

The Never-ending Disaster: 9/11 Conspiracy Theory and the Integration of Activist Documentary on Video Websites

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Abstract. The article examines how documentary film is transformed when distributed through video sharing web sites. The conspiracy-theoretical production *Loose Change* (2005, 2006, 2007, and 2009) is used as a case study of how the mediation process connected with net-based distribution affects the materiality of film and alters our conception of both visual evidence and genre. With a point of departure in the media theory of Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin and their twin concepts of *immediacy* and *hypermediacy* it is discussed how the film culture on the internet develops new media institutions and establishes what could be described as “live” archives. A concluding reflection illustrates how this type of film is part of an ongoing media-determined and cultural transformation of the documentary genre, a process that places its historical and political content halfway between fact and fiction.

Keywords: remediation, activist documentary, video sharing websites, conspiracy theory.

Conspiracy, [...] is the poor person's cognitive mapping in the postmodern age; it is a degraded figure of the total logic of late capital, a desperate attempt to represent the latter's system, whose failure is marked by its slippage into sheer theme and content.

Frederic Jameson (1988, 356)

The paranoid is the person in possession of all the facts.
William Burroughs (*Friend Magazine* 1970)

A multifaceted relationship between filmic works and conspiracy theory delineates through the recent decades in American popular culture. Since the Cold War-thrillers of the 70s this marriage between socio-political paranoia and audiovisual storytelling has developed into a number of subgenres counting such

diverse works as Peter Weir's social-constructivist drama *The Truman Show* (USA 1998) and Chris Carter's science fiction television series *The X-Files* (USA 1993–2002). Conspiracy theory has been manifested as a plot-driving principle with the ability to transcend every subject matter, be that life-as-a-TV-show or alien abductions, and which can be used to create a prolonged cultural impact, as especially was the case with Carter's series. In retrospect, *The X-Files* seems like the ideal merging of the theme of conspiracy and a specific genre-format; primarily because the idea of endless connectedness permeates both content and form of this pop cultural phenomenon. On a formal level *The X-Files* mirrors a progressively paranoid undercurrent of conspiracy. With its iconic intro-combination of *Twilight Zone*-inspired music, FBI-badges and documentary-style footage of UFO-sightings, it hinted at possible endless links between government politics, scheming plots and shady business. As suggested by Peter Knight in his book *Conspiracy Culture – From the Kennedy Assassination to The X-files*, the TV series' pronouncement that "The Truth is out there" works as a dictum for the Internet age's *utopian possibilities of nothing remaining secret in the endless connexity* (sic) of free-flowing information (Knight 2000, 211–212). Here, *The X-files* are fittingly defined as a pop cultural phenomenon that mirrors a conspiracy-driven tendency in both content and form. Since a central logic behind the TV-series-format is its continuous airing through an ever-evolving storyline (and public demand), it is in that way comparable to what fuels any conspiracy theory: the impossibility to reach a final conclusion.

This article takes as its point of departure a recent filmic constellation of conspiracy-themed narratives and genre-consciousness, the activistic documentary *Loose Change* (USA 2005, 2006, 2007, 2009).¹ Like *The X-Files*, this net-based production is in many regards a reverberation of the medium that popularized it. [Figs. 1–4.] The documentary was created by the American independent filmmaker Dylan Avery and it exists in a number of different edited and re-edited versions, the latest one being *Loose Change 9/11: An American Coup*, which at the time of writing must have been considered as the authoritative version of the film.² What all of these have in common is the claim that 9/11 was an "inside job" and the purpose of the films is to introduce the viewer to an alternative interpretation of the events surrounding the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. Applying a detailed analysis of filmic and photographic

1 As of now, there exist four different official versions of the film: *Loose Change: 1st Edition* (2005), *Loose Change: 2nd Edition Recut* (2006), *Loose Change: Final Cut* (2007) and *Loose Change 9/11: An American Coup* (2009).

2 It should be noted that precisely the fact that *Loose Change* is available in a number of versions both online and as different DVD-releases is the main point of departure for my analysis.

registrations of the incident, Avery among other things argues that there were people in the American government who benefited politically and economically from the attack. The exposure of these governmental motives is presented as a scientifically substantiated comparison of concrete details in the terrorists' methods and the resulting damage of the attack. Herein Avery finds a string of differences which point to the fact that the damage on Pentagon, for example, does not correspond to that of a plane crash. Likewise, he argues that the destruction of the World Trade Center could not alone be the result of the buildings being hit by passenger planes. During the entire movie, Avery's commentary shifts between an objective rhetoric that accounts for the facts and critical remarks that hint at hidden agendas. For example, the opening sequence "Prologue," in the film's most comprehensive configuration,³ consists of a narrative introduction by Avery, in which he sums up a number of people from different professions, who have voiced their mistrust of the official explanation to the terrorist attacks. He speculates why so many still find the aftermath unsatisfactory and introduces the 9/11 Truth movement through depictions of their demonstrations in New York City. This is contrasted in the following sequence titled "Five Years Earlier..." where different iconic visual and verbal statements from news footage associated with the incident is presented in an uncommented montage. This introduction serves to establish the historic conventions we traditionally associate with the expository documentary, at the same time it is undoubtedly loaded with the type of emotionally dramatic "establishing shots" we are so familiar with from the fiction film. Throughout the film Avery continues his argument with a comparative interplay between selected excerpts from news broadcasts and documentations of the terrorist attacks, all combined with narrative commentary and instrumental background music by DJ Skooly (Dustin Marshall). The latter gives the entire production an immediate atmosphere, which connotes the rhythmic, associative montage found in the music video. This distinct mode of presentation that characterizes large parts of Avery's film lets the viewer experience the conspiracy theories surrounding 9/11 and comprehensive amount of extremely diverse information, which is employed to back them up. The overall impression is that of a news special with a pulsating score making it possible to "tune in" during any moment of the film. [Fig. 6.]

Mirroring production with distribution, the film takes on a number of different forms since the director has edited and re-circulated the film to correct wrongful or criticised information and aim it against different types of distribution. Successful exposure of the film was made possible because Avery

3 *Loose Change: Final Cut* (2007).

by April 2005 made it available through Google Video. In the first year the film was seen by 2 million people and by now it has been viewed or downloaded over 50 million times. Furthermore, this distribution strategy has ensured worldwide screenings of the film. As an example, a number of Scandinavian national television stations aired *Loose Change: Final Cut* as part of their documentary programmes in 2007.⁴ The director and the producers Korey Rowe and Jason Bermas all have connections to the comprehensive 9/11 Truth Movement.⁵ The *Loose Change* film-series connection with this activist organisation and its claim to an alternative interpretation of the events which transpired on September 11, 2001 is what places it firmly within the context of conspiracy theory. As I will try to illustrate in the following, what makes this documentary phenomenon interesting is that it – for good or worse – simultaneously becomes a reflection of the online film culture that created it.

Hyperreality

Through its successful online distribution and numerous re-editions, *Loose Change* has a number of apparent connections to the integration of the film medium on the Internet. Firstly, the film shows the overwhelming exposure it is possible to generate by means of these new distributional systems, but it also further exemplifies how the video sharing websites' fragmented collections of clips have become production logic and a common denominator for audiovisual recording. Extremely popular sites, such as YouTube and Vimeo function as alternative media archives, which give public access and exposure to all types of footage previously only distributed by TV or film companies or kept in private. On a global scale the Internet has exposed what Thomas Elsaesser, in quotation marks, has called historical evidence. Every registration imaginable, all sharing the general characteristics that: "No subject is too remote, too personal, too secret, too shameful for there not to have been photographs taken, voices recorded and films made. [...] Nothing – or so it seems – has happened in the twentieth century, without a camera recording it. Brought back to life, it can speak for itself, give itself away or accuse itself: an illusion, of course, and possibly a dangerously naïve one. But this does not diminish the fact that photographs and films, both fictional and factual, have left us with the most extraordinary 'art of record' for the last 150 years, a most extensive 'archive' of

4 Among those Danish television DR2 and Swedish television SVT2.

5 Source: <http://www.911truth.org/> and [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Loose_Change_\(film\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Loose_Change_(film)) as well as video interviews with Dylan Avery published on the Internet, see YouTube, Loose Change.

what, for instance, cities looked like or buildings, how people dressed or gestured, how they lived indoors and out, how they saw themselves, were seen by other or wanted to be seen.” (Elsaesser 1998, 207.)

According to Elsaesser, the full usage of this material as evidence can primarily be seen in the photo documentation on TV. In connection with this he points out that the complication of the authenticity associated with moving images is not so much caused by the digital devaluation of the indexical reference, as it is the result of the institutional setting for the footage. As an example, the truth value of a TV-broadcast is determined by the current social and political legitimization of the institution “TV.”⁶ This sets an interesting cultural-historical perspective on the conventions we associate with a specific medium. Elsaesser’s emphasis on the institutional significance brings into focus an essential aspect of the media transformation process, produced by the integration of film on the net.

Video sharing websites have precisely manifested themselves as a new series of communication networks, which function as alternatives to already existing top-down media institutions. These new “channels” however appear as hybrids. By way of the archive they draw on our mutual experience from the content of the surrounding film- and TV-culture, while at the same time all this material is integrated in an online-structure, which is defined by the speed of the information transfer. The lo-tech characteristics of the clips are a side effect of the migration of the film through the network interface. The video portals appear as cultural institutions on the net and their technological realization paradoxically entails a degradation of the material quality. The image resolution is decided by the fact that we have to be able to stream the content of the archive from one click to the next. This directness in a way mimics the telepresence of the live TV-transmission.⁷

What differentiates these websites from previous frameworks is precisely the active role of the user as contributor of content to the mass media. This type of internet-based cultural institutionalization of filmic material makes it difficult to trace any given truth value back to a single, legitimate source.

As a consequence of this participatory relation between sender and receiver, the way we perceive visual information has drastically changed. By the end of

6 This follows from the critical writing on mass media by both McLuhan and Raymond Williams.

7 Speed is a determining, but relatively undescribed factor in the development of online video culture. A possible discourse for analysing the complex relationship between the increased speed in contemporary online technologies and our understanding of filmic representations of the world may be found with Paul Virilio and his concept of dromology (see Virilio 1977).

the nineties, a number of theoretical works called attention to the mode of expression of new, digital media. Of these, Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin's *Remediation – Understanding New Media* had particular impact. Herein it is argued that digital aesthetic expressions are all to be understood as products of or variations on previous media. The twin concepts of *immediacy* and *hypermediacy* are central to this process of re-mediation. *Immediacy* designates a form of media expression that is characterized by transparency. Here the perceived presents itself as directly available to the observer. To Bolter and Grusin, *immediacy* is defined by the concept's "naïve" character.

With reference to Bazin and Barthes's understanding of the photographic picture as an immediate reference to reality this sensation is compared with the spectacular experience of visual media created through digitalization. In this perspective, we find an aspect of naivety in the viewer's longing for realism: the viewer is aware that the perceived is merely a representation, but is still fascinated by the reproduction of a (possible) reality. According to Bolter and Grusin, this desire is historically and culturally conditioned (Bolter and Grusin 1999, 30–31).

Hypermediacy labels digital media, which in form and use signal their own construction and multi-referentiality. The opacity of the media accentuates its own presence as a premise for representation. Historically, *hypermediacy* is associated with the manifestations of avant-garde and experimental art. Collage and photo-montage are especially perceived as forms of expression that prescribe the fragmented combination of visual and textual information in the digital interface. In the composition of heterogeneous picture elements in new, unified wholes, this form of artistic practice furthermore accentuates a duality in the photographic media. The widespread perception of the photograph as a transparent reproduction of reality is a fragile convention that is constantly questioned by the different contexts in which it is included. On the other hand, the montage form of expression might be seen as a confirmation of the unique realistic status of the photographic elements, indicating that these are always hypermediated (Bolter and Grusin 1999, 38–39).

Bolter and Grusin's localization of the visual, digital interface between transparency and opacity presents a solid point of departure for understanding how the documentary movie is affected when integrated on the internet. Their theoretical focus on the sought-after realism in digital imagery and the simultaneous framework of hypermediation is related to two central analytical reflections on the documentary movie: the direct photographic reference to reality in the genre and the specific editing of the material. Our experience of the authenticity of the films and the message they convey is here understood as an integrated part of the process of remediation. Bolter and Grusin perceive this

as a very real experience, characterized by: “just as there is nothing prior to the act of mediation, there is also a sense in which all mediation remediates the real. Mediation is the remediation of reality because media themselves are real and because the experience of media is the subject of remediation.” (Bolter and Grusin 1999, 59.)

The “Live” Archive

When a documentary like Dylan Avery’s *Loose Change* is respectively integrated on the video sharing websites and integrates these portals’ circulating material, it is automatically remediated in a new medial context that is defining for our perception of the genre.⁸ The formal stamp that initially was distinctive for this uploaded collection of audiovisual information is appropriated into the immense archive on the net. Indicative of this process, *Loose Change* as a filmic phenomenon quite literally illustrates the conspiracy-theoretical aspect of the video sharing website. As an example, a site like YouTube presents us with a multitude of movie clips that are stylistically very similar to Avery’s project, or perhaps even part of it. At the same time it contains numerous versions of the film: both the official editions by the director and selected sequences published by others.⁹ The production is fragmented and displaced among the video archives’ countless clips. As a user, one is subject to a potentially overwhelming and escalating experience even compared to the multiple trajectories through the information originally imposed by the director. [Fig. 5.]

This points towards the feeling of *fullness*, which Bolter and Grusin likewise connects with *hypermediacy*, an artificial sensation of authenticity caused by an excess in mediation. The navigation through the documentary material eventually becomes the real experience, that is, the physical interaction with the archive, an experience predominantly characterized by the transitory interest of the glance as opposed to the concentrated attention of the gaze.¹⁰ The

8 This process quite precisely illustrates Bolter and Grusin’s main point: that remediation works both ways. This means that the documentary incorporates certain characteristics from net-based video web portals, while the genre is descriptive for a large part of the material published on these sites (Bolter and Grusin 1999, 55).

9 This is of course valid for other materials on YouTube, most notably classical feature films, which are often (re)circulated in any number of different editions, both as alternate cuts, uncensored versions or more frequently and for this particular context especially relevant, as selected clips uploaded in a range of different formats and durations.

10 Bolter and Grusin borrow this distinction between *glance* and *gaze* from the English art historian Norman Bryson. The notion is that the glance primarily makes the

remediation of film and video on YouTube creates a fleeting experience that balances between the fascinating detail and the trivial banality, also noted by Elsaesser: “A site like YouTube can be addictive, as one video drags you along to another. Yet after an hour or so, one realizes on what fine a line one has to balance to keep one’s sanity, between the joy of discovering the unexpected, the marvellous and occasionally even the miraculous, and the rapid descent into an equally palpable anxiety, staring into the void of a sheer bottomless amount of videos, with their proliferation of images, their banality or obscenity in sounds and commentary. Right next to the euphoria and the epiphany, then, there is the heat-death of meaning, the ennui of repetition and of endless distraction: in short, the relentless progress of entropy that begins to suck out and drain away all life. The point of the exercise is thus not one or the other [...] but to sense the trembling tightrope at all times, to remain suspended between epiphany and entropy.” (Elsaesser 2008, 30.)

In addition to this paradoxical realization connected to navigating through the content, the framework of the net provides the filmic material with another distinctive characteristic. As mentioned, video sharing sites have a number of similarities with the TV-media. The image quality of each clip is decided by the possibility of streaming it instantly. As a result, most of the videos on YouTube are distinguished by pixelated, lo-tech aesthetics.¹¹ If we see this in the perspective of Bolter and Grusin’s reflections on remediation, this visual distinctiveness points in the direction of TV-transmission.¹² I therefore suggest

beholder aware of the creational process and the act of seeing (Bolter & Grusin 1999, 53–54).

- 11 Following the general acceleration of broadband speed, from March 2008 it was possible to upload video in HD-resolution on the site. In all probability this development will continue. However, this doesn’t alter the quality of the existing footage, unless new versions are distributed on the net. In addition, the lo-tech aesthetics on YouTube can be regarded as both a negative and a positive effect of the remediation of film instituted by the video sharing websites. Sean Cubitt illustrates this with an example of the illegal distribution of Jean-Luc Godard’s *Histoire(s) du cinéma*. Strictly speaking this type of exposure doesn’t grant justice to the complexity or the image-density of the work, however the fragmentation and dissolution of totality at the same time accentuates Godard’s own perception of history and thereby his experiment with filmic form. Cubitt subsequently points out: “It is exactly because of their failings that YouTube and other lo-res media are less frightening than the alternative. They lie, but they are permeable. The arguments of the generation of ’68 return: the dominant cinema constantly produces films which, despite their ideological project, cannot help addressing the contradictions in the dominant. Today, that role is being undertaken by software. The despair of the networked soul is still capable of a grainy, lo-res vision of hope. What makes YouTube video good is the same as what makes it bad.” (Cubitt 2008, 51.)
- 12 In the 60s, McLuhan already emphasises the “flat” low-resolution quality of the TV-image (McLuhan 1974, 333–335).

the term *liveness* as a description for the immediacy that permeates the image-aesthetics on the video sites. Concisely formulated, it is the artificial reminiscence of the live-transmission which follows the specific archival practise on YouTube: the clip is one click away, but in an institutional perspective, it is paradoxically part of an ever-expanding online collection.¹³ The different documentary footage in Avery's film explicates the specific style of realism with shaken video recordings and reframing of low-resolution images. This distinct characteristic is also evident in the majority of the clips published on the net, precisely as an effect enhanced by this specific remediation. It would therefore be relevant to emphasize that an institutional aura of authenticity clings to the images be that amateur recordings or fragments of feature films. This can further be understood with Bolter and Grusin's definition of the *immediacy* of the TV-media: "It is television's peculiar form of presentness – its implicit claim to be live – that founds the impression of immediacy. Television monitors events and reports (or at least seems to report) changes immediately. [...] Although a vast network of technical devices and economic and social forces typically intervenes between the origin and delivery of the image, we still behave toward television as if it were a direct channel between ourselves and the event. We even use the term *channel* to designate the signal delivered on one frequency."¹⁴

As the most prominent video sharing website, YouTube specifically uses the term *channel*. It describes the collections of clips published by the individual user. Depending on the official status of this user, it could be anyone from a private person to a corporate business, innumerable videos of widely different categories are uploaded and it often becomes impossible to trace the specific film back to the original producer or owner of the rights. In the perspective of Avery's film, this institutional premise only serves to accentuate the authorial relationships, which surrounds the film. Initially, it is the work of an independent director with strong connections to an activist grouping. This is made clear when *Loose Change* is presented as part of the programme on a national TV channel, but in the forum of a video sharing website like YouTube, the collected material dissolves into untraceable fragments that return as the broadcasted versions from a multitude of user-generated channels. In the present perspective, a remediation process that in an eloquent way gives reminiscences of the mechanisms behind a conspiracy theory.

13 For elaboration on this phenomenon and its further remediation through both the form and content of Hollywood-produced genre films, see my article *War, Lies and Video: Documentary Features of the War Film Genre in the Post-Media Age*.

14 Partially quoted from Sandy Flitterman-Lewis by Bolter and Grusin (1999, 187–188).

September 11, 2001 – Fiction and Beyond

An interesting development which also follows the above mentioned type of distributive circulation is that it paradoxically accentuates the documentary as subjective argument, while at the same time plays on our immediate expectation of the genre. We expect to be offered some evidence of the truth, but the fact that camera recordings are part of the visual argument doesn't necessarily mean that any universal truth is revealed. In the case of Avery's film, this is exemplified in the presentation of evidence that draws reference to science and our conception of scientific proof. As put forward by Michael Renov in his essay *Towards a Poetics of the Documentary* this distinct feature is connected with a very traditional conception of the documentary genre (Renov 1993, 12–15). The photographic material is shown as revealing *the real* truth behind the September 11 attacks or at least to factually dispute the official explanation. The numerous camera recordings of the terrorist attacks directly strengthen the motivation to uncover some sort of exhaustive explanation to this fundamentally meaningless man-made disaster. [Fig. 7.]

Simultaneously this footage is edited so that the all too familiar dramatic images of the planes crashing into the buildings and people fleeing in panic are combined with news media information and Avery's own critical commentary. Precisely the repetitive use of video recordings from the attack as hard evidence adds a bizarre and unintentionally ambiguous characteristic to *Loose Change*. As pointed out by French philosopher Jean Baudrillard, the media coverage of 9/11 gave the event a frightening illusory quality. Image and event in a radical sense became part of one another: "The New York events have radicalized the relation of image to reality, in the same way as they have radicalized the global situation. While before we dealt with an unbroken abundance of banal images [...] the terrorist attack in New York has resurrected both image and event. [...] Reality has absorbed the energy of fiction, and become fiction itself. [...] It is a case where the real is added to the image as a terror bonus, as yet another thrill. It is not only terrifying, it is even real." (Baudrillard 2002, 7.)

The immediate experience of the filmic recordings of the attack on the World Trade Center seemed like a catastrophe movie, we had seen similar images before, but this time the film took place live. The footage was added a further fictitious distinctiveness in the subsequent news programmes and documentaries that followed the event. In a detailed analysis of this material, film scholar Geoff King calls attention to the way the different amateur and professional recordings were spliced together to create a form of continuity in the fragmented documentation of the catastrophe, a paradoxical practice that

draws on the structuring of fiction film: “We are very familiar with the practice of cutting from one viewpoint to another to get a better overall perspective on the action. This version can give the impression of more objective and unmediated access to what is happening, despite the fact that it is more densely constructed and mediated [...] it offers a comfortable familiarity that moves smoothly and seemingly effortlessly from one shot to another. There is a widespread tendency in documentary, as Bill Nichols suggests, to use Hollywood-style continuity devices to efface the process of mediation in favour of a concentration on the material presented (King 2005, 54).

The real life catastrophe resembles the images of fictitious disasters and it is replayed in filmic forms dictated by the dynamic montage of Hollywood fiction. This again is edited by Avery into *his* conspiratorial narrative, as a continuously developing paranoid counter myth suspended between fact and fiction.

In this regard *Loose Change* exists as a bizarre equivalent to one of the most prominent example of conspiracy theory which American history made into fiction film, namely Oliver Stone’s depiction of the Kennedy Assassination *JFK* (USA 1991). One could argue that Stone’s biopic functions as a form of filmic document for the explanation of Avery’s practice. In *JFK*, the famous Zapruder film serves as the documentary framing of the entire dramatization. In the beginning of the film it appears as indecipherable fragments, but by the end it is reorganized into Stone’s grand conspiracy narrative by the main protagonist district attorney Jim Garrison played by Kevin Costner. Avery’s series is the reversed version of this filmic strategy. His project actually started as an idea for a fiction film,¹⁵ but ends up as a continual repetition and re-editing of the numerous documentary recordings of the 9/11 terrorist attacks and selected historical events, which contain elements similar to the ones found in this footage. [Fig. 8.] As deterministically suggested by Peter Knight, the real historical event of the 1963 presidential assassination has had such a collective, traumatic impact, that if it had not happened it would have had to be invented. He characterizes it as the primal scene of postmodernism and remarks that it is “not so much an originating cause as an effect of future effects.”¹⁶ Looking at a phenomenon like *Loose Change*, one is reminded of the sometimes woefully frail line between documentary discovery and fictitious spectacle. A current search on YouTube brings up the self-contradictory title *Loose Change – Final*

15 See [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Loose_Change_\(film_series\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Loose_Change_(film_series)).

16 Peter Knight’s definition of the Kennedy Assassination is primarily based on a comparative reading of Don DeLillo’s *Libra* and Oliver Stone’s film. He determines a common characteristic in the representation of this historic event: “It is represented as an initial moment of trauma that ruptured the nation’s more innocent years, and which in retrospect has come to be seen as the origin for present woes” (Knight 2000, 115–116).

Cut 2012 (Full Length) and indicates the tragicomic logic, that is part of conspiracy thinking.

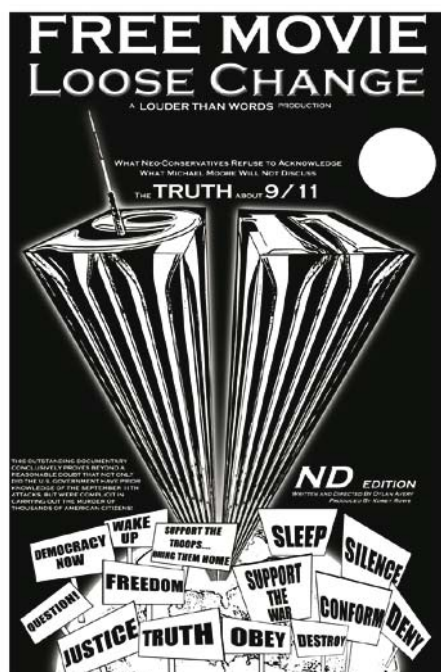
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List of Figures

Figures 1–4. A selection of posters, covers and ads for the four existing versions of *Loose Change*



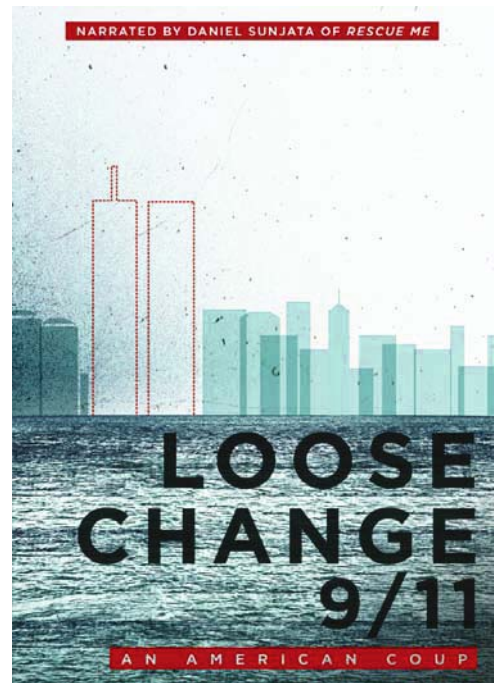
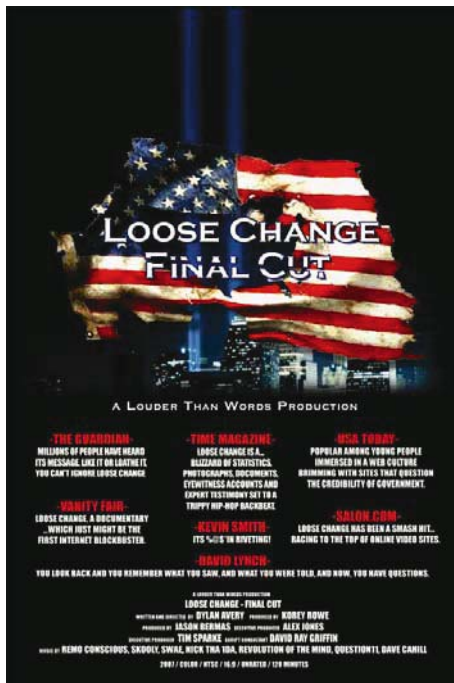


Figure 5. The latest version of *Loose Change* on YouTube. The bird's-eye shot is a consistent feature in the film, indicating an analytical overview, which zooms in and discloses the hidden facts.



Figure 6. Example of the photographic presentation of evidence throughout the film. Here it is a crosshair accentuation of details in the collapse of the first Twin Tower.



Figure 7. The Twin Towers have an ubiquitous presence in *Loose Change*. Unintentionally and paradoxically portrayed as pixilated “ghosts” of the destroyed buildings.



Figure 8. Archive footage of a B-25 Mitchell bomber crashing into the Empire State Building. These recordings are used in the critical analysis of the planes hitting the World Trade Center.

