

News or Weapons of Mind Destruction: Press in America from Colonies till Obama

Awais Gillani, Xiang Zhou

School of Journalism and Communication, Wuhan University, P.R. China

Abstract

American democracy claims free, objective and critical press that disseminates truthful information with the backing of the First Amendment under the US Constitution. This study is an endeavor to understand the obscure and mysterious concept of truthful information and working of press on the crucial matters of American foreign policy and national interests. This truthful information might be truthful and actual reality for one nation and untruthful and deception for another. Mediated truths are wrapped in myths and value systems of the society which is prone to trap in propaganda and agenda of information disseminators/manufacturers in American democracy. Freedom of expression is the hallmark of American democracy but freedom of thought is hijacked by the information controllers and mind manipulators to get the public support for covert and overt objectives either for direct personal benefit of oligarchy or for national interests which might also be indirect personal interests of the opulent class. Employing pragmatic and historical criticism methods with theoretical frameworks of propaganda and agenda setting this study performs a critical and analytical analysis of prime events in American history covered by the press from colonial era till the presidency of Mr. Barack H. Obama to discover the reality of truthful information and its effects on the American society and the world. The study discovers that to achieve the national and personal interests, people's thoughts have been enslaved through the army of words and images dressed in mendacious information, fabricated and false facts and danger. People are just pawns and the actual power lies in the hands of powerful and rich class and media is serving their interests by destroying the critical thinking capacity of the minds of people on the matters of national security and foreign policy. People think what they are told to think about because journalism is in invisible chains in American democracy since the very beginning resulting humanity is suffering.

Keywords: Journalism, Democracy, Truth, War, Peace, Press history, Press freedom, Foreign policy, America

1. Introduction

Newspapers in any society are considered to fulfill social and political obligations by informing the people on the current ongoing national and international issues and serve as beacon both for society and government. Freedom of expression, most importantly freedom of thought, is a fundamental right of human liberty and a guided principle of free and vibrant society. America is a unique country in this concern in which journalism is, "One of the earliest social institutions ... and the only business specifically mentioned in the U.S. constitution" (Wilhoit, 1980, p. 144). The First Amendment of the US Constitution declares that "Congress shall pass no law abridging (or restricting) speech" (Mendelson, 1962). Reinforcing the importance of the First Amendment in terms of free press, George Washington says that, "Infinite benefits resulting from a free press" (Blanchard, 2013, p. 690). Describing the importance of newspapers and free flow of information and thought, the third US President, Thomas Jefferson says:

Were it left to me to decide whether we should have government without newspapers or newspapers without government, I should not hesitate for a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive those papers and be capable of reading them (Althaus, 2006).

Jefferson, an intellectual and philosophical President, was a staunch believer of democracy and newspapers play an important role in strengthening democracy, social and political institutions because they are public forums and source to initiate debate on issues of national interest thus they must not promote the hidden agendas of the government (if there are some) which is prone to war. People can surely read the newspapers but they cannot understand the agenda and propaganda of newspapers and they are kept unaware of the facts behind the facts thus their mind is easily manipulated by the information generators and controllers.

Newspapers in America reflect robust debate that is the integral part of the American political system and decision makers pay considerable attention to public opinion. Debate and reason are vital for democratic, progressive and peaceful society. Newspapers initiate a debate and the majority makes sound decisions by using reason which is generally destroyed by propagandists and agenda setters. Press' job is to analyze, explain and interpret the policy initiatives of the government on issues especially related to the host country's security, foreign policy, political and public agenda. Being eyes and ears of American people, masses and elites are dependent on news media for the understanding of national and international issues. In American democracy, press creates and represents public opinion therefore it has the power to make, break or misrepresent

the public opinion on policy issues. Keeping in view the importance of media, Cater (1959) – known journalist – entitles media as “Fourth branch of the government” and it is very much true according to the prevailing judgment.

America is truly a mass media country that is producing more newspapers than any other country of the world. U.S. Diplomatic Mission to Germany (2010) points out that the total number of newspapers in America including Sunday papers is 2,338 and claims that “This figure represents the highest number of newspapers with the highest total circulation -- 115 million -- for any country in the world.” In this era of internet, the US newspapers have global readership. Because of the abundance of news, newspapers are highly selective with respect to events that how and which of them should be covered? Scarcity of time and space is a big hindrance in providing a complete picture of reality and those who have not historical and contextual understanding of issues and are unaware of facts behind the facts may take information in the same shades as portrayed by newspapers. In the corporate American media culture reporting the story first is a bane both for journalism and people because journalists publish stories in hurry and they do not have time to dig out the facts resulting people do not get proper understanding of the reported issue. And the irony of the situation is that a large majority of Americans are not well informed about other countries (Gillani and Zhou, 2015) and media is their main window to see the outer world (Zhou and Sloan, 2009, p. 5). Mediated America is equally capable to divide and unite people by creating or diffusing confusion on a certain issue but it all depends upon the agenda of the media related to the foreign policy of the country and its ideological leaning.

Studies reflect that mainstream US newspapers cover the international issues from 10 to 40 % and 5 to 10 international stories daily (Omsk, n.d.). These news stories create collective vision of American people on important matters according to their point of view thus affect American public opinion, politics and political and public decisions. Resulting, the whole world in general and conflict areas in particular, directly or indirectly, are influenced and affected by American policies that may improve the situation or vice versa.

Keeping in view the importance of press in America, the press-government relations have always been an important concern for different administrations in America. Since the time of Colonial America the press by virtue of its nature, function and influencing capability to mold public opinion has been transformed into a very important social and political institution that simultaneously serves the people and government. Press works as a bridge between people and government by informing public on crucial policy matters like America’s interest in the world and its national security. According to Omsk (n.d.) three factors play an important role to cover international news i.e. (1) Sizzle: A story’s ability to stir emotions, (2) Regional Self Interest: Areas where the US has close economic or cultural ties, or where American troops are stationed. It is usually defined by the White House, (3) Cost Consideration: It plays a very important role in making a decision about the coverage of international news and stories.

Press’ working in America is an intricate phenomenon. Before understanding the working of the press in America it is pertinent to understand the social, political, religious and ideological system of American society in which its roots are nurtured and for which it is serving. According to Kincannon (2002) “the United States has always been identified throughout its history as a society that has been predominantly white, and characterized by ‘Judeo-Christian’ values.” The social, political values and economic order of America is, “rooted in the philosophical principles of classical liberalism in which it is virtuous to seek and to make profit ... it is good to earn a substantial income ... to aid the needy and to earn your just reward” (Altschull, 1984, p. 123). In the backdrop of these values lies the sermon of John Winthrop in which he tells Americans that they are the chosen people of God and they have a covenant with Him that they will help their brothers by sharing their burden, by helping them in the time of need and he analogizes America as “a City upon a Hill” (Voelker, n.d.). Being a pastor and a political leader, Winthrop’s sermon has great importance for America’s religious beliefs and political actions. The later envisioned doctrines like Manifest Destiny and “The White Man’s Burden” are also rooted in the same sermon. After the American Revolution, values like liberty, equality, justice, freedom, democracy, rule of law, freedom of speech and expression have become a permanent part of Americans’ social and political psychology. American journalism is rooted in all these values.

Social, economic and political values and doctrines like “a City upon a Hill”, Manifest Destiny and “The White Man’s Burden” play an important role in the formulation of American foreign policy to achieve American interests inside the country and beyond the borders. Whenever a hard time comes to America, according to American perspective, the authorities in Washington try to fire the emotions of people on the basis of these values and the press being rooted in the same society and being supporter and beneficiary of these doctrines and economic value system plays an important role on the basis of these values to formulate a uniform public opinion to achieve the desired goals of American foreign or domestic policy. However, it is not as easy as it seems that whatever the press will inform to people will be accepted blindly.

The question arises that what is information, and what type of information will get the attention of the whole society? The argument is given that any information which is related to the public affairs and interests will get the attention of people. But public affairs and interests may vary and it is quite possible that any news which is not of the interest of the public as a whole

may not get the attention of all. The real information or news is the one that addresses the common interest of the public. Life threatening news will be more newsworthy for the whole society or news that will directly affect people's economic and social status or that will collide to their religious, political beliefs and national habits or character or myths. Even in the pre-press era the source of information or news were messengers or heralds who used to report directly to the king, ruler or statesman and being in power they used to select news to broadcast to the majority of people according to the need of time and desire. Sometimes, news was even crafted for personal or state's interest that were dipped in danger. Such tactics, which were later named by political and mass communication scholars as propaganda, agenda setting, and gate keeping, were used by the people who had power to control information to attract public attention or to guide them in certain direction for such motives about which a large majority of common people have no idea. It is basic human psychology that people need more information on the matters that are directly related to their lives and beliefs.

Propaganda, gate keeping and agenda setting were/are very common in authoritarian regimes to mold public opinion or to get their attention to fulfill certain motives. As a matter of fact authoritarian theory was very much in practice in England during 16th and 17th century when press or information systems used to support or advance the policies of the people in power, i.e. King. Later when democracy emerged and the business of printing transformed into a proper institution these theories started to be used in a very organized and technical form (Psychological Warfare) to get the attention of people by rising an issue of common interest, contradictory beliefs or security threat. Press aroused the valor and emotions of people by challenging their courage and loyalty on the basis of nationalism and patriotism to face all the dangers as a nation. Nabi (2003) says, "Emotions serve as frames for issues." Powerful people, press, and mind managers utilize these frames of emotion very well under certain ulterior agenda to get people's support to accept or reject a certain policy.

Information is a two edged sword, it can either construct or destruct. Altschull (1984, p.5) says that "... information is power ... control over information is necessary for gaining and maintenance of power." Nevertheless, it all depends who controls information and what does he want? Thus information collectors, makers and disseminators have the ability to control the minds of people. The power of mind is described well by Milton (n.d.) in *Paradise Lost: Book One*:

The mind is its own place, and in it self

Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n. [255]

The basic function of any country's foreign policy is to defend its national interests within the framework of its social, political, religious and ideological beliefs. Powlick and Katz (1998) point out that the foreign policy elites includes: (1) current actors within the executive branch of the US government, (2) members of the US Congress, (3) leaders and officers of organized interest groups, and (4) commentators and experts from the media, academia, and research foundations. Opinion makers in print and broadcast media being part of foreign policy making system are the guardians of geographical and ideological boundaries of the country. When a threat comes to a country they become jingoistic and according to the agenda of foreign policy they set the agenda of nation by propagandizing false reports against the enemy and by gate keeping all the information that may be useful for the enemy or that may cool down the jingoistic fever.

Press' working on important foreign policy issues in American history can be divided into five models i.e. (1) Crown-Press News Suppression Model characterized the period from Colonial America till before American Revolution, (2) Political Advocacy Model characterized the period from American Revolution to the middle of 19th century (Blanchard, 2013, p.357), (3) Objectivity or Sourced Based Model characterized press-government relations since the middle of 19th century till 1900 (Blanchard, 2013, p.357), (4) Governmental News Management Model characterized press-government relations since 1900 till before World War I and (5) Governmental News Control Model characterized the period from World War I till today.

2. Method

Pragmatic and historical criticism methods are employed to study the working of American press on issues of crucial importance. Pragmatic criticism deals with that how well the message is carved according to the social, political, religious, economic ideas of people and myths prevailed in the society and what is the long term effect of that message. Historical criticism discovers that whether or not people were told truth and what was its impact. Studying the secondary sources with the support of pragmatic and historical criticism will help that how press reports and explains the inconspicuous world to people to garner their support for ulterior agendas which revolve around power and monetary advantages of nations and individuals. Critical analysis is done both on discursive and nondiscursive logic level. The first deals with rational progression of ideas in a message and the second is based on myths and characterization propagated and portrayed through message (Smith, 1988, p. 270). Press history and news are critically evaluated to judge the normative utility of the truth in the media messages.

3. Theoretical Framework

Two theoretical frameworks are used for this study i.e. agenda setting and propaganda. Explaining the term of agenda setting Cohen (1960) writes that "the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think but it is stunningly

successful in telling readers what to think about.” To Lasswell “Propaganda seeks to bring a desired change through manipulation or deception. It may also be factual but presented in a manner that misleads an individual or group” (quoted in Blanchard, 2013, p. 359). Lasswell says that the purpose of propaganda is to stimulate the desired response and to negate all those responses that are not desired (Baran and Davis, 2011, p. 83). Propaganda also divides public opinion. The more the audience is divided, the more it will be easy to mislead them to get the favorable results. According to Lippmann, propaganda works better when people are unsophisticated about an issue (1946). The propaganda principles of Anne Morelli are worthy to pay attention which are described well by Nicta (2009):

- 1) We don't want war, we are only defending ourselves
- 2) The other guy is the sole responsible for this war
- 3) Our adversary's leader is evil and looks evil
- 4) We are defending a noble purpose, not special interest
- 5) The enemy is purposefully causing atrocities; we only commit mistakes
- 6) The enemy is using unlawful weapons
- 7) We have very little losses, the enemy is losing big
- 8) Our cause is sacred
- 9) Those who doubt our propaganda are traitors

4. Research Questions

RQ 1: Is American journalism loyal to people and works as a bridge between government and public? Is truthful information a polluted reality in American journalism under American democracy?

RQ 2: How wars and press are linked since Colonial America till the presidency of Mr. Obama? Does press keep a critical eye on American involvement in foreign countries, if yes then when, why and under which circumstances?

RQ 3: Does American press promote freedom of thought?

RQ 4: Being a business entity does press really work as a social institution for the benefit of people?

RQ 5: Is press being controlled in America to control and manipulate the minds and thoughts of people to make them follow a certain agenda? If yes, then by whom and why and with what advantages and disadvantages?

3. Colonial America and Press: Crown-Press News Suppression Model

In New England – Colonial America – the very first continuously published newspaper was the *Boston News-Letter* that covered news both from home and aboard and it was highly subsidized by the British government (Archiving Early America, n.d.). This newspaper gave prominent coverage to British and European affairs and wars and readers were interested in those national and domestic incidents that may affect their lives (Breig, n.d., Odle, n.d.-b). In American colonies press was an agency of information for people mainly about four issues i.e. “religious doctrine, commercial matters, political persuasion, popular education” (Altschull, 1984, p. 10). Under the British government press was following the libertarian theory yet it was a propaganda machine for religious, political and business leaders and anything that was not popular with the government cannot be published. James Franklin was the very first American printer who was sent to jail for “libel” (Independence Hall Association, n.d.) because his newspaper – *The New-England Courant*, founded in 1721 – didn’t please some politicians and the government passed the orders that, “*James Franklin should no longer print the paper called the New England Courant*” (Franklin et al., 1909, p. 21). By virtue of publishing commercial, political and religious issues the Colonial American press was an agency of “social control” but it was not a party; it was just working as medium to convey information and this situation lasted before the inception of American Revolution.

2. American Revolution and Press: Press Solves “the Problem of Becoming One”

American Revolution era’s press activities come under Political Advocacy Model. Main agenda of American elites was to get independence from British monarchy and under this model press did struggle side by side with the Continental Congress to convince and unite common people to snatch the jewel of independence from the crown of British King. Before the Revolution most of the people considered themselves English than Americans and they had very diverse demographic and ideological background. Even the thought of Revolution seemed a dream. In the post-Revolution era John Adams notes:

The colonies had grown up under constitutions of government so different; there was so great a variety of religions; they were composed of so many different nations; their customs, manners, and habits had so little resemblance; and their intercourse had been so rare and their knowledge of each other so imperfect that to unite them in the same principles in theory and the same system of action was certainly a very difficult enterprise (Boorstin, 2010, p. 404).

The meager circulation of newspapers was a problem to develop uniform public opinion. Every type of available media at that time was used to unite people to emerge as an “independent nation” (Adams, 1856, p. 283). Press evoked Revolution into

the minds of people. Corner to corner headlines of a newspaper published from Boston rang the bell of Revolution when it rejoiced the Boston tea incident on April 1, 1774 with a headline "HIGH TEA IN BOSTON HARBOR" (Twin Cities Public Television, n.d.-a). Another main headline in the same paper used the respectable Benjamin Franklin as a testimonial, propaganda technique, which said that, "FRANKLIN IN LONDON FEELS SPITE", "ROOTS OF THE CONFLICT"(Twin Cities Public Television, n.d.-a). It was a propaganda technique to jubilee over success of common people who staged the event of Boston and the words like "Spite", "Roots", "Conflict", "High Tea" were preparing the Colonials for the upcoming war. Banner headlines on the front-page of newspapers told the Americans that they are winning. Propaganda was used to discourage British forces and to encourage common Americans against the British monarch. Name calling technique was used by E. Russell who ran a banner headline in the *Salem Gazette* on April 21, 1775 as 'Bloody Butchery of British Troops: or, The Runaway Fight of the Regulars' (Muzzey, 1915, p. 129 Teach US History, n.d.). This served well to defame the opponents by showing that the enemy is evil and has no humanity and it also helped to win sympathy of common people against the British King. The political cartoon and slogan/caption of Benjamin Franklin "Join or Die" (published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on May 9, 1754) played a vital role to unite the disjointed and segregated colonies to fight against, British, French and native Americans for collective survival (TeachingHistory, n.d.). This very first political cartoon in American history was based on a "well-known superstition of the era that a snake, which had been cut into pieces, would come back to life if each of the pieces were put together before sunset" (TeachingHistory, n.d.) The slogan of "Join or Die" was a direct message to the Colonial Americans and they responded well to fight for liberty with unity and strength. Slogan is a very lethal propaganda tool that is rooted in the culture and values of people to evoke the desired repose and colonies responded accordingly. The important thing about slogan is that it attacks on emotions rather than logic. Thus, propaganda makes people emotional about an issue instead of developing their logical, rational and critical skills to understand it from different angles and perspectives. Propaganda ceases the ability of independent thinking and leads to mind colonization to think on the same lines as the authority wants them to think.

On the day of independence a newspaper runs a bumper headline which screams out one word - "INDEPENDENCE" (Twin Cities Public Television, n.d.-b). The same newspaper also publishes a hand draw picture of a crowd to whom the Declaration of Independence is being read out loud in streets and people are listening to it. This picture served as a form of propaganda known as, "Bandwagon" which means that everybody is active; so, be the part of Revolution (E Pluribus Unum, n.d.). John Adam says that American Revolution does not mean American War rather the Revolution had already occurred in the "in the minds and hearts of the people" because "all the records, pamphlets, newspapers, and even hand bills which in any way contributed to change" people's "religious, moral, political and social character ... principles, opinions, sentiments and affection ... and compose them into an independent nation" (Adams, 1856, p. 283).

Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* thrusts the final nail of Manifest Destiny in the coffin of British Raj in the Colonial America. Being dipped in social-historical background this pamphlet is the extreme height of white propaganda. It justifies complete break with Britain and it reminds Colonial Americans the words of John Winthrop that they have a moral duty for rest of the world. It tells colonials that, "The cause of America is, in a great measure, the cause of all mankind" (Aldridge, 1984, p. 48). It was a very successful effort to exhort the valor of common men. Paine gives a moral tone to American Revolution by calling it an effort for "mankind" but not the American man or people because this fight for common "mankind" will automatically benefit the Continental Congress.

Propaganda under the agenda of independence worked miraculously well. Finally a Newspaper ran a super banner headline on October 19, 1781, "YORKTOWN IS WON", "Cornwallis' Sword is Delivered to American Forces", "The World Turned Upside Down" (Twin Cities Public Television, n.d.-c). Every word, every phrase of this headlined is showing victory for Colonial Americans and humiliation for the British monarch and the picture under this headline is showing that American forces are on horses with their flag high and British troops are on foot. It conveys the message that enemy is losing put your best; you are not far from victory. It is said that a picture conveys more than one thousand words. Newspapers/media conveyed, and Colonial America became the United States of America - an independent country.

Alexis de Tocqueville says, "... nothing but a newspaper can drop the same thought into a thousand minds at the same moment" (cited in Schroeder, 2006, p. 6). The press through propaganda under the agenda of independence did a noble job for the common man i.e. won independence, liberty, equality, justice, freedom of speech and expression, respect for human rights, and basic right to earn money. Newspapers solved the biggest problem of Colonial America i.e. "The Problem of Becoming One" (E Pluribus Unum, n.d.). Gray and Kamensky (2013, p. 8) note that for John Adams "American Revolution was not a common event" and Odle (n.d.-a) points out that:

Today's media owes a debt of gratitude to the pioneers of the early American press, who turned the American Revolution into what was, above all, a war of ideas. Just as muskets need powder and ball to be effective, ideas need ink and paper to thrive. It can be said that the American Revolution was fought with a gun in one hand and a pen in the other.

3. Spanish American War: Evolution of Yellow Journalism and American Expansion

The Spanish-American war of 1898 falls under the Objectivity or Source Based News Model, however this objectivity becomes subjectivity to serve the foreign policy agenda of the government. Apparently the Spanish-American War is fought for the liberty of Cubans but under the surface different doctrines and agendas were working like Monroe Doctrine, colonial expansion and exploration agenda for American trade and to extend the naval fleet and network of overseas ports for the economic prosperity of the nation. Being the guardian of the country's geographical and ideological boundaries the foreign policy elites backed these agendas and press owners used the weapon of propaganda to attain these agendas for personal and national benefits at the cost of war and bloodshed.

America had invested over \$50 millions in Cuba for trade purpose especially in sugar industry. The uprising in Cuba against Spanish autocratic rule crippled American trade and it was against the basic interests of America thus it decided to fix the issue by helping Cubans brothers – under Winthrop's vision of "a City upon the Hill", Kipling's "The White Man's Burden" and Manifest Destiny to earn the just reward. Hearst and Pulitzer and other journalists sold the war through sensational front-page stories for America's and their personal prosperity. These journalists gave birth to a new form of journalism i.e. Yellow Journalism. Hearst and Pulitzer turned the whole mass machine into press corps. Propaganda evoked feelings like fear, sympathy, valor, nationalism, honor of American flag. Symbols like "children", "women", and "nuns" were used to make Americans crazy about war. General Weyler – Commander of Spanish forces in Cuba – was name called by Hearst as "Butcher" and "Monster" in his paper – *New York Journal*. On January 17, 1897, *The Journal* ran a front-page story as, "Weyler Throws Nuns Into Prison. Butcher Wages Brutal Warfare on Helpless Women" (Bryson, 1897). Hearst also published an imaginative picture of a naked woman who was being searched by the Spanish coast guards. A front-page headline published in Hearst's newspaper said "Does our flag protect women?" This news was completely against reality because the fact is that women were searched by "matrons" (Schudson, 1981, p. 62). This front-page headline is an epitome of gate keeping and propaganda. Under supreme propaganda, men's valor was challenged when *Journal's* headline shouted, "American Women Ready to Give up Husbands, Sons and Sweethearts to Defend Nation's Honor"(Alterman, 1998, p. 49). Hearst sends his reporters, Davis and Remington, to Cuba to report more sensational items. Remington sends him wire saying "Everything is quiet. There is no trouble here. There will be no war. Wish to return" [Hearst replies back] "Please remain. You will furnish me picture and I will furnish the war" (Schudson, 1981, pp. 61-62). This war was necessary both for press owners' and America's economic prosperity and influence in the region.

Two incidents turned Americans into war mongers i.e. Spanish minister's letter in which he allegedly insulted the US President and Maine's explosion. On both these events newspapers did false reporting (Chiasson, 1995, pp. 112-113, Tucker, 2009, p. 312). On the letter of Spanish minister, *The Journal* said, "The Worst Insult to the United States in its History" (Jones, 2009, p. 273) and gate keepers didn't publish the Spanish minister's justification. Maine's issue was sensitive and even the *New York Times* like many other newspapers confused the nation to the extent that the Americans cried out:

Remember the Maine!

To hell with Spain! (Schmidt, 2005, p. 30)

After Maine's explosion, the *Examiner* published a headline (February, 1898) on its front-page on the behalf of American people as "*THE SPIRIT OF WAR PERVADES THE BREASTS OF ALL AMERICANS*"(Swift, 1899, p. 156). Propaganda had won public opinion for America's ulterior interests and within a few years after the war "... the American flag was flying over a number of Islands in the Pacific Ocean, the United States was deeply involved in the Far East, and American influence was being strongly exerted in the lands bordering the Caribbean Sea" (Todd and Cutri, 1964, p. 593). William McKinley said that, "U.S. expansion into the Pacific and Asia is Manifest Destiny" (Nash and Mancall, 2009, p. 236) and in a democratic country like America this was not possible without press' help.

4. World War I

Eruption of World War I (WW I) shocked Americans but it was far from them so they remained pacifist and Woodrow Wilson kept America safe from war and was re-elected on the slogan "He kept us out of war" (Bureau of International Information Programs, 2005, p. 205). Wilson's supply of munitions to the belligerent nations was working as oxygen for the mild depressed economy of 1915 and Germany had destroyed five US merchant ships. Lippmann noted in 1917 "... when trade is attacked, we are attacked" (cited in Hogan, 1999, p. 125) and President Coolidge admits that "The chief business of American people is business" (Katz, 2010, p. 39). To save business, President Wilson declared war against Germany on the ground that "The world must be made safe for democracy ... We will not choose the path of submission" (Marshall and Leckie, 1965, p. 83). Mr. Wilson went on war against the autocratic Germany of Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm II and Mr. Creel was given a task by the authorities in Washington to, "sell America on the war and sell the world on Wilsonian war aims" (Kennedy and Cohen, 2012, p. 680). Propaganda was sold to Americans under an official agency "Committee on Public Information" chaired by George Creel who later revealed the fact that "There was ... no medium of appeal that we did not

employ ... to make our own people and all other peoples understand the causes that compelled America to take arms.” (Chouliaraki, 2007, p. 17).

For democracy loving people propaganda compared the Kaiser with “Beast”, disaster, war, autocracy, threat to life, and used the social and cultural values of American people like justice, freedom, equality, liberty, democracy, anti-autocracy, business mentality to prepare people for war. Movies like *The Beast of Berlin*, *To Hell With the Kaiser*, *Pershing's Crusaders*, *America's Answer*, and *Under Four Flags* flamed Americans’ sense of idealism and righteousness. Creel himself admits that “the committee’s news releases filled more than 20,000 newspapers columns a week during late 1917 and early 1918” (Blanchard, 2013, p. 358). Creel’s “Four Minute Men” force consisted upon 75,000 workers spread in every corner of the country to sell war. Where Creel could not work, government itself took step by introducing Espionage Act, Trading with Enemy Act, and the Sedition Act (Blanchard, 2013, p. 704) to control counter propaganda and thought against the government.

Atrocity stories were used as propaganda techniques. The story of *New York Tribune* reported that Germans used poisonous gas against French and violated the rule of Hague Convention (Blanchard, 2013, p. 703). Propaganda affected nation said, “... destroy everything German, tear the Germans limb from limb, go to war and save the world” (Chomsky, 2011, p. 12). Press-government nexus sold the war to the Americans and they were happy that they helped the people in the time of need under a covenant with God. Winthrop vision had transformed into reality with American superiority in the world.

5. World War II

In World War II (WW II) Germany hit American merchant ships which were supplying munitions to the belligerent anti-German countries. This was an act that was against the will of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) and the natural right of American nation – trade. FDR’s policy was to help Britain to stop Germany. The *New York Times* on December 30, 1940 supported FDR’s policy and printed his statement as “ROOSEVELET CALLS FOR GREATER AID TO BRITIAN AS BEST WAY TO HALT DICTATORS AND AVERT WAR” (The New York Times Company, 1940). The President proclaimed that the United States must become “the great arsenal of democracy” (Baime, 2014, p. xix).

WW II is known for very few press-government problems in America (Blanchard, 2013, p. 705) and extreme use of psychological warfare, propaganda, agenda setting and gate keeping tactics i.e. censorship. Journalists with a jingoistic fever published anything that was provided by the FDR administration. Federal agency – Office of Censorship, established in December 1941 by FDR – served as official gate keeper and nothing against the will of government was allowed to be published. Office of War Information was established on June 13, 1942 under the executive order 9182 (Davis, 2011, p. 95). With the propaganda efforts of this office, the slogan “Uncle Sam Wants You!” reached and read everywhere in America to support the great moral cause of America for humanity.

Social-historical propaganda was used officially to gain the sympathy of Americans for their brothers who were under attack by the Axis powers. On September 1, 1939, *The New York Times* ran a headline, “Hitler Tells the Reichstag: Bomb Will Be Met by Bomb” (The New York Times Company, 1939). Hitler terrified the people as a new “Beast”, “Monster” and “Hun.” When Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, *The New York Times* covered the shocking incident as, “*JAPAN WARS ON U.S. AND BRITAIN*” (The New York Times Company, 1941). It was an attack on America. Every policy headline or major incident was also combined with a headline that aroused terror, fear, nationalistic fever, to keep burning the emotions of a nation that valued human rights, life, liberty, equality, peace, and justice against “Hun” or “Beast” or anti-human forces. On June 7, 1944, *The New York Times* published President’s prayer as, “Let Our Hearts Be Stout” (The New York Times Company, 1944). The newspapers made the American nation so much “Stout” that it hailed American atomic attack on Japan. The *New York Times* ran a banner headline on August 6, 1945, “*FIRST ATOMIC BOMB DROPPED ON JAPAN; TRUMAN WARNS FOE OF A 'RAIN OF 'RUIN'* and nuclear technology worth of “\$2,000,000,000” (The New York Times Company, 1945a) was tested for the very first time on human beings in the form of nuclear bomb and Americans were rejoicing over the lethal capacity of their atom bombs named as “Little Boy” and “Fat Man.” The irony of the objectivity of free press in America was that the *New York Times* ran a headline, “Day of Atomic Energy Hailed by President, Revealing Weapon” (The New York Times Company, 1945a). The libertarian and humanitarian press portrayed the incident as a great scientific achievement. When Japan surrendered, the *New York Times* published four main headlines and eleven sub headlines and celebrated the victory and Times Square got Jammed with 2,000,000 people (The New York Times Company, 1945b). By killing hundreds of thousands Japanese, Americans were in elation because their atom bombs had saved the humanity from evil who wanted to destroy the world. Although Japan committed heinous war crimes against Chinese and Koreans (see Gaunder, 2011, pp. 309-311) which humanity will always despise yet dropping the atom bombs on Japan is also a lamentable and detestable incident which can never be erased from the memory of peace loving people. But press coverage of America’s atomic test on Japan proved the words of Abraham Lincoln that “America is the last best hope of mankind” (Jelen et al., 2015, p. 41). Press-government harmony on foreign affairs helped America to emerge as a world power and press maimed the senses of people to the extent that they had not the slightest realization that what their government had done to humanity on their behalf.

Denton and Kuypers (2007) quote George Orwell who says that “Political language ... is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable ...” (p. 43). Political language, of course, follows certain agenda and newspapers following that very agenda gave respect and legitimacy to the mass murder committed by the US.

WW II left two world powers in the world – America and Soviet Union – and the world got divided into two blocks – Capitalist and Communist. In this era the main agenda of Washington was to contain the communist influence and the American media was obediently working to defame communism in the world through psychological warfare. The tussle between the two blocks caused Truman Doctrine that led America into a hot war i.e. Vietnam War.

6. Vietnam War

Since the time of American Civil War, Vietnam War is the very incident that caused massive “domestic political division” (Warren, 2008, p. 819) and the press also divided at the end of war which remained silent for many years until voices outside the press started raising. From President Eisenhower to President Nixon, America directly fought the Vietnam War and American media remained practically silent till 1968. The press under the influence of the government of the people, by the people and for the people worked as mind manipulator and persuader to win the public support for the war and President Lyndon B. Johnson claimed to be the “editor in chief of newspapers” (cited in Shoemaker and Reese, 1996, p. 172). The media being the voice of the people became voiceless; gate keepers did not publish stories on any anti-war movement activity in America. Even the 1965 March on Washington got no prominent coverage by the mainstream American media. Tet offensive was an attack that unmasked the reality of the American superiority in the war. Tet offensive jolted American people and press. Before Tet offensive both the American administration and media had been claiming that they were winning the war yet Tet offensive melted down the American euphoria of victory and America plunged into skepticism over the capability of its forces to fight a guerilla war which it was ironically winning in press by controlling news.

Defeat and humiliation for America in Vietnam was against the American Manifest Destiny. When politicians especially the presidential nominee turned against the war then media realized that it had a duty to inform people about the actions of the government taken on their behalf. Thus, the *New York Times* published secret pentagon papers and told Americans that their sons are dying in Vietnam and there is no chance to win this war. With the help of critical press, America took the cover of people’s pressure and withdrew its forces from Vietnam in 1973 to avoid ultimate defeat and humiliation (Gillani and Zhou, 2015).

After Tet offensive, press-government relations observed conflicts and the government asked the reporters to hide American failure in the Vietnam War and Mr. Rusk asked the journalists “There gets to be a point when the question is: whose side are you on? Now, I’m secretary state of the United States and, I’m on our side” (Kalb, 2013, p. 100). American press’ critical eye on the US military engagement was the result of media coverage by the reporters outside the US which was later picked by the American journalists but the whole story of the Vietnam War was told to the people in the end (Sevy, 1991, pp. 116-117) because Tet offensive made clear to the US press that Vietnam will definitely win the war (Wells, 2005, p. 242). If press will not be critical once the secret is revealed by other forces then the press may lose its credibility and any business cannot afford this. Vietnam War gave a very clear lesson that there is little objectivity in the American media which became very critical at the end but its meager objectivity was further encumbered through pool journalism in the Persian Gulf War.

7. Persian Gulf War and Pool Journalism

Press-government relations during the Persian Gulf War took a new form i.e. Pool Journalism. During the war the press worked under the direct supervision of the Pentagon. In this war the US government achieved spectacular success in news control and President Bush Sr. said, “By God, we’ve finally kicked the Vietnam Syndrome once and for all” (Werner and Huynh, 2015, p. 255). The President said so because America had won the Persian Gulf War and this time America had fixed the issue of critical and objective journalism by introducing pool journalism. The broadcast journalism proudly announced on television that “This will finally be putting Vietnam behind us in so many ways and George Bush will get a lot of credit for that” (Andersen, 2006, p. 167).

In the Persian Gulf War, the Pentagon selected a group of journalists who were sent to Iraq for war coverage, and they did reporting for the rest of the world on behalf of the Pentagon. The stories of pool journalists were censored by Pentagon officers. Carl Nolte of the *San Francisco Chronicle* unfolding the reality of pool journalism notes that:

... the pool reports, written by some of the best journalists in the world, are banal and upbeat like papers handed in at a sophomore feature writing class back in journalism school. Of course, the reports are cleared by military censors ... No one can go to the front. It is forbidden (cited in Hryczyszyn, n.d.).

Browne of the *New York Times* says that “In effect, each pool member is an unpaid employee of the Department of Defense, on whose behalf he or she prepares the news of the war for the outside world” (quoted in Hryczyszyn, n.d.). Christiane Amanpour admits that those journalists who were sent to the Gulf War to cover the story were forced to do coverage

following the line of the Pentagon and Western military establishment and she pledges not to do conflict reporting for the Pentagon because the result was horrific (Newseum, 2012).

The agenda of the Bush Sr. government was to save Saudi Arabia and Kuwait from Iraq who had invaded Kuwait. Mainstream media informed Americans that according to President Bush Sr. and the Pentagon, Iraq was planning to invade Saudi Arabia, which might stop oil supply to America. Moreover, Iraq was a threat to Israel, America's foreign policy asset in the Middle East, so it was necessary to stop Saddam who was once a blue-eyed boy of the US and with the help of America, Saddam's party came into power in 1960s and according to Henry Kissinger and Zbigniew Brzezinski, the two master minds of American foreign policy, US never felt that a clash of interests ever existed between Iraq and America (Shareef, 2014, p. 7, Shamoo, 2012, p. 100). It is said that in foreign policy there is no permanent enmity and friendship hence yesterday's friend had become today's biggest enemy and evil.

The American media under the influence of the White House and Pentagon started symbolizing Saddam as a Hitler, a tyrant, and a cruel dictator. Propaganda machines told Americans that the Iraqi army had killed 300 infants, however Kellner (1992) discovers that such stories were not even close to reality. Shamoo (2012) confirms that American PR consultants helped the Kuwaiti government in carving out horrendous stories which had no connection with reality and Victoria Clarke, the head of an advertising agency, helped the exiled Kuwaiti ambassador and his daughter in shaping such stories and later Victoria was appointed as Pentagon's spokesperson during the second Bush administration (p. 100). Jr. (1991) of the *New York Times* reports from Saudi Arabia on January 24, 1991 that Saddam Hussein has Fuel-air Explosives (FAE) and he is planning to use this horrendous weapon that has never been used before in war. It is true that FAE is an extremely dreadful weapon that burns people alive but the fact is that it is a "1990 version of neplam bomb that the US used in Vietnam" (Dickson, 2014, p. 308). When the war ended, the US had "dropped 88,000 tons of bombs and 300 Tomhawk missiles including FAE (Shamoo, 2012, p. 100, Morley, 1991) which Iraq could not use for its defense. Morley (1991) writes:

Indeed, we are supposed to be positively inspired by the slaughter. Four congressmen recently told the *Washington Post* that they wanted to take advantage of the "the new national can-do spirit" generated by the war to improve our schools, clean up the environment, and expand our healthcare system. The reasoning seems to go like this: if we can humiliate a foreign despot by efficiently extinguishing the lives of his subjects, then we can do anything, even educate our kids.

Behind the WMDs, the agenda was oil that caused American invasion on Iraq and British oil companies were interested to get oil contracts after controlling Iraq (Shamoo, 2012, p. 100) but President Bush gave this war a shade of "moral" importance that US did not face "since WW II" (Renshon, 1993, p. 40). Journalism played an important role in the human slaughter to strengthen the US economy and imperial control to protect its interest in the Middle East.

Journalism in America is being controlled by the politicians, military industrial complex and the greedy corporations. *New York Times'* Executive Editor Dean Baquet says that journalism is taken over by the corporate greed and the ownership of the newspapers wants the editors to work as "division manager" with an exception of the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* (InvestigatingPower, 2012) yet the study of Gillani and Zhou (2015) consider these two mainstream newspapers a source and lead for American media to divide the public opinion. Gulf War proved that no question had risen in the press and broadcast journalism because foreign policy elites had a consensus on the issue. James Madison had long before said that the state should "protect the minority of the opulent against the majority" (Jayapalan, 1999, p. 21). It can be said that that The Gulf War was a massive media event that was arranged by the American Military and was operated by the Pentagon information officers (Williams, 1991, Hutchinson, 2008, Lewis, 1991). Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and John H. Sununu, the White House chief of staff, called this news control policy of Pentagon a "model for future" (DeParle, 1991).

8. Post 9/11 and Media: Emergence of Embedded Journalism

8.1 "War on Terror" and Iraq War

9/11 was a major blow for America that melted down its pride with the twin towers. The swift response of the US was obvious hence Congress passed a resolution on September 14, 2001 that authorized the US President to use all the power to hunt down all those elements who are threat to American security (Snow and Taylor, 2006). President Bush announcing the National Security Strategy Plan on September 17, 2002 says that America has exceptional power and influence in the world and US national security strategy will be based on "American internationalism", values and national interests (Bush, 2009, p. 1).

National Security Strategy Plan is a theoretical justification of "American militarism" hence it gave right to America to use, "military force anywhere in the world, at any time it chooses, against any country it believes to be, or it believes may at some point become, a threat to American interests" (North, 2002). Under this document the policies of Mr. Bush were called "Bush Doctrine" which had further six doctrines (Froomkin, 2008) that worked according to the need of time. Congress gave the power to President Bush to hunt down the American enemies and their supporters all over the globe. The "War on Terror"

started on the agenda that “Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists” (The Australian, 2008). National Security Strategy Plan is also a document of strategic communication to protect the American interests through communication.

Countless official statements and government documents link American progress with free flow of information because according to democratic principles of the country, the people must be aware of the actions taken by the government and it is also necessary to get the public support for such actions. Nevertheless, authorities in Washington are also very much concerned with information that may also thwart American national security which is defined in the Executive Order 12958 (April 17, 1995) as “national defense or foreign relations of the United States” and under this order American officials can control, regulate or restrict the access to information that also includes information on foreign governments (Register et al., 1996, p. 334). President Bush amends this order under new Executive Order 13292 (March 25, 2003) which says to control or restrict information regarding “transnational terrorism” and clause (c) of section 1.1, PART 1 asks not to release any information regarding a foreign country that may damage national security (Register et al., 2004, p. 196). Both the executive orders say that “... throughout our history, the national defense has required that certain information be maintained in confidence ... protecting information critical to our Nations security remains a priority (Register et al., 2004, p. 196, Register et al., 1996, 334). Free, transparent, objective and truthful information on countries like Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iraq etc is kept hidden from people that caused animosity against American actions in the respective countries. Instead of developing peace and harmony, press further widened the already existed gulf between American people and the people of American covert and overt war affected countries across the globe.

Neither Saddam nor Osama Bin Laden attacked on the US according to the official website of FBI (Gillani and Zhou, 2015). President Bush was also told by the intelligence agencies that Iraq had not the weapons of mass destructions (WMDs) which he later laughingly admitted while hosting a dinner for media correspondents at the White House and the representatives of the whole American public opinion manufacturing industry laughed out loud with him (DidderBodder, 2012, Blumenthal, 2007a, Mockaitis, 2012, p. 59) but humanity was crying in solitude whose soul had been deeply injured by the actions of the American government with the consent of American people for the larger interests of the sole super power of the world. Iraq was a national security agenda for the continuous supply of oil thus the US “slaughtered” Iraqi soldiers (Hrycyszyn, n.d., Shamoo, 2012, p. 100) and common citizens and the Pentagon, the White House, the Department of State and press made the mind of people to support Iraq war for the purpose which is clearly described by William Cohen, prior to his speech at Microsoft Corporation in 1999, that American companies like Microsoft are rich and prosperous because of America’s powerful army and “... conflicts in faraway lands such [as] ... Iraq have a direct effect on the US economy ... The military’s success in holding Iraq in check ensures a continued flow of oil from the Persian Gulf (Heffermehl, 2010, p. 154). War on Iraq was a crucial matter of nation’s economic defense and America’s interest in the Middle East hence reporting the truthful information about Saddam and his [never existed] WMDs might be considered an act of treason thus press worked as patriotic and tamed mass opinion making machine by mutilating and polluting the truthful information and kept Americans in dark with wrong and fabricated information in the day light of American democracy.

The government controlled the media this time too and it raised no question because telling the truth about Osama Bin Laden and WMDs of Saddam Hussein was a violation of National Security Agenda which was continuous flow of Iraqi oil to the US and to grab the oil contracts in Iraq by the minority of opulent. According to Sattar (2008) different offices like “Office of Global Communication (2003 Iraq War), Diplomacy Policy Department, Cabinet Office, Special Operation Media System, and Forward Press Information Centre” were established by the government to provide input to media for news control on the issue of imaginary WMDs.

Like the Gulf War, this war also added a new form of journalism in Journalistic history i.e. Embedded Journalism. Allan and Zelizer (2004, p. 30) write that in the Iraq war media became a psychological warfare tool against its own public through embedded journalism and the war coverage made people rally around one common symbol i.e. terrorism, and media coverage’s main objective was “... to stifle dissent, garner unquestioning support” Under embedded journalism, out of 1000 journalists 662 were directly attached with the military units and for the bigger story “... the U.S. administration set the agenda through its “message for the day” and journalists were not allowed to go out whereas independent journalists had the risk of getting killed or detained (Allan and Zelizer, 2004, p. 30). The stories of embedded reports were checked by military officers, “public affairs” experts and sent to the respective news organizations where Pentagon officers further vetted the war coverage (Allan and Zelizer, 2004, p. 30). These embedded journalists did very few interviews with ordinary Iraqi people, peace activist and those intellectuals who did not belong to pro-US think tanks (Allan and Zelizer, 2004, p. 31). WMDs presence and its direct threat to US was a continuous discussion and coverage theme of media that projected the statements of President and Republican Party. Creating an enemy for national unity was the first phase of Bush administration’s propaganda campaign in which it created Saddam as a new Hitler of 21st century and this mission was achieved through embedded journalism.

In the second phase of the propaganda campaign the Bush administration’s political narrative and media machine devise propaganda on the basis in which “us-them feeling”, “war of religions”, “Islamic extremism”, “war against evil,” “good will

overcome the evil”, “crusade”, “evil religion” concepts were propagated. Again the war is given a noble act on the behalf of US which longs peace but it is the enemy that does not want peace.

Iraq was the biggest evil that the US had to deal with. From September 2002 to February 2003, Tyndall Report analyzed 414 stories on Iraq from three major three channels - ABC, CBS and NBC - and reported that, “all but 34 stories originated from three government agencies – The White House, the Pentagon and the State Department” (Snow and Palast, 2011, p. 46). The *New York Times* and *Washington Post* also promoted Bush’s agenda. In the “case of the *Times*, the editors ... put the newspaper in the forefront in publishing falsehoods, on its front page, about Iraq’s supposed stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction” (Blumenthal, 2007b). From September 2002 to February 2003, the *Washington Post* editorialized twenty-six times to favor war and “every single editorial contained disinformation” and On February 6, 2003 when Mr. Collin Powell addressed the U.N. Security Council and gave supposed evidence of Iraq’s WMDs, the *Washington Post* in its editorial “Irrefutable” said, “it is hard to imagine how anyone could doubt that Iraq possesses weapons of mass destruction”(Blumenthal, 2007b).

When American forces entered Baghdad, the Media commentators ran live joyful and sensational commentary on the falling statue of Saddam, and the next day newspapers published big color photos on the front pages. Rampton and Stauber (2003) report some media coverage:

- 1) NBC’s Tom Brokaw compared the event to “all the statues of Lenin [that] came down all across the Soviet Union.”
- 2) “Iraqis Celebrate in Baghdad,” reported the *Washington Post*.
- 3) “Jubilant Iraqis Swarm the Streets of Capital,” said the headline in the *New York Times*.
- 4) “It was liberation day in Baghdad,” proclaimed the *Boston Globe*.
- 5) “If you don’t have goose bumps now,” gushed Fox News anchor David Asman, “you will never have them in your life.”

After failure in finding WMDs, Mr. Collin Powell admitted that, “his speech was a “blot” on his record, “terrible,” and “painful”; the *Washington Post*, blind believer of Colin Powell’s speech, ran no apology but the *New York Times* ran a special "Editors' Note" about unqualified and questionable information (Blumenthal, 2007b) but the newspaper is in no position to undone the harm that is done to humanity on the behalf of the highest authority in Washington who is unbelievably “out of touch” according to Senator John Kerry (The Associated Press, 2004).

As a matter of fact Mr. Bush was not “out of touch” rather he entered the White House to grab Iraqi oil (Hiro, 2007) because Iraq has got the second largest oil reserves in the world and according to some reports it has more oil than Saudi Arabia (Congress, 2007, p. 26793, Luft, 2003, Summers, 2013). Apart from personal financial interests what was the actual national security purpose behind Iraq war? Was it the destruction of weapons of mass destruction to save the world? Was it Liberty for the Iraqis from a despot? Was Democracy a purpose? Probably Mr. Bush was considering the following objectives:

- 1) America will emerge as an economic giant in the world because it will be holding the jugular vein of the globe – oil.
- 2) Presence in Afghanistan will help to contain China in its designs to emerge as a counter global power to America.
- 3) To have a base in Afghanistan will help America to install the long awaited oil pipe line for Unocal – one of the five biggest oil companies in the world.
- 4) Strait of Hormuz will be in the reach of USA and from there it can control the 60% oil supply of Japan that is also an economic threat to America. To add more, control of Strait of Hormuz will also help USA to keep upper hand on Germany and France by controlling their oil supply.
- 5) Radical Islamic countries like Iran and Iraq may have nuclear or chemical weapons hence it would be unsafe to not have a check on these countries that have major reserves of oil. If these countries try to stop the oil supply to USA, it would a great jerk for the US economy.
- 6) Superiority and security of Israel is priority in the Middle East because it is in the mutual interest of both countries.

David Frum, speech writer of President Bush, removing all the confusions gives a clear reason for US invasion on Iraq that “An American-led overthrow of Saddam Hussein ... would put America more wholly in charge of the region than any power since the Ottomans, or maybe even the Romans (Schwartz, 2008, p. 26). Frum means to say what Mr. Bush has already said that, “...US national security strategy will be based on a distinctly American internationalism that reflects the union of our values and our national interests” (Kryzhanovskii, 2007, p. 57). American national values are to help the needy, to earn the just money and to protect the national interests. The US helped the needy and war ridden Iraqi people and earned the just money by doing business with Iraqi oil and protected the national interest by injecting Iraqi oil into American economy. Jack Ma (Chinese E-commerce billionaire) tells to President Clinton that “Americans love to spend ... other people’s money ...”

(CNBC, 2015). “Made in China” are the three most famous words in the world because China has emerged as a global technician and it has a manufacturing economy whereas America has emerged as a global warrior and it has a war economy. US invasion on Iraq had monetary advantages in the cloak of “War on Terror” to save the world from evil forces and press helped US in achieving its strategic goals by waging war into the minds of people against Iraq because it is also one of the beneficiaries of American war economy.

The “War on Terror” (WOT) is spread to many countries and Mr. Bush gave this war a political, moral and religious narrative. President Bush had already asked for “more time and more resolve” for wars (Congress, 2010, p. 22745). Now the WOT is being fought in Afghanistan and Tribal areas of Pakistan. President Obama being a Presidential nominee on August 02, 2007 has shown his resolve to take unilateral actions against Pakistan (Wittes, 2010, p. 346) and after taking charge he expanded the WOT with covert and overt military and intelligence operations on much larger scale than his predecessor. President Bush is known as War President and President Obama is known as Drone President.

Public opinion polls show that Americans have negative opinion about Pakistan and 90% Americans do not trust Pakistan (Newport, 2007, Wike, 2013) and this negative perception is the result of media coverage that portray Pakistan as a country that supports terrorism as its official state policy albeit it is facing fatal losses in the form of men and material on daily basis since 9/11 and American media do not cover such stories considering them propaganda (Gillani and Zhou, 2015, Scahill, 2009, Tiwari, 2014). In 2013 President Obama realizes that WOT is an ideological war and it cannot be won thus he announces to end the war that cost America \$6 trillion (Blimes, 2013) and he vows to rebuild relations with Pakistan (Obama, 2013).

In the wake of wars and killing people with drone hellfire missiles, America’s image as a pacifist and responsible country has badly tarnished in Pakistan in particular and in the world in general. Despite being free under the First Amendment, the press in America did not inform the public about the questionable involvement of Washington in different countries in the name of “War on Terror” thus there was no public pressure on the powerful and ruling class that took decisions on the behalf of the people. America has not only lost the moral authority but also it has lost the status of “a City upon a Hill.” On the use of armed drones/UCAVs and covert and overt military and intelligence operations, Obama administration is facing intense criticism from human rights organizations inside and outside the country, media and academia. Massive financial losses in Iraq and Afghan war, casualties of American soldiers and the bad reputation of America inside the country, UN and world forced the *New York Times* to write an Editorial (2012) on May 31, 2012 which says that the US president has too much power to wage wars on other countries and the US cannot be in a state of continuous war and again on May 24, 2013, The Editorial Board (2013) of the *Times* writes in its editorial that Mr. Bush and Mr. Obama are killing people without any charge thus America must end this war. The mainstream press which once blindly supported Mr. Bush’s agenda and “War on Terror” under the National Security Strategy Plan wants to end this war. Since the *New York Times*’ political and ideological leaning is liberal hence its editorial policy is in the favor to end the war whereas the *Wall Street Journal* is a conservative newspaper hence for the editorial board of the newspaper, war is the only solution of every problem. But the editorial boards of both the newspapers are of the view that Pakistan is playing “double game” with America hence Pakistan should be properly managed by the US because Pakistan uses terrorism as its official state policy and being a fragile state its nukes can go into the control of antihuman forces – Taliban and Al Qaeda.

The question arises what took *Times* so long to critique the “War on Terror” and illegal target killing of people with drones by Bush and Obama administrations and why it published editorial after Mr. Obama’s announcement to end the “War on Terror”? When things get out control at home and abroad then American media start criticizing the contentious policies of the government to give an impression of a disseminator of truthful information and America under the perception of public pressure withdraws its troops from war zones to avoid permanent defeat and humiliation (Gillani and Zhou, 2015) as the same happened in the Vietnam War. But the hard-liners in the US media and social, political and governmental institutions are in the hate business and support war in the name of American security and national interests. Resulting, the gulf, misunderstanding and miscommunication between Pakistan and America at public level are much wider than ever and subjective journalism is responsible for this. This is neither a positive sign for harmonious Pak-US relations at public level nor for the safety and security of South Asia in particular and the world in general.

Conclusion

Colonial Americans got independence with the help of media but the same media has now colonized the minds of independent Americans. Americans have lost their liberty again. Press in America has become a weapon of mind destruction that has demolished people’s critical thinking ability and it has transformed the United States of America into the United States of War on the behalf of the White House, the Pentagon and the State Department and countless conglomerate information systems of the ruling and powerful class are controlling the thinking pattern of American people to support their agendas. People express what they are indirectly being told to think about and this controlled expression is named as freedom of speech and expression in the Western democracy. By using press as a tool, the opulent minority has created innumerable

illusions under the cloak of truthful information to achieve their ulterior personal and national agendas. Unfortunately, America has gone into the control of those powers that have turned it into a war machine and with the help of press they have turned the pacifist American nation into a violent, racist and angry society that is much afraid of imaginary enemies. People are trapped in the capitalistic life style and they have no time to dig out the truth that how their government and press are using them to win their support to wage wars on different countries under the name of national security rather they prefer to live in a mediated reality which has no link with the actual reality. Fancy slogans/illusions like the First Amendment, press freedom, news objectivity, and people's voice have lost into the dark world of capitalistic greed. Press/media are just an army of words and images that have enslaved the minds of people and there is no chance to escape from it. If people want freedom and a peaceful world for themselves and their posterity then they need to install unbiased filters in their minds to process the biased information that is targeting them round the clock. Contrary to its social duty, press is not loyal to people and it is no more a social institution that works for people rather it is extending and supporting American national security designs which are based on wars and bloodshed. American newspapers' legacy of the "war of ideas" is still going on by exploiting the social, political, religious and economic principles and ideas of the people. People's valor is still being exhorted by evoking their patriotic feelings and by terrifying them from invisible/abstruse, presumed and self created enemies. In this nuclear and emerging armed drones and robotic warfare era the mind colonization of people by media has extraordinarily sinister consequences not only for Americans but also for the whole world. In this age of conglomerate corporate media when from TV channels to websites to publishing houses to film industry to radio channels all media are under the control of one authority thus relying only on certain media sources can be disastrous. People should use multiple means of information and being the supreme and rational creature they should use their own critical and rational thinking skills to develop a thought on an issue instead of thinking what they are indirectly being forced to think about. People should also be media literate and they should leave no room for media managers to manipulate their emotions and thoughts. For the safety of human race and planet earth it is time to get more credible knowledge and less information.

References

- ADAMS, J. 1856. *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States: With a Life of the Author, Notes and Illustrations, Volume 10*, Little, Brown and company.
- ALDRIDGE, A. O. 1984. *Thomas Paine's American Ideology*, University of Delaware Press.
- ALLAN, S. & ZELIZER, B. 2004. *Reporting war: Journalism in wartime*, Routledge.
- ALTERMAN, E. 1998. *Who speaks for America?: why democracy matters in foreign policy*, Cornell University Press.
- ALTHAUS, S. L. 2006. False starts, dead ends, and new opportunities in public opinion research. *Critical Review*, 18, 75-104.
- ALTSCHULL, J. H. 1984. *Agents of power: The role of the news media in human affairs*, Longman New York.
- ANDERSEN, R. 2006. *A Century of Media, a Century of War*, Peter Lang.
- ARCHIVING EARLY AMERICA. n.d. *America's First Newspaper* [Online]. Available: <http://www.earlyamerica.com/firsts/americas-first-newspaper/> [Accessed April 2, 2015].
- BAIME, A. J. 2014. *The Arsenal of Democracy: FDR, Detroit, and an Epic Quest to Arm an America at War*, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- BARAN, S. & DAVIS, D. 2011. *Mass communication theory: Foundations, ferment, and future*, Cengage Learning.
- BLANCHARD, M. A. 2013. *History of the mass media in the United States: An encyclopedia*, Routledge.
- BLIMES, L. 2013. *The financial legacy of Iraq and Afghanistan: How wartime spending decisions will constrain future national security budgets (HKS Working Paper RWP13-006)* [Online]. Harvard Kennedy School. Available: <https://research.hks.harvard.edu/publications/workingpapers/citation.aspx?PubId=8956> [Accessed March 5, 2015].
- BLUMENTHAL, S. 2007a. *Bush Knew Saddam Had No Weapons of Mass Destruction* [Online]. Global Policy Forum. Available: <https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/168/36519.html> [Accessed August 2, 2015].
- BLUMENTHAL, S. 2007b. *Walter Lippmann and American journalism today* [Online]. Open Democracy. Available: https://www.opendemocracy.net/article/walter_lippmann_and_american_journalism_today [Accessed March 26, 2015].
- BOORSTIN, D. J. 2010. *The Americans: the national experience*, Vintage.
- BREIG, J. n.d. *Early American Newspapering* [Online]. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Available: <http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/spring03/journalism.cfm> [Accessed March 2, 2015].
- BRYSON, G. E. 1897. Weyler Throws Nuns Into Prison: Butcher Wages Brutal Warfare on Helpless Women. *New York Journal*, 17.
- BUREAU OF INTERNATIONAL INFORMATION PROGRAMS 2005. *Out Line of U.S. History*, U.S. Department of State.
- BUSH, G. W. 2009. *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America: September 2002*, Morgan James Publishing.

- CATER, D. 1959. Fourth branch of government.
- CHIASSEON, L. 1995. *The press in times of crisis*, Greenwood Publishing Group.
- CHOMSKY, N. 2011. *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda*, Seven Stories Press.
- CHOULIARAKI, L. 2007. *The Soft Power of War*, John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- CNBC. 2015. *Jack Ma to US: Quit worrying so much about China* [Online]. Available: <http://www.cnn.com/2015/09/30/us-quit-worrying-so-much-about-china.html> [Accessed October 1, 2015].
- COHEN, B. C. 1960. The Present and the Press. *World Politics*, 13, 165-174.
- CONGRESS, U. S. 2007. *Congressional Record, V. 149, PT. 19, October 24, 2003 to November 4, 2003*, U.S. Government Printing Office.
- CONGRESS, U. S. 2010. *Congressional Record, V. 151, PT. 17, October 7 to 26, 2005*, BERNAN Press.
- DAVIS, R. T. 2011. *U. S. Army and the Media in the 20th Century*, DIANE Publishing Company.
- DENTON, R. E. & KUYPERS, J. A. 2007. *Politics and Communication in America: Campaigns, Media, and Governing in the 21st Century*, Waveland Press.
- DEPARLE, J. 1991. *AFTER THE WAR: Long Series of Military Decisions Led to Gulf War News Censorship* [Online]. Available: <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/05/05/world/after-the-war-long-series-of-military-decisions-led-to-gulf-war-news-censorship.html> [Accessed April 10, 2015].
- DICKSON, P. 2014. *War Slang: American Fighting Words & Phrases Since the Civil War, Third Edition*, Dover Publications.
- DIDDERBODDER. 2012. *Bush laughs at no WMD in Iraq (re-cut)* [Online]. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wXnIrZrVhRY> [Accessed April 10, 2015].
- E PLURIBUS UNUM. n.d. *Would There Have Been an American Revolution Without Newspapers or Mail?* [Online]. Available: <http://www1.assumption.edu/ahc/1770s/pcomconvers.html> [Accessed March 15, 2015].
- EDITORIAL. 2012. *Too Much Power for a President* [Online]. Available: http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/31/opinion/too-much-power-for-a-president.html?_r=0 [Accessed September 10, 2015].
- FRANKLIN, B., WOOLMAN, J. & PENN, W. 1909. *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, PF Collier.
- FROOMKIN, D. 2008. *What Is the Bush Doctrine, Anyway?* [Online]. Available: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/blog/2008/09/12/BL2008091201471.html> [Accessed March 10, 2015].
- GAUNDER, A. 2011. *Routledge Handbook of Japanese Politics*, Taylor & Francis.
- GILLANI, A. & ZHOU, X. 2015. Is Pakistan Terrorist? Front-page Perspective of Mainstream American Newspapers During Obama's First-year. *New Media and Mass Communication*, 40, 87-111.
- GRAY, E. G. & KAMENSKY, J. 2013. *The Oxford Handbook of the American Revolution*, Oxford University Press.
- HEFFERMEHL, F. S. 2010. *The Nobel Peace Prize: What Nobel Really Wanted*, Praeger.
- HIRO, D. 2007. *It's the Oil, Stupid* [Online]. TomDispatch.com. Available: http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/174841/dilip_hiro_it_s_the_oil_stupid [Accessed August 18, 2015].
- HOGAN, M. J. 1999. *The Ambiguous Legacy: U.S. Foreign Relations in the 'American Century'*, Cambridge University Press.
- HRYCYSZYN, D. n.d. *Nothing's Shocking: Mainstream Media Manipulation and the Gulf War* [Online]. Available: http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/issues/war/gulf_media.html [Accessed April 25, 2015].
- HUTCHINSON, W. Media, government and manipulation: the cases of the two Gulf Wars. Australian Information Warfare and Security Conference, 2008. 30.
- INDEPENDENCE HALL ASSOCIATION. n.d. *THE ELECTRIC BEN FRANKLIN* [Online]. UShistory.org. Available: <http://www.ushistory.org/franklin/courant/index.htm> [Accessed March 3, 2015].
- INVESTIGATINGPOWER. 2012. *Dean Baquet - Journalism's Corporate Takeover* [Online]. You Tube. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SN1dBXsfv8Q> [Accessed April 19, 2015].
- JAYAPALAN, N. 1999. *History of the United States of America*, Atlantic Publishers & Distributors (P) Limited.
- JELLEN, T. G., ROZELL, M. J. & SHALLY-JENSEN, M. 2015. *American Political Culture: An Encyclopedia [3 volumes]: An Encyclopedia*, ABC-CLIO.
- JONES, H. 2009. *Crucible of Power: A History of American Foreign Relations to 1913*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- JR., R. W. A. 1991. *WAR IN THE GULF: Strategy; Iraq: Hidden Cards?* [Online]. Available: <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/01/24/world/war-in-the-gulf-strategy-iraq-hidden-cards.html> [Accessed September 15, 2015].

- KALB, M. 2013. *The Road to War: Presidential Commitments Honored and Betrayed*, Brookings Institution Press.
- KATZ, J. S. 2010. *Competing for Global Dominance: Global Business and Economics, Trade and Economic Development, Small Business, Entrepreneurship, Marketing*, Super Star Press.
- KELLNER, D. 1992. *The Persian Gulf TV War* [Online]. Available: <https://pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/kellner/papers/gulfwar10.htm> [Accessed June 18, 2015].
- KENNEDY, D. & COHEN, L. 2012. *The American Pageant*, Cengage Learning.
- KINCANNON, J. 2002. America in 21st Century. *Pakistan Journal of American Studies*, 20, 1-10.
- KRYZHANOVSKIĬ, M. 2007. *White House Special Handbook: How to Rule the World in the 21st Century*, Algora Pub.
- LEWIS, N. A. 1991. *WAR IN THE GULF: The Press; Government's Strict Orders Limit Reports* [Online]. Available: <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/01/18/world/war-in-the-gulf-the-press-government-s-strict-orders-limit-reports.html> [Accessed April 10, 2015].
- LIPPMANN, W. 1946. *Public opinion*, Transaction Publishers.
- LUFT, G. 2003. *How Much Oil Does Iraq Have?* [Online]. Available: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2003/05/12globalenvironment-luft> [Accessed June 10, 2015].
- MARSHALL, S. L. A. & LECKIE, R. 1965. *The Story of World War I*, Random House.
- MENDELSON, W. 1962. On the Meaning of the First Amendment: Absolutes in the Balance. *Cal. L. Rev.*, 50, 829.
- MILTON, J. n.d. *Paradise Lost - Book 1* [Online]. Trustees of Dartmouth College. Available: http://www.dartmouth.edu/~milton/reading_room/pl/book_1/text.shtml [Accessed May 5, 2015].
- MOCKAITIS, T. R. 2012. *The Iraq War: A Documentary and Reference Guide*, Greenwood.
- MORLEY, J. 1991. TOP SPIN. *SPIN*. SPIN Media LLC.
- MUZZEY, D. S. 1915. *Readings in American history*, Ginn.
- NABI, R. L. 2003. Exploring the framing effects of emotion do discrete emotions differentially influence information accessibility, information seeking, and policy preference? *Communication Research*, 30, 224-247.
- NASH, G. B. & MANCALL, P. C. 2009. *Encyclopedia of American History*. Revised edition ed. Facts on File.
- NEWPORT, F. 2007. *Americans' Attitudes Toward Pakistan Largely Negative: Almost two-thirds had an unfavorable opinion earlier this year* [Online]. Available: <http://www.gallup.com/poll/102640/americans-attitudes-toward-pakistan-largely-negative.aspx> [Accessed June 15, 2015].
- NEWSEUM. 2012. *Christine Amanpour on "Pool Reporting" in the first Gulf War* [Online]. You Tube. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z0woS5oOTqo> [Accessed May 10, 2015].
- NICTA. 2009. *10 principles of war propaganda* [Online]. European Tribune. Available: <http://www.eurotrib.com/?op=displaystory;sid=2009/1/12/21515/1314> [Accessed March 20, 2015].
- NORTH, D. 2002. *The war against Iraq and America's drive for world domination* [Online]. International Committee of the Fourth International. Available: <http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2002/10/iraq-o04.html> [Accessed April 6, 2015].
- OBAMA, B. 2013. *Remarks by the President at the National Defense University* [Online]. The White House. Available: <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2013/05/23/remarks-president-national-defense-university> [Accessed April 27, 2015].
- ODLE, C. n.d.-a. *The Newspaper in Early America* [Online]. Available: <https://www.thefreedomtrail.org/educational-resources/article-newspaper-early-america.shtml> [Accessed March 5, 2015].
- ODLE, C. n.d.-b. *The Newspaper in Early America* [Online]. U.S.: The Freedom Trail Foundation. Available: <https://www.thefreedomtrail.org/educational-resources/article-newspaper-early-america.shtml> [Accessed March 2, 2015].
- OMSK, M. K. n.d. *THE ROLE OF THE MASS MEDIA IN THE US FOREIGN POLICYMAKING PROCESS* [Online]. Professionals For Cooperation. Available: <http://www.prof.msu.ru/publ/omsk/45.htm> [Accessed March 3, 2015].
- POWLICK, P. J. & KATZ, A. Z. 1998. Defining the American public opinion/foreign policy nexus. *Mershon International Studies Review*, 42, 29-61.
- RAMPTON, S. & STAUBER, J. 2003. *How To Sell a War : The Rendon Group deploys 'perception management' in the war on Iraq* [Online]. Available: <http://inthesetimes.com/article/603> [Accessed June 20, 2015].
- REGISTER, U. S. D. O. T. F., DIVISION, U. S. F. R. & REGISTER, U. S. O. O. T. F. 1996. *The Code of Federal Regulations of the United States of America*, U.S. Government Printing Office.

- REGISTER, U. S. D. O. T. F., DIVISION, U. S. F. R. & REGISTER, U. S. O. O. T. F. 2004. *The Code of Federal Regulations of the United States of America*, U.S. Government Printing Office.
- RENSHON, S. A. 1993. *The Political Psychology of the Gulf War: Leaders, Publics, and the Process of Conflict*, University of Pittsburgh Pre.
- SATTAR, N. April 2, 2008. *RE: Role of Media in Shaping American Foreign Policy Especially in War Time*
- SCAHILL, J. 2009. The secret US war in Pakistan. *The Nation*, 23.
- SCHMIDT, D. E. 2005. *The folly of war: American foreign policy, 1898-2005*, Algora Publishing.
- SCHROEDER, J. C. 2006. *Front-page gatekeeping and content trends in 15 large-circulation newspapers*. Master's thesis, Texas Tech University.
- SCHUDSON, M. 1981. *Discovering the news: A social history of American newspapers*, Basic Books.
- SCHWARTZ, M. 2008. *War Without End: The Iraq War in Context*, Haymarket Books.
- SEVY, G. 1991. *The American Experience in Vietnam: A Reader*, University of Oklahoma Press.
- SHAMOO, A. E. 2012. *Equal Worth: When Humanity Will Have Peace*, UPA.
- SHAREEF, M. 2014. *The United States, Iraq and the Kurds: Shock, Awe and Aftermath*, Taylor & Francis.
- SHOEMAKER, P. J. & REESE, S. D. 1996. *MEDIATING THE MESSAGE*. White Plains, N.Y.
- SMITH, M. J. 1988. *Contemporary communication research methods*, Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- SNOW, N. & PALAST, G. 2011. *Information War: American Propaganda, Free Speech and Opinion Control Since 9-11*, Seven Stories Press.
- SNOW, N. & TAYLOR, P. M. 2006. The Revival of the Propaganda State US Propaganda at Home and Abroad since 9/11. *International Communication Gazette*, 68, 389-407.
- SUMMERS, D. 2013. *Is Iraq Capable of Becoming the Largest Oil Producer in the World* [Online]. Available: <http://oilprice.com/Energy/Crude-Oil/Is-Iraq-Capable-of-Becoming-the-Largest-Oil-Producer-in-the-World.html> [Accessed June 28, 2015].
- SWIFT, M. I. 1899. *Imperialism and liberty*, Ronbroke Press.
- TEACH US HISTORY. n.d. *Bloody Butchery, by the British Troops: or, The Runaway Fight of the Regulars* [Online]. Available: <http://www.teachushistory.org/node/248> [Accessed March 10, 2015].
- TEACHINGHISTORY. n.d. *"Join or Die," America's First Political Cartoon: Benjamin Franklin and the First Plan for Union* [Online]. teachinghistory. Available: http://www.teachthhistory.org/File/Join_or_Die_1.pdf [Accessed March 8, 2015].
- THE ASSOCIATED PRESS. 2004. *Bush's WMD joke draws criticism: Democrats deem president's humor inappropriate for wartime* [Online]. Available: <http://www.nbcnews.com/id/4608166/ns/politics/> [Accessed July 25, 2015].
- THE AUSTRALIAN. 2008. *So who does know what the Bush doctrine was about?* [Online]. Available: <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/archive/news/so-who-does-know-what-the-bush-doctrine-was-about/story-e6frg71f-111117482844> [Accessed March 10, 2015].
- THE EDITORIAL BOARD. 2013. *The End of the Perpetual War* [Online]. Available: <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/24/opinion/obama-vows-to-end-of-the-perpetual-war.html> [Accessed September 10, 2015].
- THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY. 1939. *Hitler Tells the Reichstag: Bomb Will Be Met by Bomb* [Online]. The New York Times. Available: <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/big/0901.html> [Accessed March 10, 2015].
- THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY. 1940. *ROOSEVELET CALLS FOR GREATER AID TO BRITIAN AS BEST WAY TO HALT DICTATORS AND AVERT WAR* [Online]. Available: <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/big/1229.html#article> [Accessed March 17, 2015].
- THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY. 1941. *JAPAN WARS ON U.S. AND BRITAIN* [Online]. [Accessed March 10, 2015].
- THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY. 1944. The New York Times. Available: <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/big/0606.html#article> [Accessed March 10, 2015].
- THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY. 1945a. *FIRST ATOMIC BOMB DROPPED ON JAPAN; TRUMAN WARNS FOE OF A 'RAIN OF 'RUIN'* [Online]. The New York Times. Available: <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/big/0806.html#article> [Accessed March 10, 2015].
- THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY. 1945b. *JAPAN SURRENDERS, END OF WAR* [Online]. The New York Times. Available: <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/big/0814.html#article> [Accessed March 10, 2015].
- TIWARI, R. 2014. *President Obama*, Diamond Pocket Books Pvt Ltd.

- TODD, L. P. & CUTRI, M. 1964. *Rise of the American Nation*, New York, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.
- TUCKER, S. 2009. *The encyclopedia of the Spanish-American and Philippine-American wars: a political, social, and military history*, ABC-CLIO.
- TWIN CITIES PUBLIC TELEVISION. n.d.-a. *HIGH TEA IN BOSTON HARBOR* [Online]. Available: http://www.pbs.org/ktca/liberty/chronicle_boston1774.html [Accessed March 11, 2015].
- TWIN CITIES PUBLIC TELEVISION. n.d.-b. *INDEPENDENCE* [Online]. Available: http://www.pbs.org/ktca/liberty/chronicle_philadelphia1776.html [Accessed March 10, 2015].
- TWIN CITIES PUBLIC TELEVISION. n.d.-c. *YORKTOWN IS WON* [Online]. Available: http://www.pbs.org/ktca/liberty/chronicle_yorktown1781.html [Accessed March 2, 2015].
- U.S. DIPLOMATIC MISSION TO GERMANY. 2010. *The Media in the United States > Newspapers* [Online]. Available: <http://usa.usembassy.de/media-newspapers.htm> [Accessed March 15, 2015].
- VOELKER, D. J. n.d. *John Winthrop Calls Massachusetts Bay Colony "a City upon a Hill"* [Online]. Available: <http://www.historytools.org/sources/winthrop-charity.pdf> [Accessed March 10, 2015].
- WARREN, K. F. 2008. *Encyclopedia of U.S. Campaigns, Elections, and Electoral Behavior*, SAGE Publications.
- WELLS, T. 2005. *The War Within: America's Battle Over Vietnam*, iUniverse.
- WERNER, J. & HUYNH, L. D. 2015. *The Vietnam War: Vietnamese and American Perspectives*, Taylor & Francis.
- WIKE, R. 2013. *Few Americans trust Pakistan* [Online]. Pew Research Center. Available: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/10/23/few-americans-trust-pakistan/> [Accessed April 10, 2015].
- WILHOIT, G. C. 1980. *Mass communication review yearbook*, Sage Publications.
- WILLIAMS, P. 1991. The Press and the Persian Gulf War. *Parameters*, 21, 2-9.
- WITTES, B. 2010. *Legislating the War on Terror: An Agenda for Reform*, Brookings Institution Press.
- ZHOU, S. & SLOAN, W. 2009. *Research Methods in Communication. Alabama: Vision.*

Syed Awais Hassan Gillani is a doctoral student at the School of Journalism and Communication, Wuhan University, China. He has done M.A. English (Literature), M.Sc. Mass Communication and Master of Philosophy (M. Phil.) in American Studies. He has taught at different private and government colleges including army colleges run by Pakistan army and its prime intelligence agency. He has also worked for half a decade as Producer/Director Programs at Pakistan Television Corporation Ltd. (PTV) – a state owned channel. He has published in *New Media and Mass Communication*. [awaisgillani@whu.edu.cn].

Dr. Xiang Zhou is a distinguished professor of International, Political and Internet Communication at Wuhan University, China. She has authored three books. She has published and presented more than 50 articles in various prestigious communication journals and conferences. She is also the member of AEJMC and ICA. Professor Zhou is peer reviewer of *Journal of Communication, New Media & Society, Political Communication, Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* and *Asian journal of Communication*. Dr. Zhou has also been the editor at Xinhua News Agency – the biggest and most influential government media organization in China – for over a decade.