making adequate safety measures in the country so that these events would not repeat in the future. Shortly after the events, the White House took the action and has “created the Office of Homeland Security and Homeland Security Council to coordinate and oversee the efforts against terrorism of all federal departments and agencies. But the office lacked the statutory authority and budgetary power to fulfill its mission and therefore President Bush proposed to create a new cabinet department that would cobble together parts of the many agencies involved in homeland defense.”<sup>23</sup> This proposal passed through the Congress and new U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was finally created. This department represents the best mix of all single homeland security agencies and their activities. In other words, this only department serves to protect the U.S. citizens against all possible threats and dangers coming from outside the country as well as from within and its aim has been to re-create and maintain a secure atmosphere in the country.

The strategic plan of DHS covers areas such as information sharing and analysis, prevention and protection, preparedness and response, and also researches, commerce and trade or immigration. The most general goals of DHS then include following:<sup>24</sup>

- “To prevent and disrupt terrorist attacks;
- To protect the American people, critical infrastructure, and key resources;
- To respond to and recover from incidents that do occur;
- To continue to strengthen the foundation to ensure our long-term success.”<sup>25</sup>

This department “leverages resources within federal, state, and local governments, coordinating the transition of multiple agencies and programs into a single, integrated agency focused on protecting the American people and their homeland. More than 87,000

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<sup>23</sup> Eric R. Taylor, “The New Homeland Security Apparatus“ (Cato Institute, 2002), <http://www.cato.org/pubs/fpbriefs/fpb70.pdf>.

<sup>24</sup> U.S. Department of Homeland Security, “The National Strategy For Homeland Security”. U.S. Department of Homeland Security, [http://www.dhs.gov/xabout/history/gc\\_1193938363680.shtm](http://www.dhs.gov/xabout/history/gc_1193938363680.shtm).

different governmental jurisdictions at the federal, state, and local level have homeland security responsibilities. The comprehensive national strategy seeks to develop a complementary system connecting all levels of government without duplicating effort.”<sup>26</sup> The organizational chart of the department is included in appendices.

But creating a new department was only one of the steps when improving the security within the USA. Another step was made by Congress, when Patriot Act was passed in October, 2001. The USA Patriot Act “gave intelligence agencies and the police broader powers to monitor suspected terrorist activity, and made it easier for government agencies to share information. The nation’s leaders concluded that national security deserved a higher priority, even at the expense of individual liberty.”<sup>27</sup> Another step was related to the immigration laws. These laws had to be made more restrictive in order to have absolute control over the people who enter the USA, especially regarding the Islamic people, even if it might have been considered as a kind of discrimination. The other measures that were done then mostly dealt with the counter-terrorism, which is discussed in the following chapter.<sup>28</sup>

#### **4.1.2 Declaration of war on terrorism**

Shortly after the attacks on the USA, President Bush clearly stated that America will not just sit down in grief and do nothing, but the U.S. authorities will do everything necessary for combating the terrorists and not only those who directed the attacks on the USA, but all terrorists threatening the world freedom. That time all the Americans called for revenge. Of course, it is understandable after the shock they went through on that tragic day. But the Americans maybe did not know that time that they are heading into a war, which will later cost more lives than that tearful September day.

The response of the USA was built on a simple principle - you did something to me, I will do something worse to you. That is the way how America has decided to combat to the terrorist threat - defeat all the terrorists and sever all the ties between them at all cost. On 20<sup>th</sup> of September, 2001, President Bush had a speech to Joint Session of Congress, where he spoke about the future steps of the USA in the war on terrorism. There are

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> U.S. Department of Homeland Security, “DHS - Department Subcomponent and Agencies“, U.S. Department of Homeland Security, <http://www.dhs.gov/xabout/structure/>.

<sup>27</sup> Paul Ruschmann, *The War on Terror* (Chelsea House: Infobase Publishing, 2005), p.16-17.

included all important features of the USA counter-terrorism strategy. The overall message of this speech could be summed up in one part of the speech:<sup>29</sup>

“Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated.”<sup>30</sup>

To achieve these goals, President Bush represented the USA counter-terrorism strategy plan, which included these points:

- “To get all the leaders of Al Qaeda who are hiding under the Taliban wings;
- To release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, who are unjustly imprisoned by the terrorists;
- To protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in the terrorist countries;
- To have full access to terrorist training camps to make sure they are no longer operating;
- To assure that all operating terrorist training camps will be immediately and permanently closed, especially in Afghanistan;
- To get every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities;
- To direct every resource at the USA demand – every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war - to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network;
- To begin a lengthy campaign rather than a instant retaliation or isolated strikes - to starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another and drive them from place to place;
- To pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism - any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the USA as a hostile regime;

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> See House of Commons Library, “11 September 2001: The Response“.

<sup>30</sup> Newsaic.com, “State of the Union 2001”, Newsaic.com, <http://newsaic.com/ressou2001.html>.

- To take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans by improving homeland security – with the help of federal departments and agencies and state and local governments;
- To create a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to the president – the Office of Homeland Security;
- To involve as many important officers as possible – from FBI agencies to intelligence operatives;
- To ask every nation to join the USA in the war and provide help – from police forces and intelligence services to banking systems around the world;
- To ask people to cooperate with the FBI agents in the investigations;
- To improve air safety, to expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights and to take new measures to prevent hijacking;
- To give additional tools to law enforcement – to strengthen intelligence capabilities in order to know the terrorist plans before they act and to find them before they strike.”<sup>31</sup>

These were the main general objectives the USA planned when preparing for the fight against terrorists. Most of these small objectives have been achieved since the war on terrorism has been declared, but the rest of them were just empty words which did not meet fulfillment. The whole speech is included in the appendices.

## 4.2 World’s response

The reaction of the world was predominantly the same. Most of the countries sympathized with the USA and they were trying to show the Americans their goodwill by all possible means. This is mainly due to the fact that the world scene is shaped by many kinds of contracts, pacts, treaties, agreements or unions that the countries are so interconnected with each other and they have certain engagements they have to fulfill if necessary. But of course, there were also others. The long-time American enemies, “such as North Korea, China, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Iraq or Iran”<sup>32</sup> did not feel like this horrible act should unite the whole world and that together they will face the evil. On the contrary, in

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<sup>31</sup> See Newsaic.com, „State of the Union 2001“.

these countries one could usually hear opinions such as “The Americans deserve all the bad things that happened”, “It is all fault of the Americans and their government, so let them deal with that by themselves”, or “The Americans are so arrogant and proud that it was just a matter of time when someone come and get them down on their knees”. This tragic event has actually shown the USA who is the real ally to be relying on and who is the real sworn foe for the Americans.

Let us now focus on the responses of the USA allies. These responses were immediate. U.S. partners such as Great Britain, Canada, Japan, Israel, Germany, Latin American countries, Australia, South Korea, Poland, Denmark and many others showed the USA their support in such a hard time and they offered every possible kind of help that was needed. That included financial help to repair the damage or to provide a financial relief to the families of bereaved, then informational help when providing important information about terrorists and their locations and mostly then military help after the war on terrorism was declared and the USA needed all possible armed forces when trying to combat the terrorists at foreign lands.

For example, the table below shows the country participation during the war in Iraq, lead by the USA. It shows the peak deployment. There are included only first 15 countries according to the highest numbers of deployment, but there were even more countries participating in the war.<sup>33</sup>

Table III: Multinational force in Iraq war

	<b>Countries</b>	<b>Troops</b>
1.	United States	250 000
2.	United Kingdom	45 000
3.	South Korea	3 600
4.	Italy	3 200
5.	Poland	2 500
6.	Australia	2 000
7.	Georgia	2 000
8.	Ukraine	1 650
9.	Netherlands	1 345
10.	Spain	1 300

<sup>32</sup> Lydia Saad, “North Korea Drops Out of Top Three U.S. Enemies” (Gallup, March 28, 2008), <http://www.gallup.com/poll/105835/North-Korea-Drops-Top-Three-US-Enemies.aspx>.

<sup>33</sup> Wikipedia – the free encyclopedia, “Multinational force in Iraq”, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Multinational\\_force\\_in\\_Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Multinational_force_in_Iraq).



11.	Romania	730
12.	Japan	600
13.	Denmark	545
14.	Bulgaria	485
15.	Thailand	423

Source: Wikipedia – the free encyclopedia, “Multinational force in Iraq”.

Shortly after the events the U.S. authorities claimed that the USA is fully resolved to destroy the threat of terrorism not only in the USA, but all around the world, so that the world would be a safer place to live in. This decision was made regardless of the rate of support from other countries. They did not force their allies to fight with them, but on the other hand they clearly said “If you are not with us, you are against us” and the countries had to make decision. And so they did. Most of them applied unbiased judgment on the danger coming from the terrorists and decided to solve this issue by common powers. This common action seemed to be the best way to defeat the enemy. But after the years went by, still more countries have realized that this fight is never-ending and they have been gradually changing their minds and the support of the USA war on terrorism has been gradually decreasing. Also, when comparing the initial reactions of public, nowadays have people absolutely different opinions. At first they welcomed this challenge task, but now they only wish the war to be over and that no more lives will be lost in this long battle.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> See House of Commons Library, “11 September 2001: The Response”.

## **5 THE FUTURE OF TERRORISM**

The future is generally very hard to predict, but there are always some clues which may foreshadow it. When talking about the terrorism issue, it is impossible to say if the terrorism will be wiped out in the future or not, but some points still can be discussed. Therefore, in this chapter I would like to focus on some important changes the world has gone through since the war on terror has seen the green light and then things which may affect the terrorism issue when looking to the future. It is up to the readers whether these things may have an important impact on terrorism in the future or not. I will not draw any conclusions, because that would be too subjective. I only would like to introduce some topics for a muse.

### **5.1 Relations in the world**

Until 2001 terrorism was a discussed issue, but its threat was not taken so seriously as after 9/11. Since that time the countries have realized that the importance of cooperating with each other is the only way to defeat terrorism. At first, their cooperation was really extensive. They went to war along side the USA who headed all operations, because they believed they could win. Though there were some minor victories, many of these countries have no longer believed in the overall success and the support of the USA in the war in terror has begun to decrease. Many countries realized that they have already provided a lot and still the war is not coming to an end. But no great concern for the USA as they can still reckon on their coalition partners. And due to this fact, as long as the USA will be in the war against terrorism, most of the world will be involved, either voluntarily or on account of a duty given by the coalition conditions.

### **5.2 Authority change**

In 2008 the U.S. presidential elections took place in the USA. The change of administration is by many considered to be an important aspect when foreshadowing the future of terrorism. Since the war on terror has begun, it was only President Bush and his policies. These policies were at first welcomed and supported, but in his late administration more dissatisfied people have appeared. Everyone was wishing the President changed his strategy which after all the years brought so many casualties and cost too much money for nothing. People, especially in the USA, were really interested in the new presidential elections, because they believed that the new president may stop this

pointless war. Therefore, when electing new U.S. president, people focused pretty much on terrorism policies in the candidates' campaigns.

### 5.2.1 Barack Obama and his policy on terrorism

During his presidential campaign, Barack Obama had many speeches focused especially on the terrorism issue. I picked one of these speeches, to bring closer some of his attitudes on terrorism. The speech was delivered on 1<sup>st</sup> of August, 2007, at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. "He declared that the war in Iraq and Bush's failed foreign policy had made the USA less safe than it was before 9/11 and that by refusing to end the war in Iraq, President Bush was giving the terrorists what they really wanted, and what the Congress voted to give them in 2002 – U.S. occupation of undetermined length, at undetermined cost and with undetermined consequences."<sup>35</sup> He said that under his administration the USA would wage a war that has to be won and he outlined a new comprehensive strategy for combating terrorism, covering five most important points:<sup>36</sup>

- "To get out of Iraq and on to the right battlefield in Afghanistan and Pakistan;
- To develop capabilities and partnerships the USA needs to take out the terrorists and the world's most deadly weapons;
- To engage the world to dry up support for terror and extremism;
- To restore human values;
- To secure a more resilient homeland."<sup>37</sup>

The truth is that when leading a campaign the candidates acquire such approach which would obtain most of the votes and they are able to promise wonders in order to win the election. Obama's strategy is certainly different than Bush's one, but not that much indeed. But still, after so many years of waging a never-ending war, people at least welcomed Obama's intention to end the war in Iraq. Actually, they welcomed every possible change of the Bush strategy. And so people voted. Evidently, Obama's approach attracted them most and on the 20<sup>th</sup> of January, 2009 Barack Obama has become the 44<sup>th</sup> president of the

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<sup>35</sup> Sam Graham-Felsen, "Senator Obama Delivers Address on National Security" (August 1, 2007) [http://my.barackobama.com/page/community/post\\_group/ObamaHQ/CpHR](http://my.barackobama.com/page/community/post_group/ObamaHQ/CpHR).

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> See Sam Graham-Felsen, "Senator Obama Delivers Address on National Security".

USA. With him as a new president many people believe again that the war on terror is winnable.

### **5.3 WMD – new trend, new threat**

As the time goes by, everything in this world is developing. This new age brings new possibilities in all aspects of human lives. Of course, some of them are good and some of them are dread. When talking about terrorism, the most terrific threat for the future is the development of weapons of mass destruction. Nuclear weapons, biological weapons, chemical weapons and many others evil devices evokes fear all around the world. Everyone saw what the terrorist are able to do even without these kinds of weapons and when imagining them using one of these weapons as an attack agent, the damage would be disastrous. Many countries realize this threat and they are trying to face it somehow. But it seems quite ironic that some countries try to combat the potential of nuclear terrorism while they develop these weapons themselves. The nowadays world is so power-greedy and if one country has something more advanced, others want that as well, because not having it may threaten their position in the world. This is not very good message for the future.<sup>38</sup>

### **5.4 Globalization**

The age we live in is often by many considered to be an age of globalization. Globalization may be briefly defined as a process of interconnectivity growth and creating global networks, where all people are influenced by every course of events. In relation to terrorism it means firstly that the terrorists are able to cooperate and communicate more easily than ever before and so they also meet easier their targets. In this age, everything is modified in a way to facilitate and speed up the communication between all parts of the world and unfortunately it applies to the ordinary people as well as to the terrorists. Secondly, the consequences of terrorist acts affect more people than only the targeted ones. Primarily, there are victims and the families of the victims. Then there are the witnesses of the attacks. And then there are the state organs which did not prevent it from happening and so they are responsible for reparation. And finally there are other countries involving in, because it is for example their “partnership duty”. These interconnections lead to the

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<sup>38</sup> See House of Commons Library, “11 September 2001: The Response“.

last globalization-terrorism relation and that is the fact, that the response to the attacks takes the involvement of the whole world.<sup>39</sup>

According to many experts globalization represents a current trend and this trend will go on for a long time. That evokes a question – Is that a good thing for future or a bad thing? It is difficult to say, because as many other things, it really has two sides of views. The good one is that it may help the world to unite in the time of crisis and the bad one is that if there will be some serious problems, it will have impact on the whole world.

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<sup>39</sup> Muqtedar Khan, “Terrorism and Globalization“ (GlocalEye.org, December 15, 2001), <http://www.glocaleye.org/terglo.htm>.

## **II. ANALYSIS**

## 6 QUESTIONNAIRE-BASED SURVEY

To make a survey which would be conclusive it needs sufficiency of surveyed samples and therefore I have decided to create a questionnaire to this purpose. The questionnaire is fully anonymous and the personal questions deals only with sex, age, education, occupation, religion and residence. The second part of the questionnaire is constructed of 20 simple questions related to the terrorism issue and six possible answers to choose, including a possibility of writing an own opinion to the question. To get as many responders as possible I have decided to make this questionnaire available on the internet, so that the survey would be all-republic and the opinions of people all over the Czech Republic could be used and analyzed. Tables and figures are made by the help of computer assisted calculation.

### 6.1 The aim of the survey

The first aim of the survey is to examine the depth of Czech interest on the terrorism issue and their general interest all around. The 20 questions provided in the questionnaire are constructed that way that the results should discover the overall interest of Czechs especially in world events, in terrorism, in September attacks of 2001, in the USA and the U.S. policy and in the future.

After September 2001 attacks everyone has talked about terrorism as a global issue and in my opinion the word *global* should mean that it concerns almost everyone on our planet. This survey may show if this statement is actually a truth. If it is so, then the Czechs will be for sure interested in this area. If they do not give any indication, then there are two possibilities of explanation. The first is that the Czechs show lack of involvement in world's greatly discussed issues, or the second one, that the terrorism issue is given a distended importance to.

The second aim of the survey is then to refute or to confirm my hypotheses.

### 6.2 Hypotheses

Before creating the questions for the survey I have already had certain hypotheses and these questions were constructed the way so that I could later find out whether these hypotheses will appear to be true or not.

The first hypothesis to be taken in account is that I suggest that Czech people will not interest themselves in topic such as terrorism. I assume that half of the answers may be "Rather Yes" and another half of them "Rather Not", but no definite interest at all. I

assume so, because in my opinion the Czechs are too self-centered and they are not interested in things which directly do not affect them at the moment. On the other hand, I expect quite high involvement of interest in events of September 11, 2001. But the only reason for that is the fact that all kinds of media were thick with such news for a long time and even not interested people must have heard about it a lot that time.

The second hypothesis of mine is that the survey will show a high dissatisfaction of Czechs with the world policy on terrorism, especially then the bitterness for Bush administration and also a disfavor for world participation in the war. I build on this hypothesis, because I have heard many similar views within the Czech society since the 9/11 events. Opinions such as “The terrorists attacked the USA, because the Americans deserved it”, or “The attacks were directed only on the USA, not us, so why should we care about it”, or “It does not mean that if the terrorists attack the most powerful nation that it becomes then the matter of the whole world, the USA should care”.

The third hypothesis is related to the second one. I assume that though most of the surveyed people did not agree with Bush administration and his declaration of war on terrorism, the survey will most likely show the zero interest of Czechs in this year’s election of the new USA president.

And my final hypothesis deals with the future of terrorism. I presume to say that all the Czechs are either realistic or pessimistic and the results will show that they do not believe that the world is now better prepared for a terrorist threat or that terrorism will ever disappear.

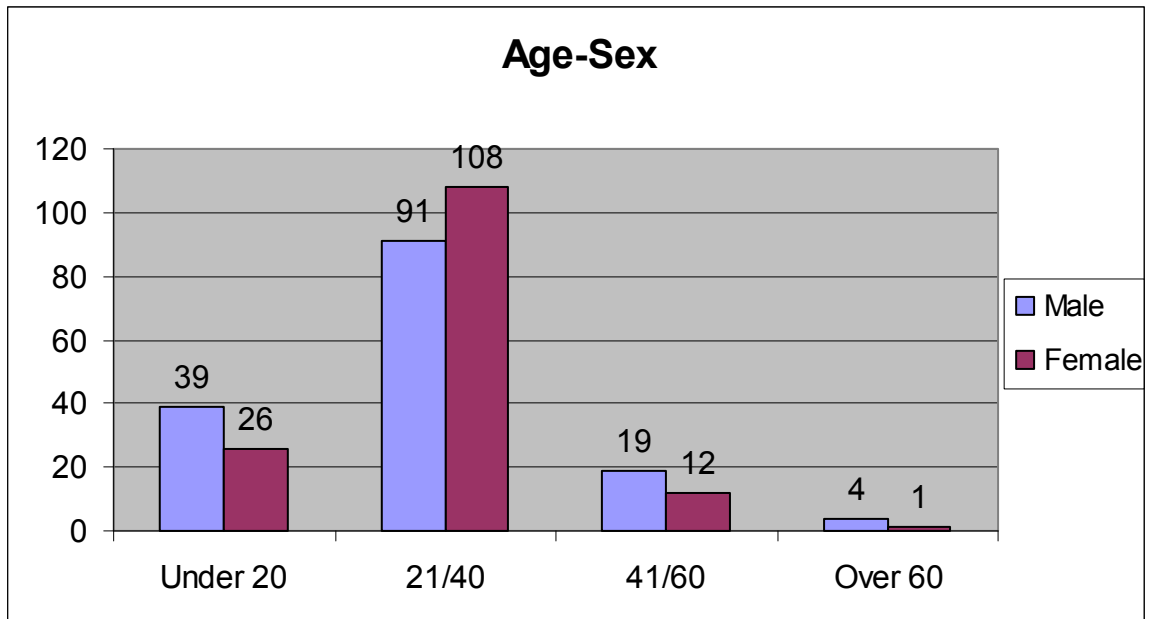
### **6.3 Population sample**

I have made the questionnaire at the beginning of 2009, but I did not know that time what way to use when questioning the future respondents. I wanted different age groups and different part of the republic to be involved in the survey that is why I have decided to make the questionnaire available on the internet. Every answered questionnaire was then saved in a database to make it later possible for me to evaluate it.

My questionnaire was answered by 300 people, all of them are Czechs. 153 of them were male and 147 of them were female. The age category of the surveyed samples can be divided into four main categories, under 20, from 21 to 40, from 41 to 60 and over 60. There were only 5 people over 60 years old. I suggest the reason why there were so few “seniors” is the fact that most of them are not so experienced using the internet.

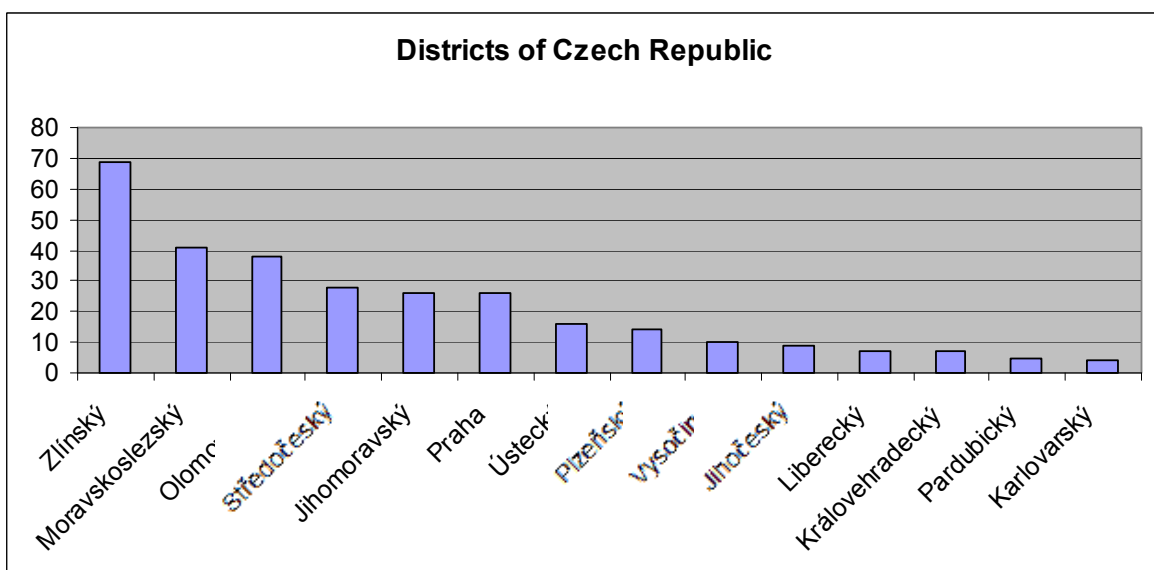


Graph I: The age category of correspondents.



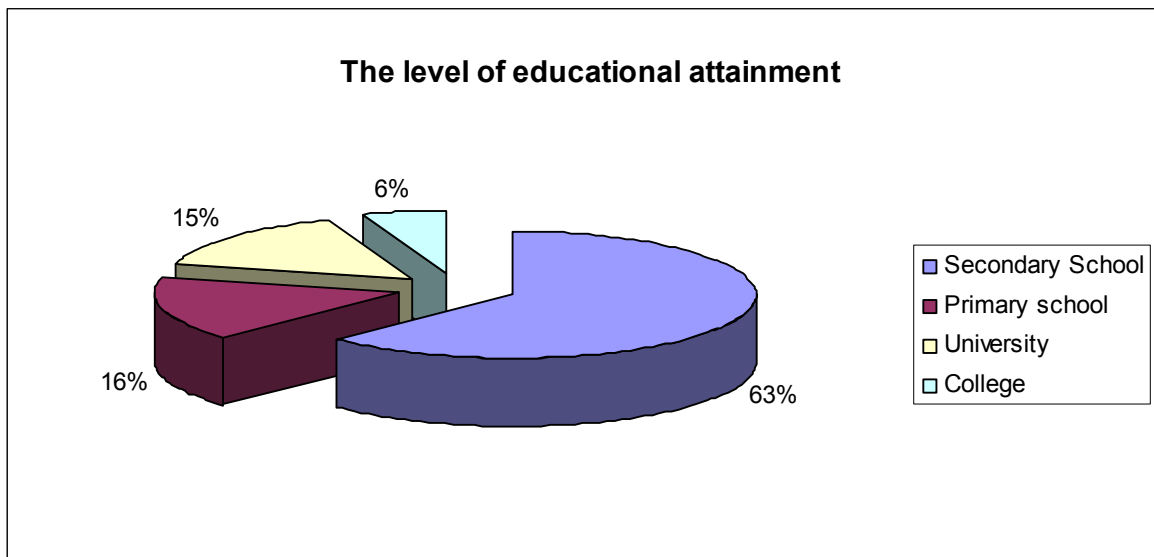
Another category was the place of residence of the correspondents. As I have already mentioned, I wanted to make the survey all-republic, including all districts of Czech Republic and I think I have fulfilled this plan, because each district was represented in the questionnaire.

Graph II: Districts of Czech Republic where the correspondents live.



Next category was the level of educational attainment of the surveyed people. The possible answers included primary school, secondary school/training college, college (advanced vocational training) and university. According to the results, there were three larger categories, quite equal in the number of correspondents. Most of the questioned people ended their education after the secondary school, exactly 188 of 300. 49 of them are probably still studying the secondary school, thus their answer was a primary school. The university education chose 46 people. The only category occurring only 17 of the answers was the college.

Graph III: Educational attainment of correspondents.



The last but one category of personal information of correspondents was the occupation. All I wanted to know was whether they are employed or not. 143 of them answered Yes and 157 answered No. I suggest many of them are still students, according to the high number of respondents under 20 or from 21 to 40.

And finally, the last question in the first part of the questionnaire asked about the religion, whether they are believers or atheists, but it was more additional question than a relevant one as I later realized. However, to state the results, the most of them said that they are atheists (219 of 300), which means that only 81 of the surveyed people believe.

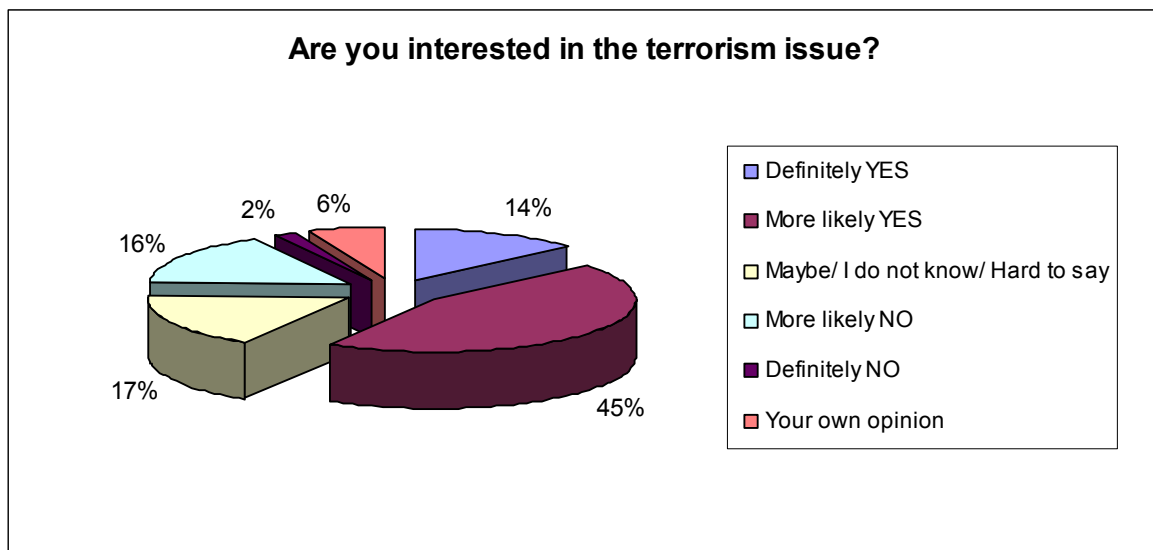
## 7 RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

The questionnaires evaluation and results are necessary when finding out which of mine hypotheses was right and which was not. Evaluated were all 300 answered questionnaires and the results were put into the graphs in order to achieve a lucidity of the obtained data. As I have already mentioned, there were 20 questions dealing with terrorism. There were always provided 6 possible answers for each of these questions, whereas 5 of these answers were already given and one of them provided space for including respondents' own opinions. There were 331 own opinions variegating the survey. The blank questionnaire as well as the list of some of the own opinions may be found in the appendices.

### 7.1 Interest in terrorism issue

The first question was very general: Are you interested in the terrorism issue? The purpose of this question was to find out the respondents overall interest in world most discussed issues. This question actually directed the answers to other questions included in the questionnaire. For example, when someone showed no interest in the terrorism issue, the answers to the other questions could have seemed quite irrelevant, considering that all of the questions dealt with the terrorism.

Graph V: Overall interest in terrorism issue.



Almost 59% of all questioned people showed certain interest in the terrorism issue, 45% of them responded Definitely Yes and 14% of them answered More likely Yes. The

rest of the surveyed people either do not care about terrorism or do not have any attitude towards this issue. There were also few, 6% to be exact, who answered a different way, writing their own opinion on the question.

## **7.2 September 11 events**

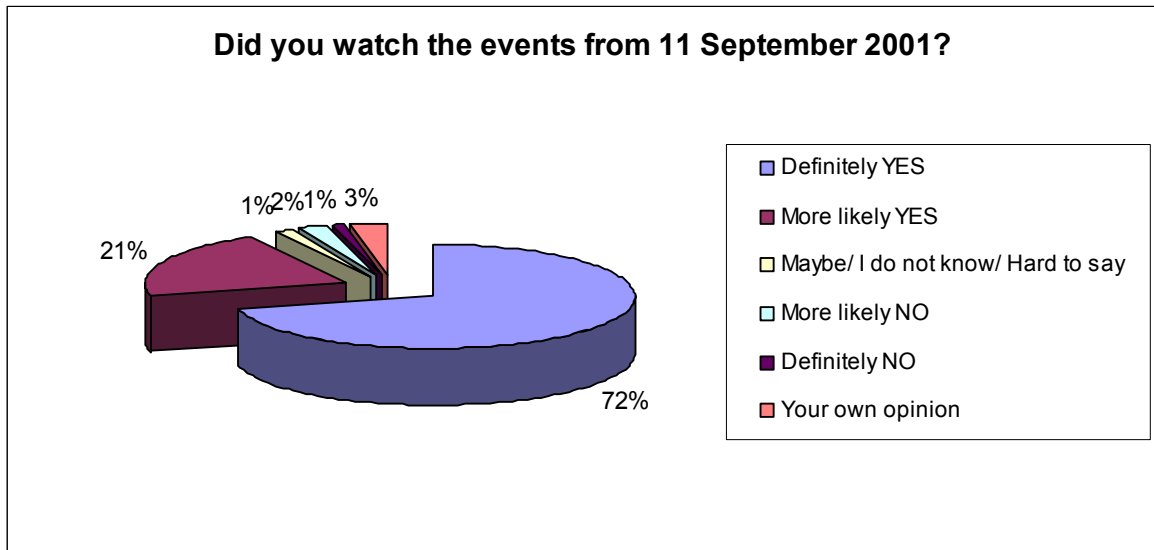
The survey included eight questions related to the September 11, 2001 events in some way. In my opinion, these events meant a real turning-point in many aspects of human lives, because people have changed and the whole world has changed since these events. Therefore, I think that 9/11 events deserve more attention when discussing terrorism issue. These eight questions looked at the events from different views.

### **7.2.1 Importance of the events**

At first, there were three questions, whose aim was to find out the interest of people in the events - whether they watched it, whether they were informed about it or whether these events affected them. The purpose of these questions was to find out and to affirm the importance of the events.

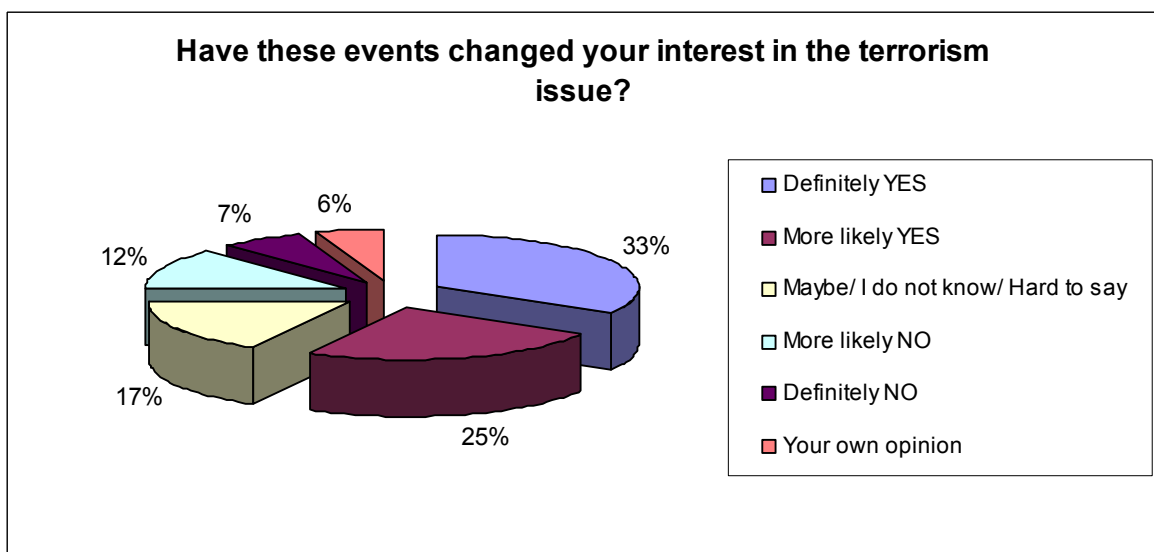
The first of these questions asked: Did you watch the events from 11 September 2001? Most of the respondents showed a real interest, because 72% (213 out of 300) of them answered Definitely Yes and another 21% (64 out of 300) of them answered More likely Yes. Considering that all the respondents were only Czechs, this single-valued result means that the events had really spread all over the world and everyone knew about them immediately.

Graph VI: How much people watched the September 11 events.



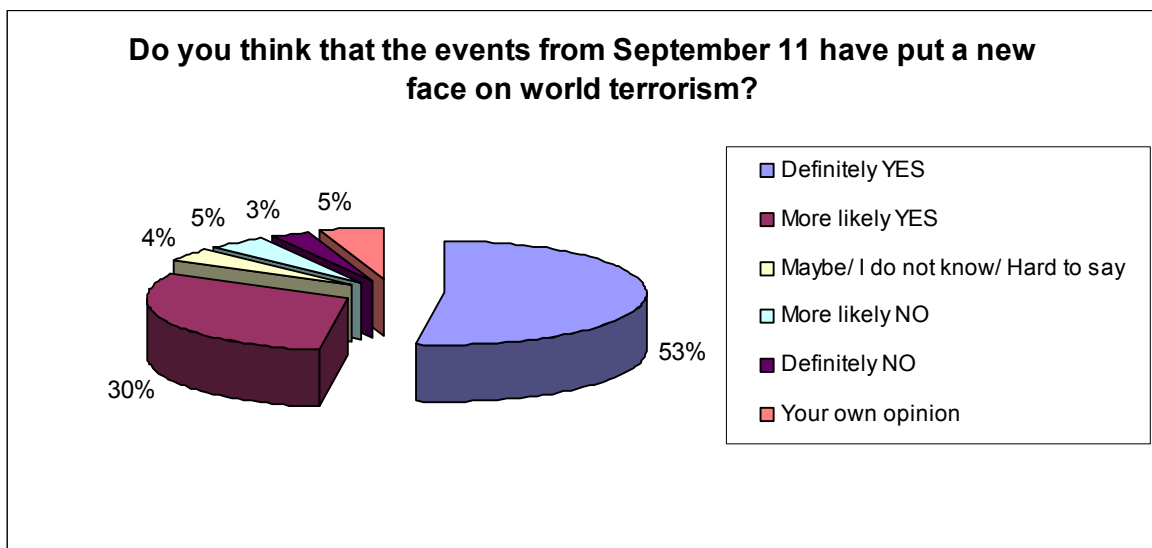
Another question asked people whether the events have changed their interest in the terrorism issue. The purpose of this question was to show the range of impact of 9/11 on people’s minds or people’s lives. The results of this question were not that single valued, but still 58% of respondents confirmed some change in their attitude since the attacks. 17% of respondents were not sure whether the events affected them or not. I suppose they did not really think about it more deeply and even if there was some change, they have not realized it yet.

Graph VII: The affect of the events on respondents’ attitudes.



The last question measuring the importance of the events was: Do you think that the events from September 11 have put a new face on world terrorism? Already mentioned in the theoretical part of this work, the 9/11 events were different than all the previous terrorist attacks (see page 22). Therefore, the purpose of this question was clear – to confirm that the events meant a real historic point in the whole history of terrorism. The results showed that 53% of surveyed people (157 out of 300) definitely agreed with the overall impact of the events on terrorism and another 30% of them (91 out of 300) also considered the events to be an important moment in the world history of terrorism. 12% of the respondents were either not able to move towards a definite answer or they did not think that the events were so momentous.

Graph VIII: The importance of 9/11 in the world history of terrorism.



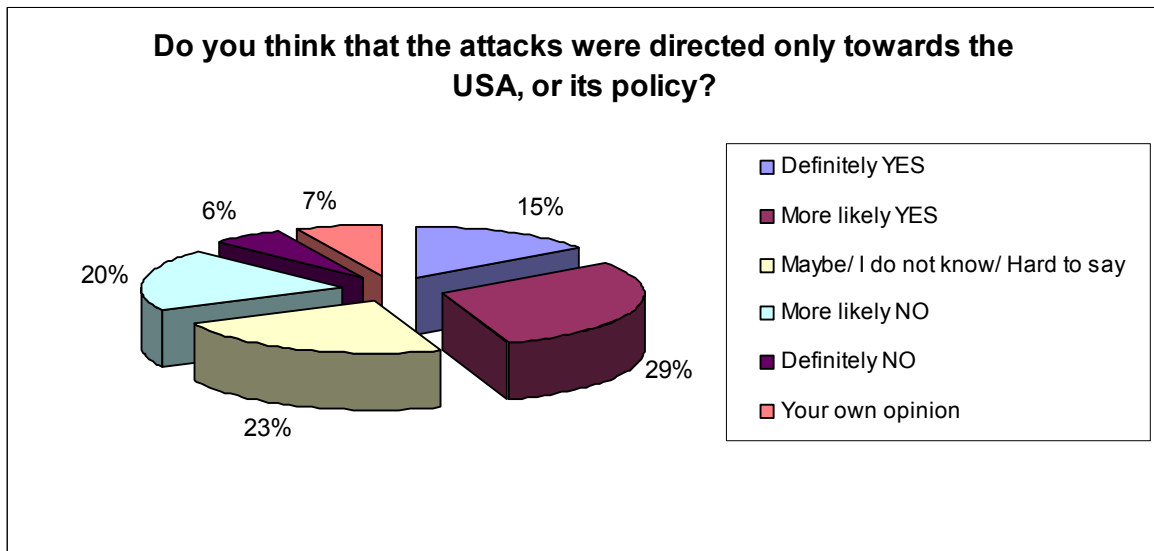
### 7.2.2 Direction of the events

Two questions in the survey tried to size up the direction of the attacks – whether these attacks were directed only on the USA or they were delivered tactically to affect the whole world. The figures in the following graphs show high level of uncertainty of the respondents. It is quite understandable, because to answer these questions requires a certain level of awareness about the events and also about the situation in the world and about the terrorism and the terrorists themselves.

When I asked people whether they think that only the USA was the terrorist target, the results were relatively equal. When counting it together, about 44% of respondents agreed

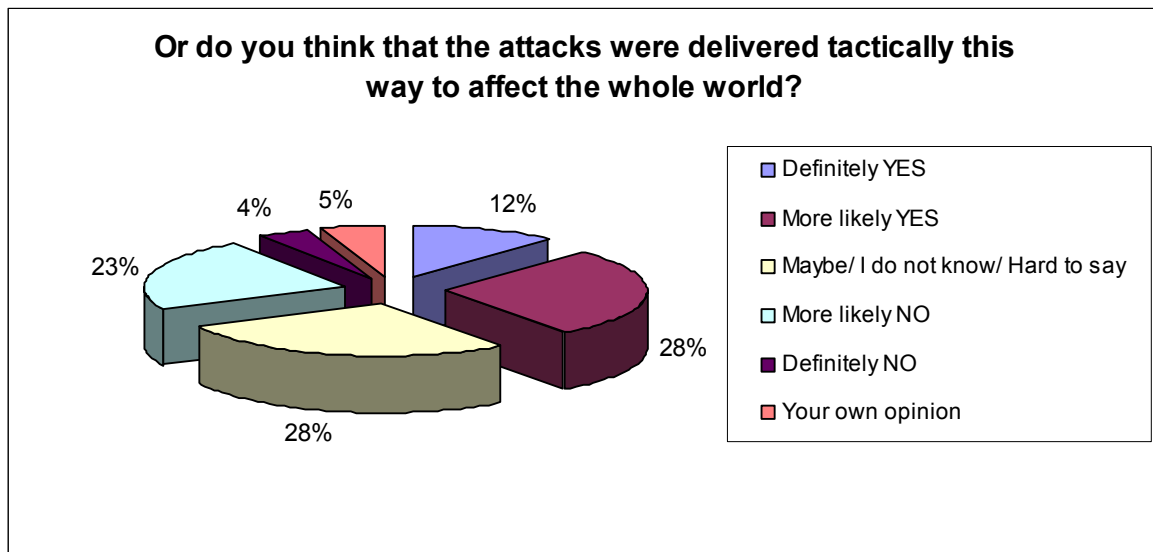
that the terrorists wanted to harm only the USA or the Americans. 26% of them saw the attacks as something more complex and 23% of them were not able to provide a clear answer.

Graph IX: The USA as the only target of 9/11 attacks.



When asking them the second question, the results show almost the same clash of answers as by the previous question. 120 of 300 questioned people believed that the terrorists had chosen the USA for some higher purpose and 80 people did not look at the attacks from more perspectives than just one and that is the disagreement with the USA, its policy or maybe the American way of life. 84 respondents found this question difficult to answer.

Graph X: The whole world as a target of 9/11 attacks.



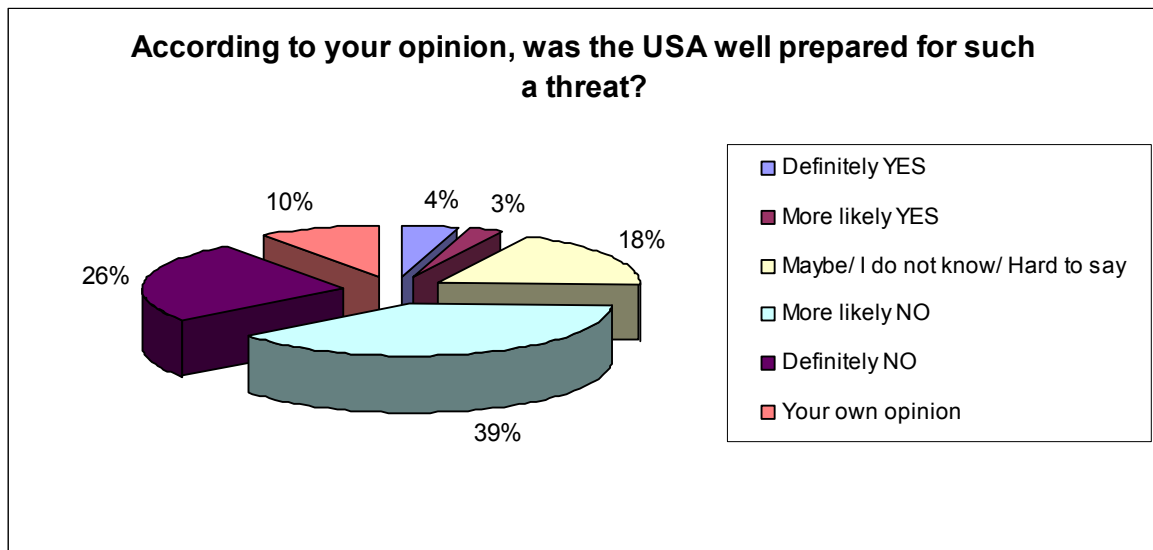
When looking at these answers, it actually confirms my suppositions. In my opinion, everyone know what happened that day and everyone saw it, whether directly or indirectly via different types of media, which were really full of it that time. But people are not really interested enough. They are not searching for the answers hiding behind the attacks and they know only the official account, which could be heard everywhere after the attacks. Only a few of them are looking at the attacks from different perspective than the official one and exactly these people provided my survey with most of the own opinions.

### 7.2.3 Counter-terrorism measures in the USA

Next question dealt with the safety measures in the USA before the attacks. I asked people whether they think that the USA was prepared for such a threat. I asked this question in order to find out whether it were the safety measures which had failed in the time of attack or whether it was maybe the human factor which had failed, even if the safety measures were adequate that time. According to the opinion of most of the surveyed people, of 65% to be exact, the USA was not prepared for this coming danger at all and could not do much about it. Only 7% of all respondents were that opinion that the USA was prepared enough and therefore there must have been a different reason why the terrorists were successful at the end. This question was maybe the most open one in the survey, considering that it recorded the highest number of own opinions – 10% (29 people out of 300).

Graph XI: Quality of safety measures in the USA before 9/11 attacks.



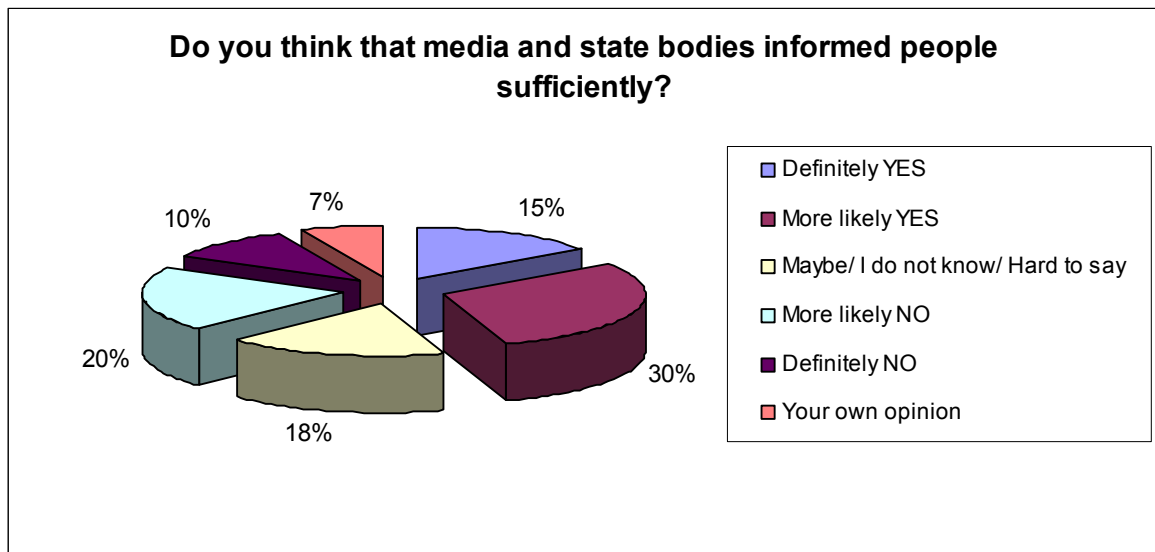


#### 7.2.4 Awareness of the events

The last question dealing with September 11 events focused on the awareness of the events. The question was: Do you think that media and state bodies informed people sufficiently? The reason why I included this question in the survey is that the events of 9/11 hit all the news all around the world that time and everyone had really no better choice than watching the news. It means that most of the people were quite well informed about the attacks and therefore they could provide me with their opinions on the quality of the information they get about the events. I have already heard many Czechs complaining about the lies the U.S. authorities claimed to be the official account of what happened that tragic day, so I wanted to know whether the Czechs are really so distrustful.

45% of respondents found the awareness of the attacks sufficient, thinking that they get all the information they needed. 30% of respondents were not satisfied with the information about the attacks – they could be either dissatisfied with the amount of the information or with the quality of the information. 18% of surveyed Czechs found this question quite difficult to answer, so they rather said that they do not know.

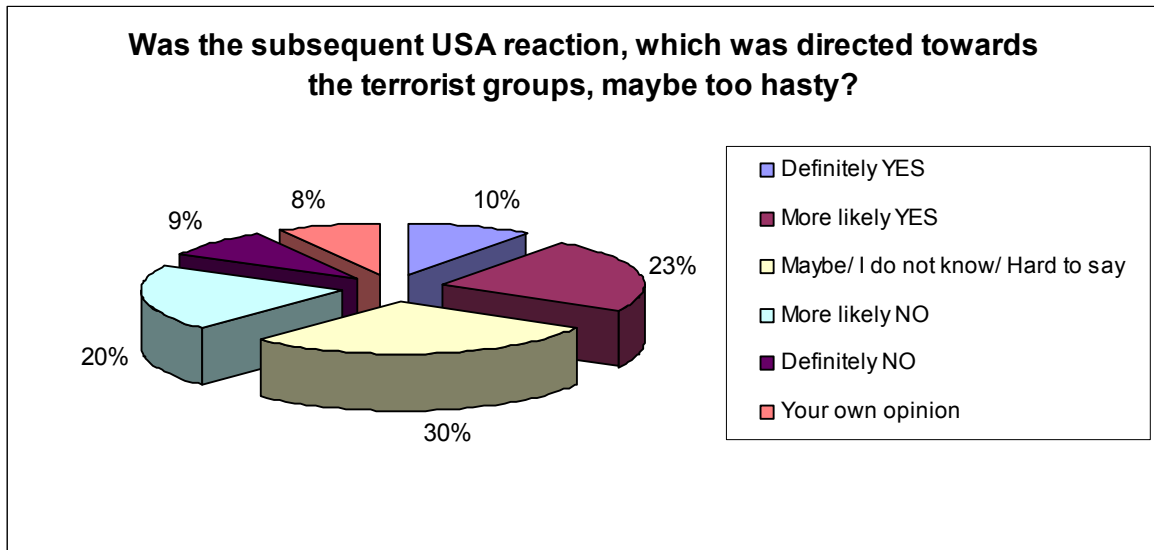
Graph XII: Awareness of the 9/11 events.



### 7.3 The attitudes towards the war on terrorism

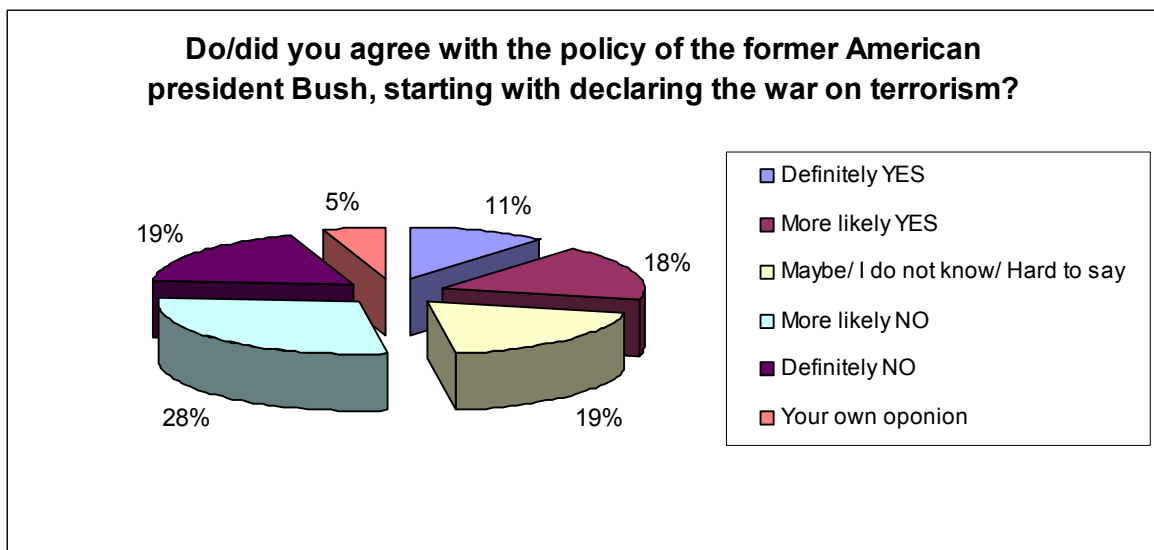
Next category of questions dealt with the USA reaction to the attacks. Shortly after the events, President Bush declared war on terrorism, which began with Osama bin Laden chase and have continued with combating all dangerous terrorist networks in the world. The purpose of the following three questions was to show the level of agreement or disagreement with the American way of waging the war and especially then with the Bush administration. The first question of these three asked the respondents whether the military response of the USA was maybe too rush. According to 99 people it definitely or probably was. 88 people were the opposite opinion, which means that they agreed with the USA quick response to the attacks. Another 88 people could not decide clearly and therefore they took a neutral stand, answering the question with Maybe/I do not know/Hard to say.

Graph XIII: The U.S. immediate military response towards the terrorists.



Second question of these three focused on the Bush administration a Bush policy on terrorism. The question was constructed really simply - whether people agreed with his policy or did not. Such question immediately showed the attitudes of the respondents towards the former U.S. president and his decision making. As I thought, almost the majority of the respondents, 47% of them, did not find Bush policy on terrorism as the right one. Nevertheless, 29% of them agreed with the way George W. Bush waged the war, which is quite surprising number for me. 19% of people responded neutrally and 5% of them expressed their own opinions.

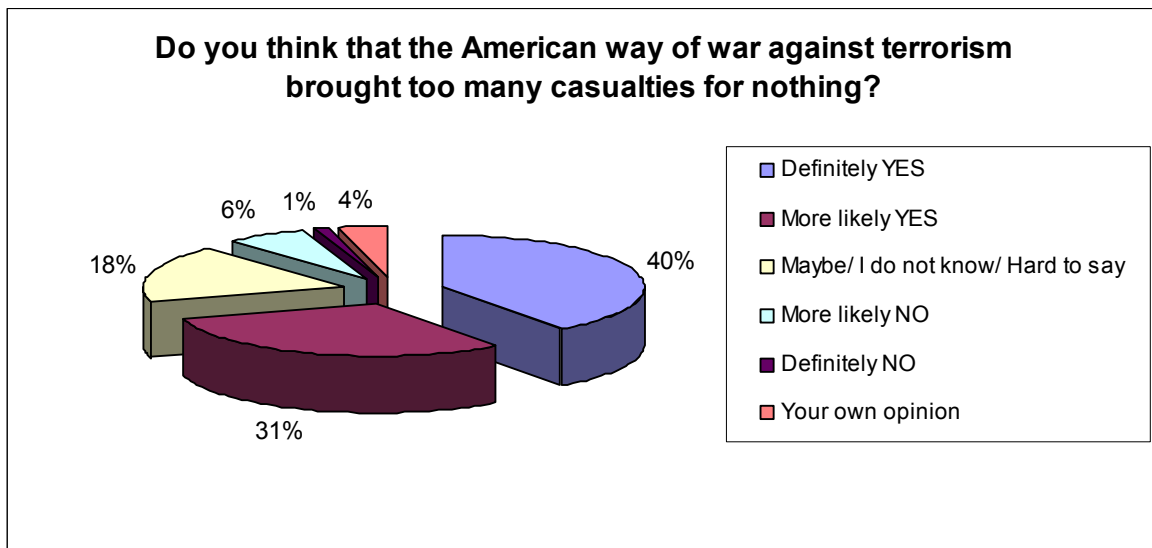
Graph XIV: Favor or disfavor for G.W. Bush and his policy on terrorism.



The last question dealing with the war on terrorism asked about the consequences of the war. The question was: Do you think that the American way of war against terrorism brought too many casualties for nothing? Actually, this question also suggests the attitudes of people toward this long war, because no human being would support a war which results only in thousands dead.

Two answers predominated over the others - Definitely Yes (40%) and More likely Yes (31%), which shows much disfavor for the war. Only 7% of the respondents found the number of casualties at normal range and 18% did not know what to answer.

Graph XV: Consequences of the war on terrorism.



#### 7.4 Involvement in the war on terrorism

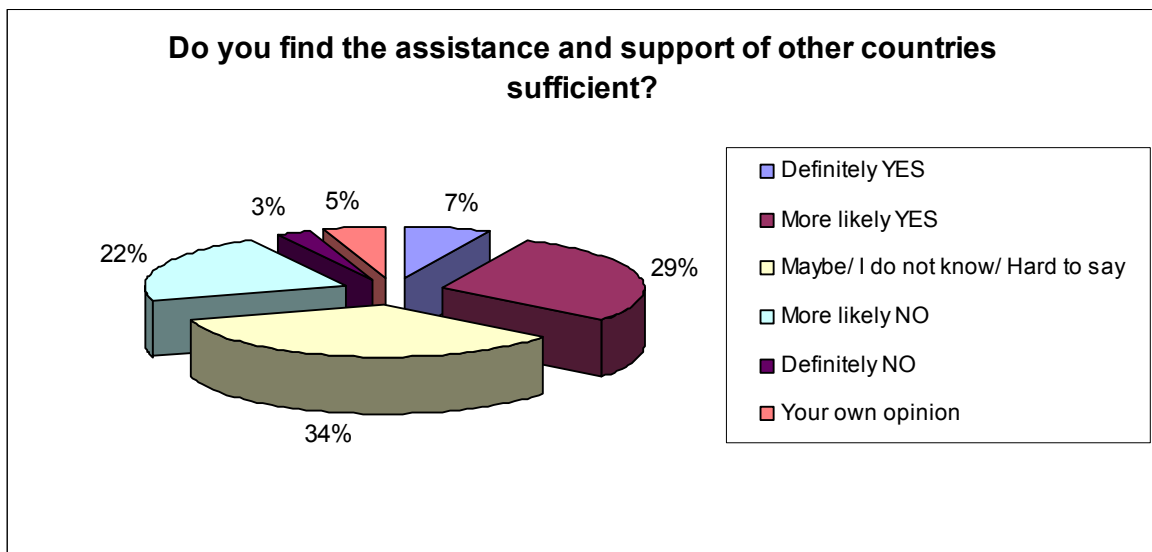
The next three questions in the survey were concerned with the involvement in the war on terrorism. Though the attacks were directed on the U.S. land, the war on terrorism has become a matter of almost the whole world. This worldwide involvement in the war affected many ordinary people all around the globe and usually in a negative way.

The first question is quite different than the other two in this category. It asked: Do you find the assistance and support of other countries sufficient? The purpose of this question was to introduce the other two questions in the category, because the results of this question may show whether people think that the whole world was really involved or not. Sufficient assistance and support would speak in favor of wide involvement and the

lack of assistance or support would mean that the USA was alone in the fight against terrorists.

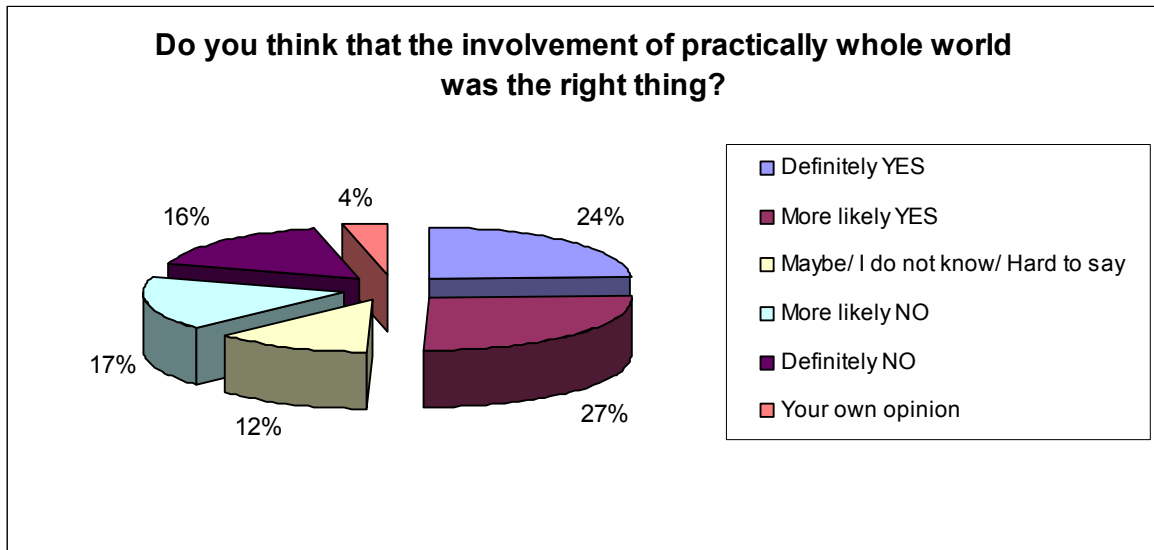
As you can see, 37% of surveyed people found the help sufficient and 25% of them did not. Really interesting for me is the high number of people with no definite opinion on this question. I really did not expect this question to be so difficult to answer, but the respondents surprised me.

Graph XVI: Involvement of other countries in the war on terror.

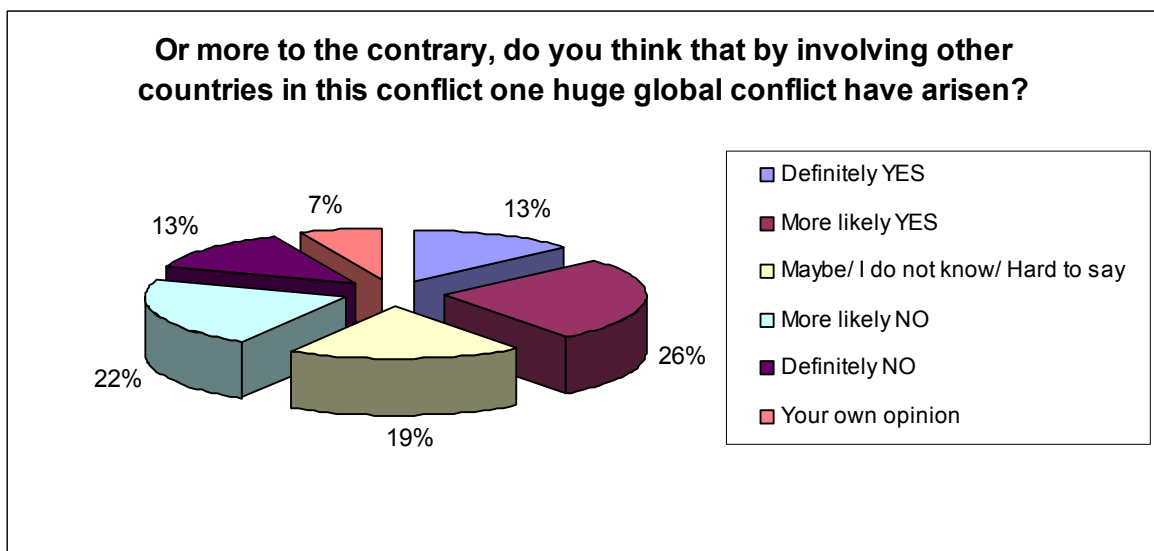


The next two questions were quite related to each other. The first one of them was trying to find out whether the worldwide involvement in the war was the right thing and the second one was trying to find out the opposite – whether this involvement was a mistake, leading only to one huge global conflict. As we can see, 51% of respondents agreed with such involvement, while 33% of them did not welcome this heavy participation in the war. The figures in the second question were relatively equal, whereas 39% of people thought that it was not a good step that so many countries helped the USA in the fight, because it has made the conflict really global, 35% of them did not consider the involvement to be the actual cause of a global conflict.

Graph XVII: Was the world involvement the right thing?



Graph XVIII: Was the world involvement a horrible mistake?



These figures shows that the Czechs are not fully decided whether the cooperation of so many countries is a good way for combating the terrorism, but they usually show a support and agreement of these cooperative efforts.

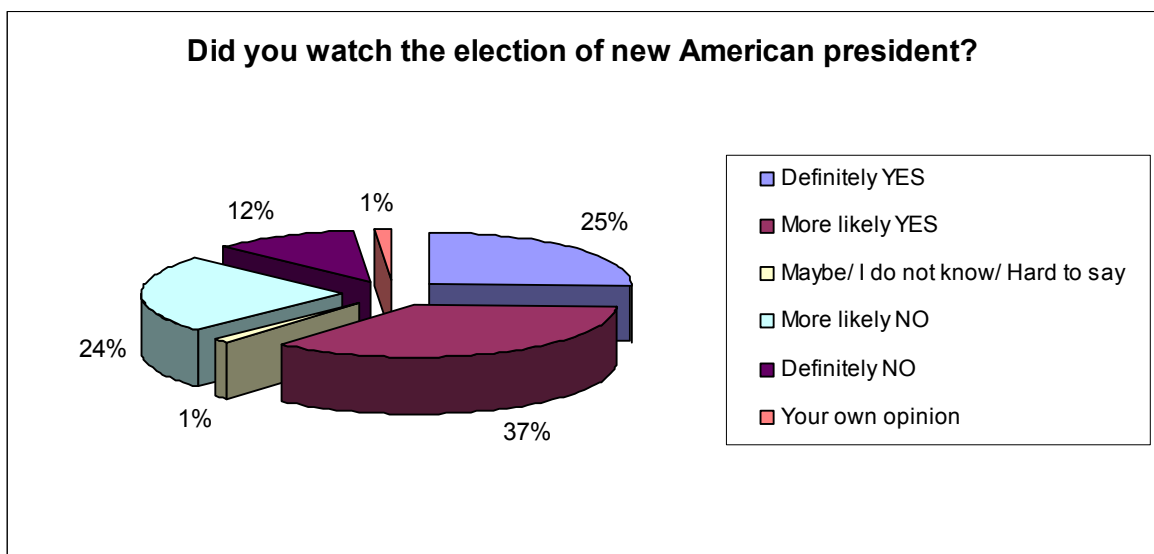
### 7.5 Election of new U.S. president

When we take o look at other three questions of the survey, all of them dealt with the election of new U.S. president. Though it may seem irrelevant including these questions in the survey dealing with terrorism, it is not. I included these questions firstly, because the U.S. presidential elections were full of terrorism topics and secondly, because it was the

USA and the U.S. president declaring and leading the war on terrorism. The elections were important for many people when looking to the future of war on terrorism.

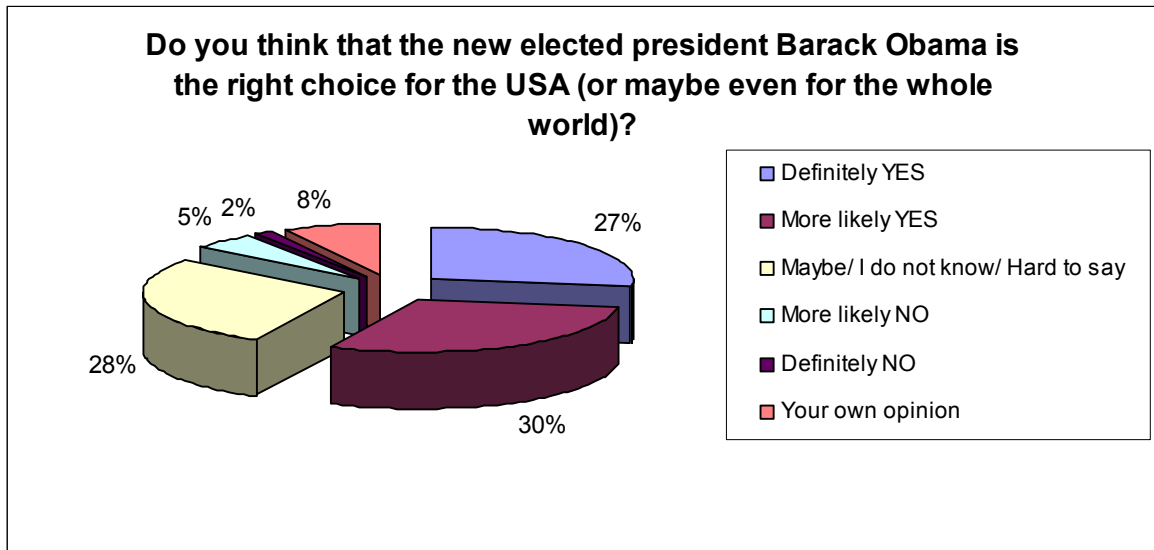
The first question asked whether people watched the election or not. 184 respondents out of 300 showed quite high interest in the election, while 108 people admitted that watching the election was not a part of their daily program. What I found really perplexing is the fact that there were some people (4) who answered Maybe/I do not know/Hard to say.

Graph XIX: How much people watched the U.S. presidential election.

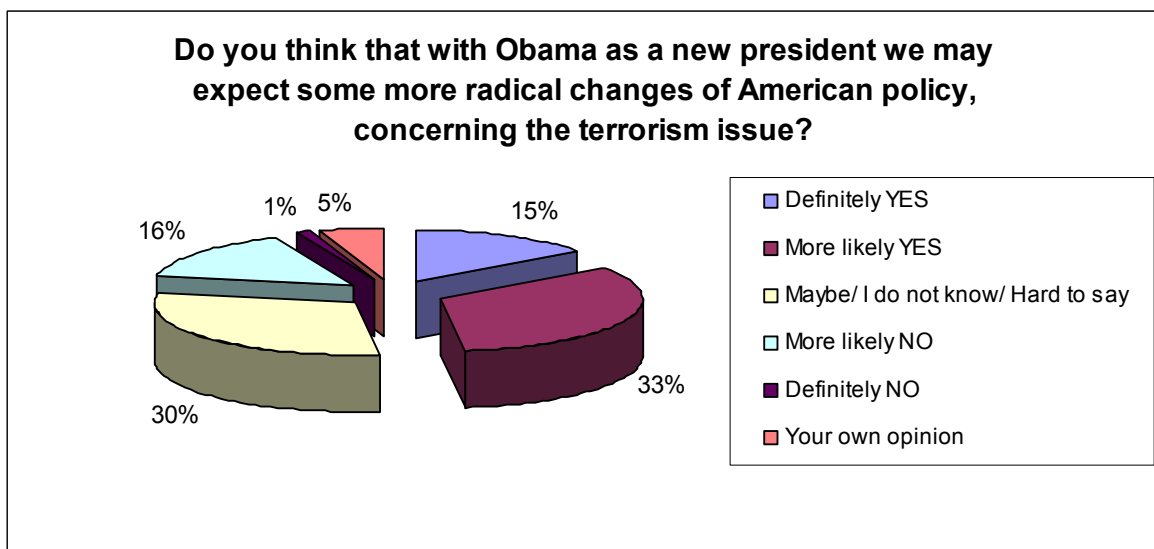


Following two questions tried to find out the opinions of people towards the new elected president Barack Obama. If the people really watched the election (184 of them said they watched the election), they would have known Obama’s campaign and his attitudes towards terrorism and therefore their answers would be relevant when discussing the possible future of terrorism. When I asked them if they think that Obama is the right choice for the USA or for the whole world actually, the majority of them said Yes (57%) and only 7% of the respondents answered No - this might be a good sign for the future.

Graph XX: Favor or disfavor for Barack Obama.



Graph XXI: Will be Barack Obama able to change the U.S. policy on terrorism?



I also asked the people whether they think that Obama may bring some radical changes in American policy on terrorism, but this time the answers were not so single-valued. 48% of them believed that he may have the power to change the current U.S. policies on terrorism, 30% were not really sure about his abilities and took rather a neutral stand and 17% of the respondents do not expect any significant change of American policy with Obama as a new president.

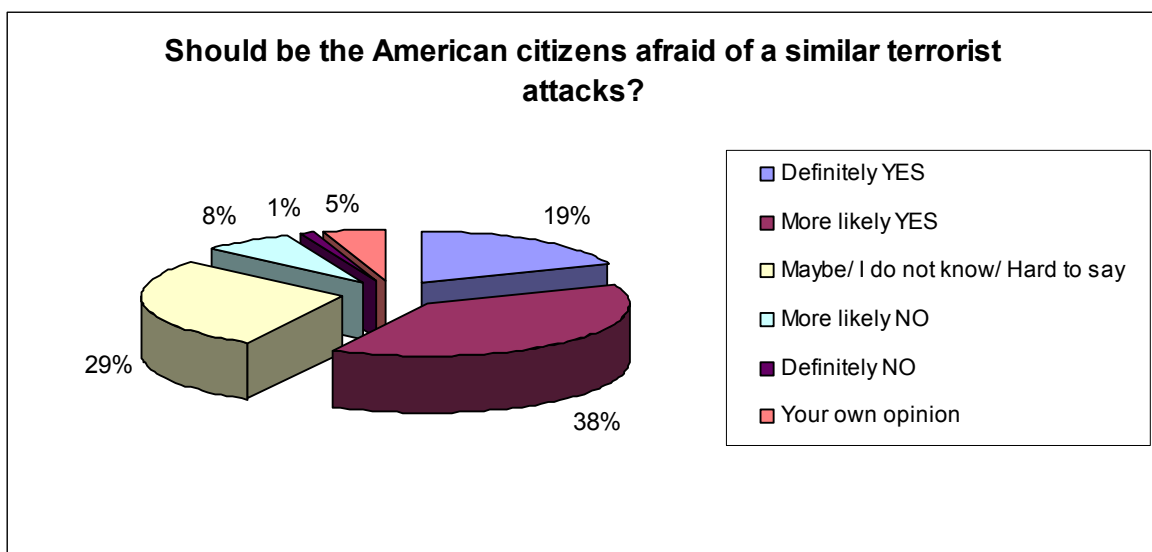
But still, the number of positive responses towards Barack Obama is quite high and I think I can say that the Czechs are quite satisfied with this choice of the America when electing a new president.



## 7.6 Future of terrorism

The last category of questions was related to the future of terrorism. There were three questions concerning the current counter-terrorism measures and the potentiality of future terrorist attacks. The first question is focused only on the USA and its safety measures. If you remember from the beginning of the survey evaluation, I asked people whether the USA were prepared for the potentiality of 9/11 attacks. 65% of them answered they were not prepared and only 7% of them thought the opposite. I decided to ask the people the same question again, but with one difference – they were asked to look to the future instead of looking back into the past. The results showed that the respondents changed their point of view, because 57% of them now believe that the security in the USA has improved since 9/11 attacks and the United States are now much better prepared for such a threat. On the other hand, only 9 % saw no improvement of the U.S. safety measures and the number of uncertain people has grown a bit, from 18% to 29%.

Graph XXII: Potential of new terrorist attacks in the USA.

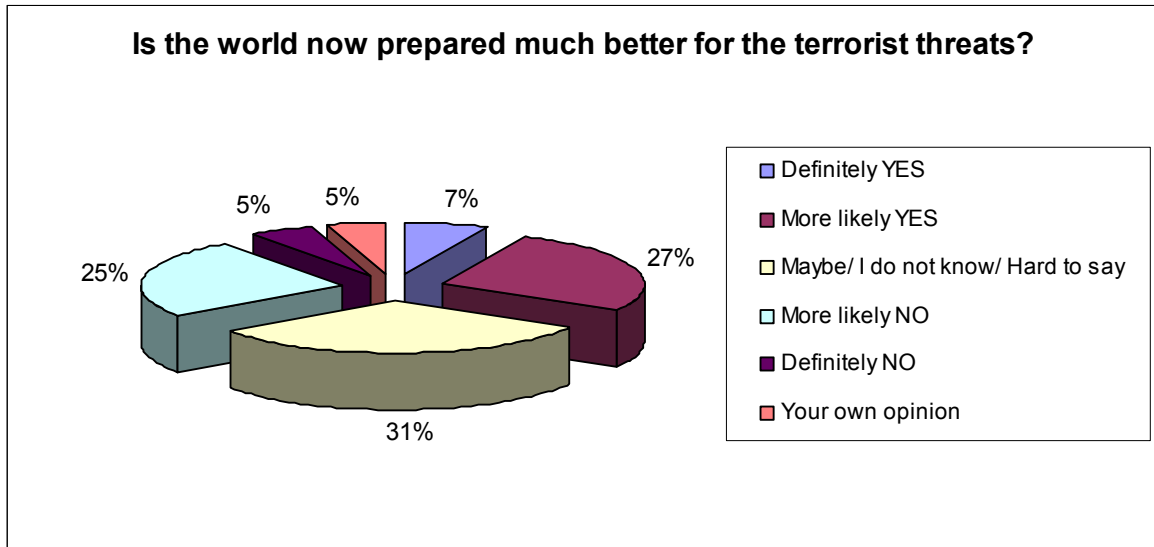


The other question asked the same thing as the previous one, but it focused on the whole world this time. According to 100 people out of 300 the world is now well prepared for the possibility of terrorist threat, while 90 respondents do not think that the countries are safer now. 96 people provided no definite answer to the question.

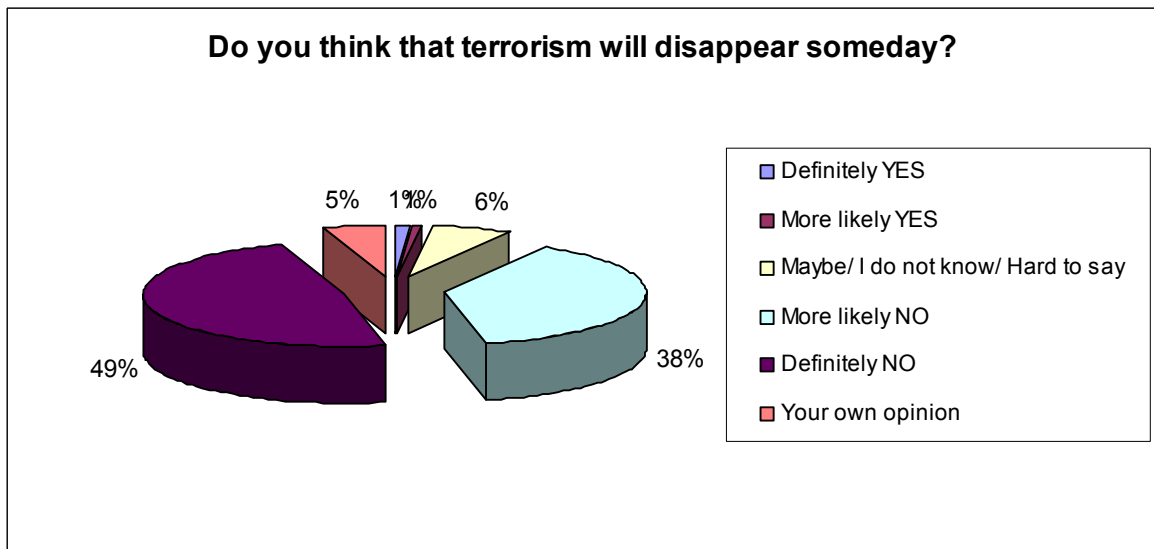
These figures actually shows that the Czechs think that while the USA is nowadays able to stave off the terrorist attacks, the counter-terrorism measures in the rest of the

world are not so advanced and the countries are not able to protect their citizens as in the USA.

Graph XXIII: Potential of terrorist attacks in the world.



Graph XXIV: Future of terrorism.



The very last question of the survey is like the very first question of the survey – also very general one. I asked the Czechs whether they think that terrorism will ever disappear. The first purpose of this question is to find out the character of the surveyed people – whether they are optimists, realists or pessimists. And the second purpose of this question is to find out whether the Czechs after all that happened believe that the people have learnt

from their mistakes and that the war on terrorism is really winnable and not just a vain fight. The results of this question show that 87% of the respondents do not believe in the world without terrorism, which might be considered either as a realistic point of view or a pessimistic point of view. But still, there are some optimistic Czechs in the country, because 2% of the respondents answered Yes and so they show a certain hope in the future. 6% of surveyed people think that it is really hard to predict such a thing and so they rather left no definite answer.

## CONCLUSION

The questionnaire-based survey showed the level of topicality of terrorism issue in present days. After completing the evaluation of the survey I may go back the hypotheses that I have made before starting the process of evaluation. When looking at the results, I have to admit that I was wrong in most of the hypotheses and that Czechs really surprised me with their level of interest in terrorism. I would like to take a look at these hypotheses and compare them with the real numbers.

First hypothesis of mine suggested that Czech people are not interested in terrorism, because it is something that is not affecting them directly at the moment. But this idea was really wrong and the high number of Czechs shows that they are well aware of the seriousness of terrorism in present days and they really care about it. As I also suggested, the interest in 9/11 was really great and in only confirms the fact that these events were the center of attention all over the world for a long time and people still remember it very well.

In the second hypothesis I supposed that there will be a high percentage of Czechs who did not agree with the war on terrorism, showing especially a disfavor for Bush administration. But the reality is not so single-valued, neither the results. The figures were mostly equal and it may signify that Czechs are not very certain whether the war on terrorism was a good step or not. But according to some people who provided me with their own opinions I can say that the results were so equal, because people agreed with the war itself, but did not agreed with Bush and his policies.

Third hypothesis was related to the previous one. I suggested that even if Czechs showed a disfavor for Bush administration, still they would not care much about the election of new U.S. president. In this case, I was wrong again, because the majority of surveyed people said that they watched the election and as the results also show, they were satisfied with the American choice. Many of them even think that Barack Obama may bring some good changes in the U.S. policy and that he is the right future for the USA (and maybe us as well).

Finally, the last hypothesis was related to the future of the terrorism. I assumed that people are mostly realistic and that they do not believe in future without terrorism. This theory was confirmed by the results, which show that Czechs really think that terrorism will remain a part of our lives for a long time, if not forever. This might be considered either as a pessimistic view or as a realistic view, especially for someone who is interested in the issue.

To conclude the survey, I would like to say that the answers of Czechs have raised some kind of national pride in me, realizing that we are not a nation a self-centered people, whose motto is: "It is not my business." That is actually what I thought before seeing the results. But now I am really satisfied with the evaluation of the survey, especially when taking into account that Czech Republic is just a small country and still, people living here are full of care and support. I always say: "It begins with the smallest "unit" and then it proceeds to the larger ones." To explain this, I think that if we care, others should care as well.

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**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

USA	United States of America
U.S.	United States
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
EU	European Union
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction
AK	Automatic (gun of) Kalashnikov
VBIED	Vehicle Borne Improvised Explosive Device
IED	Improvised Explosive Device
RPG	Rocket Propelled Grenade
SAM	Surface-to-Air Missile
IRA	Irish Republican Army
9/11	9.11.2001
A.M.	Ante Meridiem (before noon)
P.M.	Post Meridiem (after noon)
D.C.	District of Columbia
WTC	World Trade Center
FAA	Federal Aviation Administration
FEMA	Federal Emergency Management Agency
DHS	Department of Homeland Security



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## APPENDIX P I: TERRORIST TACTICS AND WEAPONS

Source: About.com. *Terrorist Tactics and Weapons*. About.com.

[http://terrorism.about.com/od/tacticsandweapons/Terrorist\\_Tactics\\_and\\_Weapons.htm](http://terrorism.about.com/od/tacticsandweapons/Terrorist_Tactics_and_Weapons.htm).

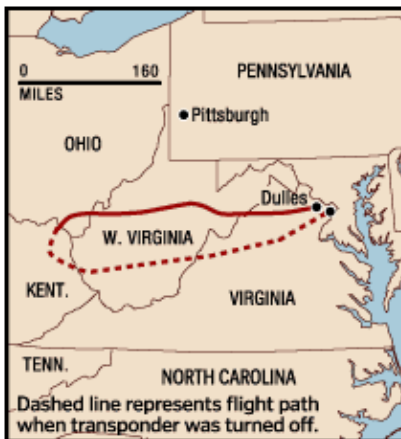
Assassination	A murder of some political or other well-known figure.
AK-47 Assault Rifles	A simply designed weapon combining elements of automatic weapon and assault rifles.
Car Bombing (VBIEDs)	Vehicle Borne Improvised Explosive Devices use explosives to weaponize cars, trucks and even motorcycles.
Hijacking	An illegal seizure of an aircraft, ship or vehicle in transit in order to send it to another destination, frequently with the intention of taking passengers hostage.
Dirty Bomb	A bomb that combines a conventional explosive with radioactive material.
IEDs (Improvised Explosive Devices)	Makeshift bombs, build with different variety of techniques and materials in order to cause tremendous damage.
Nuclear Terrorism	Includes attacking nuclear facilities, purchasing nuclear weapons, or building nuclear weapons or otherwise finding ways to disperse radioactive materials.
Rocket Propelled Grenades (RPGs)	Lightweight, shoulder launched weapons with easy portability, low cost and wide availability on black markets, originally designed to damage tanks.
Suicide Attacks	Violent action against other people or property by an attacker aware that he or she will be killed.
Surface-to-Air Missiles (SAMs)	Lightweight, guided missiles designed to shoot down aircraft from a stationery position on the ground or from the deck of a warship. They contain a system - such as laser or radar beams - for "guiding" missiles toward their target following launch.

## APPENDIX P II: FLIGHT PATH OF THE HIJACKED PLANES

Source: The Washington Post. *America Attacked – News Graphics*. The Washington Post Company. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/graphics/hijack091101.htm>.

### American Airlines 77

- **Scheduled flight:** Dulles International Airport to Los Angeles International Airport, departed at 8:10 a.m.
- **Crash:** West side of Pentagon, 9:40 a.m.
- **Those on board:** 64 people, including four flight attendants, two pilots



### American Airlines 11

- **Scheduled flight:** Boston Logan International Airport to Los Angeles International Airport, departed at 7:59 a.m.
- **Crash:** World Trade Center North at 8:45 a.m.
- **Those on board:** 92 people, including nine flight attendants, two pilots



### United Airlines 175

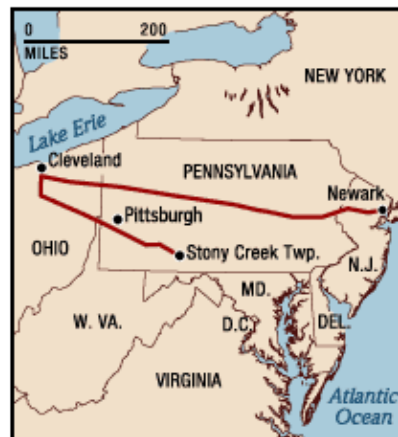
- **Scheduled flight:** Boston Logan International Airport to Los Angeles International Airport, departed at 7:58 a.m.
- **Crash:** World Trade Center South at 9:05 a.m.
- **Those on board:** 65 people, including seven flight attendants, two pilots



SOURCES: Flight Explorer, staff reports

### United Airlines 93

- **Scheduled flight:** Newark International Airport to San Francisco International Airport, departed 8:01 a.m.
- **Crash:** Stony Creek Twp., Pa., which is 80 miles southeast of Pittsburgh, at 10:10 a.m.
- **Those on board:** 45 people, including five flight attendants, two pilots

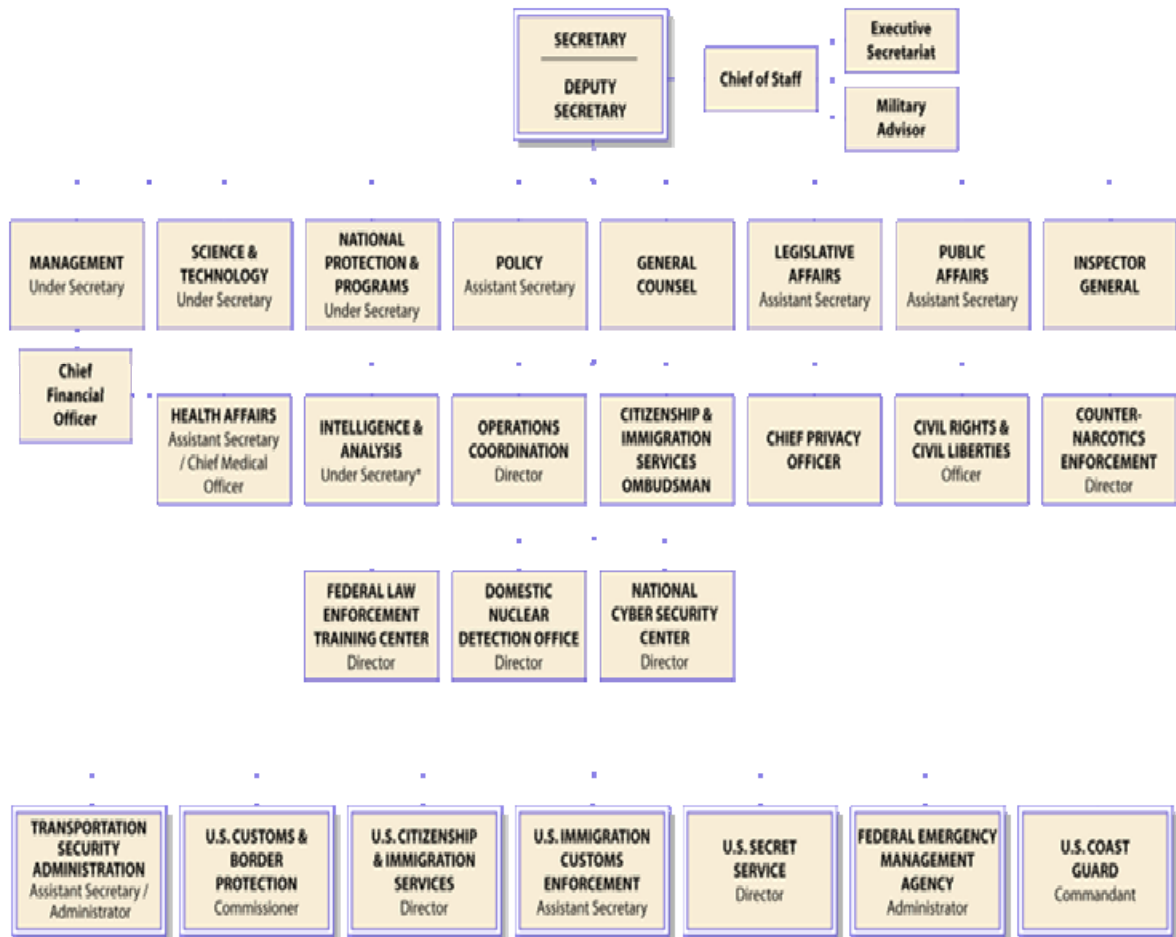


THE WASHINGTON POST

## APPENDIX P II: ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF DHS

Source: U.S. Department of Homeland Security. *Organizational Chart of DHS*. U.S.

Department of Homeland Security. <http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/photos/orgchart-web.png>.



## **APPENDIX P IV: GEORGE W. BUSH AND HIS SPEECH**

Source: Newsaic.com. *State of the Union 2001*. Newsaic.com.  
<http://newsaic.com/ressou2001.html>.

George W. Bush, Address to Joint Session of Congress, September 20, 2001:

In the normal course of events, Presidents come to this chamber to report on the state of the Union. Tonight, no such report is needed. It has already been delivered by the American people. We have seen it in the courage of passengers, who rushed terrorists to save others on the ground -- passengers like an exceptional man named Todd Beamer. And would you please help me to welcome his wife, Lisa Beamer, here tonight. (Applause.)

We have seen the state of our Union in the endurance of rescuers, working past exhaustion. We have seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers -- in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own. My fellow citizens, for the last nine days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union -- and it is strong. (Applause.)

Tonight we are a country awakened to danger and called to defend freedom. Our grief has turned to anger, and anger to resolution. Whether we bring our enemies to justice, or bring justice to our enemies, justice will be done. (Applause.)

I thank the Congress for its leadership at such an important time. All of America was touched on the evening of the tragedy to see Republicans and Democrats joined together on the steps of this Capitol, singing "God Bless America." And you did more than sing; you acted, by delivering \$40 billion to rebuild our communities and meet the needs of our military.

Speaker Hastert, Minority Leader Gephardt, Majority Leader Daschle and Senator Lott, I thank you for your friendship, for your leadership and for your service to our country. (Applause.)

And on behalf of the American people, I thank the world for its outpouring of support. America will never forget the sounds of our National Anthem playing at Buckingham Palace, on the streets of Paris, and at Berlin's Brandenburg Gate.

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

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

Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money; its goal is remaking the world -- and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere. The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics -- a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam. The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans, and make no distinction among military and civilians, including women and children.

This group and its leader -- a person named Osama bin Laden -- are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. There are thousands of these terrorists in more than 60 countries. They are recruited from their own nations and neighborhoods and brought to camps in places like Afghanistan, where they are trained in the tactics of



terror. They are sent back to their homes or sent to hide in countries around the world to plot evil and destruction.

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

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

And tonight, the United States of America makes the following demands on the Taliban: Deliver to United States authorities all the leaders of al Qaeda who hide in your land. (Applause.) Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens, you have unjustly imprisoned. Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country. Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan, and hand over every terrorist, and every person in their support structure, to appropriate authorities. (Applause.) Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating.

These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion. (Applause.) The Taliban must act, and act immediately. They will hand over the terrorists, or they will share in their fate.

I also want to speak tonight directly to Muslims throughout the world. We respect your faith. It's practiced freely by many millions of Americans, and by millions more in countries that America counts as friends. Its teachings are good and peaceful, and those who commit evil in the name of Allah blaspheme the name of Allah. (Applause.) The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself. The enemy of America is not our many Muslim friends; it is not our many Arab friends. Our enemy is a radical network of terrorists, and every government that supports them. (Applause.)

Our war on terror begins with al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated.

(Applause.)

Americans are asking, why do they hate us? They hate what we see right here in this chamber -- a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms -- our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

They want to overthrow existing governments in many Muslim countries, such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Jordan. They want to drive Israel out of the Middle East. They want to drive Christians and Jews out of vast regions of Asia and Africa.

These terrorists kill not merely to end lives, but to disrupt and end a way of life. With every atrocity, they hope that America grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends. They stand against us, because we stand in their way.

We are not deceived by their pretenses to piety. We have seen their kind before. They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions -- by abandoning every value except the will to power -- they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends: in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies. (Applause.)

Americans are asking: How will we fight and win this war? We will direct every resource at our command -- every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war -- to the disruption and to the defeat of the global terror network.

This war will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo two years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat.

Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign, unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes, visible on TV, and covert operations, secret even in success. We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest. And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation, in every region, now

has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists. (Applause.) From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime.

Our nation has been put on notice: We are not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans. Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security. These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me -- the Office of Homeland Security.

And tonight I also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort, to strengthen American security: a military veteran, an effective governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend -- Pennsylvania's Tom Ridge. (Applause.) He will lead, oversee and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy to safeguard our country against terrorism, and respond to any attacks that may come.

These measures are essential. But the only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it, and destroy it where it grows. (Applause.)

Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents to intelligence operatives to the reservists we have called to active duty. All deserve our thanks, and all have our prayers. And tonight, a few miles from the damaged Pentagon, I have a message for our military: Be ready. I've called the Armed Forces to alert, and there is a reason. The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud. (Applause.)

This is not, however, just America's fight. And what is at stake is not just America's freedom. This is the world's fight. This is civilization's fight. This is the fight of all who believe in progress and pluralism, tolerance and freedom.

We ask every nation to join us. We will ask, and we will need, the help of police forces, intelligence services, and banking systems around the world. The United States is grateful that many nations and many international organizations have already responded -- with sympathy and with support. Nations from Latin America, to Asia, to Africa, to Europe, to the Islamic world. Perhaps the NATO Charter reflects best the attitude of the world: An attack on one is an attack on all.

The civilized world is rallying to America's side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next. Terror, unanswered,

can not only bring down buildings, it can threaten the stability of legitimate governments. And you know what -- we're not going to allow it. (Applause.)

Americans are asking: What is expected of us? I ask you to live your lives, and hug your children. I know many citizens have fears tonight, and I ask you to be calm and resolute, even in the face of a continuing threat.

I ask you to uphold the values of America, and remember why so many have come here. We are in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith. (Applause.)

I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, [libertyunites.org](http://libertyunites.org), to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you to give it.

I ask for your patience, with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security; and for your patience in what will be a long struggle.

I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy. Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity. They did not touch its source. America is successful because of the hard work, and creativity, and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy before September 11th, and they are our strengths today. (Applause.)

And, finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform, and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow, and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead.

Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do. And ladies and gentlemen of the Congress, I thank you, their representatives, for what you have already done and for what we will do together.

Tonight, we face new and sudden national challenges. We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights, and take new measures to prevent hijacking. We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying, with direct assistance during this emergency. (Applause.)

We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home. (Applause.) We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of terrorists before they act, and find them before they strike. (Applause.)

We will come together to take active steps that strengthen America's economy, and put our people back to work.

Tonight we welcome two leaders who embody the extraordinary spirit of all New Yorkers: Governor George Pataki, and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. (Applause.) As a symbol of America's resolve, my administration will work with Congress, and these two leaders, to show the world that we will rebuild New York City. (Applause.)

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

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

It is my hope that in the months and years ahead, life will return almost to normal. We'll go back to our lives and routines, and that is good. Even grief recedes with time and grace. But our resolve must not pass. Each of us will remember what happened that day, and to whom it happened. We'll remember the moment the news came -- where we were and what we were doing. Some will remember an image of a fire, or a story of rescue. Some will carry memories of a face and a voice gone forever.

And I will carry this: It is the police shield of a man named George Howard, who died at the World Trade Center trying to save others. It was given to me by his mom, Arlene, as a proud memorial to her son. This is my reminder of lives that ended, and a task that does not end. (Applause.)

I will not forget this wound to our country or those who inflicted it. I will not yield; I will not rest; I will not relent in waging this struggle for freedom and security for the American people.

The course of this conflict is not known, yet its outcome is certain. Freedom and fear, justice and cruelty, have always been at war, and we know that God is not neutral between them. (Applause.)

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

Thank you. (Applause.)

## **APPENDIX V: BLANK QUESTIONNAIRE**

**Topic of the bachelor thesis:** Global terrorism with a focus on the USA

**Made by:** Jana Švehlová

**University:** UTB in Zlín, FHS, Filology, English for business administration

Please circle one answer, or a number to be more precise, which corresponds most closely to your opinion. In the case, that there is no answer you like, or if you would like to specify your answer, please use the cell with number 6 and insert your own opinion on given question.

The questionnaire is fully anonymous and the research information will be used only for statistic purpose as a support for my bachelor thesis. Thank you for your time as well as for your willingness when filling this questionnaire.

Possible answers:

- 1 – Definitely YES
- 2 – More likely YES
- 3 – Maybe/ I do not know/ Hard to say
- 4 – More likely NO
- 5 – Definitely NO
- 6 – Your own opinion

Just before we start with the questionnaire itself, please answer few questions about yourselves, which may help me with analyzing this questionnaire. Thank you once again!

### **Sex**

Male            Female

### **Age**

Under 20      21/40            41/60            Over 60

### **The level of educational attainment**

Primary school      Secondary School            College            University

**Occupation**

YES            NO

**Religion**

Believer      Atheistic

**Residence (only the district)**

Jihočeský      Jihomoravský

Liberecký      Moravskoslezský

Olomoucký      Pardubický

Plzeňský      Středočeský

Ústecký      Vysočina

Karlovarský      Královehradecký

Zlínský      Praha

**GLOBAL TERRORISM WITH A FOCUS ON THE USA**

**1. Are you interested in the terrorism issue?**

1      2            3            4            5

6.....

**2. Did you watch the events from 11 September 2001?**

1      2            3            4            5

6.....

**3. Have these events changed your interest in the terrorism issue?**

1      2            3            4            5

6.....

**4. Do you think that the events from September 11 have put a new face on world terrorism?**

1      2            3            4            5

6.....

**5. According to your opinion, was the USA well prepared for such a threat?**

1      2            3            4            5

6.....

**6. Do you think that the attacks were directed only towards the USA, or its policy?**

1      2            3            4            5



6.....

**7. Or do you think that the attacks were delivered tactically this way to affect the whole world?**

1    2        3        4        5

6.....

**8. Should be the American citizens afraid of a similar terrorist attacks?**

1    2        3        4        5

6.....

**9. Do you think that media and state bodies informed people sufficiently?**

1    2        3        4        5

6.....

**10. Was the subsequent USA reaction, which was directed towards the terrorist groups, maybe too hasty?**

1    2        3        4        5

6.....

**11. Do/did you agree with the policy of the former American president George W. Bush, starting with declaring the war on terrorism?**

1    2        3        4        5

6.....

**12. Do you think that the American way of war against terrorism brought too many casualties for nothing?**

1    2        3        4        5

6.....

**13. Do you find the assistance and support of other countries sufficient?**

1    2        3        4        5

6.....

**14. Do you think that the involvement of practically whole world was the right thing?**

1    2        3        4        5

6.....

**15. Or more to the contrary, do you think that by involving other countries in this conflict one huge global conflict have arisen?**

1    2        3        4        5

6.....

**16. Did you watch the election of new American president?**

1    2        3        4        5

6.....

**17. Do you think that the new elected president Barack Obama is the right choice for the USA (or maybe even for the whole world)?**

1      2            3            4            5

6.....

**18. Do you think that with Obama as a new president we may expect some more radical changes of American policy, concerning the terrorism issue?**

1      2            3            4            5

6.....

**19. Is the world now prepared much better for the terrorist threats?**

1      2            3            4            5

6.....

**20. Do you think that terrorism will disappear someday?**

1      2            3            4            5

6.....

## **APPENDIX P VI: BLANK QUESTIONNAIRE IN CZECH**

**Téma bakalářské práce:** Globální terorismus se zaměřením na USA

**Zpracovatel:** Jana Švehlová

**Vysoká škola:** UTB ve Zlíně, Filologie, Anglický jazyk pro manažerskou praxi

Zakroužkujte prosím odpověď, respektive číslo, nejbližší odpovídající vašemu názoru. V případě, že se vám nelíbí ani jedna z poskytnutých odpovědí, či byste chtěli vaši odpověď více rozvést, využijte prosím kolonky pod číslem 6 a uveďte zde svůj vlastní názor na zmíněnou otázku.

Dotazník je zcela anonymní a informace z něj získané slouží pouze ke statistickým účelům jako podklad pro moji bakalářskou práci.

Předem vám velice děkuji za čas i ochotu při vyplňování mého dotazníku.

Možnost odpovědi:

- 1 – Rozhodně ANO
- 2 – Spíše ANO
- 3 – Možná/Nevím/Těžko říct
- 4 – Spíše NE
- 5 – Rozhodně NE
- 6 – Váš vlastní názor

Ještě než se pustíme do samotného dotazníku, prosím o zodpovězení pár údajů o vás, které mi pomohou při analýze tohoto dotazníku. Ještě jednou děkuji!

### **Pohlaví**

Muž            Žena

### **Věk**

Pod 20            21/40            41/60            Nad 60

### **Stupeň dosaženého vzdělání**

Základní škola            Střední škola/SOU            Vyšší odborná škola            Vysoká škola

### **Zaměstnání**

ANO            NE

### **Náboženské vyznání**

Věřící            Nevěřící

### **Bydliště (pouze kraj)**

Jihočeský            Jihomoravský

Liberecký            Moravskoslezský

Olomoucký            Pardubický

Plzeňský            Středočeský

Ústecký            Vysočina

Karlovarský            Královehradecký

Zlínský            Praha

## **GLOBALNÍ TERORISMUS SE ZAMĚŘENÍM NA USA**

### **1. Zajímáte se o otázku terorismu v dnešním světě?**

1    2            3            4            5

6.....

### **2. Sledovali jste události z 11.zář 2001?**

1    2            3            4            5

6.....

### **3. Změnily tyto události z 11.zář 2001 váš postoj k otázce terorismu?**

1    2            3            4            5

6.....

### **4. Myslíte si, že události z 11.zář 2001 změnilly tvář světového terorismu?**

1    2            3            4            5

6.....

### **5. Byly podle vás Spojené státy dostatečně připraveny na takovou hrozbu?**

1    2            3            4            5

6.....

### **6. Byl podle vás tento útok směřován pouze na USA, popř. politiku USA?**

1    2            3            4            5

6.....

7. **Nebo si myslíte, že útok byl chytrě a takticky veden tak, aby postihl celý svět?**  
1    2    3    4    5  
6.....
8. **Měli by se podle vás lidé z USA bát dalšího podobného teroristického útoku?**  
1    2    3    4    5  
6.....
9. **Myslíte si, že informovanost lidí o útoku byla ze strany médií a státních orgánů dostačující?**  
1    2    3    4    5  
6.....
10. **Byla podle vás následná reakce USA na tyto události směrem k teroristickým skupinám zbytečně uspěchaná?**  
1    2    3    4    5  
6.....
11. **Souhlasíte s politikou bývalého amerického prezidenta G.W.Bushe, počínaje vyhlášením války proti terorismu?**  
1    2    3    4    5  
6.....
12. **Myslíte si, že americký způsob vedení války proti terorismu stál zbytečně mnoho obětí?**  
1    2    3    4    5  
6.....
13. **Shledáváte pomoc ostatních zemí jako dostačující?**  
1    2    3    4    5  
6.....
14. **Myslíte si, že bylo správné, aby se do tohoto konfliktu zapojil takřka celý svět?**  
1    2    3    4    5  
6.....
15. **Nebo si naopak myslíte, že zapojením ostatních zemí do tohoto konfliktu se z toho stal celosvětový konflikt?**  
1    2    3    4    5  
6.....
16. **Sledovali jste volbu nového amerického prezidenta?**  
1    2    3    4    5  
6.....
17. **Myslíte si, že nově zvolený prezident Barack Obama je správná volba pro USA (popř. pro celý svět)?**  
1    2    3    4    5  
6.....

**18. Můžeme se podle vás dočkat s Obamou jako novým prezidentem nějaké radikálnější změny americké politiky v otázce terorismu?**

1      2            3            4            5

6.....

**19. Je podle vás svět nyní lépe připraven na teroristickou hrozbu?**

1      2            3            4            5

6.....

**20. Myslíte si, že bude terorismus někdy vymýcen?**

1      2            3            4            5

6.....

## **APPENDIX P VII: LIST OF RESPONDENTS OWN OPINIONS**

**Question 1:** Are you interested in terrorism issue?

- There is not much fighting.
- Only because of crazy media attention.
- Terrorism should not exist at all.
- I think it is all about the people.
- When I watch it in the news I think it is really horrible, but I am not interested that much.
- It is out of my way.
- It is our fault that it happens.
- I think it is really nonsense; just some kind of fanaticism.
- It happens every day, so I almost get used to it.
- Of course, I am interested in this issue. It is like a plague and no one knows where it strikes next time.
- Not that much, the state authorities only lie and I am not interested in such lies.
- It is important to be interested – we cannot just close our eyes and pretend there is nothing.
- America should not have fought the terrorist – they became really angry.
- Terrorism is becoming a phenomenon of recent days for many reasons – political, power, historical, economical, etc.
- I think I know a lot about it, but do not really care much about it.
- Terrorism is disgusting, because the victims are often innocent people.
- Not very much, I am not looking for the information or something like this.
- We cannot fight it.
- Everyone should care about, because you might be the next target.
- The terrorists are really radical and they are able to sacrifice lives of innocent people in order to achieve their goals. I really have no understanding for them and even if I am a really close to Buddhism, I would give them the sentence of death.

**Question 2:** Did you watch the events from 11 September 2001?

- These things should not happen. Imagine that it had happened on our land. Just horrible.

- The September events were not a terrorist attacks, but a plan of the U.S. authorities themselves.
- I was in the military service.
- The countries should be more involved in the fight against terrorism.
- I do not believe that the Americans would be sorry for Czechs if there was an attack on our country – not in the way the Czechs were sorry for the Americans.
- It is not fair that innocent people are dying. And why did it happen? What was the cause? I really do not get it.
- One does not realize the terror until he/she becomes a victim.
- It was really sad.
- A catastrophe.
- It was impossible not to watch it, because it was really everywhere.
- What should I say – a night mare.
- I did not watch it, because I was only 8 – so I would have understood it.
- I watched it, but I did not take it so hard. For example, when 3 000 people die in America it is a catastrophe for the whole world, but when 3 000 people die in Africa, it is not that big deal. This is it, it is the world we live in. What a strange world.
- Nice movie with amazing production.
- I watched it a bit, it was on TV all day long.
- Thanks God that it did not happen in our country.
- Tragedy, pain, suffering.

**Question 3:** Have these events changed your interest in the terrorism issue?

- I was always against terrorism and if I will not hit my head I still will be.
- Definitely yes. Before the attacks I would not imagine that such powerful country will attacked and damaged. Now I am really afraid that the terrorists may attack everyone.
- I have found out more about terrorism.
- I have not changed, because I did not watch it.
- I was too little to realize all the things that happened and now I still do not have the right view on the events. But I have always condemned terrorism.



- Terrorism and other actions are everywhere in the world and today man cannot be sure about anything.
- The terrorist events were already before in other parts of the world. It was just a shock for the Americans and media were too thick with it.
- Yes, something has changed. Now I would sentence the terrorists to death – automatically and immediately.
- Terrorism is increasing, especially the Islamic one.
- I had an opinion a long time before the attacks.
- It has changed my attitude quite a lot, because other countries have been involved in the war on terrorism since these events.
- It has changed nothing in my point of view. As I already said, terrorism is like a plague, you cannot be sure who will be the next target. It was just a matter of time when it comes to the USA. The USA has always been involved in things which were not directly their business and it was their entire fault that someone came and showed them the reality.
- It was just a pretense to show that a war can be waged against anyone in the world.
- There are no boundaries for terrorists and it has been spreading all over the world.
- The USA itself ordered the attacks, so it has definitely changed my point of view.
- The events showed that people should not underestimate terrorism and terrorists and I am still that opinion that something similar will come sooner or later.
- The attacked was done by the Americans themselves. Americans against Americans – disgusting.
- My attitudes towards the U.S. government have changed a lot – they are to blame, they are no victims at all.

**Question 4:** Do you think that the events from September 11 have put a new face on world terrorism?

- If I consist conspirations theories which seems very truthful then something changes and it is the face of amarican government. But people can not belive anything nowadays.
- People speak about it more then ever before.
- Thinks are even worse.
- Terrorism showed its cruelty.

- No, they did not change maybe from the American point of view but not mine.
- Islam countries get more radical and terrorism has increased in other countries.
- Terrorism is still the same but the methods are new.
- Yes, it was the most discussed issue for a long time
- Maybe Americans change their mind.
- I think so because it was the most terrible attack I have ever seen.
- I do not think that September 11 has put a new face on terrorism... Terrorism existed already before but since that more terrorist attacks have happened.

**Question 5:** According to your opinion, was the USA well prepared for such a threat?

- From one point of view definitely YES... From different point of view it could be a plan of the Americans themselves.
- The attack was planned by the White House.
- It is difficult to say because there are some speculations about the involvement of the USA and therefore the answer is very complicated
- The aim of the attack was to get into the war!
- Nobody can be prepared for such a thing. It is impossible.
- Yes, the USA was prepared enough – not the ordinary people there, but the government must have known about it before it happened.
- They were prepared, but still, it was difficult for some people to face it.
- You cannot prepare sufficiently – only once the attacks happen, only then you can say if you were prepared or not.
- Americans always thought they can do everything without any consequences – what foolishness.
- If they were, the attacks would not have succeeded.
- I would not blame them as other people do – it was really hard time.
- I have heard many opinions on the awareness of the attacks and I am still not pretty sure whether the USA knew about the attacks in advance or not. It is difficult to say.
- Expect unexpected.
- How much the government knew about it, that is the question.
- I think they were prepared. But they showed their incompetence that day.

- They underestimated many warning signs. I think the attacks did not have to be such devastating.
- For sure – they were. They have weapons nobody could imagine.
- They were. The question is if the failure was for some purpose or not.
- Nobody could expect it.
- No country is prepared for this threat, because the attacks were very well organized.
- They did it themselves, so the answer is yes, they were prepared.

**Question 6:** Do you think that the attacks were directed only towards the USA, or its policy?

- So many years after the attacks we still do not know what really happened. Media repeated always the same facts and private journalists were introducing many speculations.
- America should care especially about its people and do not intrude everywhere.
- It is really difficult to answer, but in my opinion the USA is seen as the greatest enemy and aggressor in the Middle East.
- No, but it was the center of the attention.
- I think it was a warning for the whole world. The terrorists were trying to show what they do not like.
- I think that the attacks could be directed at any country in the world. However, this attack was directed towards the USA and other countries should not have been involved.
- I do not believe the official account.
- The USA made many things worse than they were.
- Bin Laden threaten the whole world, but he chose the USA because it is the most advanced country in the world.
- Yes. Someone wanted to show the USA that even the Americans can get down on their knees. Unfortunately, they showed it in the most horrible way.
- It was an American way to unleash a war all over the world.
- It was directed on the USA and its poor economy.

- Maybe. But it could be a threat for the whole world and the terrorists have sent a message this way – we can do whatever we want, you should be afraid of us, you should listen.
- Of course. It was directed on the stupid, arrogant, selfish and expansive policy of the USA.
- The co-existence of Western culture and the Muslim world will never be easy.
- It is all about the petroleum, we have already heard about it a lot.
- The USA represents certain culture and as such they were the primary target. But not the only one.
- It was a threat for the whole world.
- People in the USA are so arrogant that I would not wonder if it was directed only on the USA.

**Question 7:** Or do you think that the attacks were delivered tactically this way to affect the whole world?

- I think the attack was directed towards the Western culture and Western lifestyle – and the USA represents this Western culture the most. Also, the policy of the USA makes the country an ideal terrorist target.
- It was delivered tactically to affect the whole world, but especially the USA – as some kind of example.
- Yes, they chose large cities, where people of many different people associate.
- World terrorism will always be a problem. 9/11 events could happen anywhere and anytime and maybe with less commotion around.
- The world has been suffering a long time.
- I think they really wanted to show them that not only America is capable of anything.
- Maybe as some kind of a deterrent example.
- No. I think that the terrorists were proud on themselves that they managed to show the whole world their power.
- It caused harm to more people as well as countries.
- Of course. It was done the way to affect the greatest power in the world and then it will automatically cause a shock to everyone else.

- Of course that it affected more people and countries than just America. But many people just do not see the real target of the attacks, or at least they do not want to see.
- Not the entire world, but only the Western culture.
- Not affected, but just warned.

**Question 8:** Should be the American citizens afraid of a similar terrorist attacks?

- Everyone should be afraid.
- It depends on the U.S. authorities, who did all the mess around. If there will be people like Bush, Cheney, Rice, Woolsey and others alike, then the Americans should be afraid.
- They destroyed the infrastructure of Afghanistan, Iraq, etc. Many people in the Middle East hate the Americans.
- Until there will be an enemy, there will be also the threats.
- You never what crazy idea comes to one's mind.
- It is possible, but there are too many things that should be taken into account.
- They are not very popular in the world.
- I do not think so, they have learnt from their mistakes.
- They should be careful, but I think they are prepared much better than before the attacks.
- Definitely yes. The U.S. authorities should think about their arrogant and invasive policies.
- It depends on many things. I think that the USA are not better prepared, but on the other the terrorists may come with something even more terrible.
- Definitely yes. The Americans are responsible for their government they voted for and so they are responsible for their actions and decisions – and for the consequences.

**Question 9:** Do you think that media and state bodies informed people sufficiently?

- It was discussed a lot, but who knows what is the true.
- The Americans manipulate with everyone.

- As an opinion of a European I would say that it was definitely discussed a lot. But the Americans may see it differently.
- The truth will uncover the next generation, but not us.
- Definitely not. Media did not tell us all the information, something remains hidden.
- The USA knows very well how to conceal some information.
- The state authorities were always telling people the same official facts about the events, but there were also those who saw the attacks with their own eyes and these people then provided information absolutely different than those of the media.
- It is generally known that the USA knew something about the attacks in advance, but their reaction was too slow.
- There are also some views which were not broadcasted at all.
- Catastrophic.
- Not exactly sufficient, but annoying.
- Something has to be said to calm people. But it was not true at all.
- More than sufficient.

**Question 10:** Was the subsequent USA reaction, which was directed towards the terrorist groups, maybe too hasty?

- They did nothing.
- It was planned.
- What could we expect from a country with such army and armament industry. The war is just a business for the USA.
- Of course. Bush acted inadequately and arrogantly regarding OSN/NATO.
- The invasion to Iraq was a wrong step. And even worse is that Bush lied about it very often.
- I really did not understand why they moved from Afghanistan to Iraq. They did it for some purpose, but there are many discrepancies.
- I think it is better to react somehow than not react at all.
- It did not solve anything.
- They must have shown that they will defend themselves.
- They did what all Americans wanted them to do.
- It was too hasty, because there was too much hate in the air that time.

- It was really immediate. The question is whether it was effective. I think they just antagonized many people.

**Question 11:** Do/did you agree with the policy of the former American president George W. Bush, starting with declaring the war on terrorism?

- I did not agree with his policies, but I agreed with declaring the war.
- I would agree if he was not so selfish.”
- Bush was just pursuing his won aims.
- I do not know. I do not like Bush, so I cannot be objective.
- He should have focused on important issues in his country instead of making mess in other countries.
- I like him, but on the other hand, this war will never be won and he should have known that.
- Yes, I agreed. But the policy should have been even more strict.
- Terrorism must be fought, but not the way Bush did.
- I think if the Indians were at the head of the USA, it would be much better than this wrong decision making of Bush.
- How can you even declare a war on terrorism, I do not understand it.
- I would have acted the same way as he did. It really was not easy for him
- Evil makes evil.

**Question 12:** Do you think that the American way of war against terrorism brought too many casualties for nothing?

- Politicians do not care about the number of people they send to the war.
- These were necessary sacrifices. But explain it to a mother whose son died in the war Afghanistan.
- In Iraq definitely.
- We do not know much about it, just from the TV.
- Yes. But there were not only innocent people dying, but also too many Americans. And for nothing.
- It is the sad part of every war.
- Too many casualties on American side, I do not care about the other side.

**Question 13:** Do you find the assistance and support of other countries sufficient?

- Too exaggerated.
- The other countries should not involve in the war.
- I think that the humanitarian help was right, but not the military one.
- I do not understand what Czechs had to do with the attacks. So I do not understand why our republic was also involved in the war. The Americans are strong enough to care themselves.
- There were many countries, which have not involved at all, not only the poor ones (the Third world), but also many advanced countries. Many of them rather stayed away of it.
- Other countries are afraid to match terrorism with Islam.

**Question 14:** Do you think that the involvement of practically whole world was the right thing?

- From the point of view of awareness – yes; from the point of view of participation - no
- I think it was the right thing to do. Together we are able to win, but not alone.
- I think it was not very clever, because some countries have call attention to themselves by this involvement.
- The involvement was low, including our country.
- The countries will never agree on one thing.
- It is good, because it shows that people are able to get together unite in the fight against the evil in the hard times.

**Question 15:** Or more to the contrary, do you think that by involving other countries in this conflict one huge global conflict have arisen?

- I think there is a battle of two religions or battle of two different cultures, so it is actually a worldwide problem.
- I think that due to the direction of the attacks on the USA, a global conflict has arisen.
- If the world did not involve, then it would look like the world does not care. Countries must have involved, it was their duty.



- One huge conflict really arose, but I agree with the involvement.

**Question 16:** Did you watch the election of new American president?

- I did not watch it, but I knew who were the candidates and that Obama won
- I lived in the USA – therefore I do not really care about it.
- Media were thick with this news.

**Question 17:** Do you think that the new elected president Barack Obama is the right choice for the USA (or maybe even for the whole world)?

- I really doubt about it.
- To see a president of Afro-American origin means that there is some change, so let us see what he can do.
- What can one man change? He is the same puppet as Bush, but just speaking with different words.
- He is too young and full of ideals. His view on the world is also too idealistic. This cannot change anything.
- He is just a puppet.

**Question 18:** Do you think that with Obama as a new president we may expect some more radical changes of American policy, concerning the terrorism issue?

- There are negotiations with terrorists, so I do not think so.
- If he ends the war in Iraq we can discuss this.
- Once I see that the American soldiers are leaving Iraq, I will be able to answer this question.
- I think he is very tolerant, but he will soon find out that there will be no better choice then to toughen.

**Question 19:** Is the world now prepared much better for the terrorist threats?

- Terrorism is developing the same way as a culture, civilization or science
- I think that even if there are some measures the terrorists will be always a step ahead
- It is good to know that the safety measures are being improved, but people have reason to be afraid, because the terrorists are improving their tactics as well.

- It is important to minimize the risks.

**Question 20:** Do you think that terrorism will disappear someday?

- There will be always someone who feels underprivileged.
- If terrorism will be supported by the countries, then it will never disappear.
- There will always be some crazy people with some crazy reasons.
- It cannot be, because the states taking a share in it.
- It will not disappear, but it will maybe decrease somehow.