

THE MONSTER I HAVE BECOME.
AN ANALYSIS OF MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF TORTURE ALLEGATIONS
AGAINST U.S. SOLDIERS IN IRAQ FROM APRIL 2004 TO OCTOBER 2005.

By

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

Master of Science

In the

Criminal Justice

Program

Youngstown State University

August, 2009

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Abstract

Purpose – Two questions: Did the men and women of the United States military torture detainees? In what ways did the New York Times portray the torture scandals in Iraq from April 2004 to October 2005?

Design/methodology/approach –The first question is answered through the combination legal definition and general research of what the sentences were for the soldiers who were involved in the Abu Ghraib torture scandal. The second question is answered by conducting a content analysis of articles from The New York Times between April 1, 2004 and October 31, 2005.

Findings – No, the men and women of the United States military did not torture detainees as the applicable law defines torture. This was found because of the eleven soldiers convicted in the Abu Ghraib scandal, none of them received the charge and conviction of torture. The answer to the second question is that out of 19 randomly sampled articles, only 3 articles did not contain graphically explicit content.

Research limitations/implications – The main limitation of this study is that of the 57 articles found between April 1, 2004 and October 31, 2005, only 19 were read and analyzed for content. Due to time limitations I chose to sample 33% of the 57 articles in hopes that that would be sufficient for a thesis project. For a further explanation of why I chose 33% see Chapter 3 Methodology and Analysis.

Practical implications – This thesis challenges the media to be more responsible in their recordings of the truth. It is the media's responsibility to report what is going on and they are entrusted to only report the truth.

Originality/value – Very few articles have dared to challenge the media's almost unimpeded freedom of speech in the context of wartime coverage.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I would like to thank my committee members, Attorney Patricia Wagner, Dr. Gordon Frissora, and Dr. C. Allen Pierce for their selfless service and guidance they gave me while I worked through my thesis.

All three of my committee members are an outstanding credit to this department, this school, and the Criminal Justice profession. They truly are the embodiment of how all college professors should be; well balanced in both academic and applied knowledge as well as open, approachable, and full of encouragement.

Secondly I would like to thank my family and friends. Without their continued support through all of my endeavors I would not be where I am today.

Lastly I would like to dedicate this paper to the men and women of the United States Armed Forces and to one hero in particular, my grandfather, William Orville McIntyre Sr.

“Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.” ~ Wendell Phillips (1853)

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CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

1.1..... Description of the problem and why the topic was selected

How did the men and women of the United States Army come to torture detainees? Although this thesis is very personal to me, I will endeavor to remain impartial and unbiased in my findings. By candidly explaining how I came to this research question and fully disclosing my potential for bias, I hope that the readers of this thesis will be convinced of my objectivity.

In June of 2005 I married my college sweetheart, whom I had been with for three years. Roughly a year prior I had joined the Army and once I finished basic training, I decided this was the woman I wanted to spend the rest of my life with. Once I got to my permanent duty station in Fort Wainwright, Alaska, I was met with deployment orders and told that my unit was leaving for Iraq within the month. After saying my goodbyes and packing my bags, I left her in the care of her family and set off with my unit.

There is no real preparation for war. What I mean by lack of “real preparation” is that the Army merely prepares its soldiers, in a safe learning environment, through mock situations and scenarios that mimic what they could encounter overseas. However, those false realities only exist until the proctor of the scenario says, “End scenario,” and then everything melts away and those who you pretended to be possible insurgents, become friendly fellow soldiers or citizens.

No, there is something about being in war that the Army cannot prepare a soldier for. The unknown certainty that everyone, every child, every man and woman that soldier encounters on a daily basis could be carrying an improvised explosive device or a

weapon of some sort. That constant subconscious fear is living in a country where everyone not wearing your particular flag could potentially be the enemy.

I was trained as a Human Intelligence Collector with the United States Army. Prior to 2005 that particular job was called an Interrogator, but in order for the job to sound more politically correct and not so harsh, the Army changed the name. The job was still essentially the same. Once a unit had captured a suspected terrorist or insurgent, that person is brought back to a hardened and established detention facility, screened by medical personnel, and then interrogated for information. (FM 2-22.3)

During this thesis there will be a plethora of military terms that I recognize the reader may be unfamiliar with. For example, the term “hardened” when speaking of a detention facility means that the facility has concrete walls, reinforced ceiling, and a company of soldiers who are entrusted with the safeguarding of the prisoners. A physical example of a hardened facility would be like a prison here in the United States. However, overseas in Iraq, not all military bases have hardened facilities. Some have “soft” facilities in which the prisoners are kept in areas that have been marked off by rows of barbed wire and loose sand hills.

A couple of other terms that may be unfamiliar to nonmilitary personnel are the subtle differences between insurgent and terrorist. An insurgent is a nonmilitary combatant whose country of origin is the same country in which he is carrying on attacks against perceived threats. A terrorist is a nonmilitary combatant whose country of origin is outside of the country in which he is carrying on attacks against perceived threats. Why are such differences important? Terrorists are treated differently and more suspiciously than insurgents because unlike the insurgent, who could arguably just be

defending his homeland from foreign invaders, the terrorist had to do some traveling and may display a little more perseverance to his cause.

From the first day of training when I was learning how to become an interrogator, the “schoolhouse,” (the collective faculty of instructors who set guidelines for conducting interrogations and intelligence collection), warned us about telling anyone what our job in the military was. The schoolhouse told us that anyone, even while we were in the states, could be an agent of the enemy who was sent there to collect information on how we do our jobs. If anyone were to ask we were instructed to give canned responses about a false job or an overly generic job such as “force protection.” We were told that even our own families should not be told what we do for fear that they might be collected upon by an unseen threat that was targeting our specific job.

I can remember a couple of the soldiers who had a problem with this policy of lying and opted to change jobs mid-training, but I stuck it out thinking that this job would better prepare me for a position with the Federal Bureau of Investigation or the Central Intelligence Agency. Once I reached Iraq my unit spent a while shuffling us around from one base to another in order to cover all of the area that was assigned to them. I was stationed just outside a small city called Rawah in the Al Anbar Province. Before I could even formally move my belongings into a tent I was ordered to relieve the current unit and continue on with interrogations.

In truth I enjoyed the job. I was originally instructed that as interrogators we had to be sure to follow the Geneva Conventions, The Law of Land Warfare FM 27-10, and The Manual for Conducting Interrogations FM 2-22.3 (formally FM 34-52). Nowhere in any of these documents were methods such as stress positions or waterboarding

mentioned, but we knew that whatever we did we would have to get our interrogation plans approved by our OMT (Operations Management Team) before we were allowed to conduct them. As a general rule of thumb, my OMT said if you cannot use whatever method you want to use out in the open without being scrutinized, then that method should not be used. Perhaps more to the point “Do to others as you would have them do to you” (Luke 6:31).

For the first few weeks of the tour I executed my job with great proficiency. Since Rawah was a relatively new base, we had limited access to internet services, phones, and mail. On one particular phone call I told my wife how proud I was in my ability to get the detainees to give us information and how that information was important. The silence that followed from my wife was deafening. I had broken the first rule of being an interrogator and exposed the truth about my military occupation.

From April 2004 to October 2005 news media outlets from around the world had been saturating the public with photos of “torture” conducted by U.S. soldiers at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. Later news stories revealed that British soldiers had tortured Iraqi prisoners of war as well, and that U.S. forces had tortured prisoners in Afghanistan and at the U.S. military base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba (Danner 2004; Greenburg and Dratel 2005).

Terrified of the monster that I had become, my wife began to pull away from me and decided that she did not want to be married to a soldier any longer, particularly an interrogator. As one can assume, I was devastated and mission ineffective for about a week. My one and only support structure that anchored me to my former life was gone and I felt I had done nothing wrong. I was not stacking naked Iraqi men five or six high

in human pyramids or making them stand on cardboard boxes with female underwear on their heads. I knew very little of the abuses that were going on in other parts of Iraq because I had limited access to the internet and no access to the American media.

This brings me to the central questions of this thesis: Did the men and women of the United States military torture detainees? In what ways did the New York Times portray the torture scandals in Iraq from April 2004 to October 2005?

1.2..... The appropriateness of the analysis

Grounded theory is a systematic qualitative research method that emphasizes the generation of theory from data, via inductive and deductive reasoning, during the process of conducting research. Grounded theory was chosen for this thesis because it does not aim for the “truth”, but instead it aims to conceptualize what is going on by using empirical data. In a way grounded theory resembles what many researchers do when retrospectively formulating new hypotheses to fit data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Many students of the social sciences are familiar with traditional methods of conducting research through the use of the scientific method. However, in grounded theory the process is flipped almost in reverse so that the first step is to collect data through a variety of methods. Once the data were collected, the key points were marked with a series of codes, which are extracted from the text.

The codes are grouped into similar concepts in order to make them more workable. From these concepts, categories are formed, which are the basis for the creation of a theory, or a reverse engineered hypothesis. This contradicts the traditional model of research, where the researcher chooses a theoretical framework, and only then applies this model to the studied phenomenon (Allen, 2003).

For this study I conducted content analysis, using Glaser & Strauss's grounded theory/content analysis method, to analyze articles from New York Times, starting with the headlines. This method of content analysis is fairly straightforward, but what makes this method different is that it evolves as one reads through the articles. Since I was not sure of what I would find I selected terms that I thought seemed overly graphic for describing what was happening in the article. Once the sample of articles had been read, then those words came to represent the content I wanted to study.

1.3..... Importance of the problem

The media would have the public to believe that they can understand what is going on overseas by simply reporting it from the ground and alongside the soldiers. Unfortunately the media is still far from being able to report the true reality of war.

The truth is the only way to experience war is to live it. War cannot be experienced through the lens of a war journalist's photos that appear on the nightly news and war definitely cannot be experienced through video games like the Call of Duty or Medal of Honor. War cannot be experienced through blockbuster movies such as Iron Man, Black Hawk Down, or Saving Private Ryan. These video games and movies only present what their warning labels put so eloquently: "war-like" violence requiring viewer discretion.

Life as a soldier is different than being a regular civilian in every aspect, especially when they are deployed to a combat zone such as Iraq or Afghanistan. In this thesis I am arguing that soldiers follow orders. Nonetheless, since the Fourth Geneva Convention soldiers in the United States Army know that they cannot hide behind the "I

was just following orders” plea that the German soldiers used post-World War II. If an order would lead a soldier to an illegal act, that soldier has the duty to not follow that order and to report the person who ordered them to do that act to a higher authority. (Solis, 2004).

"An act performed pursuant to an unlawful order is excused unless the accused knew it to be unlawful or a person of ordinary sense and understanding would have known it to be unlawful" (*Manual for Courts-Martial, 2008*).

Someone beyond PFC Lynndie England, a Maryland Army reserves military police officer, ordered her to ‘break down’ the detainees in Abu Ghraib prison for interrogation. PFC England was following orders. Unfortunately digital photos were taken on the night the abuse occurred and eventually those photos made it into the hands of the state department and the military. The photos then led to an investigation by General Sanchez and prosecution of the guards and military dog handlers involved in that scandal. During this media firestorm the public was saturated with the graphic photos until enough interest was created in the controversy to stimulate change.

In this thesis I am arguing that the actions PFC England and her fellow soldiers took on that day were not illegal and were not torture when she committed them. They may not have been appropriate or humane, but they were not torture as torture was defined. Simply put: I believe that the media reports of Abu Ghraib fueled the public’s reaction, which then led to more stringent guidelines, which then redefined torture.

I feel that the media should hold themselves to a higher standard of ethics in their writing and reporting of facts. All too often it seems that articles are written in a flagrant

and irresponsible manner, sensationalizing the facts beyond what is needed to report the event accurately.

Vietnam Veterans, Hanoi Jane, and the antiwar movement

Imagine what life was like when the first brigades came home from Vietnam to find the war they left on the nightly news. Politicians used the unpopular or negative images from the war to fuel discontent for the Vietnam conflict. The original purpose of showing those images may have been to rally support for opposition to the conflict, but there were unforeseen consequences as well.

The average citizen who has never and will never serve in the military cannot comprehend the constant subconscious danger of war. Terms such as “baby killer” were then coined to verbally attack soldiers who had been just trying to survive. In my opinion the Vietnam veterans experienced the worst psychological abuse from war, because they fought the Vietnamese overseas and then had to fight the unpopularity of the war back home.

As one Vietnam veteran named Charles Thatcher explained when asked how he felt about the Vietnam War protesters he said, *“For them to protest us, upset us. We didn’t start the war and we didn’t even want to be there. It was bad enough that we had to worry about being killed by the Viet Cong guerilla soldiers, but we also had protesters that were making our lives very difficult”*. (White, 2009)

In 1972 Jane Fonda (a.k.a Hanoi Jane), Tom Hayden and others traveled to North Vietnam on a two week peace mission. While in North Vietnam Hanoi Jane observed the effects of the American bombing campaign and made several live and taped radio

broadcasts that were later used as anti-American and antiwar propaganda. She also met with Communist officials and interviewed American prisoners of war (Brush, 2004).

Hanoi Jane supported the Communists (claiming they were democratic, peace-loving patriots) and was critical of the United States (Nixon was “a new-type Hitler” committing “mass genocide” against North Vietnam). The government claimed Fonda’s antiwar activities impacted on the morale of American soldiers in South Vietnam. According to an analysis provided by the House Committee on Internal Security, the declarations Fonda made from North Vietnam during her July 1972 visit shook the stamina of our soldiers. The effect was “tantamount to being wounded” and the resulting psychological casualties were advantageous to America’s enemies. (Brush, 2004)

When Fonda returned to the United States, she advised the news media that all of the American Prisoners of War were being well treated and were not being tortured. As the American POWs returned home in 1973, they spoke out about the inhumane treatment and torture they had suffered as prisoners of war. Their stories directly contradicted Jane Fonda's earlier statements of 1972 (Bender, 2007).

Some of the American POWs such as Senator John McCain, a former Presidential candidate, stated that he was tortured by his guards for refusing to meet with groups such as Jane Fonda's. Jane Fonda, in her response to these new allegations, referred to the returning POWs as being "hypocrites and liars" (Bender, 2007).

The Wall Street Journal (August 3, 1995) published an interview with Bui Tin who served on the General Staff of the North Vietnam Army and received the unconditional surrender of South Vietnam on April 30, 1975. During the interview Mr. Tin was asked if the American antiwar movement was important to Hanoi's victory. Mr.

Tin responded "It was essential to our strategy" referring to the war being fought on two fronts, the Vietnam battlefield and back home in America through the antiwar movement on college campuses and in the city streets. He further stated the North Vietnamese leadership listened to the American evening news broadcasts "to follow the growth of the American antiwar movement" (Bender, 2009).

Visits to Hanoi made by persons such as Jane Fonda, former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and various church ministers "gave us confidence that we should hold on in the face of battlefield reverses." Mr. Tin surmised that "America lost because of its democracy; through dissent and protest it lost the ability to mobilize a will to win" (Bender, 2009).

Should Hanoi Jane have been permitted to make those statements against the United States and the war in Vietnam? Fonda was merely exercising her freedom of speech when she joined the antiwar movement and began to speak out against the war. The issues presented here speak directly to the issue at question in this paper. Should Fonda and others involved in the antiwar movement be held liable when their statements are made recklessly and irresponsibly?

I believe these research problems are important because the general American perception of our soldiers is important. The soldiers that fight for this country have enough to worry about with basic survival in a deployment and I do not think they need the added stress of what their family and friends think of them. They most certainly do not need the extra dissention created by irresponsible and inflammatory media coverage of a war for political gain. This coverage will invariably spill over into their personal

lives once they have returned from the combat zone as it did in the case with Hanoi Jane, the Vietnam veterans, and the phrase “baby killers.”

I want to outline how war journalism can affect the personal lives of soldiers and their families. I am not advocating that this country should remove war journalists or severely limit the First Amendment right to freedom of speech. Instead I want to illustrate how the media can play a large role in stirring up public opinion and possibly providing a catalyst to federal legislation and foreign policy change.

1.4..... The scope of the review

The greatest concentration of research in the field of media influence on public perception during wartime has been done at the general level associating the media, terrorism, politics, and public opinion. (e.g. Macklin 2008; Ian Ross 2007; Altheide 2007; Lingis 2007; Altheide 2006; Bufacchi, Arrigo 2006). The research seems overwhelmingly biased against the George W. Bush Administration (2001-2009) and more specifically the administration’s controversial stance on torture.

To broaden the lens of the literature review, general articles on propaganda, news management, and linguistics (e.g. Aufderheide 2007; Jackson 2007; Dunn, Moore, Nosek 2005; Kosar 2005) in the media have also been included along with material on Nazi Germany’s Propaganda Minister, Dr. Joseph Goebbels (Irving 1995).

1.5..... Application of review results

The results of the review will assist in analyzing and understanding the data collected from the newspapers. In comparison the collection of work that has been assembled in the literature review is like that of a shotgun blast at a summer festival shooting gallery. The shotgun is an effective instrument at taking down targets and striking objects; however because of the nature of the birdshot, the goal of striking a specific target might not be achieved. This thesis will be more like using a rifle on the same shooting gallery, relying more on precision to address the questions.

1.6..... Research questions to be answered

The first question is: Did the men and women of the U.S. military torture detainees? The second question is: In what ways did the New York Times portray the torture scandals in Iraq from April 2004 to October 2005?

CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW

“One of the most horrible features of war is that all the war-propaganda, all the screaming and lies and hatred, comes invariably from people who are not fighting.”

~George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*, 1938

2.1..... Media, Terrorism, Politics, and Public Opinion

From Cooperation, to Complicity, to Compensation: The War on Terror, Extraordinary Rendition, and the Cost of Torture by Audrey Macklin

How does one weigh secrecy versus public disclosure in cases dealing with national security and suspected terrorists? In the wake of 9/11 there were several cases of expedited and perhaps hasty rendition where the United States and Canada extradited persons to foreign countries based on inconclusive evidence that they were involved in terrorist activity. Once in these countries, e.g. Syria, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia, many of these civilians were then subjected to grave human rights violations to include torture.

In this article the author describes the challenge posed by competing demands for publicity, (e.g. a public trial and disclosure of evidence against a person), and secrecy in the particular context of controversial action, taken in the name of national security. The article centers on a case study of Canadian Maher Arar and his extraordinary rendition to Syria.

The article opens with an interesting dialog that took place at a conference in Canada held recently for senior judges from around the world, including United States Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia. While in the midst of a panel discussion about

torture and terrorism law, a Canadian judge made the passing remark, “Thankfully, security agencies in all our countries do not subscribe to the mantra ‘What would Jack Bauer do?’” The Justice was referring to a character on the popular American television show, starring a Canadian actor who plays a rogue counter-terrorist agent.

The conservative jurist stuck up for Agent Bauer, arguing that fictional or not, federal agents require latitude in times of great crisis. “Jack Bauer saved Los Angeles... He saved hundreds of thousands of lives.” Judge Scalia said... Judge Scalia then etched a line in the sand. “Are you going to convict Jack Bauer?”

Also present at the conference was a lawyer that had served as counsel for Maher Arar, a Canadian Arab who had been extradited to Syria while on his way back to Canada from vacation with his family. When Arar made a stop in the United States to change planes he was captured and questioned for twelve days by U.S. agents. Suspected of terrorism and armed with evidence provided from Canadian security services, the U.S. extradited Arar back to his home country of Syria.

Fear politics played a large part in the case of Arar and how he was taken into custody in the United States, and then extradited to his home country where he was imprisoned and tortured for a year. As the author explains, “the saga of Maher Arar illustrates how co-operation between states in the War on Terrorism can devolve into collusion in the violation of fundamental human rights.”

Through the use of the media and by making the people aware of their plight, Arar’s wife was able to convince the Canadian populace to place political pressure on the government to investigate the validity of the extradition. Once Arar was back in Canada, a public inquiry was initiated by the judicial system, which acted as a catalyst to a media

circus. During the public inquiry stage the government leaked prejudicial information that cast Arar in a negative light, thus dampening some of the positive “he was a victim of the government” publicity he had been enjoying. In the end Arar was paid seven million pounds for his ordeal and given a written letter of apology from the government for their involvement in the entire ordeal.

This article relates to my thesis because it gives a specific case-study breakdown of what happens when national security and the right to public disclosure of evidence against someone comes into conflict. During the case of Arar there were several others who had been extradited in the same manner whose cases were called into question. The judge that presided over the Arar inquiry stated that in the interest of not making a public spectacle of these individuals and to save money on the cost of the investigation process, these cases should be heard in a private inquiry.

In the past both the Canadian and U.S. governments have enjoyed a great level of secrecy from accountability whenever a mistake is made and a civilian’s rights are trampled. I think the Arar case signaled a change in accountability for both governments on how they handle torture and terrorism law.

Deconstructing the terrorism – news media relationship by Jeffrey Ian Ross

This article examines the intricate connection between terrorism and the news media. One of the questions the author asks is how do terrorists use the media? In order to understand the dynamics between terrorist organizations and the media, the author examines several incidents that received notable media coverage.

The author then outlines several incidents that were probably planned with the media in mind. In 1972 the Olympics were held in Munich, Germany. During the Olympics, members of the group “Black September” kidnapped and killed several Israeli athletes. A few years later, in 1979, Iranian activists staged a takeover of the American embassy in Tehran that lasted 444 days and shifted the focus once again to Islamic fundamentalism. Finally, the authors suggests that the 9/11 terrorist attacks appeared to be timed so that news cameras would capture video of the second plane hitting the World Trade Center towers as the first tower crumbled in the background.

The author then outlines six basic difficulties with the coverage of terrorism by the media. Contextually it is worth noting that these problems are faced by western media organizations and not by Middle Eastern organizations. The six difficulties are:

1. Selective reporting and self-censorship
2. Editorial discretion
3. Lack of specialists focusing on terrorism
4. Misinformation given to reporters by national security agencies
5. News media obstructing counter-terrorist efforts
6. Sensationalization

The point of terrorism is to terrorize and influence a populace to a certain action through fear. As illustrated in this article, and as it is applicable in this thesis, terrorists are finding new ways of using media to recruit, train, and motivate their followers all over the globe. Entire news networks such as Al Jazerra have been noted to report messages exclusively from terrorist organizations, proliferating the terrorist message to the masses.

The mass media and terrorism: Discourse & Communication by David L. Altheide

Through qualitative document analysis of news reports from newspapers, television, and magazines, this article illustrates how mass media accounts about the war on terror were grounded in a discourse of fear. The author describes the discourse of fear as the pervasive communication, symbolic awareness, and expectation that danger and risk are a central part of everyday life.

Prior to 9/11 Americans felt relatively safe living and carrying out their daily routines in the United States. Through the years there had been the occasional bombing of an abortion clinic, the Oklahoma City bombings, and the first attack on the World Trade Center back in the 1990's. In contrast terrorist attacks were much more prevalent and a threat to Americans who traveled outside of the United States and occasionally there would be a blip in the news about a U.S. Embassy being attacked elsewhere in the world. However, that perception changed drastically on 9/11.

In the first four years of the war, as the author illustrates in the article, the major news themes were molded to be super American and patriotic, while simultaneously dehumanizing the enemy. In fact only ten days after 9/11, President Bush said, "Al Qaeda is to terror what the mafia is to crime." This is right in line with past war propaganda efforts that immediately sought to portray the enemy as immoral, while the U.S. was above reproach and were to be held as the righteous ones who would cleanse the world of tyranny.

The author then goes on to illustrate various methods the U.S. employed to further the thought that there were only two sides, them and us. These methods included

censoring the deaths of civilians, terrorists, and soldiers. The civilian casualties, if caused by American troops, were called *accidental* or *collateral damage*; while if the insurgents caused them they were called helpless innocent victims.

Controlling what the media reported about the deceased soldiers was also important. When an American soldier was killed by coalition forces, as was the case with Pat Tillman, former professional football player turned soldier, it was called “friendly fire”. The deceased were to be referred to as *heroes* and *fallen soldiers* to somehow immortalize their commitment and sacrifice to their country in this less-than-dead phrase.

During the Bush Administration the news media were forbidden from photographing the *fallen* when they arrived in flag-draped caskets at Dover Air Force base, a policy the government claimed was to respect the privacy of the families.

This article also briefly talks about a little known government program called the Project for the New American Century or PNAC. PNAC has been around since the George H.W. Bush Administration but has received very little publicity; thus when George W. Bush came to power; many members of PNAC to include Vice President Dick Cheney came back as well. PNAC emphasizes changing American foreign policy from responsive international police force, to a new kind of benevolent American empire. This would include expanding the military, withdrawing from major treaties as well as engaging in preemptive strikes against those who would threaten U.S. interests.

As the author writes, according to Pilger (2002), several advisors in the George W. Bush administration had been looking for an opportunity to launch a more aggressive stance and fully implement PNAC. Unfortunately the attacks of 9/11 gave them the opportunity they needed. The fear generated in the American public post 9/11 was like a

steroid shot to a long laundry list of legislation that went through unopposed. These legislative acts, in particular the Patriot Act, not only expanded the government's ability to wage war overseas, but also expanded their abilities on the homeland to trim away pieces of American civil rights.

This article relates to my thesis because it shows another example of how mass media can influence public perception in the onset of war. Through simple subtle differences in how something is reported and what words are used, the author illustrates through media examples that ultimately governments will act in a manner to pursue their own interests. Throughout many of the articles in this literature review the authors have shown connections between the wartime media and the public, but this author is the first to mention PNAC and their role in a hidden American agenda.

The Torturers and Their Public by Alphanso Lingis

This article illustrates the unique relationship between the media, the public and unpopular publicity. As an interesting introduction, the article starts with the telling of three different conflicts that had strikingly similar shocking publicity.

Reflecting upon these different conflicts, one has to ask how much these images have defined the conflict. In 1945, pictures of Auschwitz, Germany: the pictures featured naked bodies piled up on top of one another in mass. Gassed, shot, mutilated, bound together, and then dumped into mass graves, the atrocities of WWII are all too familiar. Before the war, as the article so eloquently puts it, Germany was a land of Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms; whereas afterwards it became the land of Nazi death camps.

In 1972, pictures of the Vietnam conflict: seared forever in the minds of those who first saw the images, a nine year old girl running naked, screaming and burning from a napalm blast. Hardly anyone remembers the strategic importance of the war or how it was initially started by an aggressor who lost the initial confrontation, but had alliances with the United States.

Finally in 2004, pictures of Abu Ghraib: photos of naked bodies piled up on top of one another and smiley-faced soldiers next to Iraqi corpses giving the thumbs up. The occupation was supposed to be about liberation and freeing the Iraqi people from the tyrannical clutches of the Saddam regime, only to be replaced by cloak and dagger interrogations and an evolving definition of torture.

This article relates to my thesis because again it illustrates the power of images taken during wartime. A picture is worth a thousand words, but a bad picture can lead to a revolution. In the wake of Abu Ghraib, as it is mentioned in this article and countless others, when a country is faced with a proverbial black eye from a controversial scandal the plan for controlling the damage is the same. Isolate the event from anyone else who may be implicated (to include those who originally gave the order), convict and condemn publicly those who committed the act, and separate him or her from being part of the collective.

The Mass Media, Crime and Terrorism by David Altheide

In this article the author addresses the use of fear politics to achieve certain goals. From the war on drugs to the war on terrorism propaganda and news management by decision-makers have led audiences to believe that the danger of a terrorist attack is

eminent. For the last thirty years the U.S. had been focused on crime statistics and solving social issues. Once 9/11 happened the U.S. shifted complete focus to the Middle East and spreading American influence.

In the second section, ‘the making of the public perception about crime and war’, the author suggests that the lack of outrage from U.S. citizens about the treatment of Iraqi civilians by U.S. agents is due to years of suppression and desensitization.

The author suggests that through the use of fear politics, e.g. fear of becoming a victim of crime, the government has been able to then shift this fear from domestic threats of violence to international threats from terrorists. Then once the threat is shifted, defending ill treatment of a suspected terrorist would be equated to defending someone suspected of armed robbery or aggravated murder.

Thus the public perceptions about crime and war are very much formed by propaganda and news reports about relevant facts, and particularly by how the injured parties are framed and presented by the media. Then whenever civilians are killed in a “well planned” missile strike carried out by the U.S., faulty intelligence is blamed for the mistake in coordinates. As the author points out, what is most interesting is how the Pakistani newspaper reported on the incident and the differences in perspectives. The difference in the articles was that the American newspaper did not call the act terrorism, whereas the Pakistani newspaper did.

This article centers on the importance of mass media in the shaping of public agendas and how through media outlets, the government can influence how people think, what they think about, and the events and issues they discuss with one another. By preaching a discourse of fear as the author puts it, the government acts like a young boy

who leads his donkey with a bridle of rope; the people being the donkey. In my thesis I hope to show much of the same association in how the government can and does use propaganda to shape public opinion.

2.2..... Propaganda, news management, and linguistics in the media

Your Country, My Country: How Films About The Iraq War Construct Publics by Pat Aufdereide

This article addresses how entertainment media, specifically documentaries, have shaped the public's idea of Iraq. Documentaries, according to the author, fill the gaps in mainstream media coverage of Iraq. Through an over-proliferation of media outlets, the public is coming to recognize that there are different stories out there and that somehow all of them connect with one another. The documentaries provide some kind of contextual glue that bonds the mainstream media clips together into one almost cohesive story.

The author starts out fairly early in the article and defines who the “public” is that is being affected by the media. The public, as the author defines, is a group of people mobilized by their common knowledge of common problems. The author retrieved this definition from a 1927 book by American philosopher John Dewey called, *The Public and Its Problems*. Publics are informal networks of people linked together by common concerns, which are fueled by the media, which then form communications between one another to address these concerns.

The author outlines several kinds of documentaries that have emerged during the course of the conflict. There are the “why-we-are-in-Iraq” documentaries that are film

essays that analyze and extrapolate motives for the U.S. government's decision to invade Iraq. One of the most popular writers of this kind of documentary, Michael Moore, is a name that has become synonymous with controversial conspiracy laced documentaries, e.g. Fahrenheit 9/11.

Another kind of documentary that has emerged is the “grunt” documentary. Recognizing the dangers of reporting and the availability of small-inexpensive high definition capable pocket camera and helmet cameras, several media outfits have given combat soldiers an opportunity to tell the stories through their own efforts. By giving the cameras directly to the soldiers, the documentary producers have significantly reduced the cost of sending over a journalist and paying them for what they would otherwise risk their lives for. Instead by enabling the soldier, the audience is treated to a “through the eyes of a soldier” aspect to the war on terror. A famous example of such a documentary is Gunner Palace (Michael Tucker, US, 2004).

As the author states, what keeps us watching these voyeuristic quests is the thrill of wondering if someone will get hurt or how the action will play out. Americans thrive on entertainment in whatever way they can achieve it. The plots of these documentaries are very basic, life and death struggles that run the risk of pushing toward what some people call “emotional pornography”.

Documentaries as a specific form of medium provide an interesting look into the world of being a soldier. Unfortunately, like their counterparts the nightly news broadcasts, they can be infected with biases and limited in the scope of the information they provide the public.

This article can be related to my thesis because it deals specifically with a certain kind of medium and how it is becoming a growing influence and voice to the American people. Perhaps more dangerously, since these films are produced privately and beyond the scrutiny of government direction, they could have far reaching damaging effects into how the public perceives the military, the work they do overseas, and what it is really like to be a soldier.

Language, policy and the construction of a torture culture in the war on terrorism by

Richard Jackson

This article examines the role elite politicians play in constructing and sustaining the conditions necessary for the acceptance and normalization of torture. The article argues that by focusing on the elite politicians, one can better understand how torture came to be practiced by the soldiers who thought they were following orders.

Regarding discourse policy, the author states that from a policy perspective, discourse consists of the language, texts, symbols, and narratives that policy actors use in their communication with each other, and with the public in their efforts to generate and legitimize a policy program. Discourse as a collaborative concept could be equated to communicating influence to transfer ideals. Further, discourses provide the basis on which policy preferences, interests, and goals are constructed.

Even though this article is specifically about how politicians have convinced some in the American public that torture is sometimes necessary, it relates to my thesis in that the same politicians that argued that torture was necessary also convinced the soldiers

who committed the torture. In addition, this article directly answers my question about how American troops could come to commit torture.

My thesis is about how the media can influence the public's perception and opinions of the American soldiers fighting overseas. Often though, as this research shows, the owners of the media groups are not the ones behind the wheel of who is trying to influence the public. No, the ones who are behind the wheel are in fact the politically elite.

The War of the Words: How Linguistic Differences in Reporting Shape Perceptions of Terrorism by Elizabeth W. Dunn, Moriah Moore, and Brian A. Nosek

This article is a collaboration of four studies done to demonstrate the subtle linguistic differences that can influence a person's perception of an event as being an act of patriotism or terrorism. The first study was a content analysis of newspaper articles that describe violence in Iraq which revealed that words implying destruction were typically used in reference to opponents of the United States, while more benign words were used in reference to the United States and its allies.

These differences establish templates that guide perception of violence as terrorism or patriotism, thereby affecting people's attitudes towards (which were studied in Study Two) and memory (covered in Studies Three and Four) of violent events.

The authors write briefly about how there is not a set definition of terrorism that everyone can agree upon. The definition, listed in the article, came from Title 22 of the United States Code, Section 2656f (d), and defines terrorism as:

“Premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.”

The article then goes on to explain how this definition is consistent with how many countries use definitions that best serve the interests of that country. For example, as per that definition, the American government cannot be the perpetrator of terrorism, but American soldiers (as well as civilians) can be the victims of terrorism.

Most Americans, including some college students, do not consider where or who the news stories or information is coming from. For example, in the movie The Matrix there is a character called Cypher. The general premise of the movie is that many years into the future mankind has spawned a race of machines that eventually take over the world and enslave mankind. In order to power the machines, the machines genetically grow humans like crops and harvest their biogenetic energy much like an alkaline battery.

Since the humans are born into this slavery, the machines hook the humans up to a vast computer program called the Matrix. The humans then, unaware that they are born into a slave existence, continue to live out their lives in a computer-generated world. Getting to the point, in the movie there is a character that was freed from the Matrix and is now serving on the side of the resistance, a band of humans that have been freed and continue to fight to free more humans.

In one particular scene, however, Cypher is making a deal with one of the agents who acts as a control for the Matrix. The agents lie to Cypher and tell him that they can get him back to the Matrix and essentially plug him back in and promise him whatever he

wants in exchange for information. Cypher is eating steak when the following dialog ensues:

Agent: Do we have a deal, Mr. Reagan?

Cypher: You know... (He pauses and looks at a piece of medium rare steak)

...I know this steak doesn't exist. I know that when I put it in my mouth... the Matrix is telling my brain that it is... juicy... and delicious.

After nine years... you know what I realize?

(Cypher looks to the agent, sitting across the table from him)

Cypher: Ignorance is bliss.

(The Matrix, 1999)

Unfortunately "ignorance is bliss." Many Americans are fine with not challenging the validity or tenacity of a news report so long as the content does not directly affect them. For example, if a General Motors plant is planning on closing or taxes are being raised, then suddenly Americans sit up and pay attention to what the newscaster has to report. If the news, however, is that five terrorists were killed today by a precision mission strike carried out by American forces; then that information is just collected and stored somewhere in the recesses of their mind.

An interesting phenomenon I noticed when I came back from Iraq was that upon discovering that I had just come back from Iraq, the person would immediately ask "how was it over there?" What I did not realize at the time was that those people had the media in its entire splendor. They had the internet on their Blackberry phones that streamed the latest news from Iraq. They had the five o'clock, six o'clock, and seven o'clock news that relayed images from embedded reporters. But what they did not have, and as they

discovered with the proliferation of all of these different types of media, was a personal source on the ground that could tell them first hand how things really were going.

The Law: The Executive Branch and Propaganda: The Limits of Legal Restrictions by
Kevin Kosar

This article examines the ineffectiveness of legal restraints against the use of public funds for public relations activities and propaganda that promote the president and his policies. The article outlines three reasons why those restraints have proven ineffective: first, agencies do not track spending on public relations activities, which makes Congressional oversight difficult; second, the line between appropriate public relations activities and propaganda is blurry; and, third, enforcement of the laws against propaganda runs headlong into the separation of powers.

Propaganda is defined as government communication that selectively employs facts to persuade members of the public of a particular viewpoint. There are several examples of propaganda given in the article, the most relevant to the current subject matter would be how President Woodrow Wilson through executive order set up the Committee on Public Information, which produced propaganda and enlisted both journalists and filmmakers to promote the United States' efforts in World War I and quash bad news reports thereon.

With great power comes great responsibility. Once a person becomes President, they are President for life. His name goes forever from Mr. Bush to President Bush, even though he is no longer serving in the capacity of President. During a President's administration, they have a natural communication advantage towards Congress and the

courts that may hinge on threatening the balance of power between the branches.

Whether the President is still in office or has retired, the title still carries a certain amount of political clout.

There are also two other reasons for concern given in the article. The first is that they will spend funds that might otherwise be used to alleviate public policy problems. The second concern is that such promotional activities may reduce the ability of the public to assess the wisdom of particular policies.

The article then goes on to outline five major legal restraints upon the executive branch's use of public funds for publicity and propaganda. These restrictions are found in the Information Quality Act and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC)'s broadcasting guidelines.

In conclusion the article states that even though restrictions have been put into place to curb the use of public funds to promote a President's agenda, the enforcement of those restrictions lacks bite. Executive agencies will continue to promote themselves through any means they can and this abuse will not cease until Congress uses its power to hold those who overstep their boundaries accountable and thus bring balance back to the balance of power.

In my thesis I am asking: Did the men and women of the U.S. military torture detainees? And In what ways did the New York Times portray the torture scandals in Iraq from April 2004 to October 2005? As this article illustrates that in some cases the distance between perception and reality depends on who is holding the lens through which the public sees; meaning it is possible to manipulate ones perception by changing how things are reported.

Revelations from Goebbels' Diary: Bringing to Light Secrets of Hitler's Propaganda Minister by David Irving

This article presents a glimpse into the personal life of Dr. Joseph Goebbels and his involvement with the Nazi "final solution." As the Nazi Propaganda Minister, Goebbels was in charge of generating anti-Semitism against the Jewish population in Germany and convincing the general people that the Jews were a problem.

Goebbels kept a diary from his days as a student at Heidelberg University, all the way through World War II, up to a few days before his suicide in Hitler's bunker in 1945. This article is written as a review of that diary. The author does not credit Goebbels as being the one who initiated the atmosphere of hate towards the Jews in Germany; however, he does credit him for fueling the fire and helping to keep the public against the Jews.

One of the more interesting points the author makes is exactly how Goebbels was able to influence so many. Once the Nazi party came to power in 1933, they ordered that all long range radios be confiscated, destroyed, and replaced with short-range radios. These short-range radios were controlled by the Nazi party and were full of pro-German messages that were designed to create support for the Nazi party. The Jews were taken out of various entertainment industries in Germany, including music and theater.

Irving proposes that the Jewish community not only dominated the legal and medical professions in Berlin, they also dominated the crime scene; which only gave more fuel to Goebbels to paint the Jews as an infestation that was crippling the German homeland. As Irving writes, three-quarters of the pickpockets in Berlin were Jewish and

Interpol figures showed a disproportionate number of Jews being arrested for drug dealing and narcotics. Now armed with seemingly legitimate numbers, Goebbels just embellished the details of a few of the stories and highlighted every scandal he could find to illustrate how bad the Jewish problem had become.

From the entire literature review, this article probably relates the least directly with my thesis. I included this article because the work of Dr. Joseph Goebbels goes beyond mere propaganda to advance a party's ideal. Goebbels's work was used to brainwash an entire nation into believing that the Jewish people of the world were out to destroy Germany.

When I had originally heard of Goebbels's work I read a version of his diary that had been translated to English. The translation was rough and the material was dry, but from what I could understand Goebbels, like Hitler was an aggressive manipulator. For example, if a woman was walking down the street and he happened to be driving along, he would make it a point to stop and pick her up. She would then in return be grateful and thus started the theory of "winning hearts and minds". If one can appease a society's basic needs long enough so that they become dependent upon that support, then one has control over that society. (Goebbels, 1945)

Roughly ten years ago I first saw a movie called Swing Kids. The movie takes place during World War II and stars a group of friends who form a small resistance against the cultural brainwashing the rest of the country was enduring. In order to control the youth in Germany, the Nazi party created the Hitler Youth (also called the Hitler Jugend), which was sort of like a mixture of the Boy Scouts of America and a small town

militia that was supported by a much larger army. By 1936 the Hitler Youth had become compulsory and all young men of a certain age were forced to take part.

In the movie there is a scene where two of the friends attempt to steal a radio that was just given to a woman by a Nazi soldier. However, once they take the radio a chase ensues and the authorities capture one of the boys. As punishment the captured youth is forced to enlist in the Hitler Youth. A little while later in the movie the youth that was not caught joins so that he could keep his friend company. As time goes by the audience experiences a taste of what the boys are subjected to and eventually one of the boys ends up turning violently on a personal friend because he has a physical disability.

This article applies to my thesis because it is one of the first well-known examples of propaganda used during wartimes to influence people into a certain mindset. Not only does the article talk about propaganda being used to control German thought, the article also lends a third eye into the mind of a Nazi who apparently believed every spoonful of propaganda he was feeding the populace.

For example, according to Irving, many Germans, Goebbels included, had had Jewish friends, girlfriends, neighbors, and professors before the war. However, in approximately four short years leading up to the war the anti-Semitism grew and the country slowly turned against its Jewish inhabitants. One could even postulate that there exists a positive association between Goebbels ascent into the position of Propaganda Minister and anti-Semitism.

DISCLAIMER

David Irving is a highly controversial British writer who specializes in World War II era Nazi Germany history and government document translation. He is controversial because of his undue sympathy for the Third Reich, anti-Semitism, and involvement in the Holocaust denial movement. As a historian, Irving's reputation was widely discredited following a libel case he lost against American historian Deborah Lipstadt and her British Publisher Penguin Books (see David John Cadwell Irving and Penguin Books Limited Deborah E. Lipstadt 1996-I-1113).

Irving's troubles did not end with the Lipstadt trial. In November of 2005 the Austrian police in the southern state of Styria, acting on a 1989 warrant arrested Irving. Four days later, Irving was charged with "trivializing the Holocaust," a speech offense for which he would later plead guilty to and be given a three years prison term.

I wanted to keep his article because I believe this article serves as an example of how even those entrusted to report the media, can take their own spin on events and report misguided information. During the Irving trial Richard J. Evans, another British historian who specializes in German history, was called to be an expert independent witness in the case.

Richard Evans's role in the case was to investigate Irving's books, speeches, and other publications to determine whether Irving was, in fact, a Holocaust denier who had manipulated documents to serve his own political interests. Evans, along with two other PhD students, closely examined Irving's work and found several instances in which he had forged documents, disregarded contrary evidence, selectively quoted historical documents out of context, and inaccurately cited historical records.

CHAPTER 3 – METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

3.3..... Method used to identify and locate sources

The primary location of the sources for this thesis was the Lexis/Nexis Academic website. Lexis/Nexis Academic combines news, business, and legal content.

Lexis/Nexis Academic provides services that index, abstract, and provides full text content to congressional publications, statistical data, environmental publications, and government periodicals.

The method used to identify and locate the sources was an advanced article search. Articles were selected using the Lexis/Nexis Academic electronic database. This database was chosen because the interface is user friendly for future replication of study and because like an internet search engine, Lexis/Nexis can search newspaper articles for content and has numerous methods of restricting search perimeters for optimal results.

To replicate the process of locating the articles for this content analysis, navigate to the Lexis/Nexis Academic at <http://www.lexisnexis.com/us/lnacademic/> and select the power search option. In the main text search box I typed the words “Iraq, Torture, Soldier, Bush, Interrogate”. In the sources box I selected **New York Times* and in the section box (indicating what section of the newspaper was to be searched) I chose *Headline*. Below the section box is a box entitled “Terms.” I intentionally left this box blank for no terms. Lastly, in the “specify date box” I chose *date is between* and then typed in “April 1, 2004” to “October 31, 2005”. This search should result in 57 New York Times articles that contained those words.

From there I located a small envelope icon on the right side of the screen. This icon will open a window that will allow the researcher to save the files in a variety of

formats. For this study I chose to save all 57 files in one large file, twice. Before saving the file and choosing the format, I chose to have the search engine arrange the articles chronologically. This will aid in the possible future study or creation of a timeline as to how the articles shifted from having a negative connotation of the Bush Administration to a negative connotation of the soldiers involved in the incident.

In order to access the information without being connected to the Internet, I chose to save the file in two formats, one file in Adobe Acrobat (*.PDF) and the other in Microsoft Word (*.DOC). I chose two formats because the PDF format is harder to change and in hopes of persuading the reader that these documents have not been altered with researcher bias or prejudice. The second format, MSWORD was saved as well in anticipation of later complications when compiling the thesis for final draft and as a backup copy in the event the PDF file becomes corrupted.

3.2..... Rationale used for selecting the source(s) to analyze

The New York Times was chosen as the source for analysis because during the initial phases of trying to find the most manageable amount of searchable material, the New York Times archives web page seemed to have the easiest interface to search combined with the most up-to-date articles. Other newspaper archive sites, such as the Wall Street Journal, only offered archived newspaper articles from 1889 to 1989 and with limited search criteria options. I chose to conduct this thesis via the Lexis/Nexis Academic search engine because Lexis/Nexis had methods of searching the same database, combined with the ability to neatly package the material for statistical analysis.

The timeline of April 2004 to October 2005 was chosen because on April 24, 2004, photographs showing Iraqi prisoners in the Abu Ghraib prison were released to the public through various media sources. (Pike, 2009)

The photographs immediately sparked outrage around the world and six soldiers faced court martial and their commanding officers were suspended. Later an additional five soldiers were added to the list of those to face charges for the roles they played in the Abu Ghraib scandal. (BBC news, 2004) October 2005 was chosen as an ending month because by mid-October 2005 all of the soldiers who were charged in the Abu Ghraib incident had been tried and sentenced.

The second research question of this thesis is: In what ways did the New York Times portray the torture scandals in Iraq from April 2004 to October 2005? While thinking about the specifics of what I wanted to find I came to the realization that by adding the word 'torture' in the search terms, I was adding a uncertain level of negative connotation into the search. Once I reached this realization I then began to rethink exactly what I was trying to measure in asking this question.

What I am truly after is the discovery of the association between propaganda use and the use of irresponsible and inflammatory media coverage while reporting on the Iraq War. Other ways of stating the question is to say, how was the media portraying the soldiers and the Bush Administration during the torture scandals? Was the media placing more negative publicity light on the soldiers or the administration? In order to show impartiality to both sides, this study will only examine the use of explicit terms by the media while reporting the torture scandal.

3.3..... Procedures used for analyzing the source(s)

As explained above, during the search process certain key words were chosen to narrow the field of articles in the results. These key words included: “Iraq, Torture, Soldier, Bush, Interrogate”. These words were chosen after other searches produced either too few or too many articles to feasibly conduct content analysis of a sample of articles. These words were used in order to promote retrieval of articles describing the portrayal of the torture scandals in relation to the Bush Administration and the soldiers that were involved in the incidents. The article search was conducted in mid-July 2009. In total, 57 articles were selected from the New York Times database through the Lexis/Nexis Academic portal.

3.4..... Generating a random sample for content analysis

In order to generate a relevant sample size for this study I used an online random sample generator found at <http://www.randomizer.org/form.htm> (Urbaniak, 2009). When I saved the articles in the large PDF file they were automatically numbered and labeled by the website 1 through 57. (e.g. 1 of 57, 2 of 57, and so on). I then chose to sample 33.33% of the articles which came to 19 articles.

I chose to sample 33.33% of the articles for two reasons. The first reason is because I remembered from a college statistics class that if a researcher distributed X amount of surveys to a group and a third of those surveys returned, then that researcher could state that the results were representative of the group. The confidence variable or the number/percentage associated with the ability for the researcher to claim that the sample is representative of the group increases as the sample size gets closer to 100% of

the unit the sample is taken from. Simply stated the larger the amount of surveys return, the more likely the sample that returns will be representative of the group.

This basic statistics lesson about probability and sampling then led me to a book called *Qualitative Research Methods of the Social Sciences* by Bruce Berg. In a section of this book the author explains several sampling strategies that are used to sample a larger group and still maintain some relevance.

The logic of using a sample of subjects is to make inferences about a larger population from a smaller one – the sample. In quantitative research, the investigator is keenly concerned with probability sampling. The concept of probability sampling is based on the notion that a sample can be selected that will mathematically represent subgroups of some larger population (Senese, 1997). The parameters required for creating these probability samples are quite restrictive but allow the investigator to make various inferential hypothesis tests (using various statistical techniques) (Berg, 2007).

The most commonly discussed probability sample is the simple random sample. The simple random sample most closely approximates the ideals in probability sampling. To accomplish a simple random sample, each element in the full population must have an equal and independent chance of inclusion in the eventual sample to be studied (Berg, 2007).

Simple random sampling typically begins with a full listing of every element in the full population to be investigated. In this study this was accomplished when I conducted the search in Lexis/Nexis that came up with 57 articles that contained the key words. Once the list has been constructed, the size of the sample must be determined. Once this has been accomplished, a random numbers table, computer, or other procedure

for randomly selecting elements from the list will be applied (Berg, 2007). As mentioned before, in this study as a means to randomly sample the population, I used the randomizer device available online at randomizer.org

Once I knew how many articles I needed I went to the randomizer website and had it randomly pick 19 unique numbers in a range of 1 to 57, without duplicating numbers or sorting them. Here are the results of the sample:

Set #1:

Arranged randomly: 19, 43, 47, 50, 52, 29, 46, 57, 32, 7, 35, 1, 6, 49, 18, 26, 25, 42, 20

Arranged chronologically: 1, 6, 7, 18, 19, 20, 25, 26, 29, 32, 35, 42, 43, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52, 57

3.5..... Criteria for evaluating the information found

Once the article is selected, I then read each article and looked for combinations of explicitly descriptive words to determine where the authors were attempting to place the responsibility for the torture incident.

For example, this was featured in an article entitled: *Is No One Accountable?* by Bob Herbert, which was printed in The New York Times, March 28, 2005.

“...People have been rounded up, stripped, shackled, beaten, incarcerated and in some cases killed, without being offered even the semblance of due process. No charges. No lawyers. No appeals...”

Further examination of the article shows that the author(s), through the use of explicit words such as killed, tortured, and rampant mistreatment, was writing in an inflammatory manner, perhaps with the intent to generate more interest for the article then he was writing to report the facts.

CHAPTER 4 – RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Due to the complexities of answering two research questions in one thesis, I have decided to split the two questions up and answer them separately. The first question, as stated earlier is: Did the men and women of the U.S. military torture detainees? In probably one of the most direct statements President George W. Bush made during his eight-year tenure, Bush is quoted on October 5th, 2007 as saying “This government does not torture people.” (Associated Press 2007)

The simple answer to this question is no. There are three points I would like to emphasize to support this simple answer. First, I will list the several definitions of torture that the United States subscribes to. Secondly, once the definitions of torture have been established, I will review the convictions of the eleven soldiers who were convicted for their various roles in the “Abu Ghraib torture scandal”. Lastly, I will summarize three acts that have been passed recently that address the issue of the treatment of detainees and torture.

4.1..... Point #1: The Law Defines Torture.

In order to answer the question of whether the men and women tortured, one must first define torture legally. To date there are numerous definitions of torture throughout the world, but only a few of them the United States has signed onto via treaty. For the purposes of this thesis I will outline seven definitions of torture.

1. Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. Part 1, Article 1 states ““torture” means any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person

for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from inherent in or incidental to lawful sanctions.” (OHCHR 1996-2007).

2. Section 2340 from the U.S. Code Collection, Title 18, Part 1, Chapter 113C states: (1) “torture” means an act committed by a person acting under the color of law specifically intended to inflict severe physical or mental pain or suffering (other than pain or suffering incidental to lawful sanctions) upon another person within his custody or physical control; (2) “severe mental pain or suffering” means the prolonged mental harm caused by or resulting from— (A) the intentional infliction or threatened infliction of severe physical pain or suffering; (B) the administration or application, or threatened administration or application, of mind-altering substances or other procedures calculated to disrupt profoundly the senses or the personality; (C) the threat of imminent death; or (D) the threat that another person will imminently be subjected to death, severe physical pain or suffering, or the administration or application of mind-altering substances or other procedures calculated to disrupt profoundly the senses or personality; (US Code 2340)

3. Section 2441 from the U.S. Code, Title 18, Part 1, Chapter 118 defines War crimes under subcategory (d) Common Article 3 Violations- Prohibited conduct (A) Torture as follows: the act of a person who commits, or conspires or attempts to commit, an act specifically intended to inflict severe physical or mental pain or suffering (other than pain or suffering incidental to lawful sanctions) upon another person within his custody or physical control for the purpose of obtaining information or a confession, punishment, intimidation, coercion, or any reason based on discrimination of any kind. (US Code 2441)

4. Article 32 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, part III covers the status and treatment of protected persons: “The High Contracting Parties specifically agree that each of them is prohibited from taking any measure of such a character as to cause the physical suffering or extermination of protected persons in their hands. This prohibition applies not only to murder, torture, corporal punishment, mutilation and medical or scientific experiments not necessitated by the medical treatment of a protected person, but also to any other measures of brutality whether applied by civilian or military agent.” (ICRC 2005)

5. Article 147 of the Fourth Geneva Convention defines torture with a more legal meaning by stating i.e. the infliction of suffering on a person to obtain from that person, or from another person, confessions or information. Looked at from this angle, torture is a concept, which in general is not dealt with as such by national penal codes. It is more than a mere assault on the physical or moral integrity of a

person. What is important is not so much the pain itself as the purpose behind the infliction.

6. Article 2 of the Inter-American Convention to Prevent and Punish Torture states that for the purposes of this Convention, torture shall be understood to be any act intentionally performed whereby physical or mental pain or suffering is inflicted on a person for purposes of criminal investigation, as a means of intimidation, as personal punishment, as a preventive measure, as a penalty, or for any other purpose. Torture shall also be understood to be the use of methods upon a person intended to obliterate the personality of the victim or to diminish his physical or mental capacities, even if they do not cause physical pain or mental anguish. The concept of torture shall not include physical or mental pain or suffering that is inherent in or solely the consequence of lawful measures, provided that they do not include the performance of the acts or use of the methods referred to in this article.

7. Article 7 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court covers Crimes against humanity, Subsection (2)(e) states that "Torture" is: the intentional infliction of severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, upon a person in the custody or under the control of the accused; except that torture shall not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in or incidental to, lawful sanctions.

4.2..... Point #2: Casualties of Court Martial

The root of the argument is that if these soldiers had committed torture, in the legal sense of the word, not what the media defines as torture, and then the Court Martial judges would have charged them with and convicted them of torture. Instead, eleven U.S. soldiers were convicted of crimes varying from dereliction of duty to assault. The following soldiers are in order of how much time they received, with those who received the least amount of prison time first.

Former Specialist Megan Ambuhl Graner, was a military police reservist from Centreville, Virginia, and is now married to Charles Graner. She pleaded guilty in November 2004 to failing to prevent or report maltreatment of prisoners. She was discharged from the Army without prison time.

Former Sergeant Santos A. Cardona, an Army military police dog handler from Fullerton, California, was convicted by a military jury on June 1, 2006, of dereliction of duty and aggravated assault for allowing his Belgian shepherd to bark within inches of the face of a kneeling detainee. Cardona was sentenced to 90 days of hard labor with no prison time, a reduction in rank one grade to specialist and forfeiture of \$600 a month for 12 months.

Former Sergeant Michael J. Smith, a military police dog handler from Fort Lauderdale, Florida, was sentenced in March 2006 to 179 days (approximately 5½ months) in prison for offenses that included maltreatment, conspiracy and dereliction of duty. The jury convicted Smith of conspiring with dog handler Santos Cardona to frighten detainees into soiling themselves.

Former Sergeant Javal Davis, a military police reservist from Roselle, New Jersey, was sentenced to six months in prison after pleading guilty in February 2005 to assault, dereliction of duty and lying to Army investigators. He admitted stepping on the hands and feet of handcuffed detainees and falling with his full weight on top of them.

Former Specialist Sabrina Harman, a military police reservist from Lorton, Virginia, was found guilty at trial in May 2005 of conspiracy, mistreating detainees and dereliction of duty. She was sentenced to six months in prison.

Former Specialist Armin Cruz, a military intelligence reservist from Plano, Texas, pleaded guilty to conspiracy and mistreating prisoners and was sentenced in September 2004 to eight months in prison.

Former Specialist Roman Krol, a military intelligence reservist from Randolph, Massachusetts, admitted pouring water on naked detainees and forcing them to crawl around the floor. He also said he threw a foam football at them while they were handcuffed. Krol was sentenced in February 2005 to 10 months in prison.

Former Specialist Jeremy Sivits, a military police reservist from Hyndman, Pennsylvania, pleaded guilty in May 2004 to four counts of taking pictures of naked Iraqi prisoners being humiliated. He was sentenced to one year in prison.

Private First Class Lynndie England, a military police reservist from Fort Ashby, West Virginia, was sentenced in September 2005 to three years in prison after a jury convicted her of conspiracy, mistreating detainees and committing an indecent act.

Former Staff Sergeant Ivan Frederick, a military police reservist from Buckingham, Virginia, was sentenced to 8 1/2 years in prison in October 2004 after pleading guilty to conspiracy, dereliction of duty, mistreatment of detainees and other

charges. Frederick said he helped place wires on a detainee's hands and told him he would be electrocuted if he fell while standing on a box.

Former Corporal Charles A. Graner Jr., a military police reservist of Uniontown, Pennsylvania, was sentenced in January 2005 to 10 years in prison for assault, battery, conspiracy, maltreatment, indecent acts and dereliction of duty. Prosecutors described Graner, who England has said is the father of her son, as the ringleader of a group of guards who mistreated detainees.

I found seven online articles that presented a complete list of all the soldiers, what they were convicted of, and a little about each sentence. Since I found the list in so many places and almost verbatim in each location, I have listed all of them as a reference.

(Associated Press, 2005-2006)

4.3..... Point #3: Recent 'Acts' to Address Torture

War Crimes Act of 1996

The purpose of the War Crimes Act of 1996 was to update the Geneva Conventions and to designate who would prosecute war crimes. The bill was passed unanimously in the Senate and a voice vote in the House. Specifically the bill criminalized breaches of Geneva and authorized the U.S. to prosecute war criminals (including members of the U.S. military). In the definition of a war crime the bill most notably points out that a war crime occurs when one party willfully kills or causes serious injury to civilians not engaged in combat.

Detainee Treatment Act of 2005

The Detainee Treatment Act of 2005 is part of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act of 2006 (Title X, H.R. 2863). The Detainee Treatment Act of 2005 (DTA) was spearheaded by Republican Senator John McCain partly in response to the abuses and scandals of the U.S. Army in prisoner abuse in Abu Ghraib, Iraq and Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. John McCain is noted as being a human rights advocate for enemy prisoners of war. McCain was in fact a prisoner of war in North Vietnam from 1967 to 1973 and suffered immensely at the hands of the North Vietnamese. The act itself faced very little opposition and passed with a 90-9 vote on October 5, 2005.

The purpose of the DTA was to prohibit the inhumane treatment of prisoners, including prisoners not held overseas. The DTA requires military interrogations to be performed according to the U.S. Army Field Manual for Human Intelligence Collector Operations (FM 2-22.3). The act also prohibits prisoners detained in Guantanamo from applying for other legal action against agents of the United States.

Military Commissions Act of 2006

The purpose of this act was to establish a set of procedures that would govern the use of military commissions to try alien unlawful enemy combatants engaged in hostilities against the United States. Basically the law set up how and under what laws the commission boards could try nonmilitary enemy combatants. Although the Military Commissions Act has been deemed unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court, as per *Boumediene v. Bush* (2008), the bill is still worth mentioning here.

The law also contained provisions (often referred to as the “habeas provisions”) removing access to the courts for any alien detained by the United States government

who is determined to be an enemy combatant, or who is awaiting determination regarding enemy combatant status. Essentially the law allows the U.S. government to detain such aliens indefinitely without prosecuting them in any manner.

“With the bill I’m about to sign, the men our intelligence officials believe orchestrated the murder of nearly 3,000 innocent people will face justice” Bush said as he signed his name to the bill. (Roberts, 2006)

4.4..... Two sides of the same coin: Linking the two questions.

During the course of this thesis I read a lot of material on the atrocities of man. Whether the events depicted in the media actually happened as they are reported, only those involved actually know. I want to, however, remind the readers of the importance of this study. I chose to study how the media portrayed the torture scandal of Abu Ghraib because while I was deployed to Iraq my access to that information was limited.

As one can imagine once I completed an eight to ten hour day of walking around Baghdad, wearing eighty pounds of gear and being ever vigilant about my surroundings, the last thing I wanted to do was look at newspaper articles online about what was going on in Iraq. I was living Iraq every day and did not care to read about it or even play war video games in my free time.

How the public views the men and women of our armed forces is very important. The point of this paper is to make the readers aware of how propaganda can be used to influence how the public perceives events. As a soldier I joined the ranks of those who went before me to fight for the rights this country enjoys. I am not advocating the censorship of the media and the limiting of the First Amendment right to freedom of

speech. What I am advocating is that the media act in responsible way in reporting the truth in a pure and mature manner and not as a perversion of the truth. The following is an example of how the truth can become perverted.

Prior to her stardom, Private First Class (PFC) Jessica Lynch was the definition of the twenty-first century American soldier. With girl-next-door charm, this petite blonde haired, blue eyed home town girl came from an average middle class family in West Virginia. Her family could not afford to send her to college so in the summer of 2000, at the age of 17, PFC Lynch went with her family to the recruiter station to see how the Army could help her achieve her academic goals. On September 19, 2001, PFC Lynch packed a bag and began training with the Army to become a unit-supply specialist.

On March 20, 2003 the military invasion of Iraq began. Originally called “Operation Iraqi Liberation” and then later renamed to “Operation Iraqi Freedom”, troops began to descend on Iraq in great force in anticipation of an easy victory. What the soldiers were met with was a force that had done their homework and fought both conventionally through the use of the Iraqi guard, and unconventionally through the use of civilian plain clothed militias.

On March 23, 2003 PFC Lynch would participate in a convoy that would make a wrong turn into enemy territory and get ambushed near Nasiriyah, a major crossing point over the Euphrates River northwest of Basra. Intelligence had noted that the area around Nasiriyah was an enemy hot zone and that the convoy was supposed to detour around it. Unfortunately that was not the case and their error proved fatal to many of the soldiers in the convoy.

PFC Lynch, then a supply clerk with the 507th Maintenance Company, was wounded and captured by Iraqi forces. She was initially listed as missing in action. Five soldiers were captured that day (and were later rescued) and eleven were killed in the ambush.

After some time in the custody of the Iraqi army regiment that had captured her, PFC Lynch was then taken to a hospital in Nasiriya. U.S. forces were then tipped off as to Lynch's whereabouts by an Iraqi lawyer who exchanged the information for asylum in the United States.

On April 1, 2003, U.S. Marines staged a diversionary attack, besieging nearby Iraqi irregulars to draw them away from Saddam Hospital in Nasiriyah. Meanwhile, an element from the Joint Special Operations Task Force Task Force 121, Air Force Pararescue Jumpers (PJs), and Army Rangers launched a nighttime raid on the hospital and successfully rescued Lynch and retrieved the bodies of eight other American soldiers.

In the initial press briefing on April 2, 2003 the Pentagon released a five-minute video of the rescue and claimed that Lynch had stab and bullet wounds, and that she had been slapped about on her hospital bed and interrogated.

Iraqi doctors and nurses later interviewed, including Dr. Harith Al-Houssona, a doctor in the Nasirya hospital, described Lynch's injuries as "a broken arm, a broken thigh, and a dislocated ankle". According to Al-Houssona, there was no sign of gunshot or stab wounds, and Lynch's injuries were consistent with those that would be suffered in a car accident. Al-Houssona's claims were later confirmed in a U.S. Army report leaked on July 10, 2003.

Soon after her rescue, Pentagon officials disputed a report appearing in the *Washington Post* that Lynch had fought back, and the first official report of Lynch's actions during her capture released by the Pentagon weeks later said that she did not appear to have fought back against her captors. The stories of her supposed heroics that day were spread by the news media and by Congressmen from her own state of West Virginia.

Months after returning, Lynch finally began speaking to the public. Her statements tended to be sharply critical of the original story that was reported by the *Washington Post*. When asked about her heroine status, "That wasn't me. I'm not about to take credit for something I didn't do ... I'm just a survivor." She denied the claims that she fought until being wounded, reporting that her weapon jammed immediately, and that she could not have done anything anyway. Interviewed by Diane Sawyer, Lynch claimed, concerning the Pentagon: "They used me to symbolize all this stuff. It's wrong. I don't know why they filmed [my rescue] or why they say these things." She also stated "I did not shoot, not a round, nothing."

On April 24, 2007, Lynch gave congressional testimony before the United States House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform that the Pentagon had erroneously portrayed her as a "Rambo from West Virginia," when in fact, she never fired a shot after her truck was ambushed.

4.5..... The Media Defines Torture.

The second question, as stated earlier is: *In what ways did the New York Times portray the torture scandals in Iraq from April 2004 to October 2005?*

During the course of this thesis I have worked to discover an unbiased standard for evaluating the newspaper articles. After weeks of brainstorming and thinking through methods that have already been used, (FCC and TV, movie, and video game rating systems) I could not locate one that could adequately assist in the evaluation of newspaper articles, thus I had to resort to creating my own.

As mentioned in the methods section, through an online research tool called the randomizer nineteen articles were selected from the fifty-seven pulled. Once those nineteen articles were selected they were printed out and read through, paying particular attention to words that might not be acceptable if they were portrayed as pictures instead of words.

For example, in many cases there are two reporters writing on the same story. The first reporter chose to describe the incident as follows:

“On Friday the police were called to a home when a hospice worker discovered an elderly client deceased. The police stated that the women showed signs of physical abuse that they suspected might have caused her death.”

The second reporter chose to describe the incident as follows:

“On Friday the police were called to a home when a hospice worker discovered the battered remains of an elderly client. The police stated that the women had been strangled to death with a telephone cord and bludgeoned with the base of the telephone.”

Both paragraphs have the same information in them that the elderly lady was found by a hospice worker and that she had died from wounds she suffered from an

unknown attacker. The second reporter however chose to use more explicit words that to some, perhaps the family might view as being disrespectful to the deceased.

Once these words were identified (which are bolded) I read the article again to determine if the author was using these words in a way that could be interpreted as dissentious towards the Bush Administration and/or towards the soldiers involved in the scandal. Below there is a list of the excerpts found along with the article reference. Of the nineteen articles three did not have explicit, graphic, or dissentious provocative words in them and are also identified below.

4.6..... The Sampled Articles

As mentioned before there were a few articles in the sample that did not possess explicit wording or inflammatory language. Below each article from the random sample in the study is listed beginning with a modified citation. The articles that contained explicit wording have the sentences pasted below the citation, with the inflammatory words highlighted in bold. The article citations that do not have sentences pasted below them are the articles that did not contain explicit wording.

Lastly the numbers that are located next to the title of the article are the numbers that were assigned chronologically by the Lexis/Nexis database, starting with 1 of 57 and going through 57 of 57. These numbers are important because when the random sample was taken, these were the numbers the program selected.

1. The Nightmare at Abu Ghraib The New York Times, May 3, 2004 Monday, Section A; Column 1; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22, 647 words

Last week, CBS News broadcast pictures of a handful of smirking soldiers, male and female, **abusing and sexually humiliating** Iraqi prisoners.

He quoted General Taguba as saying the military police and intelligence officials had committed “**sadistic, blatant and wanton criminal abuses,**” including **sodomizing** a prisoner “with a chemical light and perhaps a broomstick.”

6. Rumsfeld Should Stay The New York Times, May 10, 2004 Monday, Section A; Column 5; Editorial Desk; Pg. 21, 716 words, By William Safire; Bob Herbert is on vacation.. E-mail: safire@nytimes.com

Rumsfeld quieted the sound-bite-hungry politician by reminding him that requests to delay life-threatening reports were **part of long military-media tradition.**

7. The Abu Ghraib Spin The New York Times, May 12, 2004 Wednesday, Section A; Column 1; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22, 768 words

While some of the particularly sick examples of **sexual degradation** may turn out to be isolated events, General Taguba's testimony, and a Red Cross report from **Iraq**, made it plain that the **abuse of prisoners by the American military and intelligence agencies was systemic.** The Red Cross said prisoners of military intelligence were **routinely stripped, with their hands bound behind their backs, and posed with women's underwear over their heads.** It said they were "sometimes photographed in this position."

The Red Cross report, published by The Wall Street Journal, said that Iraqi prisoners -- 70 to 90 percent of whom apparently did nothing wrong -- were **routinely abused** when they were arrested, and their wives and mothers threatened.

"In certain cases, such as in Abu Ghraib military intelligence section, methods of **physical and psychological coercion used by the interrogators appeared to be part of the standard operating procedures** by military intelligence personnel," the report said.

The hearing also disclosed that Lt. Gen. Ricardo Sanchez, the commander in Iraq, had authorized the **presence of attack dogs** during interrogation sessions.

It was Mr. Bush and Mr. Rumsfeld, not General Sanchez, **who failed to anticipate the violence and chaos** that followed the invasion of Iraq, and sent American soldiers out to handle it without the necessary resources, manpower and training.

18. Fight Fire With Compassion The New York Times, June 10, 2004 Thursday, Section A; Column 2; Editorial Desk; After Abu Ghraib; Pg. 27, 686 words, By Donald P. Gregg. Donald P. Gregg, national security adviser to George H. W. Bush from 1982 to 1988 and ambassador to Korea from 1989 to 1993, worked for the C.I.A. for 30 years. He is chairman of the Korea Society.

Recent reports indicate that Bush administration lawyers, in their struggles to deal with terrorism, wrote memos in 2003 pushing aside longstanding prohibitions on **the use of torture by Americans**.

I can think of nothing that can more devastatingly undercut America's standing in the world or, more important, our view of ourselves, than these decisions. Sanctioned

abuse is deeply corrosive -- just ask the French, who are still seeking to eradicate the stain on their honor that resulted **from the deliberate use of torture** in Algeria.

19. Top Commanders Face Questions on Prison Abuse The New York Times, June 22, 2004 Tuesday, Section A; Column 1; Foreign Desk; The Reach of War: Abu Ghraib; Pg. 1, 1318 words, By Edward Wong

A defense lawyer, Paul Bergrin, said members of the court should "**smell the fecal matter and the urine**" that the prison guards lived with every day.

Among other things, Specialist Graner is accused of ordering prisoners to **masturbate** in front of each other and of **punching an Iraqi so hard** in the head that he lost consciousness.

The Army on Monday postponed a hearing for Pfc. Lynndie R. England, who was photographed **holding a naked Iraqi inmate on a leash**, until the week of July 12.

But he added that the **ultimate responsibility** lay with Mr. Bush and Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld, both of whom indicated after the Sept. 11 attacks that the Geneva Conventions regarding the treatment of prisoners no longer applied.

20. U.S. Rules on Prisoners Seen as a Back and Forth of Mixed Messages to G.I.'s The New York Times, June 22, 2004 Tuesday, Section A; Column 1; Foreign Desk; The Reach of War: Detainee Treatment; Pg. 7, 2303 words, The following article was reported by Douglas Jehl, Eric Schmitt and Kate Zernike and was written by Mr. Jehl.

Many guards at the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq said they had been told by intelligence officers to "soften up" detainees, but some thought that meant making them

do calisthenics to tire them out, while others took it to mean forcing them to **crawl naked on leashes for hours.**

Forced nudity was common in the prison's highest-security area, or "hard site," overseen by military intelligence officers. One interrogator told investigators that he "generally" threw tables around a room holding detainees, while another said she **did not regard slapping a detainee as abusive.**

Several soldiers said in interviews that Lt. Col. Steven L. Jordan, who was in charge of the interrogation center, had **handcuffed and hooded detainees who had been beaten and had hidden them in a cell during a Red Cross visit.**

Pfc. Lynndie R. England, telling investigators last month about what was going on in prison photographs, said making prisoners crawl with leashes was intended as a "**humiliation tactic**" to get them to tell more about the **rape of an Iraqi boy.**

But several of the soldiers charged said later acts depicted in photographs, like **piling prisoners naked or forcing them to masturbate,** had nothing to do with interrogations. "We thought **it looked funny,** so pictures were taken," Private England told investigators.

25. Access to Courts The New York Times, June 29, 2004 Tuesday Correction Appended, Section A; Column 1; National Desk; The Supreme Court: Detainees; Pg. 1, 1945 words, By Linda Greenhouse

Whether the information so procured is more or less reliable than that acquired by more extreme forms of torture is of no consequence. For if this nation is to remain true to

the ideals symbolized by its flag, **it must not wield the tools of tyrants** even to resist an assault by the forces of tyranny."

This opinion relied on a 1971 federal law, the Non-Detention Act, which provides: "No citizen shall be imprisoned or otherwise detained by the United States except pursuant to an Act of Congress." There has been no act of Congress to **justify the detention of Mr. Hamdi**, they said.

26. Reserve System Needs Change, Military Experts Believe The New York Times, July 4, 2004 Sunday, Section 1; Column 1; Foreign Desk; The Reach of War: The Reserves: Pg. 9, 1520 words, By Thom Shanker

The causes of the abuse and torture are complicated, and **blame may be cast on individual M.P.'s, intelligence officers** who controlled interrogations, commanders responsible for discipline and those even higher who may have put pressure on the troops to gather more information.

32. What Geneva Conventions? The New York Times, October 17, 2004 Sunday Correction Appended, Section 7; Column 1; Book Review Desk; Pg. 13, 1248 words, By Michael Ignatieff

Abu Ghraib was not the work of a few bad apples, but the direct consequence, Hersh says, of "the reliance of George Bush and Donald Rumsfeld on **secret operations and the use of coercion** -- and eye-for-an-eye retribution -- in fighting terrorism."

Torture and humiliation became the fallback response to the failure to plan for occupation.

35. Newly Released Reports Show Early Concern on Prison Abuse The New York Times, January 6, 2005 Thursday, Section A; Column 1; National Desk; Pg. 1, 1923 words, By Kate Zernike

Yesterday, in response to some of the documents, the Pentagon said it would investigate F.B.I. reports that military interrogators in Guantanamo abused prisoners by **beating them, grabbing their genitals and chaining them to the cold ground.**

An article in today's issue of The New England Journal of Medicine says that **military medical personnel violated the Geneva Conventions by helping design coercive interrogation techniques** based on detainee medical information.

No one predicted the acts that showed up in snapshots from Abu Ghraib -- naked detainees piled in a pyramid or leashed and crawling -- but the documents showed many warnings of mistreatment, most explicitly from the F.B.I.

"When you see the same thing happening in three different places, you see abuses being committed with impunity, then it ceases to be the sole responsibility of the individual soldiers," Reed Brody, special counsel to Human Rights Watch, said. **"At a certain point, it becomes so widespread that it makes it look like a policy."**

In Iraq, 70 percent to 90 percent of those detained, according to military intelligence estimates reported by the International Committee of the Red Cross, **"had been arrested by mistake."** A military report on Iraqi prisons said that many detainees were held for several months for things like expressing "displeasure or ill will" toward the American occupying forces.

Many detainees were taken to Guantanamo, **held indefinitely and interrogated with harsh techniques** approved for by Mr. Rumsfeld in April 2003. The administration said detainees in Iraq were covered by the conventions, which should have protected them from threats or harassment in interrogations, or from **physical or mental torture**.

But a military report by a former defense secretary, James R. Schlesinger, which was released in August, concluded that harsh tactics intended for use only at Guantanamo -- **threatening detainees with dogs, leaving them naked in extreme heat or cold, shackling them upright to keep them awake** -- "migrated" improperly to Afghanistan and then to Iraq.

On May 15, two marines in Karbala held a 9-millimeter pistol to the head of a **bound detainee while a third took a picture**. One marine, according to military records, then poured a glass of water on the detainee's head. In June 2003, according to records, a marine ordered four Iraqi children who had been detained for looting to stand next to a shallow ditch, then fired a pistol in a **mock execution**.

In August, a marine put a match to a puddle of hand sanitizer that had spilled in front of an Iraqi detainee, igniting a flame that **severely burned** the detainee's hands. In April of 2004, marines **shocked detainees with wires from an electric transformer** - - "the detainee 'danced' as he was shocked," an investigative report said.

The F.B.I. also warned its agents at Guantanamo and in Iraq not to participate in military interrogations that used tactics like harsh light, **excessively loud music and extreme temperatures**, which were not accepted F.B.I. practices.

An agent in Iraq reported seeing military interrogators yelling at detainees, covering them with **hoods and subjecting them to loud music**.

One Special Operations member, the Pentagon said, admitted using a **stun gun on detainees.**

A military investigation implicated 28 soldiers in the deaths of two men at the Bagram detention center in Afghanistan; **but only one has been charged.**

42. American Jails In Iraq Bursting With Detainees The New York Times, March 4, 2005 Friday, Section A; Column 2; Foreign Desk; The Reach of War: Prisoners; Pg. 1, 1392 words, By Edward Wong

43. Abu Ghraib, Whitewashed Again The New York Times, March 11, 2005 Friday, Section A; Column 1; Editorial Desk; Pg. 22, 606 words

This whitewash is typical of the reports issued by the Bush administration on the abuse, **humiliation and torture of prisoners** at camps run by the military and the Central Intelligence Agency.

It glossed over the way military lawyers who were drafting later rules were ordered to ignore their own legal opinions and instead follow Justice Department memos on **how to make torture seem legal.**

Of course, no known Pentagon policy orders the **sexual humiliation of prisoners.** But that has happened so pervasively that it clearly was not just the perverted antics of one night shift in one cellblock at Abu Ghraib.

That group, appointed by Mr. Rumsfeld, found "**both institutional and personal responsibility** at higher levels" for Abu Ghraib. But the panel declined to name names.

We're not holding out much hope that the White House will step into the breach because **Mr. Bush has rewarded many of the officials responsible** for the prison policies -- one of them now serves as attorney general.

46. We Can't Remain Silent The New York Times, April 1, 2005 Friday, Section A; Column 5; Editorial Desk; Pg. 23, 729 words, By Bob Herbert. E-mail: bobherb@nytimes.com

The two retired officers have lent their support to an extraordinary lawsuit that seeks to hold Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld **ultimately accountable for policies** that have given rise to torture and other forms of prisoner abuse.

The letter to President Bush emphasized the wide scope of the problem, noting that there were "**dozens of well-documented allegations of torture, abuse** and otherwise questionable detention practices" involving prisoners in U.S. custody.

47.4 Top Officers Cleared by Army in Prison Abuses The New York Times, April 23, 2005 Saturday, Section A; Column 6; Foreign Desk; The Reach of War: Atrocities; Pg. 1, 1354 words, By Eric Schmitt

Only one of the top five officers, whose roles the Senate Armed Services Committee had asked the Army to review, has received any punishment. That officer, Brig. Gen. Janis Karpinski, an Army Reserve officer who commanded the military police unit at the Abu Ghraib prison, was relieved of her command and given a written reprimand. She has repeatedly said she was made **the scapegoat for the failures of superiors.**

49. In U.S. Report, Brutal Details Of 2 Afghan Inmates' Deaths The New York Times, May 20, 2005 Friday, Section A; Column 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1, 6143 words, By TIM GOLDEN; Ruhallah Khapalwak, Carlotta Gall and David Rohde contributed reporting for this article, and Alain Delaqueriere assisted with research.

Even as the young Afghan man was dying before them, his American jailers continued to **torment** him.

When he arrived in the interrogation room, an interpreter who was present said, his legs were **bouncing uncontrollably** in the plastic chair and his hands were numb. He had been **chained by the wrists to the top of his cell** for much of the previous four days.

But his legs, which had been pummeled by guards for several days, could no longer bend.

In sworn statements to Army investigators, soldiers describe one female interrogator with a taste for humiliation stepping on the neck of one prostrate detainee and kicking another in the genitals. They tell of a shackled prisoner being forced to roll back and forth on the floor of a cell, **kissing the boots** of his two interrogators as he went. Yet another prisoner is made to pick plastic bottle caps out of a drum mixed with **excrement and water** as part of a strategy to soften him up for questioning.

Yet the Bagram file includes ample testimony that harsh treatment by some interrogators was routine and that guards could **strike shackled detainees with virtual impunity**. Prisoners considered important or troublesome were also **handcuffed and chained to the ceilings and doors of their cells**, sometimes for long periods, an action Army prosecutors recently classified as criminal assault.

Shortly before the two deaths, observers from the International Committee of the Red Cross specifically complained to the military authorities at Bagram about the **shackling of prisoners in "fixed positions,"** documents show.

Last October, the Army's Criminal Investigation Command concluded that there was probable cause to charge 27 officers and enlisted personnel with criminal offenses in the Dilawar case ranging **from dereliction of duty to maiming and involuntary manslaughter.**

A Saudi detainee who was interviewed by Army investigators last June at Guantanamo said Specialist Corsetti had **pulled out his penis** during an interrogation at Bagram, held it against the prisoner's face and **threatened to rape him**, excerpts from the man's statement show.

At Abu Ghraib, he was also one of three members of the 519th who were fined and demoted for forcing an Iraqi woman to strip during questioning, another interrogator said.

Some of the same M.P.'s took a particular interest in an emotionally disturbed Afghan detainee who was known to eat his **feces and mutilate himself with concertina wire.** The soldiers kned the man repeatedly in the legs and, at one point, chained him with his arms straight up in the air, Specialist Callaway told investigators. **They also nicknamed him "Timmy," after a disabled child** in the animated television series "South Park." One of the guards who beat the prisoner also taught him to screech like the cartoon character, Specialist Callaway said.

When Sgt. James P. Boland saw Mr. Habibullah on Dec. 3, he was in one of the isolation cells, **tethered to the ceiling** by two sets of handcuffs and a chain around his waist. His body was slumped forward, held up by the chains.

But at the time, he exploded, yelling, "Don't ever spit on me again!" and kneeling the prisoner sharply in the thigh, "maybe a couple" of times. Mr. Habibullah's limp body swayed back and forth in the chains.

"It looked like he had been **dead for a while, and it looked like nobody cared,**" the medic, Staff Sgt. Rodney D. Glass, recalled.

It became a kind of running joke, and people kept showing up to give this detainee a common peroneal strike just to hear him scream out 'Allah,'" he said. "It went on over a 24-hour period, and I would think that it was over 100 strikes."

One of the coroners later translated the assessment at a pre-trial hearing for Specialist Brand, saying the tissue in the young man's legs "**had basically been pulpified.**"

50. Guantanamo's Long Shadow The New York Times, June 21, 2005 Tuesday, Section A; Column 2; Editorial Desk; Pg. 21, 1040 words, By Anthony Lewis. Anthony Lewis is a former Times columnist.

One reported on July 29, 2004: "On a couple of occasions, I entered interview rooms to find a detainee **chained hand and foot in a fetal position to the floor**, with no chair, food or water. Most times they had **urinated or defecated on themselves** and had been left there for 18, 24 hours or more."

At a minimum, the treatment of Mr. Kahtani was an exercise in **degradation and humiliation**. Such treatment is forbidden by three sources of law that the United States respected for decades -- **until the administration of George W. Bush**.

In the view of the administration, then, it is "humane" to give a detainee 3 1/2 bags of I.V. fluid and then make him urinate on himself, force him to bark like a dog, or chain him to the floor for 18 hours.

Nor is there any doubt that worse has happened elsewhere -- **prisoners beaten to death by American soldiers**, untold others held in secret locations by the Central Intelligence Agency, others rendered to be tortured by governments such as Uzbekistan's.

52. Who Are Americans To Think That Freedom Is Theirs To Spread ? The New York Times, June 26, 2005 Sunday, Section 6; Column 1; Magazine Desk; Pg. 42, 5033 words, By Michael Ignatieff. Michael Ignatieff, a contributing writer, is the Carr professor of human rights at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. He is the editor of the forthcoming book "American Exceptionalism and Human Rights."

And then there are the prisoners, the **hooded man with the wires hanging from his body**, the universal icon of the gap between the ideals of American freedom and the sordid -- and criminal -- realities of American detention and interrogation practice. The fetid example of these abuses makes **American talk of democracy sound hollow**.

57. Exception Sought in Detainee Abuse Ban The New York Times, October 25, 2005 Tuesday, Section A; Column 4; National Desk; Pg. 16, 865 words, By Eric Schmitt

CHAPTER 5 – CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Sixteen out of nineteen articles examined contained words that could be considered graphically explicit and/or are of a dissentious demeanor towards the Bush Administration or soldiers in general. The criteria used to categorize these words as graphically explicit are based on a common sense standard that one would not want their grade school aged children to be exposed to the material.

Visually graphic words and phrases such as “the soldier sexual humiliated the prisoner by sodomizing them with a chemical light and perhaps a broomstick” would not be permitted in the media if they were shown pictorially. I believe these words were chosen to illustrate the circumstances, not because they best illustrate the situation, but because they would incite a certain level of shock in the reader.

I believe all forms of news coverage, whether nightly television news, newspapers, or radio have the ability to influence public opinion. The problem though I feel is that when the facts of the situation are over sensationalized or over graphically represented, they have an even stronger influence on the public’s opinion of the war, the current President’s Administration and ultimately the soldiers fighting in the war.

Opponents of this paper will argue that I am advocating unbridled censorship of newspapers. To those opponents I write that what they say is half-true. As a former soldier turned graduate student I have come to value the freedoms that so many have sacrificed their lives to protect.

My intention is not for this work to be used in support of unbridled censorship of newspapers. Instead, I write this article with the hope that the readers recognize the persuasive power of propaganda. Currently there are restrictions on certain kinds of

media content that have been deemed inappropriate for certain ages or because of explicit content.

Within the last twenty years there has been a proliferation of restrictions and the creation of a rating system for movies, television, and video games. Public radio has even come under the knife of selective censorship in music lyrics by blanking out curse words and other explicit language. What I am suggesting here is that the same standard be enforced in the newspapers.

I believe that when our forefathers Jefferson and Franklin were writing the First Amendment's protections of Freedom of Speech, the intent was not for those provisions to be used to turn the pen into a weapon for irresponsible journalism. It is of the utmost importance that during wartime this country supports our soldiers in everything that we as a country do for them back home. The media is an incredibly powerful tool that should be rallying praise and support for the soldiers, thus embracing the sacrifices they have made while forgiving them for their sins and mistakes.

When mistakes are made, it is the reporters' duty to write about the facts and to not be afraid to exercise their freedom of speech and press. Had the abuses of Abu Ghriab not been exposed, those incidents of injustice might have continued until today. Again, I am not arguing for complete war time censorship of all negative publicity. I am arguing respectively for responsible journalism.

“I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.”

~Voltaire

5.1..... Private McIntyre

Buried deep within my grandfather's closet I found two small black boxes that looked like they could have held watches. At the time I was around eight years old and Christmas was quickly approaching which meant somewhere in my grandparent's house my mother had hidden my Christmas presents. Inside those boxes were two military medals. The one with George Washington's relief on the face I recognized immediately as being a purple heart, an award I knew they gave to soldiers who were injured in combat. The second medal was a bronze star and had a red and blue striped ribbon.

Fast forward fifteen years and there I was, following in the footsteps of my grandfather enlisting in the Army during war time. My mother had convinced me to finish college first, but once I had appeased her I was free to join and serve my country. That fall I joined an internal fraternity of family members who had also served, which included two great uncles, two regular uncles and a cousin. Out of all of us who enlisted, I was the only one who would see combat as my grandfather had before me.

In July of 2005, I was allowed to come home for two weeks to visit my family before my unit deployed to Iraq for a tour that was scheduled to last twelve months. As my family sat down for what felt like the last supper, my grandfather sat there beaming with pride with the thought that I had followed in his footsteps and that he was the man I admired the most. Just then, before the food had been served, Grandpa said, "I think it is about time I shared something with the family that I have never said before."

Intently my family paused and listened, immediately drawn in as grandpa told the story of what had happened to him in World War II and how he had survived the war that was supposed to end all wars. His story was full of heroism, valor, and courage. He had

served his country honorably and even though he had killed men, he quietly confessed his story. When he was finished he folded his hands and explained that he had never told anyone, to include my grandmother whom he had loved until her last days, because he was afraid of being judged by those who had not served and did not understand.

I never understood the depth of what he had said that day until I was faced with the harsh reality every soldier who serves overseas must face. The things that happen to a soldier, the experiences they have to live through, and the regrets that weigh on them once the smoke has cleared; those experiences and feelings are unique only to soldiers. Just as only a police officer can talk to another police officer about the fears and things that weigh on them as officers; only those who have seen combat in a foreign country and carried the weight of fighting for someone else's freedom can understand what the other has experienced.

5.2..... The Dark Side of the Pen

It is my belief that when reporters write stories such as those examined in this study, they fail to transfer those feelings of contextual understanding. Sometimes things are done during the course of war, that to a non-soldier are not socially acceptable, or in the worse case illegal. However, I feel that those things that are done do not need to be published and splattered all over the world for the sake of "reporting the truth."

Where was the truth when my unit donated seven generators to the schools in our area so that the students could have light in their classrooms? Where was the truth when the first proud female Iraqi came out of a voting booth, her finger still purple from the ink that she had used to verify her signature with a fingerprint? The media was right where it

has always been, looking for the most dramatic, filthy, scandalous material it could write on in hopes that the news would be entertaining enough to sell newspapers.

5.3..... Closing Remarks

On April 1, 2005 New York Times writer Bob Herbert had an article published called We Can't Remain Silent. In that article he wrote about a man named Admiral Hutson, who served as the Navy's judge advocate general from 1997 to 2000.

"One of the many concerns expressed by Admiral Hutson and General Cullen was the effect of the torture and abuse scandal on members of the military who have had nothing to do with it. "I think it does stain the honor of people who didn't participate in it at all," said Admiral Hutson. "People in the military who find that kind of behavior abhorrent are painted with the same broad brush."" ~From the New York Times Article

#46. We Can't Remain Silent

The unfortunate truth is that these scandals did happen and the pictures were taken. People were captured, abused, mistreated, and some even killed. As this Admiral writes that one of the abhorrent side effects of the news is that in revealing the "truth" or whatever the media paints as the truth, they are splattering blood all over those soldiers who had nothing to do with it.

What would be the resolution? Should the media sacrifice truth and shame for honor and dignity? Is the petty amount of money earned on grotesque, violently explicit media, filled with severed limbs and sexual humiliation worth the dissension those articles could cause against the soldiers that we are supposed to be supporting? The very soldiers, many of which are just serving to pay for college or because they felt it was their

patriotic duty to do so. Some of these soldiers are then sold out in the name of capitalism, deserted by their loved ones who do not understand what it is like to go through war, and return from a third country war zone – to a broken home.

5.4..... Warnings and Suggestions for Future Work

I encountered two major obstacles while writing this paper. The first obstacle was the anticipated reluctance people would have to any form of government censorship. In this thesis I addressed this issue by turning the focus away from the government and towards self censorship or increased media responsibility. I sat in once on a research conference where a professor pitched the idea that the American society does not need the police and that without them we as a society could still survive. At first glance that concept sounds scary because then one might ask, “Who would enforce the laws?”

“The people”, the professor said. The police, he argued simply exacerbate issues that people should be addressing on their own. Simply if the people police themselves and follow the rules set by the society, then the need for the police would cease and the money that once went to funding an enforcement function, could be redirected to rehabilitation and education. In this thesis I am suggesting a similar concept of self reliance and responsibility on the part of the media. If the media polices itself, then the government needs not get involved and the first amendment would go unscathed.

The second obstacle I encountered came in an unexpected manner. During the literature review I came across an author named David Irving. My initial check on creditability failed to reveal that he was a controversial British writer and this fact was not discovered until another professor from Youngstown State University pointed it out.

After much deliberation I kept David Irving in the literature review not because of who he was, but because of what he wrote about and the fact that he was another example of how propaganda can be used to influence people. Once a creditable journalist, I feel David Irving developed a case of Stockholm syndrome when he began to identify with the Nazis and writing holocaust denial material. I believe David Irving read so much of Goebbels's propaganda that he began to believe it.

Next I would like to talk about suggestions for future studies with these research questions. Unfortunately due to time constraints there were a few ideas that were cut. For starters I would like to continue the content analysis of the remaining thirty-eight articles. The sample was sufficient for the requirements of the thesis, but I think the addition of more articles would prove insightful. The next idea I entertained was to create both a written survey and an interviewing outline that could be used to collect information and attitudes on the topic. I am not sure if I would limit the surveys to just soldiers and retired soldiers or if I would include the general populace. The surveys and interviews for the soldiers could be conducted on retired combat soldiers, through the United States Department of Veterans Affairs (VA). Through the VA I locate more situations like mine in which a family and/or the soldiers were affected by how a story was covered in the media.

The last idea I had for future studies was to explore the cross applicability of these research questions with the criminal justice field, specifically law enforcement and corrections officers. During the course of this thesis I found that many police and corrections officers had experienced situations that they felt they could not share with loved ones who were not in the same vocation. I think it would be interesting to study

how the media is able to influence the public's opinion on a story through the use of explicit words and graphic video footage. For example, the Rodney King incident that took place in early 1991 received a lot of news airtime. If one were to look at the actual footage in the unedited form, one would see that the footage shown on the news was actually a looped segment and thus was not completely accurate. Since the footage was looped the public may have perceived the incident, which only lasted a short while, as lasting much longer.

Again, I am not arguing for complete censorship of the media. As a soldier I know what it is like to sacrifice my own freedoms so that this country could remain free. I have no intention of trying to convince anyone that the government needs increase media censorship. Instead what I am suggesting is that the media perform a personal check on how they are reporting incidents. They are entrusted to report the truth as it is and without a hidden agenda. Perhaps one day this country will see the return of responsible reporting.

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