

BAB III

PENUTUP

A. Kesimpulan

Dengan merujuk kepada 7 teknik propaganda yang diklasifikasikan oleh *Institute of Propaganda Analysis*, Film *Black Hawk Down* menggunakan 5 dari 7 teknik tersebut yaitu *Name-calling*; *Glittering Generalities*; *Transfer*; *Plain Folks*; dan *Card Stacking*. Data-data yang didapat dari penelitian menunjukkan bahwa kecenderungan teknik propaganda yang digunakan dalam film *Black Hawk Down* adalah Teknik *Glittering Generalities*, disusul oleh Teknik *Transfer*, *Card Stacking*, *Plain Folks*, dan *Name Calling*. Data-data yang didapat dari penelitian ini juga menunjukkan bahwa Film *Black Hawk Down* menyebarkan nilai-nilai dan pesan sesuai dengan apa yang diinginkan Pemerintahan George W. Bush. Melalui penggunaan teknik-teknik propaganda tersebut Amerika digambarkan sebagai pihak yang memiliki moral yang luhur, berani membela kebenaran, berjuang untuk perubahan yang lebih baik, menjunjung tinggi nilai-nilai kemanusiaan, serta berperan aktif untuk menciptakan perdamaian dunia, berbeda dengan lawan Amerika dalam film tersebut yaitu orang-orang Somalia khususnya yang berafiliasi dengan Aidid. Orang-orang Somalia digambarkan sebagai orang-orang kasar dan kejam yang menentang nilai-nilai demokrasi, gemar berperang, tidak mengindahkan nilai-nilai kemanusiaan, dan lebih mengutamakan jalan kekerasan. Film ini juga berpotensi menyebarkan kebencian kepada dunia Islam karena orang-orang Somalia yang digambarkan kejam dan melakukan kekerasan

khususnya kepada tentara Amerika (yang notabene adalah orang-orang Amerika) dalam film tersebut diidentikkan sebagai kaum Muslim.

Tentara Amerika dalam film tersebut juga digambarkan tidak berbeda dengan orang-orang biasa pada umumnya. Mereka melakukan kegiatan yang biasa dilakukan oleh orang biasa, dan juga mempunyai sahabat dan sanak keluarga yang ditinggalkan demi menunaikan tugas. Hal yang berbeda ditampilkan di sisi Somalia yang walaupun digambarkan memiliki kehidupan diluar peperangan tetapi kehidupan yang mereka jalani tidak jauh dari kekerasan seperti menjual senjata, bermain ditumpukan kendaraan militer yang hancur, dan sebagainya (Lihat lampiran 6). Hal ini sangat mungkin menggugah simpati penonton terhadap tentara-tentara Amerika tersebut, dan sebaliknya menghilangkan simpati terhadap orang-orang Somalia.

Dari penjabaran sebelumnya tentang penyebaran Propaganda dalam struktur film *Black Hawk Down*, peneliti menarik kesimpulan bahwa penggunaan dan penempatan teknik propaganda dalam film harus mempertimbangkan alur dan plot naratif film tersebut. Tujuannya agar penggunaan teknik propaganda dalam film dapat berlangsung tanpa disadari oleh *audiens*. Hal ini dipengaruhi oleh penyebaran teknik propaganda sepanjang alur film, penetapan dasar informasi sebagai pijakan pemahaman *audiens*, intensitas penggunaan teknik propaganda yang disesuaikan dengan keadaan emosi *audiens*, dan juga harus disesuaikan dengan penceritaan kisah dalam film itu sendiri. Peneliti dengan merujuk kepada grafik penyebaran teknik propaganda secara keseluruhan menilai bahwa penempatan teknik propaganda dalam film *Black Hawk Down* bisa dikatakan

cukup tersembunyi karena mengikuti alur film yang perlahan naik sejak Tahap Permulaan (latar belakang dan informasi awal), kemudian naik tajam saat intensitas dan tempo film naik di Tahap Pertengahan (konflik, konforntasi dan pengembangan masalah), dan cenderung untuk stabil hingga Tahap Penutupan (konfrontasi akhir dan tahap resolusi konflik). Grafik ini menunjukkan bahwa penggunaan teknik propaganda dalam film *Black Hawk Down* tidak terkesan dipaksakan karena mengikuti Pola Struktur Naratif dengan sempurna.

Dengan mempertimbangkan latar belakang produksi film *Black Hawk Down* yang didukung oleh Departemen Pertahanan Amerika, tanggal peluncuran film yang tidak jauh dari peristiwa 9/11, bukti-bukti yang telah dijabarkan di Bab I serta kesamaan-kesamaan pesan antara pesan dalam film *Black Hawk Down* dan pesan yang disampaikan Bush dan Rove (Lihat Lampiran 1 dan 2), terungkap dengan jelas kecenderungan bahwa film tersebut adalah salah satu media massa yang digunakan Pemerintahan Amerika pada saat itu untuk, seperti telah dijabarkan sebelumnya oleh Jowwet dan O'donnel, membentuk persepsi; memanipulasi kognisi; dan mengarahkan perilaku *audience* film *Black Hawk Down*. Sumber informasi dalam film ini dapat diidentifikasi dengan benar melalui *Credit title* (Lihat lampiran 8) pada akhir film tetapi akurasi informasi dalam film ini tidak bisa dikatakan akurat atau tidak tanpa melakukan penelitian terpisah, oleh karena itu menurut klasifikasi bentuk propaganda yang dikemukakan oleh Jowwet dan O'donnel maka propaganda dalam film "*Black Hawk Down*" diklasifikasikan sebagai Propaganda Abu-abu atau *Grey Propaganda*.

B. Saran

Dengan mempertimbangkan pesan-pesan dan teknik propaganda dalam Film *Black Hawk Down* yang ditemukan dalam penelitian ini, sangat menarik untuk melakukan penelitian lebih lanjut terkait dengan hal-hal tersebut. Penelitian ini dapat dijadikan landasan untuk penelitian berikutnya terkait dengan propaganda dalam film *Black Hawk Down*, misalkan penelitian tentang efek film ini terhadap persepsi *audience*, studi literatur tentang akurasi informasi dalam film ini, pencitraan-pencitraan dalam film, perbandingan propaganda dalam Film *Black Hawk Down* dan film lainnya, dan penelitian-penelitian lainnya. Penelitian selanjutnya juga dapat difokuskan kepada salah-satu teknik propaganda yang terdapat dalam film ini, atau berusaha untuk menemukan teknik-teknik propaganda baru diluar klasifikasi *Institute of Propaganda Analysis* dalam film *Black Hawk Down*.

C. Catatan akhir penelitian (*Discussion*)

Setelah menyelesaikan penelitian ini, peneliti semakin memahami bahwa pesan dan informasi yang bertujuan menanamkan nilai-nilai dan merubah persepsi bisa disampaikan melalui beragam media, bahkan melalui media yang lebih terkesan sebagai medium hiburan seperti film. Kekritisan seseorang dalam menyikapi suatu hal, kekayaan informasi yang dimiliki oleh seseorang, dan kecerdasan seseorang dalam memahami informasi turut mempengaruhi bagaimana pesan tersebut dipahami. Kekayaan dan pemahaman informasi yang dimiliki seseorang bila dipadukan dengan kekritisan serta kemauan untuk menggali lebih

dalam terhadap suatu hal adalah yang akhirnya membedakan seseorang menjadi pihak yang memanfaatkan informasi, atau menjadi korban dari informasi tersebut. Wawasan dan kecerdasan informasi mampu membimbing manusia untuk lebih memaknai kehidupannya, menentukan arah tujuan hidup, atau bahkan bila diibaratkan adalah menjadi "raja dari orang buta". Sedangkan bila sebaliknya sangat mungkin orang tersebut hanya menjadi pihak yang dimanfaatkan oleh pemegang informasi karena tidak mampu melihat dan memahami pesan dan informasi secara kritis, yang parahnya hanya akan menyesatkan orang tersebut.



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Hollywood enlists in Bush's war drive

By David Walsh
19 November 2001

“Samuel Johnson’s saying that patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrels has some truth in it but not nearly enough. Patriotism, in truth, is the great nursery of scoundrels, and its annual output is probably greater than that of even religion. Its chief glories are the demagogue, the military bully, and the spreaders of libels and false history. Its philosophy rests firmly on the doctrine that the end justifies the means—that any blow, whether above or below the belt, is fair against dissenters from its wholesale denial of plain facts.”—H. L. Mencken

On November 11 more than forty top Hollywood executives met for two hours with Karl Rove, George W. Bush’s chief political advisor, to discuss ways in

which the film industry could contribute to the “war on terrorism.” Here truly was a meeting of great minds!

Present were some of the most powerful figures in the motion picture industry and corporate figures whose holdings include entertainment companies, such as billionaire Sumner Redstone of Viacom Inc. (which owns Paramount, CBS and UPN). All the major studios were represented—Warner Bros., Twentieth Century Fox, Columbia Pictures, Universal Studios, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer and DreamWorks SKG—as were the US television networks—ABC, NBC, CBS, Fox, UPN and WB—and the film industry unions.

Rove is a right-wing ideologue and dirty trickster, one of those who played a key role in Bush’s hijacking of the presidential election last year. The film executives, most of them Democratic Party loyalists, are extravagantly paid mediocrities, in large part responsible for a seemingly endless supply of banal and vulgar products. Studio films in recent years have scrapped most traces of oppositional sentiment, except of the most anti-social and retrograde variety, and reveled in militarism, chauvinism and general reverence for all the institutions—police, church, business—of American capitalism. To ask more of Hollywood seems a daunting challenge! What further contribution could it make to the cause of conformism and political reaction?

During the two-hour meeting at the lavish Peninsula Hotel in Beverly Hills, Rove reportedly outlined seven themes: that the US campaign in Afghanistan is a war against terrorism, not Islam; the government’s call for “community service” should be publicized; US troops and their families need to be supported; the September 11 attacks were global attacks requiring a global response; the US campaign is a “war on evil”; the government and the film industry have the responsibility to reassure children of their safety; propaganda should be avoided.

After the meeting, following up on the last point, everyone involved hastened to assert that the Bush administration was not attempting to dictate in any fashion the content of Hollywood’s films. “The industry decides what it will do and when it will do it,” Rove told reporters. Apparently lost on the media commentators was the obvious redundancy of reassurances that the government would not impose its views in an arena where its policies find absolutely no opposition.

Rove did not elaborate on how filmmakers should grapple with the problem of a “war on evil.” He left that task to the creative minds at the film studios’ disposal. Nor did he explain how children (or anyone else) were to be made to feel safe when the government promises to conduct a war of indefinite length and scope using the entire lethal arsenal of modern weaponry against enemies it defines as it goes along.

Jack Valenti, the long-time president of the Motion Picture Association of America and an attendee at the November 11 gathering, suggested that

Hollywood's contribution could begin with a series of public service announcements, to be broadcast in the US and abroad, making "clear to the millions of Muslims in the world that this is not an attack on Muslims—this is an attack on people who murder innocent people."

After a previous meeting on October 17 between lower-level Bush administration figures and Hollywood executives, right-wing producer Lionel Chetwynd commented, "There was a feeling around the table that something is wrong if half the world thinks we're the Great Satan, and we want to make that right. There's a genuine feeling that we as Americans are failing to get our message across to the world." That the US is seen as an oppressor by "half the world" is a remarkable admission and a reality that is not likely to be cleared up by a round of public service announcements.

The film studio executives assembled on November 11 responded enthusiastically to Rove's appeal. Sherry Lansing, Paramount Pictures chairwoman, told the media following the meeting, "All of us have this incredible need, this incredible urge to do something."

The "incredible need" and "incredible urge" to go along with the Bush administration's campaign of lies and propaganda has apparently been felt by virtually the entire film industry. Not a single leading figure has been capable of condemning the terror attacks in New York and Washington and at the same time opposing the slaughter in Afghanistan and the sweeping assault on democratic rights in the US.

The universal response among Hollywood's "left" (i.e., tepid liberal Democrats) has been to drop all criticism of George W. Bush and throw in their lot with the war drive. Not one of these stalwarts can apparently find it in himself or herself to resist the tide of media-driven right-wing opinion. There is nothing so terrifying for an American "celebrity" as the thought of being excluded from the limelight and facing even temporary isolation. There is a certain logic to these fears: how much would be left of most of these people if the element of celebrity were removed?

From the point of view of the film studio executives, as Jon Friedman of *CBS.MarketWatch.com* put it, the "big challenge now is figuring out how it can look like a do-gooder [i.e., toe the Bush line politically] while it actually focuses on its ongoing obsession: making money." Tom Pollock, former vice chairman of MCA, bluntly told a panel at the recent New York Film Festival: "We live in a capitalist society, and what motivates the studios is making money."

Hollywood has been notoriously poor in recent years at predicting popular tastes. It has managed to satisfy or please almost no one with its increasingly bland and bombastic works. Whichever direction, or combination of directions, the studios

choose to take—ever lighter fare, patriotic and nationalistic rubbish, moral uplift—the further degeneration of their products is virtually guaranteed.

(It should be noted, along these lines, that the inimitable Sylvester Stallone, whose last film success no one can or probably wants to remember, has reportedly been considering reviving his Rambo persona and taking on the Taliban in a new film, skydiving into Afghanistan to challenge terrorism. This could have unfortunate consequences as it might stir up memories of *Rambo III* (1988), in which Stallone's one-man army fought against the Soviet army in Afghanistan alongside the Mujaheddin, described as “freedom fighters”—in other words, *as an ally of Osama bin Laden*—in a work generally described as unintentionally hilarious.)

Films made under the conditions Rove and his friends in the film industry envision, more or less on orders from a warmongering ruling elite out for world domination, cannot possibly have serious artistic or human value. Meaningful works will increasingly be those that are made in the teeth of official disapproval and on the basis of a thought-out criticism of the entire social order, including its ideology, its morals and its art.

The attempt to align Hollywood more closely with the political and ideological needs of the American ruling elite did not begin on September 11, despite the claims of various superficial observers. For example, Bernard Weinraub in the *New York Times* (“The Moods They Are A’Changing In Films; Terrorism Is Making Government Look Good”) suggests that “For more than 30 years, a staple of popular culture in movies, books and television has been the depiction of the government as a hostile, corrupt, even evil force spinning elaborate conspiracies to manipulate and suppress Americans. ... By every account, the terrorist attacks on Sept. 11, and the war being waged against Afghanistan, has changed the way the entertainment industry portrays the government, at least for the moment.” Not to be outdone, Deborah Solomon advanced the same notion in the *Times* in relation to the visual arts in “Once Again, Patriotic Themes Ring True as Art.”

This claim, that “everything changed” on September 11, is belied by Weinraub's own account. He notes that several television series about the CIA and other intelligence agencies were scheduled to air this autumn, and that “Even before the terrorist attacks, entertainment executives and academics had noted a new patriotism and support for government in popular culture.” He refers to Steven Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan*, the action films *Air Force One* and *Independence Day*, the “Band of Brothers” television series and books by Stephen Ambrose and Tom Brokaw, as well as “The West Wing,” about “a decent and liberal president who serves as a sort of father figure to his staff members.”

The steady rightward movement of prominent filmmakers and others in the arts and entertainment field is one aspect of a generalized social trend: the lurch to the right by privileged layers of the upper middle class, increasingly isolated from and hostile to the working population. It is not for nothing that the policeman, in one

guise or another, has become an almost omnipresent protagonist on television and cinema screens. Instinctively, film producers, writers and directors seek to flatter and idealize one of the principal social types to whom they entrust the task of defending their wealth and position.

It was not always thus. As Weinraub indicates, “Throughout the 1960s and 70s, the anti-government fervor accelerated. The Nixon presidency, its collapse, and the end of the war in Indochina made it improbable, if not unthinkable, to release films that depicted the government—or the establishment—in positive ways.” He refers to such works as *Bonnie and Clyde*, *Three Days of the Condor*, *The Graduate*, *Dr. Strangelove*, *Five Easy Pieces*, *Chinatown*, *The Godfather* and *A Clockwork Orange*, and at a later date, *J.F.K.* One might add *All the President’s Men* and *The Parallax View*, as well as—for their warning about the threat represented by the military high command—films like *Seven Days in May* and *Fail Safe*. And there are many others, in a general anti-establishment vein, including Robert Altman’s work in the 1970s, the films of John Cassavetes and certain early films by Martin Scorsese.

The above-mentioned films were hardly all works of genius, nor did they necessarily demonstrate great social insight. Nonetheless they sought, in one way or another, to examine American life in a critical fashion. Weinraub makes the extraordinary comment: “With the exception of *The Godfather*, such movies would probably not be made today because they would be seen as too dark, too downbeat.” If Weinraub is correct (and he probably is), what a devastating indictment of the American film studios!

There has been some discussion in the press of the possibility or advisability of reproducing “the kind of intensive collaboration Hollywood had with Washington during World War II, when acclaimed filmmakers such as Frank Capra created inspirational movies and documentaries on the conflict” (*Washington Post*). Capra produced and directed a seven-part film series, *Why We Fight* (1942-45), for screening to US troops.

Capra’s series was unabashed propaganda, but it appealed to and played upon the democratic instincts of those who had joined the military to take up a struggle against fascism. It could, in other words, tell at least *a portion* of the truth. For example, in Part 2—*The Nazis Strike*—the filmmakers examined the growth and ambitions of the Nazi movement, its military buildup and conquest of eastern Europe. *The Battle for Russia* (Part 5) was obliged to pay tribute to the titanic resistance of the Soviet people and the Red Army, which had “shattered the whole legend of Nazi invincibility.”

How would Hollywood approach the same theme today? Perhaps *Why We Fight in Afghanistan* could begin with the Unocal or Halliburton logo flashed on the screen. In any event, a serious discussion of the origins of the Taliban or the recent history of Afghanistan, impossible without examining the role of the US in

fomenting and financing Islamic fundamentalism, would be entirely out of bounds. Any film produced today on the conflict in Afghanistan would be nothing but a tissue of lies and apologies for barbarism.

The basis for the sort of democratic-patriotic appeal made during World War II has not simply been undercut by the openly predatory character of American interventions overseas, but also by the transformed social relations within the US. The creation of a deeply polarized society, in which vast wealth is possessed by a brazen handful, has undermined patriotic sentiment. The power of appeals to the traditions of the American Revolution and the Civil War depended, in the final analysis, on the ability of the population to improve its living standards and the maintenance of what one might call a generally democratic atmosphere, one that at least encouraged the notion that the people had some say in political affairs. The open consolidation of American oligarchic rule has put paid to all that. Subsequent events will demonstrate how shallow the reserve of patriotism has become in the US.

Even the *New York Times*' Clyde Haberman was obliged to note that the government's manipulative conduct in regard to the war effort in Afghanistan insured that "finding a latter-day Frank Capra may not be easy. ... Essentially, all that the American public knows is what the government wants it to know. Some critics ask if the line between information and propaganda has been uncomfortably blurred."

In the long run the result of the present rush by the film and music industries to throw themselves at the feet of the imperialist politicians in Washington, D.C. will be a salutary one. A great deal of dead wood will be sorted out: overrated screen idols of both sexes, rock and roll stars that no one cares about any more, a legion of hack directors and writers, assorted hangers-on. Those who adopt the aims and insatiable appetites of the US ruling elite as their own will sooner or later become the objects of popular scorn and disgust. Their appearance will coincide with their essence: human zeroes.

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Transcript of President Bush's address

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Transcript of President Bush's address to a joint session of Congress on Thursday night, September 20, 2001.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President Pro Tempore, members of Congress, and fellow Americans, in the normal course of events, presidents come to this chamber to report on the state of the union. Tonight, no such report is needed; it has already been delivered by the American people.

We have seen it in the courage of passengers who rushed terrorists to save others on the ground. Passengers like an exceptional man named Todd Beamer. And would you please help me 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've seen the unfurling of flags, the lighting of candles, the giving of blood, the saying of prayers in English, Hebrew and Arabic.

We have seen the decency of a loving and giving people who have made the grief of strangers their own.

My fellow citizens, for the last nine days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of 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.



VIDEO

U.S. President George W. Bush speaks to Congress and the people on the government's response to recent terrorist attacks (part 1) (September 20)



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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.

I'm so honored the British prime minister has crossed an ocean to show his unity 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

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different world, a world where freedom itself is under attack.

Americans have many questions tonight. Americans are asking, "Who attacked our country?"

The evidence we have gathered all points to a collection of loosely affiliated terrorist organizations known as al Qaeda. They are some of the murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya and responsible for bombing the USS Cole.

Al Qaeda is to terror what the Mafia is to crime. But its goal is not making money, its goal is remaking the world and imposing its radical beliefs on people everywhere.

The terrorists practice a fringe form of Islamic extremism that has been rejected by Muslim scholars and the vast majority of Muslim clerics; a fringe movement that perverts the peaceful teachings of Islam.

The terrorists' directive commands them to kill Christians and Jews, to kill all Americans and make no distinctions among military and civilians, including women and children. This group and its leader, a person named Osama bin Laden, are linked to many other organizations in different countries, including the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, 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 of the leaders of Al Qaeda who hide in your land.

-- Release all foreign nationals, including American citizens you have unjustly

imprisoned.

-- Protect foreign journalists, diplomats and aid workers in your country.

-- Close immediately and permanently every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan. And hand over every terrorist and every person and their support structure to appropriate authorities.

-- Give the United States full access to terrorist training camps, so we can make sure they are no longer operating.

These demands are not open to negotiation or discussion.

(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 they see right here in this chamber: a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms: our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

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

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

We're not deceived by their pretenses to piety.

We have seen their kind before. They're the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions, by abandoning every value except the will to power, they follow in the path of fascism, Nazism and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way to where it ends in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies. Americans are asking, "How will we fight and win this war?"

We will direct every resource at our command -- every means of diplomacy, every tool of intelligence, every instrument of law enforcement, every financial influence, and every necessary weapon of war -- to the destruction and to the defeat of the global terror network.

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

Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign unlike any other we have ever seen. It may include dramatic strikes visible on TV and covert operations secret even in success.

We will starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place until there is no refuge or no rest.

And we will pursue nations that provide aid or safe haven to terrorism. Every nation in every region now has a decision to make: Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists.

From this day forward, any nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be regarded by the United States as a hostile regime. Our nation has been put on notice, we're not immune from attack. We will take defensive measures against terrorism to protect Americans. Today, dozens of federal departments and agencies, as well as state and local governments, have responsibilities affecting homeland security.

These efforts must be coordinated at the highest level. So tonight, I announce the creation of a Cabinet-level position reporting directly to me, the Office of Homeland Security. And tonight, I also announce a distinguished American to lead this effort, to strengthen American security: a military veteran, an effective governor, a true patriot, a trusted friend, Pennsylvania's Tom Ridge.

He will lead, oversee and coordinate a comprehensive national strategy to safeguard our country against terrorism and respond to any attacks that may come. These measures are essential. The only way to defeat terrorism as a threat to our way of life is to stop it, eliminate it and destroy it where it grows.

Many will be involved in this effort, from FBI agents, to intelligence operatives, to the reservists we have called to active duty. All deserve our thanks, and all have our prayers. And tonight a few miles from the damaged Pentagon, I have a message for our military: Be ready. I have called the armed forces to alert, and there is a reason.

The hour is coming when America will act, and you will make us proud.

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

We ask every nation to join us.

We will ask and we will need the help of police forces, intelligence service 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're in a fight for our principles, and our first responsibility is to live by them. No one should be singled out for unfair treatment or unkind words because of their ethnic background or religious faith.

I ask you to continue to support the victims of this tragedy with your contributions. Those who want to give can go to a central source of information, Libertyunites.org, to find the names of groups providing direct help in New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. The thousands of FBI agents who are now at work in this investigation may need your cooperation, and I ask you to give it. I ask for your patience with the delays and inconveniences that may accompany tighter security and for your patience in what will be a long struggle.

I ask your continued participation and confidence in the American economy.

Terrorists attacked a symbol of American prosperity; they did not touch its source.

America is successful because of the hard work and creativity and enterprise of our people. These were the true strengths of our economy before September 11, and they are our strengths today.

And finally, please continue praying for the victims of terror and their families, for those in uniform and for our great country. Prayer has comforted us in sorrow and will help strengthen us for the journey ahead. Tonight I thank my fellow Americans for what you have already done and for what you will do.

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

Tonight we face new and sudden national challenges. We will come together to improve air safety, to dramatically expand the number of air marshals on domestic flights and take new measures to prevent hijacking.

We will come together to promote stability and keep our airlines flying with direct assistance during this emergency.

(APPLAUSE)

We will come together to give law enforcement the additional tools it needs to track down terror here at home.

We will come together to strengthen our intelligence capabilities to know the plans of terrorists before they act and to find them before they strike.

(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.

As a symbol of America's resolve, my administration will work with Congress and these two leaders to show the world that we will rebuild New York City.

After all that has just passed, all the lives taken and all the possibilities and hopes that died with them, it is natural to wonder if America's future is one of fear.

Some speak of an age of terror. I know there are struggles ahead and dangers to face. But this country will define our times, not be defined by them.

As long as the United States of America is determined and strong, this will not be an age of terror. This will be an age of liberty here and across the world.

Great harm has been done to us. We have suffered great loss. And in our grief and anger we have found our mission and our moment.

Freedom and fear are at war. The advance of human freedom, the great achievement of our time and the great hope of every time, now depends on us.

Our nation, this generation, will lift the 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 will remember the moment the news came, where we were and what we were doing.

Some will remember an image of a fire or story or rescue. Some will carry memories of a face and a voice gone forever.

And I will carry this. It is the police shield of a man named George Howard who died at the World Trade Center trying to save others.

It was given to me by his mom, Arlene, as a proud memorial to her son. It is my reminder of lives that ended and a task that does not end.

I will not forget the wound to our country and 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)

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LAMPIRAN 3

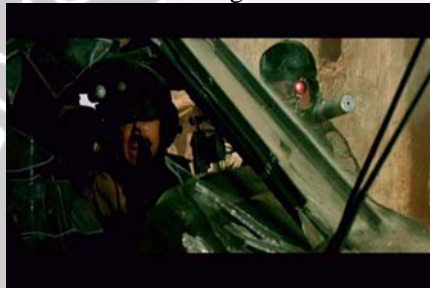
Contoh "*Glittering Generalities*" Dalam Film *Black Hawk Down*



Tindak Kesetiakawanan
-Menolong teman



Heroisme
-Keberanian di tengah peperangan



Tindak Kesetiakawanan
-Tidak meninggalkan teman



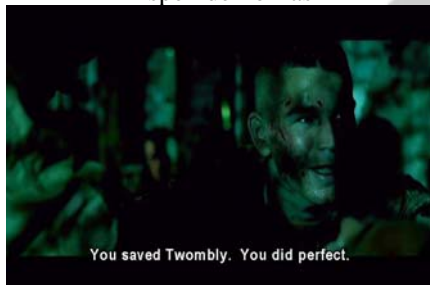
Kata-kata kebajikan (*Virtue*)
-Aspek Perubahan yang lebih baik



Kata-kata kebajikan (*Virtue*)
-Aspek demokrasi



Tindak Kesetiakawanan
-Tidak meninggalkan teman



Heroisme
-Pengorbanan untuk kepentingan bersama



Kata-kata kebajikan (*Virtue*)
-Aspek kepahlawanan

LAMPIRAN 4

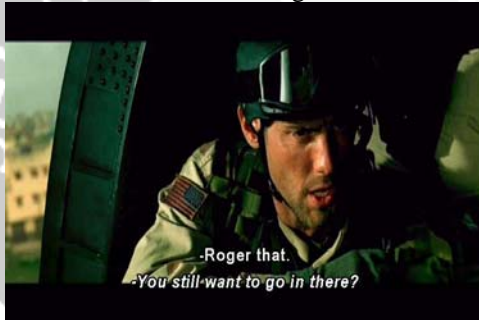
Contoh "*Transfer*" Dalam Film *Black Hawk Down*



Simbol Negara / Organisasi
-Bendera Negara



Simbol Negara / Organisasi
-Bendera Negara



Simbol Negara / Organisasi
-Lambang Negara



Simbol Agama
-Ritual Agama



Simbol Agama
-Nama Tuhan



Simbol Agama
-Nama Tuhan

LAMPIRAN 5

Contoh "Card Stacking" Dalam Film Black Hawk Down



Kekerasan Dalam Perang
-Membunuh



Alasan Keterlibatan Dalam Perang
-Alasan memperoleh kekuasaan



Alasan Memperoleh Kekuasaan
-Alasan memperoleh kekuasaan



Alasan Keterlibatan Dalam Perang
-Alasan Kemanusiaan



Kekerasan Dalam Perang
-Membunuh



Kekerasan Dalam Perang
-Menyiksa



Kekerasan Dalam Perang
-Menyiksa



Alasan Keterlibatan Dalam Perang
-Alasan Memperoleh Kekuasaan

LAMPIRAN 6

Contoh "*Plain Folks*" Dalam Film *Black Hawk Down*



Aktifitas di Luar Peperangan
-Membaca Koran



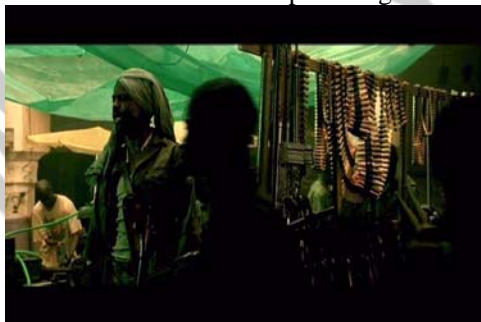
Aktifitas di Luar Peperangan
- Bermain / bersenda-gurau



Kepribadian Yang Baik
-Perhatian terhadap keluarga



Kepribadian Yang Baik
-Simpati terhadap penderitaan orang lain



Aktifitas di Luar Peperangan
-Mencari nafkah



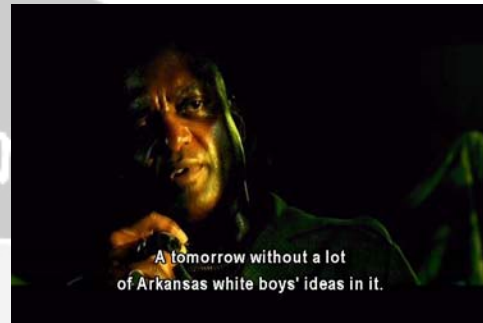
Aktifitas di Luar Peperangan
-Bermain / bersenda-gurau

LAMPIRAN 7

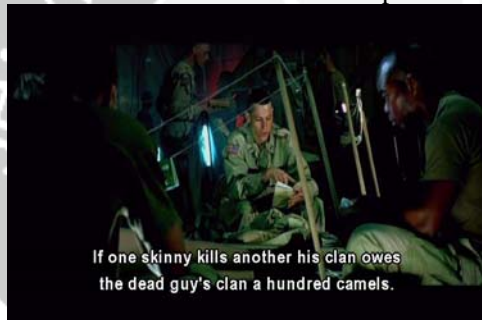
Contoh "Name Calling" Dalam Film Black Hawk Down



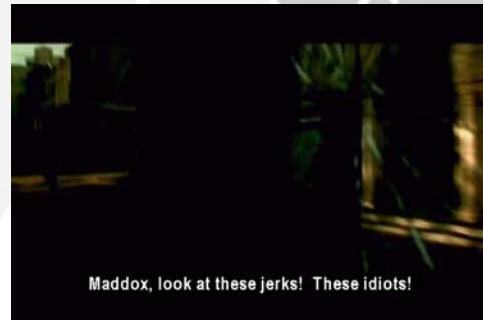
Pemberian Julukan Negatif
-Berdasarkan afiliasi/kelompok



Pemberian Julukan Negatif
-Berdasarkan Fisik



Pemberian Julukan Negatif
-Berdasarkan Fisik



Kata-kata Ejekan
-Berkaitan dengan kebodohan



Kata-kata Ejekan
-Bermakna kasar



Pemberian Julukan Negatif
-Berdasarkan Fisik

LAMPIRAN 8

Special Thanks on Credit Title Film Black Hawk Down

THE DIRECTOR AND PRODUCERS WISH TO THANK AND ACKNOWLEDGE
THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE FOLLOWING:

HIS MAJESTY KING MOHAMMED VI
THE GOVERNMENT OF MOROCCO
THE GOVERNOR AND THE PEOPLE OF SALE
CENTRE CINEMATOGRAPHIQUE MAROCAIN

WE GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGE THE SUPPORT AND COOPERATION OF THE
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SPECIAL ASSISTANT FOR ENTERTAINMENT MEDIA

MAJOR ANDRES ORTEGON, USA
PROJECT OFFICER

OFFICE OF CHIEF OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS, LOS ANGELES
KATHLEEN CARHAM ROSS

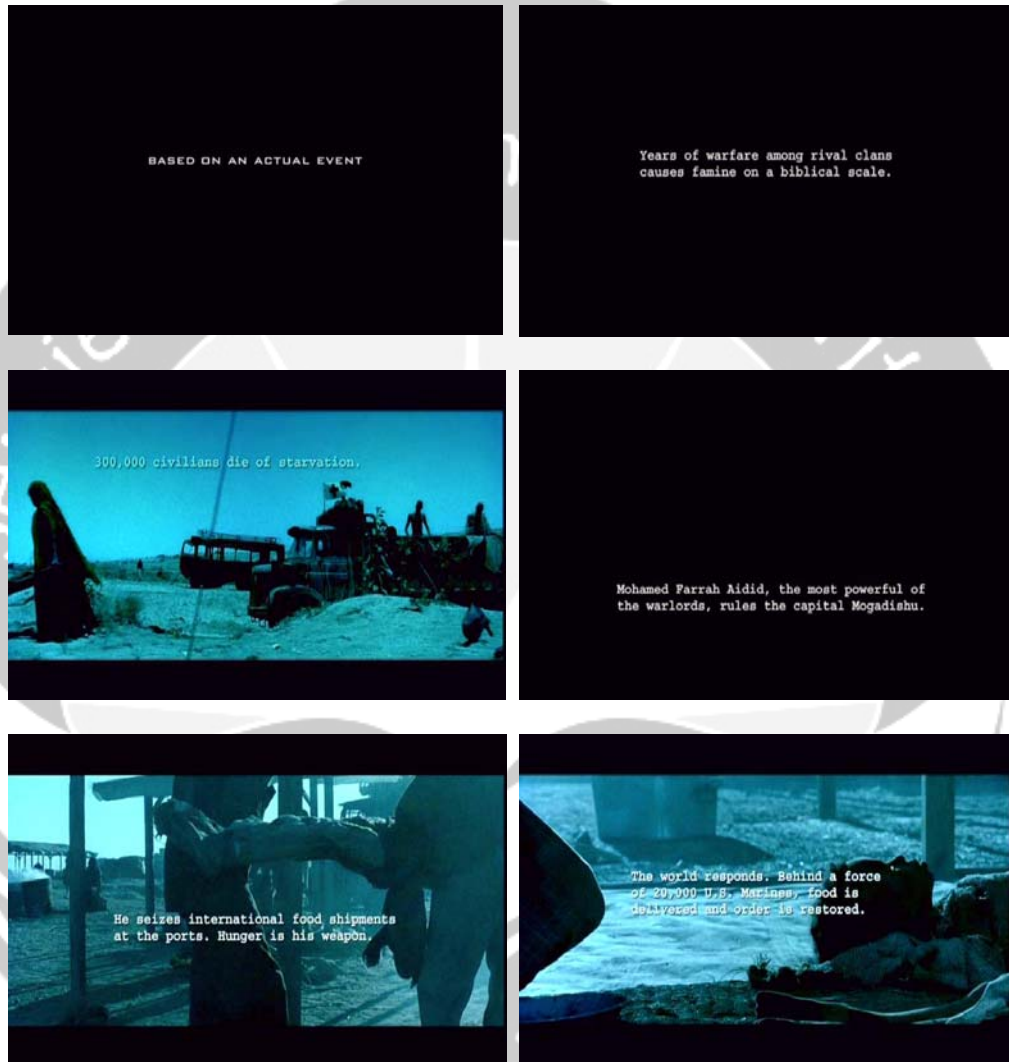
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UNITED STATES SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND
UNITED STATES EUROPEAN COMMAND
SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND, EUROPE
UNITED STATES DEFENSE ATTACHE OFFICE, MOROCCO
UNITED STATES ARMY SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMMAND
UNITED STATES ARMY SPECIAL FORCES COMMAND (AIRBORNE)
75TH RANGER REGIMENT
160TH SPECIAL OPERATIONS AVIATION REGIMENT (AIRBORNE)

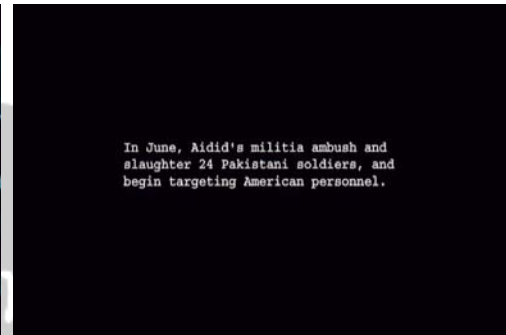
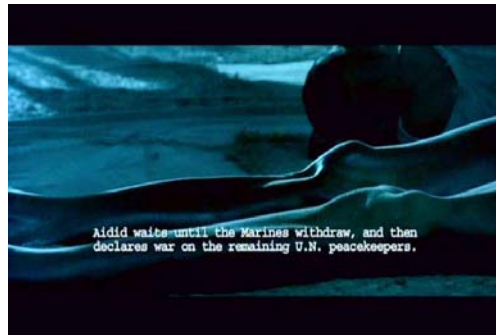
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GENERAL HENRY H. SHELTON, U.S. ARMY (RETIRED)
FORMER CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

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LAMPIRAN 9

Teks *Prologue* Film *Black Hawk Down*





"Somalia, East-Africa 1992, Years of warfare among rival clans causes famine on a biblical scale. 300,000 civilians die of starvation. Mohamed Farrah Aidid, The most powerful of the warlords, rules the capital of Mogadishu. He seizes international food shipments at the ports. Hunger is his weapon. The world responds. Behind a force of 20.000 U.S. marines, food is delivered and order is restored. April 1993. Aidid waits until the Marines withdraw, and then declares war on the remaining U.N. Peacekeepers. In June, Aidid's Militia ambush and slaughter 24 Pakistani soldiers, and begin targeting American personnel. In late August, America's elite soldiers, Delta Force, Army Rangers and the 160th SOAR are sent to Mogadishu to remove Aidid and restore order. The Mission was to take three weeks, but six weeks later Washington was growing impatient."

LAMPIRAN 10

Teks *Epilogue* Film Black Hawk Down

DURING THE RAID OVER 1000 SOMALIS DIED AND
19 AMERICAN SOLDIERS LOST THEIR LIVES.

CWO DONOVAN BRILEY
STAFF SGT. DANIEL BUSCH
SPEC. JAMES CAVAGO
STAFF SGT. WILLIAM CLEVELAND
STAFF SGT. THOMAS FIELD
SGT. FIRST CLASS EARL FILLMORE
CWO RAYMOND FRANK
MASTER SGT. GARY GORDON
SGT. CORNELL HOUSTON
SGT. CASEY JOYCE
PFC. RICHARD KOWALEWSKI
PFC. JAMES MARTIN
MASTER SGT. TIM 'DRIZ' MARTIN
SGT. DOMINICK PILLA
SGT. FIRST CLASS MATT RIERSON
SGT. LORENZO RUIZ
SGT. FIRST CLASS RANDY SHUGHART
CPL. JAMIE SMITH

DELTA SGTS. GARY GORDON AND RANDY SHUGHART WERE
THE FIRST SOLDIERS TO RECEIVE THE MEDAL OF HONOR
POSTHUMOUSLY SINCE THE VIETNAM WAR.

MICHAEL DURANT WAS RELEASED AFTER 11 DAYS OF CAPTIVITY.

TWO WEEKS LATER, PRESIDENT CLINTON WITHDREW
DELTA FORCE AND THE RANGERS FROM SOMALIA.

MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM F. GARRISON ACCEPTED FULL
RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE OUTCOME OF THE RAID.

ON AUGUST 2, 1996, WARLORD MOHAMED FARRAH AIDID WAS KILLED
IN MOGADISHU. THE FOLLOWING DAY, GENERAL GARRISON RETIRED.

*"During The Raid Over 1000 Somalis Died And 19 American Soldiers Lost Their
Lives*



*CWO Donovan Briley
Staff Sgt. Daniel Busch
Spec. James Cavaco
Staff Sgt. William Cleveland
Staff Sgt. Thomas Field
Sgt. First Class Earl Fillmore
CWO Raymond Frank
Master Sgt. Gary Gordon
Sgt. Cornell Houston
Sgt. Casey Joyce
Prc. Richard Kowalewski
Prc. James Martin
Master Sgt. Tim 'Griz' Martin
Sgt. Dominick Pilla
Sgt. First Class Matt Rierson
Sgt. Lorenzo Ruiz
Sgt. First Class Randy Shughart
Cpl. Jamie Smith
CWO Cliff 'Elvis' Wolcott*

*Delta Sgts. Gary Gordon and Randy Shughart were the first soldiers to receive
The Medal Of Honor Posthumously Since The Vietnam War.*

Michael Durant was released after 11 days of captivity.

*Two weeks later, President Clinton withdrew Delta Force and The Rangers from
Somalia.*

*Major General William F. Garrison accepted full responsibility for the outcome of
the raid.*

On august 2, 1996, Warlord Mohamed Farrah Aidid was killed in Mogadishu.

The Following day, General Garrison retired."