

*Modernity, Fear and 9/11 Conspiracy Theories, a Rational Attempt to Explain the Irrational*

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The score was tied in extra innings when New York Mets' outfielder Daniel Murphy, stepped into the batter's box to face Philadelphia Phillies reliever Ryan Madson.<sup>1</sup> As Madson took the sign from his catcher, an unusual buzz grew in the crowd. Clutching their smart phones and blackberries, fans excitedly shared, "Did you hear, he's dead!" "Who, what you're talking about!" "We got him, he's dead!" Instantly a cheer of USA, USA! erupted among the 45,713 present because Osama bin Laden the "evil mastermind" behind Al Qaeda, the group responsible for the 9/11 attacks, finally had been brought to justice. But not everybody participated in that party. Conspiracy theorists (CT) who believe that the US government either intentionally let the attacks happen or actually planned and executed them, boldly stated in one website, "We are pleased that Osama bin Laden is no longer an issue distracting people from the solid evidence and physics of how the Twin Towers and Building 7 were demolished on 9/11. We believe it's time for our country to turn its focus to following the scientific evidence and finding the *real perpetrators* of 9/11."<sup>2</sup> (emphasis added)

CT are not alone, indeed a significant number of Americans believe that bin Laden was not the perpetrator of 9/11 or at worst, he was just a patsy.<sup>3</sup> In 2006, a Zogby poll revealed that 42% of Americans believed that there had been some kind of cover-up and the 9/11 Commission report concealed information of intentional US government complicity in the attacks. The purpose of this analysis is not to attack the legitimacy of 9/11 CT claims because their theories have already been thoroughly debunked.<sup>4</sup> Rather, the question presented is why substantial numbers of otherwise reasonable thinking Americans readily believe these outrageous unsupported allegations of US government involvement. The standard explanations for the creation and maintenance of conspiracy theories simply do not apply to 9/11 CT making it imperative to explore new rationalizations. I submit that the explanation for this baffling incongruity lies in the individual's reaction to an unprecedented stress event. Essentially when the pre-attack cognition of "I am safe" juxtaposed with the post attack realization of "I am not safe," this caused a considerable degree of mental conflict or cognitive dissonance. To relieve this uncomfortable mental state, CT concocted scenarios necessary to reestablish their core safety belief. Succinctly, if one were to conclude that Osama bin Laden and his cohorts were responsible for 9/11, then one must also conclude that the US government and military apparatus cannot keep them safe in a very risky world. If Bush and his government are blamed for intentionally turning the safety system off or actually participating in the attacks, then upon their removal and/or exposure the system regains its previous efficacy, safety is restored and all is well.

### 1. It Just Doesn't Fit

The considerable number of 9/11 conspiracy theorists is especially baffling because the standard accepted explanations their beliefs do not fit. Richard Hofstadter, a major contributor in the conspiracy field, coined the phrase "paranoid style of thinking" to explain the prevalence of conspiracy theorists in modern society. The conspiracy theorist "sees the world in apocalyptic terms — he traffics in the birth and death of whole worlds... what is at stake is always a conflict between absolute good and absolute evil."<sup>5</sup> Hofstadter's explanation simply does not explain 9/11 conspiracy theory. Under his "paranoid thought" analysis, the external, foreign and alien Osama bin Laden fits the "great evil" role far better than George Bush. Prior to 9/11, Al Qaeda already well earned it enemy status.<sup>6</sup> The fact that the obvious perpetrator, Bin Laden, under Hofstadter's well accepted theory is not accepted by 9/11 conspiracy theorists make the genesis of their beliefs especially intriguing.

Philosopher Paul Potter offers a different explanation than Hofstadter instead he opines that CT believers are uncomfortable with the unintended consequences of political or social action, and as a result they create a narrative where all consequences must be intended by someone. Therefore, instead of chaos, there is the preset belief that events, especially important ones, are caused by intentional actions.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, author David Aronvitch argues that the need to "attribute human agency to significant events is powerful and blame allocation leads to culpable predictability."<sup>8</sup> However, Professor Cass Sunstein correctly counters that in regards to 9/11, "conspiracy theorists go wrong not by positing intentional actors, but by misidentifying them."<sup>9</sup> Thus, this theory also comes up short because the quest to find an intentional narrative does not explain the choice of the Bush administration as opposed to Al Qaeda as the perpetrator.

Another accepted explanation is that conspiracy arguments become widely accepted when they simply explain otherwise ambiguous evil. According to Professor David Zarefsky, CT "identify agents (usually outsiders) with a clear motive to afflict society."<sup>10</sup> This theory fails because there is no question that between bin Laden, and Bush, bin Laden is clearly the "outsider."<sup>11</sup>

Still others explain that CT offer simple solutions to very complicated anomalous situations, however 9/11 conspiracy theories, are inapposite.<sup>12</sup> According to the bipartisan 9/11 Commission report, the evidence supporting Al Qaeda as the perpetrator is simple and clear.<sup>13</sup> However, if the US government intentionally caused or let the attacks occur "then covering their tracks requires an ever widening conspiracy theory, in which the 9/11 commission, congressional leaders, the FBI, and the media were participants or dupes of the conspiracy."<sup>14</sup> In addition, this conspiracy must also includes lower-level members of government, physicians, DNA specialists, medical examiners, military (somebody had to take the real passengers off the planes and replace them with whatever they were replaced with) contractors (somebody had a place all those bombs in the World Trade Center!), actors (they were the ones using voice replication software during all those flight 93 phone calls!) clerks and a multitude of

others. The incredible complexity of the narrative offered by the 9/11 CT and the uncountable number of necessary co-conspirators, undoubtedly render this version far more complicated than the 9/11 Commission's conclusion identifying Al Qaeda as the responsible party

Therefore because the major explanations for conspiracy theorists do not apply to the 9/11 CT, another explanation must be proffered.

## 2. The Safety Principle

Dr. Abraham Maslow postulated that humans are motivated by hierarchy of five basic needs where each individual's needs must be satisfied before they can progress to the highest level of self-actualization.<sup>15</sup> After sustenance, safety and security (defined as freedom from threats, peace and physical safety) is at the core of human needs.<sup>16</sup> Once the physiological needs are met, safety directed actions become "almost exclusive organizers of behavior, recruiting all the capacities of the organism in their service, and we may then fairly describe the whole organism as a safety-seeking mechanism."<sup>17</sup> In regards to positive degree of safety, the US citizen is unique. Almost everywhere else on the planet, individual safety has been threatened with constant territorial wars between nations or tribes. US citizens, however enjoy a safer narrative, whether it's more perceived than real. President George W. Bush articulated this perception when he stated, prior to September the 11th, "We used to be able to sit back here in America and feel safe and confident, because there's two vast oceans to protect us from potential enemies."<sup>18</sup> However, 9/11 shattered this happy perception of safety. A poll conducted immediately after 9/11 revealed that 71% of Americans feared additional attacks. A 2006 poll revealed 39% of Americans now felt less safe than prior to September 11, 2001.<sup>19</sup> These numbers are impressive in light of the fact that post 9/11, the US military expenditures escalated from approximately \$300 billion a year to a high of \$700 billion in 2011. Thus, despite extravagant expenditure, the pre-9/11 illusion of safety remained rocked.

## 3. Modernity-the outsourcing of safety

The need for safety is essential but how it is met is critical to this analysis. According to Anthony Giddens, one of the unique aspects of modern times or "modernity" is that it demands the individual to trust in disimbedded (his term for entities usually unknown and outside the locality) expert systems. Because of new catastrophic and apocalyptic dangers, the modern individual lives in "a risk society" where the "scale of destructive power of the weaponry now diffused across the world is massively greater than ever existed before."<sup>20 21</sup> Unable to ensure his own safety, the individual trusts in government experts because "The promise of modernity...is that risk can be assessed and controlled by expert knowledge, or at least procedures put in place to minimize risk."<sup>22</sup> Therefore, "there is a belief that experts can find social and technological solutions for major problems and that rational thought,

especially science, still offers the best sources of long-term security.”<sup>23</sup> In a word, safety, a critical need in a very dangerous world, has been outsourced.

#### 4. The Genesis of 9/11 CT

The sudden violent attacks of 9/11 shattered America's illusion of “outsourced” safety and the psychological sequelae of posttraumatic stress disorder and its resulting cognitive dissonance became the seed, if not the fuel of the CT movement. The attacks on 9/11 are unique to American history because nothing in the nation's past parallels its singular shock, horror, obsessive media coverage, and threat to safety.<sup>24</sup> Some might argue that the nation’s reaction to Pearl Harbor presented a similar situation, however the comparison fails. For one, on December 7, 1943, Hawaii was not part of the United States. Of course American interests were attacked at the time, but not the homeland which remained safe throughout the war. Secondly, in 1943, the media coverage and technology to disseminate information cannot even compare to what was available after 9/11/2001.<sup>25</sup> Finally, although the popular expression "September 11, changed everything" might be hyperbole, there is no question that its effect was profound both at the time of the incident and to present day. Immediately after the attacks, the NFL, which played the weekend when John F. Kennedy was assassinated, postponed its games for one week as did Major League Baseball and most college football teams.<sup>26</sup> The New York Stock Exchange, the Chrysler building and numerous major corporations closed for the day, even Broadway went dark for two days.<sup>27</sup> The issue then becomes the nature of the psychological effect caused by this profound trauma and how did/does it impact upon the formulation of 9/11 conspiracy theories.

##### A) Trauma - Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Local and National

Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is defined as “an anxiety disorder that can occur after someone experiences a traumatic event that caused intense fear, helplessness, or horror. PTSD can result from personally experienced traumas (e.g., rape, war, natural disasters, abuse, serious accidents, and captivity) or from the witnessing or learning of a violent or tragic event.”<sup>28</sup> Somatic manifestations of stress following natural and man-made disasters are common in PTSD.<sup>29</sup> The psychological effects after disasters involving violence are usually more intense. It is well recognized that “Natural disasters are often considered acts of god that strike without preference target or malice. Conversely, terrorism which involves the volition of human perpetrators, is intentional personal and hateful- thus much more difficult to assimilate psychologically.”<sup>30</sup> The ultimate psychological effect of the traumatic event will often depend upon its duration and predictability. The trauma of 9/11 was compounded because not only was the attack itself totally unexpected by the average citizen, but also because it was completely inapposite to their pre-existing safety cognitions.

Indeed the effects of the attacks were dramatic. A poll conducted 5 to 10 weeks post 9/11 studying the level of event related psychological stress revealed that “7.5% of adults living near the

World Trade Center reported symptoms consistent with posttraumatic stress disorder and 9.7 reported symptoms consistent with major depression.”<sup>31</sup> Another study conducted 6 months thereafter revealed that related current probable PTSD was 1.5 and the prevalence of subsyndromal PTSD was 5.3 percent. According to the researchers, "extrapolating to the total adult population of New York City, we found that approximately 91,000 persons met the criteria for probable PTSD and that 322,000 persons met the criteria for subsyndromal PTSD after September 11."<sup>32</sup>

PTSD was not just limited to New Yorkers. Studies revealed that individuals thousands of miles away from “Ground Zero” suffered significant 9/11 related posttraumatic stress symptoms. One study found a “direct causal relation between greater levels of exposure to news media coverage of the events of 9/11 and increased reports of stress and of strong emotional responses to the impact of the event.”<sup>33</sup> The significant conclusion reached here is that PTSD was just not limited to New Yorkers, who obviously had a unique relationship with the event, but rather it reached across the country because of the extensive media coverage and the emotional and often incredibly dramatic nature of the information they were repeatedly provided.

Because the trauma of 9/11 continues to the present day due to repeated airport security breaches, plots real and imagined and increased security alerts (real or politically motivated), "feelings of alarm vulnerability and helplessness" remain.<sup>34</sup> This continuing trauma is significant because PTSD becomes a persistent condition when individuals continue to process the original trauma because of serious current threats.<sup>35</sup> According to Dr. Sandro Galea, because of the unique historical nature of the attack, its intentional cause, extensive loss of life, property damage, and widespread financial strain, “the psychological sequelae in New York City are substantial and will be long-lasting.”<sup>36</sup>

The significance of PTSD is that it illustrates the incredible stress level experienced by a significant number of US citizens when their illusion of safety was shattered. It is well-known that in a patient suffering from PTSD, "The perceived threat also motivates a series of behavioral and cognitive responses that are intended to reduce perceived threat and distress in the short term."<sup>37</sup> How the individual coped with the stress caused by the fundamental belief conflict between initially believing “I’m safe” and then confronting the possibility of “I’m not safe” is critical in explaining the genesis of 9/11 conspiracy theories.

#### B) The Ramifications of Trauma, Cognitive Dissonance

Psychologist Leon Festinger opined that individuals confronted with information inconsistent with their pre-existing thoughts attempt first to rationalize the conflicting material. If the internal rationalization is not successful, then that individual suffers uncomfortable cognitive dissonance (CD). To relieve this negative psychological state, the individual either changes his initial view or “adjusts” the new conflicting information resulting in the dissipation of the painful dissonance and the reestablishment

of happy consonance (Festinger's word for consistency.)<sup>38</sup> The relevance of Festinger's theory to this discussion arises from the individual's attempts to eliminate dissonance caused by the attacks. Or in other words, information concerning the identity of the perpetrators and method of the attacks is "refitted" to best serve and support the initial cognition of safety previously discussed. For CD to manifest several factors must be present;

1) The initial belief must be one of significant magnitude. According to Festinger, dissonance becomes significant only if the preexisting belief concerned an important issue. As we learned previously, a belief in one's safety is always of significant magnitude, and that because of technology, degree of risk, globalization, and complexity the individual must trust experts to meet this need .

2) The initial belief must be sufficiently specific and sufficiently concerned with the real world so that events may unequivocally refute the belief. Unfortunately the attacks of 9/11 were quite real world and unquestionably and unequivocally refuted the belief that the US was safe from foreign attack.

3) The individual believer must have social support for their beliefs that decreases dissonance. "It is unlikely that one isolated believer could withstand the kind of disconfirming evidence that has been specified. If, however, the believer is a member of a group of convinced persons who can support one another, the belief may be maintained and the believers may attempt to proselytize or persuade nonmembers that their belief is correct." A review of the poll data stated above, or a trip to any bookstore or an entry of "9/11 conspiracy theories" in any search engine will confirm that the 9/11 conspiracy movement is robust.<sup>39</sup> Therefore all factors necessary for the formation of CD after the 9/11 attacks are present.<sup>40</sup>

It is necessary to appreciate the deafening level of dissonance suffered after the 9/11 attacks to understand its psychological effect. When the U.S. was attacked in Pearl Harbor the perpetrator, the sovereign powerful nation of Japan, possessed a powerful technologically advanced military as aptly demonstrated during their previous invasion of China. The Japanese government consisted of established leaders, and political processes and their goals were decipherable. It was never Japan's goal to destroy the United States. Although Pearl Harbor was devastating; the opponent was formidable and recognizable thus a defeat at their hands albeit bitter, was comprehensible and limited. Alternatively what is Al Qaeda? The common misconception was/is that their leadership consists of uneducated Arabs living in caves.<sup>41</sup> Further, other than some loosely trained "operatives," Al Qaeda possesses no army or land, their leaders are shadowy and they are nowhere at the same time they could be everywhere. Unlike Japan in the 1940s, Al Qaeda's military power is of no comparison to that of the US. Japan wanted national resources and the ability to further strengthen their economy, Al Qaeda wants to destroy America and the Western way of life. A popular expression immediately after the attacks was "let's bomb those bastards," but this makes

sense only if the attacker is a recognizable entity such as Japan in World War II, however, with an amorphous enemy, where do you bomb and whom?

If one blames Al Qaeda for the attacks, than one must accept the realistic possibility that **ANYBODY** coming from **ANYWHERE** can successfully attack the US. If a perceivably backward, feeble, external, uncontrollable and unknowable enemy such as Al Qaeda is given credit for the attacks and their execution then absolutely "I am not safe" and the resulting dissonance in light of the magnitude of the preexisting safety belief is thunderous. This stressful conception, for many, is too difficult to accept and, as a result, Al Qaeda as the cause of 9/11 is dismissed and instead George Bush the controllable, internal, knowable replaceable entity is blamed.

It is not just national security comfort that is at stake, under modernity the safety need was outsourced to experts. As stated by Giddens, when experts fail, "what is in question is not only the limits of, or the gaps in, expert knowledge, but an inadequacy which compromises the very idea of expertise."<sup>42</sup> Take a moment to understand the enormity of this proposition, if experts can't be trusted then how can the individual trust the safety of medicine, products, buildings, cars, trains, elevators, bridges, airplanes, etc. Under this premise it would be a miracle if the individual could get out of bed in the morning light of the incredible risks faced. However if on 9/11 George Bush turned that powerful security system off by issuing "stand down" orders or even participated in the attacks, then without Bush the omnipotent security system still exists and the individual's belief in "I am safe" is unchallenged. In almost poetic application, as a result of 9/11 CT thinking, dissonance is solved, consonance is restored and the essential need of safety remains filled.

## Conclusion

It would be beyond hubris to suggest that THE genesis of all 9/11 CT thought is cognitive dissonance set in motion by the unique stress and threat to safety caused by the 9/11 attacks, however, in light of the large number of 9/11 CT and the failure of traditional theories to explain such a phenomena, this new explanation should receive serious consideration and further study.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://sports.espn.go.com/newyork/mlb/news/story?id=6463361> (accessed 6/21/2011)

<sup>2</sup> CT consist of many loosely connected organizations who strongly believe belief that the truth of 9/11 attacks and the actual perpetrators have been withheld from the American public. See [http://911speakout.org/?page\\_id=338](http://911speakout.org/?page_id=338) (Accessed June 21, 2011)

<sup>3</sup> The term "patsy" defined as "The guy that always takes the fall" is a favorite term of conspiracy theorists. An infamous "Patsy" was Lee Harvey Oswald, who soon after his capture, declared to reporters "I didn't shoot anyone" and "They're taking me in because of the fact I lived in the Soviet Union. I'm just a patsy!" Warren Commission Hearings, vol. 20, p. 366, Kantor Exhibit No. 3.

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- <sup>4</sup> See <http://www.popularmechanics.com/technology/military/news/1227842> (Accessed 11/1/2011) and David Aronovitch, *Voodoo Histories: The Role Conspiracy Theory In Shaping Modern History* (Riverhead Books New York, 2010)
- <sup>5</sup> Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style*, [http://karws.gso.uri.edu/jfk/conspiracy\\_theory/the\\_paranoid\\_mentality/the\\_paranoid\\_style.html](http://karws.gso.uri.edu/jfk/conspiracy_theory/the_paranoid_mentality/the_paranoid_style.html) (Accessed July 7, 2011)
- <sup>6</sup> Osama bin Laden's pre 9/11 animosity was documented by his orchestrating the October 12, 2000 suicide bombing on the USS Cole which killed 17 US soldiers and injured 39 others and the 1998 U.S. Embassy bombings where hundreds of people were killed in simultaneous truck bomb explosions
- <sup>7</sup> Paul R. Popper, *Conspiracy Theories Of Society*, In *Conspiracy Theories: The Philosophical Debate* (David Coady ED., 2006)
- <sup>8</sup> Aronovitch, 355
- <sup>9</sup> Cass Sunstein & Adrain Vermeule, *Conspiracy Theories*, <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1084585> p. 6 (Accessed June 28, 2011)
- <sup>10</sup> David Zarefsky, *Conspiracy Arguments In The Lincoln Douglas Debates*, *Journal Of The American Forensic Association*, Volume 21 Fall 1984, 63-75
- <sup>11</sup> <http://abcnews.go.com/International/story?id=80896&page=1> (Accessed June 28, 2001) & <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/eafricabombing/keystories.htm> (Accessed June 28, 2001)
- <sup>12</sup> Erica Zaiser, *First Birthers, now Deathers... Why so many conspiracy theories?* <http://socialpsychologyeye.wordpress.com/2011/05/08/first-birthers-now-deathers-why-so-many-conspiracy-theories/> (Accessed 11/2/2011)
- <sup>13</sup> 9/11 Commission Report <http://www.gpoaccess.gov/911/pdf/sec6.pdf> (Accessed 7/12/2011)
- <sup>14</sup> Sunstein, 7
- <sup>15</sup> Self-actualized people are characterized by: 1) being problem-focused; 2) incorporating an ongoing freshness of appreciation of life; 3) a concern about personal growth; and 4) the ability to have peak experiences
- <sup>16</sup> Abraham Maslow, *Motivation and Personality* (Harper and Row, NY 1954)
- <sup>17</sup> Abraham Maslow, *A Theory of Human Motivation* *Psychological Review* 1953, 370-396
- <sup>18</sup> See February 9, 2003, Remarks by the President at the 2003, "Congress of Tomorrow" Republican Retreat Reception, The Greenbriar, White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, October 17, 2002, 2002 Unity Luncheon, Atlanta Marriott Marquis Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia August 18, 2004, President's Remarks at Ask President Bush Event, Lakefront Park, Hudson, Wisconsin
- <sup>19</sup> Joel Roberts, *Five Years After 9/11 Many Feel Terror Threat Has Grown*, <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2006/09/06/opinion/polls/main1975940.shtml> (Accessed June 28, 2011)
- <sup>20</sup> Anthony Giddens, *Risk and Responsibility*, *Modern Law Review* 62(1): 1-10(1999), 7
- <sup>21</sup> Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences Of Modernity*, (Stanford University Press California, 1990), 110
- <sup>22</sup> ID
- <sup>23</sup> Liz Trinder & Shirley Reynolds, *Evidence-Based Practice: A Critical Appraisal* 1st ED (Wiley-Blackwell NY, 2000), 7
- <sup>24</sup> Emotional Stress and Coping in Response to Television News Coverage of the 9/11 Terrorist Attacks, Mary E. McNaughton-Cassill, *Journal of Media Psychology*, V 14, No. 1, Winter, 2009
- <sup>25</sup> That is not to say that the US citizenry and government did not act in extreme measures. Over 100,000 innocent Japanese citizens were imprisoned without a hint of due process as a result of fear brought about by the attacks. Peter Irons, *A People's History of the Supreme Court: The Men and Women Whose Cases and Decisions Have Shaped Our Constitution: Revised Edition* (Penguin, NY, 2006), 358
- <sup>26</sup> [http://www.cbssports.com/u/ce/multi/0,1329,4727755\\_13,00.html](http://www.cbssports.com/u/ce/multi/0,1329,4727755_13,00.html) (Accessed June 30, 2011)
- <sup>27</sup> For extensive list of closings cancellations and postponements due to the 9/11 attacks to see [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Closings\\_and\\_cancellations\\_following\\_the\\_September\\_11\\_attacks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Closings_and_cancellations_following_the_September_11_attacks) (Accessed June 30, 2011)
- <sup>28</sup> National Alliance on Mental Health <http://namimi.org/post-traumatic-stress?gclid=CMaX2-qi3qkCFULe4AodYB4SXg> (Accessed June 30, 2011)
- <sup>29</sup> Unforeseen Consequences Of Terrorism, Medically Unexplained Symptoms In A Time Of Fear, *Archives Of Internal Medicine* volume 162, September 9, 2002, 1809 – 1813, 1810
- <sup>30</sup> ID
- <sup>31</sup> S, Galea *Psychological Sequelae Of September 11 Terrorist Attacks In New York New England Journal of Medicine* 2002:346 982 -987
- <sup>32</sup> Trends of Probable Post-Traumatic Stress, Disorder in New York City after the September 11 Terrorist Attacks, Sandro Galea , *American Journal of Epidemiology* Volume 158, Issue, 514-5. Although there is no single, agreed-upon definition of subsyndromal PTSD, it is usually defined as occurring when the patient's symptomatology falls short of the diagnostic criteria of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition (*DSM-IV*; American Psychiatric Association [APA], 1994) but still needs 2 out of 3 symptom cluster criteria, or 1 intrusive-cluster symptom and meeting full criteria for another symptom cluster. See also Stein et al, *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 154(8) 1997, 1114-1119
- <sup>33</sup> ID
- <sup>34</sup> Unforeseen Consequences Of Terrorism, Medically Unexplained Symptoms In A Time Of Fear, *Archives Of Internal Medicine* Volume 162 September 9, 1809 – 1813, 1809

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<sup>35</sup> Anke Ehlers, A Cognitive Model Posttraumatic Stress Disorder, Behavior Research and Therapy 38 (2000), 319-345

<sup>36</sup> S ,Galea Psychological Sequelae of September 11 Terrorist Attacks in New York, New England Journal of Medicine 2002:346:982 – 987, 984

<sup>37</sup> Ehlers, 320

<sup>38</sup> Leon Festinger, When Prophecy Fails (Wilder Publications, NY 2011) 12-18

<sup>39</sup> As of July 5, 2011, a Google search by author of the term "911 conspiracy theory" revealed over 800 results. A similar search of Amazon.com listed 328 books

<sup>40</sup> Festinger, 12-20

<sup>41</sup> In reality many significant Al Qaeda participants in the 9/11 attacks had a great deal of education and were not simple cave dwellers. <http://forums.randi.org/archive/index.php/t-118344.html> (Accessed July 5, 2001)

<sup>42</sup> Giddens, The Consequences Of Modernity, 131