

People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
Hamma Lakhdar University of El-Oued
Faculty of Arts and Languages
Department of Arts and English Language



**The Impact of US Media on Anti-war Movements: The Case of
Vietnam and Afghanistan**

**Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
Master's Degree in Literature and Civilization**

Submitted by:

AZZA Bouchra

BOUHAFS Nesrine

TEDJINI Altaf

Supervised by:

Mr. SOLTANI Jalal

Board of Examiners:

Dr. Ghedir Brahim Mohammed	President	University of El-Oued
Mr. SOLTANI Jalal	Supervisor	University of El-Oued
Mr. Boulakhessaim Abdel Kader	Examiner	University of El-Oued

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Dedication

We dedicate this work to our beloved parents, who believed in us and were patient with us
through their support and love.

To our sisters, brothers, teachers, and everyone who helped and encouraged us.

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Abstract

wars in Vietnam and Afghanistan are two of the most widely discussed topics in history. Nevertheless, in both cases, the critical events occurred only when America's enemies made significant gains. Consequently, this study aims at depicting the impact of the U.S. media on the two longest wars in U.S. history; the Vietnam and Afghanistan war. This study is a qualitative research based on the descriptive, analytical and historical method. The study demonstrates the causes of American failure in the Vietnam war. Several factors contributed to this outcome, including North Vietnamese forces, Viet Cong strategies as well as Nixon's Vietnamization policy. Moreover, the U.S. media played a significant role in the American failure in Vietnam and Afghanistan. Media succeeded in encouraging the appearance of anti-war movements in the United States and worldwide. The study concluded that the media had a significant impact on public opinion, and influenced the course of the Vietnam and Afghanistan wars, ultimately leading to the United States' withdrawal from both countries.

Keywords: Afghanistan, Anti-war movements, Media, Vietnam.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

A.M	Ante meridiem
ALN	National Liberation Army
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
C.O.R.E	Congress Of Racial Equality
CBS	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CNN	Cable News Network
D.C	District of Columbia
DRV	Democratic Republic of Vietnam
FLN	National Liberation Front
MTLD	Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties
MTV	Music Television
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NBC	National Broadcasting Company
NFL	National Liberation Front
PTSD	Post Traumatic Stress Disorder
RVN	Republic of Vietnam
SDS	Students for a Democratic Society
TV	Television
U.S.	United States
U.S.A	United States of America

U.S.S.R	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UN	United Nations
VVAW	Vietnam Veterans Against the War

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General Introduction

1. Background of the Study

The media plays an important part in people's lives. It is regarded as a useful tool for disseminating and exchanging information. There is a strong correlation between the media and government. It is a necessary component in any powerful administration due to its influence on the public and its contribution to formulating policy decisions. The U.S. media played a vital role in the coverage of U.S. policy decisions in the Vietnam and Afghanistan Wars. The Vietnam War was the first notable traumatic war to be broadcast on television. This conflict is also important since the Americans were defeated militarily. In this sense, the gruesome pictures depicted in the aftermath of the conflict were viewed as a crucial factor in influencing American public opinion to oppose the war. The U.S. media had accurately shown the government's true goal, necessitating the dissemination of a series of rumors to restrict the news and mislead the public. As a result, an "Anti-War Movement" was established to resist the unjustified war. For this, a large number of people assembled in public locations to show their opposition to the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War that led to its withdrawal by the end. However, during the war in Afghanistan, the 9/11 attacks had a profound impact on public opinion and U.S. foreign policy. The attacks were a matter of interest of the U.S. media, the dreadful facts of the terrorist attacks on September 09, 2001, always come up on the surface as alarming images of the deaths. The media's coverage of the tragedy swayed public opinion in the United States, causing outrage among people and the government. As a result, the American people and government were infuriated. Consequently, the United States government decided to invade Afghanistan with the support of NATO On October 31, 2001, to destroy al Qaeda and its leader Osama Bin Laden.

2. Statement of the Problem

In the aftermath of the Vietnam War, the United States' media presents a broader perspective. The objective was to provide an adequate explanation for how news coverage of the

war could awaken consciences among the American population, causing public opinion to turn against the war. Consequently, the anti-war movements encouraged citizens to express their dissatisfaction with American soldiers participating in the conflict. In this regard, the current study looks at how the U.S government's media policies influenced media coverage and the public's perception of the Vietnam and Afghanistan wars.

3. Research Questions and Research Hypotheses

The current study aims to answer a set of questions that tended to focus on the impact of media on the Vietnam and Afghanistan wars. The objectives of our dissertation are directed by the following questions:

- 1- How did the U.S. media affect the Vietnam and Afghanistan wars?
- 2- To what extent did the media contribute to the United States' failure in the Vietnam War?

In essence, this research hypothesizes that the media coverage was a major reason for the United States' failure in the Vietnam and Afghanistan wars, especially after the Tet offensive, since the war was no longer justified in people's minds. Then, the media is a crucial role in the U.S. failure in Vietnam and Afghanistan wars. Without it, the wars could not end rapidly.

4. Aims of the Study

The study aims at depicting the impact of the American media and its significance in the coverage of the Vietnam and Afghanistan wars. It sheds the light on how the U.S. media affected the Vietnam and Afghanistan wars, and the extent to which it spawned anti-war movements that shaped public opinion about the war.

5. Research Methodology

The study is carried out using the qualitative method. A combination of the historical and the descriptive method is applied in the first and second chapters to introduce the concept of the

media and its role in the United States. Then the role of U.S. media in the Vietnam and Afghanistan wars, the historical method is used for a set and sequence of events in the past to evaluate questions concerning both wars. The third chapter is practical. The analytical method was applied to analyze and discuss the impact of media on the two wars.

6. Significance of the study

The significance of this research depends on its ability to bridge the gap between the past and the present. This study focuses on the impact of the U.S. media on the Vietnam War as an old war and the war of Afghanistan as a modern war. This is possible through shaping popular opinion to oppose the war, as in the case of the Vietnam War.

7. Structure of the study

This dissertation is divided into three chapters; the first two chapters are theoretical whereas the third chapter is practical. The first chapter provides an overview of the media in the United States, focusing on the differences between media and its various types and components. The second chapter discusses the role of the media in the Vietnam and Afghanistan wars, emphasizing the media's strong influence during both wars and its significance in enhancing anti-war movements. The final chapter analyzes the previous chapters' results. It responds to the main issues related to the impact of U.S. media on the Vietnam and Afghanistan wars. It discusses the United States' failure in the Vietnam War in one hand, as well as the successful development of anti-war movements because of the U.S. media.

CHAPTER ONE

An Overview of U.S. Media

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Introduction

The present chapter aims at defining the key concepts related to U.S. media to better understand the discussed issue. Firstly, the chapter begins with defining the concept of media in general, then it moves to the definition of U.S. media, which is the main title of this chapter. It also covers radio, television, newspapers, and the internet as well as other forms of American media. Secondly, it attempts to clarify the role played by the U.S. media on various levels. The following title deals with the impact of the U.S. media on politics, government, and society. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the media's connection with the military.

1.1. The Concept of Media

Generally speaking, media became more effective and powerful at the beginning of the twenty-first century than it had previously been. Media coverage has a global impact on human life in today's world, where modernization and globalization have accelerated due to the introduction of new technology and the availability of the internet, mainly social media. Media is a significant force in the modern era. For this, it is known as a powerful force in the world.

American media corporations use their resources to promote a positive image of the United States around the world. The New York Times, for example, has a worldwide audience. Consequently, it is regarded as one of the most prominent newspapers in the world since it plays a significant role in shaping public opinion on a wide variety of problems (Dimaggio, 2009). De Jong, Shaw, and Stammers outline that "Media appear to be increasingly globalized, as national television, press, etc. are subsumed in gigantic worldwide flows of information and ideas, symbolized by the internet, which offers social and political actors new opportunities for direct communication." As cited in (Dimaggio, 2009, p.1).

Media is known as the Fourth Estate. This refers to the press and news media. Several types of media are shaped to facilitate people to get benefits, such as education and entertainment. These sorts of media include print media such as newspapers or books, as well as

electronic media that transmit to a larger audience, such as television, radio, or the internet. The media covers a wide range of news categories relating to a wide range of issues, including politics, government, and society. In this dissertation, the latter will be demonstrated in-depth.

Basically, people use the media to meet their specific requirements. Some people use it to pass the time, such as reading newspapers, while others use it to educate or entertain themselves. As a result, different people have different perspectives on the media. This also depends on the user's preferences.

1.1.1. Definition of U.S. Media

Technological advancements have made it easier for people all around the world, including Americans, to connect and coexist more comfortably. These developments focus on a variety of difficulties and provide solutions to many of the challenges and concerns that people confront in their daily lives. Media has a wide range of definitions and meanings. It has an impact on everything people do in society as a result of their ideas, values, and attitudes.

The media and reporters who work in media not only report and publish a variety of viewpoints and opinions, but they also serve as the primary driver, engine, and platform for public debate (kotay, 2015). Media comprise “the mass media of television, radio and the press that are corporately owned, controlled or governed (including by public corporations such as the BBC)” (De Jong et al, 2005, p.6). In this context, they also mentioned the definition of media stating that:

Media and their sources frame the news agenda, structure the debate, and create what we perceive as the reality in which we live. In this sense, news media play a hegemonic role in our society – their perceptions and interpretations of the world become common sense (De Jong et al, 2005, p.6).

In a broader context, the media is the tool or a medium for spreading news, information, and other ideas. This can be accomplished through various means, such as the internet, radio, television, and newspapers. As a result, the primary reason that leads people to turn to the media is to get news.

To sum up, media can be accounted as a tool for acquiring and disseminating information to the audience. These details are related to matters of public interest, of which everyone is aware and conscious of the power of media. It's crucial to note that the media not only reports on events but also offers its own opinions and viewpoints on them.

1.2. Types of U.S. Media

The media, as it is well known, serves as a platform for the dissemination of information. This process aids the public in gaining knowledge and becoming aware of various events and news items that they are interested in. In this context, the term 'media' refers to a variety of channels that are classified into two categories; print media, which includes the most common type 'newspapers' in addition to magazines, and non-print media, which includes radio, television, the internet and others.

Media can be divided into the following categories:

1.2.1. Radio

Radio emerged as a mass media tool almost immediately after its introduction in the late nineteenth century. Surprisingly, radio continues to play an essential role in a range of disciplines even after more than a century of existence and despite tremendous breakthroughs in the world of information and communication technologies (Sarmah & Lama, 2017). Radio stations, like other forms of media, offer a variety of programs for their listeners of all ages, including current news summaries and events relating to diverse topics such as politics and

society. It also offers entertainment programs for children and women, such as music and game competitions (Bhatt, n.d.).

1.2.2. Television

Television has a significant influence on our lives. It is a new mass medium that is rapidly evolving and growing to a high level of sophistication. It appeals to both young and old people because it combines visuals and audio components. Television is effectively used to encourage people to participate in developmental programs. Feature films, documentaries, and development campaigns should attract viewers' interest. In other words, the content should be current to appeal to people of all ages, and viewers should be persuaded to participate in developmental programs. To effectively bring in development, television has been used as an aid to satellite communication technology. Satellite communications technology has the unique capability of reaching out to a very large number of people over long distances, even in the most remote corners of the country (Bhatt, n.d.). Television was designated as the most essential news source during the Vietnam War for various reasons. At a period when a growing number of American households had access to cable television, the war launched. McClancy (as cited in Vaughan, 2020) stated that television swiftly surpassed newspapers as the principal source of news for many U.S people.

1.2.3. Newspapers

The newspaper industry has a long and tumultuous history dating back over four centuries. Although the first official newspaper was published in Strasburg in 1605, the steam printing press and telegraph were not developed until the Industrial Revolution in the early nineteenth century. This made it possible for street vendors to sell low-cost papers to a wider audience. Between 1890 and 1920, the industry expanded, and newspapers gained prominence as society's primary source of information. This was known as the print media's "Golden Age" (Patel, 2010). Therefore, the major role of newspapers, as an old and printed medium, is to

deliver information and news to their readers, who want to form opinions based on what they report, and to pique their attention by choosing an effective manner of disseminating news.

It is worth noting that comprehending the newspaper industry is critical if the public wishes to have an impact on the business's ability to appropriately serve the intellectual market. This is a universal premise that can be applied to the United States in particular.

1.2.4. Internet

As a technological advancement used in the media, the internet has had an impact on the field of media, facilitating media coverage of various reports. The emergence of the internet as the most recent medium of communication demonstrates that some factors arose during the media development period that encouraged its appearance. This means that each type of media has its own set of emergent causes (Kraidy, n.d.). The internet is useful for a wide range of media coverage themes, including coverage of wars that arose during the internet's emergence, such as the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. According to Karatzogiann (2004), famous U.S. media platforms such as CNN have incorporated the internet into their coverage of wars including the Iraq War, to depict the war in detail like using charts and maps. Finally, it can be said that internet use has had a largely favorable impact on people's lives.

In conclusion, various forms of media have a significant role in shaping public opinion. Radio, TV, newspapers, and the internet are all important sources of information. They have contributed to raising awareness and comprehension of current events around the world. The media covers various topics and events such as political events, sports, city news, business, education, international news, and entertainment. The news should be appropriate for men, women, and children of all ages.

1.3. The Role of Media in the United States

Media has played a critical role in disseminating data to the community and influencing public opinion on US involvement in wars. In the Vietnam and Afghanistan wars, for example, media coverage was significant in bringing national and international conflicts to light.

Chomsky (1997) argues that the social, political, and economic positions of the United States are influenced by several factors. For him, mass media is a significant element in influencing people's opinions and closing the knowledge gap. It is also responsible for educating the public as well as keeping government and businesses accountable for any actions that have an impact on the globe. Each mass media organization has a specific advantage when it comes to broadcasting news that it deems significant and relevant for a wider audience, and these outlets are often referred to as "the elite media."

Similarly, the media have huge effects on the public that outweighed all other considerations. A terrorist may be more interested in the audience than the victims, in which case he uses the media to achieve his objectives (Rhine, Bennett & Flickinger, 2002). Besides, the media has an impact on people. Its presence is felt in all aspects of life. Its importance has recently risen as a result of its usefulness in warfare. The United States' war planners employed the media as a crucial instrument in their war tactics during the Gulf War of 1991, the Afghan War of 2001, and the Iraq War of 2003.

All in all, the farmers were accurate in believing that without a free press, Americans would be less likely to make wise political decisions, which they do all the time. As a result, press freedom was incorporated in the bill of rights.

To conclude, in US policy, the media has played and continues to play a vital role. On the other hand, the media is not always a reliable medium of communication. It can manipulate a notion of reality. The media, for example, portrays Afghans as terrorists and connects Islam with terrorism, despite the Afghan people's determination to protect their homeland.

1.3.1. Media & politics

Talk shows on the radio and television, TV news magazines, (Music Television), print and electronic outlets, and computer networks have all become increasingly important in the democratic process. The media, the government, and the public have a significant relationship. Though the media can occasionally impact public opinion, it has a bigger influence in connecting with voters, regardless of whether concerns are important or not. When it comes to those concerns, the media works more effectively by throwing a focus on certain topics.

The media's presence is linked to, and in some ways complements, the current political news and entertainment topics (Davis & Owen,1998). Stempl and Guido (2003) argue that the media and politics in the United States are two separate entities, each with its own set of objectives and goals. They cannot, however, progress without each other.

Additionally, Stempl and Guido (2003) claim that politics and politicians are necessary for the media because what politicians do is, by definition, news and must be reported by the media. Politicians must be visible. They must be known by the general public, and media coverage is an important part of that. In this regard, Voltmer mentioned the relationship between media and politics stating that:

Arguably the mass media serve as the main link between governments, political parties, candidates, and voters as the opportunities for direct communication between citizens and their representatives are extremely limited both in terms of the scale of the audience reached and the scope of the issues covered. However, the media are not just channels conveying the messages politicians want them to communicate to voters. They are also active participants in the creation of political Messages (Voltmer, 2006, p.6).

In other words, the media is an important part of American politics because it serves as a filter through which politicians can disseminate information to the public. The media's role in

American society cannot be overstated. The media's influence has shaped the development of American government and politics, particularly in the realm of policymaking.

According to Aday (2017), political communication is the most established area of research for academics. The analysis of media and foreign relations is concerned with how the war is covered, which is probably the most crucial aspect. However, one may argue that the media isn't all that vital to the American political system because it doesn't establish or influence the structure of government (Craig, 2016). With the growth of social media, politicians and political parties now have new ways to communicate with the public, and every candidate now has at least one Twitter profile and a Facebook page.

1.3.2. Media & government

According to Hallin (1989), the press was no longer a government extension; they did not feel compelled to the actual news with a political agenda in mind. He goes on to argue that as the press gained more political freedom, journalists started to challenge the decisions and authority of those in power, especially when official government policy did not seem to align with what journalists were seeing. For him, the media's newly found independence contributed to the consensus that the media played in the Vietnam War.

The media also has a hand in setting the agenda, or deciding which topics or issues should be discussed publicly. As a result, today's media plays an important role in avoiding potential emergencies or humanitarian disasters, as shown by countless examples of agenda-setting. Consequently, Hallin argues that the media in the United States generally follows the government's policy line to protect American interests in foreign policy matters, and to assist the government in influencing public opinion in the government's favor on a variety of policy issues. Today, countless examples of agenda-setting in the media highlight the media's usefulness in preventing future emergencies or humanitarian disasters (Saleem, 2007, p.139).

The media policy of the United States is influenced by changes in the US government's policies toward subject countries. The following factors influenced changes in media policy: To begin, the media in the United States generally follows the government's policy line in foreign policy matters in order to protect American interests. Then, to assist the government in influencing public opinion in favor of the government on various policy topics, such as patriotism (Saleem, 2007).

To conclude, it has been noticed that the U.S government and media industry require each other for achieving personal goals. The media has an important role in connecting citizens and authorities, particularly when it comes to policies and incidents that occur outside of American borders. The majority of Americans learn about international affairs from the media, either entirely or partially through connections with friends or family members who have learned about it via the media. Furthermore, media continues to have a significant impact on the government's agenda by highlighting issues and channeling public and political concerns. In this context, experts claim that it still has an impact on policymakers because the public's acquaintance with political matters is closely tied to the amount and length of attention these topics receive in the mass media.

1.3.3. Media & society

The media's position in society has evolved in recent years as a result of message digitization. Traditionally, the audience had to rely significantly on mainstream information created, transmitted, and monitored by organizations and big media outlets. These organizations decided what topics and topics were interesting and influencing public perceptions of what was important (Roberts, 2019).

In the same context, the relationship between public, foreign policy can be summarized in the following:

studies consistently show that the American public knows even less about foreign affairs generally and foreign policy specifically than it does about domestic issues, although there is debate about whether citizens still make rational if not fully informed decisions about foreign policy. The public is particularly dependent on media coverage, elite messaging, and other informational cognitive shortcuts to inform them about matters with which they are highly unlikely to have either personal experience or to know people who do (Aday, 2017, p.8).

In a nutshell, the media contributes to public welfare by serving as a forum for public debate and boosting citizen awareness. Politics, campaigns, and foreign news are all covered by network news. The New York Times and many other news outlets make it easy for voters to stay informed on national issues.

1.4. The Relationship between the Media and the Military

The media plays an important and multifaceted role in covering the war. It is regarded as an "influencer" of public opinion and thought. It does, however, have an impact on policymaking. The impact of U.S. media coverage, war photography, and journalism reports on U.S. government foreign involvement was continuously shifting according to the war. Media can be thought of as a vehicle for public opinion to shape policies.

The public's views and opinions are influenced by media coverage. The public perception of conflicts as reported in the media has an indirect impact on government foreign policy. This was confirmed by Dorman and Livingston by saying that: "In American society, the news media have a constitutionally guaranteed right and, therefore, we would argue, responsibility to provide information that goes beyond government publicity campaigns". As cited in (Le, 2016, p.1). Le (2016) also states that, during the Vietnam War (1960-1970), the American media had complete and absolute freedom to cover and report on anything related to the war to Americans, including

American victims, especially after the Tet offensive. Consequently, these events are not forgotten by Americans and even their government. They are taken, nevertheless, into consideration before any foreign conflict in which U.S. military forces may be involved.

According to Hallin (1986), the Vietnam War is regarded as the first broadcast conflict. Thus, more than half of the television coverage was devoted to military operations and the development of Anti-war Movements. Because a large number of American troops were committed to fight, television coverage was dominated by one central story: American boys in action (Hallin, 1986). The government's strategic use of photographs disseminated by television media distinguishes this conflict from the Vietnam war, in which battle images for the first time exposed the realities of combat to the American public, resulting in a loss of morale and support at home (Le, 2016).

To conclude, the media, as it is known as a popular source of information, can construct public points of view. After the Vietnam War, the U.S. government took into account people's interpretations of news that were produced by the media. The military blamed the media for its failure in Vietnam due to its coverage. As a result, the military learned from the Vietnam War that it needed to control the media coverage. Hence, U.S. military activity since the war of Vietnam is a remarkable indication of new media limits and legislative reforms geared at assuaging public concerns about future foreign conflicts.

Conclusion

The term "media" referred to all forms of communication that transmitted facts or information to citizens, including radio, television, newspapers, and the internet. The media wielded great power in American democracy, and practically all Americans got their news from the media rather than from others.

American perceptions of the environment and what they deemed essential were shaped by media attention. In the United States' political system, the media played a crucial role in the

democratic process. It disseminated information, served as a conduit between the government and the public, informed the public about what the government was doing, and informed the government about what the public was thinking. It also helped people stay involved in society and politics by selecting which topics should be addressed.

CHAPTER TWO

The Role of Media in the Vietnam & Afghanistan Wars

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Introduction

This chapter sets out the U.S. media reports and coverage in the light of the Vietnam and Afghanistan wars. On the one hand, the first unit deals with the Vietnam War and the factors that contributed to the Second Indochina War, which represents a real and direct involvement of the American troops. Additionally, it examines the effective role of the media, dating back to the Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson administrations, as well as how the press portrays the events of each regime. Lastly, the latter contributes profoundly to the emergence of the anti-war movement, resulting in domestic anti-war sentiment. On the other hand, the second unit deals with the Afghanistan War. It explores the 9/11 attacks and how the U.S. media covers this tragic incident. The chapter then goes on to discuss the US government's response to the attacks during the Bush administration, highlighting that Bush's decision to invade Afghanistan is emotional rather than diplomatic, given NATO's participation as a volunteer force.

Following the United States' response to the 9/11 attacks, activists faces challenges and difficulties in convincing the public of their issues, as well as how anti-war movements led by activists use the media to persuade people. This chapter also looks at how Arab Americans are portrayed in the media in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, before concluding with a discussion on media and terrorism, with a focus on terrorists' use of the media to achieve their objectives.

2.1. The Vietnam War: The Second Indochina War (1954-1973)

The War of Vietnam was one of the most critical conflicts of the Cold War. The First Indochina War and the Second Indochina War are both popular names for the Vietnam War. Furthermore, the United States entered this war gradually, first by providing financial assistance to French forces during the First Indochina War, then by sending military advisers to the south of Vietnam in 1955, and eventually by joining in an open military confrontation and bombarding. In the Second Indochina War, the United States intervened in Vietnam from 1954 until 1973.

The US effort to support the French army failed after the official departure of French soldiers from North Vietnam in 1965. The Viet Minh created the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the north after the Geneva Conference. However, in the New South, France and Japan established the Republic of Vietnam (RVN). Shortly after the Geneva Accords were signed in July 1954, the Second Indochina War began. The conflict was sparked by the American invasion of South Vietnam to support Ngo Dinh Diem's policies. Ngo Dinh Diem was elected President of South Vietnam and immediately set about constructing an authoritarian government free of American funding and help. Diem's ineffective and oppressive rule forced the Communist Party of the Northern Part to depose him via violent tactics (Adane & Thigrine, 2017).

Consequently, the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War was a violent battle that splintered American society. Initially, advocates and opponents of the policy coexisted in Vietnam. However, popular opinion against U.S. participation in Vietnam intensified, and large-scale anti-war rallies took place across the country. These events were closely covered by the media, which influenced the outcome of the war. As a result, the Vietnam War was dubbed “the media's war” or “the living Room” War. It was also the first combat to be televised in color on a daily basis, and countless articles have been written about it since then.

2.1.1. U.S. Media during the Administration Periods

The form of media coverage evolved with time. This development heightened the effect of reporting during the Vietnam War. Firstly, the level of coverage of the Vietnam War did not always remain consistent throughout the fight, which could explain why America failed as the fight became more intense and the likelihood of defeat increased. Then, Historians agree that coverage of the Vietnam War in the press only started to pick up after the war ended in 1975. So, why was Vietnam known as the "first television war"? This can be explained by stating that:

During World War II, morale was high. Camera crews stayed in noncombat areas to show the happier, more upbeat side of war. The stories were broadcast as motion pictures shown in theaters. And the newscasters shared the only good news and reported bad news with a cheery disposition. Government censorship over the media influenced this outlook—if the press wanted access to stories about the war, they had to receive credentials from the military. This ensured that the news didn't report anything that the military did not want to be disclosed to the public. Big stories like the A-bomb stayed out of the news until after the war ended. The main focus of the media was high morale and support for the war effort (Hallin, 1989, p.86).

Similarly, the military's policies, as well as the press's and the public's attitudes on media coverage of wars, were profoundly influenced by the Vietnam War. Due to the substantial expansion in information technology offered by the discovery of television, the power of media influence in warfare was experienced during the U.S engagement in the Vietnam War.

In conclusion, the United States was disappointed and unsure whether the cost and the damages were worth after the Vietnam War failed. Nonetheless, the majority of political leaders appeared to agree on one point: the role of the media during the conflict and how it contributed to its termination.

2.1.1.1. The Eisenhower Administration (1957-1961)

The news media grew and changed dramatically in the 1950s, the Official Press corps has evolved to a twenty-four-hour operation, including radio in providing unequaled accessibility to news coverage. Eisenhower recognized the need of using the media to enlighten and educate people and gain support in both his presidential and military roles. Eisenhower and his top staff spoke with the media regularly, frequently utilizing them to convey signals to other global

leaders. He was the first president to hold televised news conferences. While numerous prominent media figures at the time chastised Eisenhower, history had demonstrated that his moderate attitude implied a deep understanding of the nation's concerns, as evidenced by the eloquent tone of almost all of his important addresses on a variety of themes (Shlaes, 2012). On the other hand, it was said that:

the argument for concentrating on Eisenhower's presidency is that during his administration from 1953 to 1961, the French military left Vietnam, the Republic of Vietnam (RVN) came into existence in South Vietnam, and the United States became the principal patron of the new southern regime (Anderson, 1991, p.2).

Furthermore, Anderson (1991) argues that The Eisenhower administration's actions did not make the final huge US military presence in Vietnam inevitable. John Kennedy's increase of military aid and determination to make Vietnam a test of U.S. cold war legitimacy, as well as Johnson's intensification of U.S. participation, were the responsibilities of those presidents. In contrast, Eisenhower's eight years in office were comparatively calm. When communists took control of part of Vietnam in 1954, he concluded the Korean War with an armistice in July 1953. As a result, they did not send the country to war in Vietnam (though he did supply South Vietnam with military advisers and equipment).

2.1.1.2. The Kennedy Administration (1961-1963)

In November 1960, John F. Kennedy was elected president of the United States. All of the great issues of the 1960s awaited him: The Cold War, nuclear weapons, and civil rights. Under his presidency, Kennedy continued to help the South Vietnamese government with political and economic assistance, as well as military advice and support.

General Edward Lansdale told John F. Kennedy about the terrible situation in Vietnam immediately after he became president in January 1961. It became clear that the Viet Cong's efforts to gain control of the South had been effective. Hence, it was critical to interfere as soon

as possible. Kennedy needed to act because, as a new president during the Cold War, he couldn't afford to lose a losing war with the Communists, especially after the failed invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. Furthermore, throughout his presidential campaign, Kennedy criticized Eisenhower's foreign policy toward Vietnam, claiming that he was too cautious in making choices regarding the country. These were the primary reasons for Kennedy's decision to follow Taylor's advice. By the fall of 1961, Kennedy dispatched hundreds of "advisers" to Vietnam from 900 to 11,000 (Anderson, 2011).

Kennedy claimed that it was the U.S. military help that kept the government well-structured, and that withdrawing the army would result in the collapse of South Vietnam. There were some inconsistencies between what happened in presidential meetings and what was presented to the media. The U.S. media offered a favorable and optimistic image of the US engagement in Vietnam in the early years of the war because the primary source of information was the US government (Wyatt, 1995). The reality was kept hidden by the Army and the Department of Defense. Hence, "It is worth adding that the Times was often at the center of controversy, particularly during the Kennedy period, when tensions over Vietnam reporting first began to flare" (Hallin, 1989, p. 25). On the other hand, according to Wyatt (1995), John F. Kennedy had strong contact with several journalists during his lifetime. The New York Times' Arthur Crock, the Washington Post's Joseph Alsop, the Chattanooga Times' Charles Barlett, and others. Kennedy's innate fascination with and attraction for members of the press was calculated by forming symbiotic connections with a chosen group of news editors. President Kennedy sought to operate in his self-interest by earning their trust and gaining their support, allowing him to sway the news in his favor. Indeed, Hellmann (2006) continues to say that Kennedy attempted to minimize the gravity of the situation in Vietnam, whether by refusing the use of some expressions like 'armed forces' and 'troop', or by depicting American soldiers in glory, assisting Vietnamese, enjoying their exciting new experience, and occasionally dying. The media began to foster a distrustful and adversarial connection between the American people and the

government, demonstrating how perplexed American soldiers were apprehensive about their actions, and how many Vietnamese citizens had been murdered for no explicable cause. By the end, Kennedy was failed, despite his claims that he would neither restrict nor meddle with the press.

2.1.1.3. The Early Johnson Administration (1963-1969)

President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas just three weeks after the Diem regime came to an end. As a result, Lyndon B. Johnson was elected President of the United States. When his Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, warned him that the situation in Vietnam was still not under control.

Johnson wasted no time in deciding on a new approach to aid in the war's victory. In the beginning, the strategy was split into two parts: the first was to step up the military pressure on North Vietnam, even if it meant bombing. On the other hand, the second step included the insertion of ground soldiers (Hallin, 1989). Similarly, in March 1965, Johnson launched what was known as 'The Operation Rolling Thunder'. It was an air campaign against North Vietnam aimed at disrupting the flow of supplies and weapons from the north to the Viet Cong in the south (Cuddy, 2003).

For that, since Operation Rolling Thunder accelerated the collection of news in the field; journalists were given special access to services and transportation, as well as first-class seats on all U.S planes. Between November 1967 and February 1968, the percentage of Americans who felt the US was making progress in Vietnam fell from 51 percent to 32 percent. President Lyndon B. Johnson's support rating for the war had slipped 30% to 26% by March 1968 (Hallin, 1989). As a result, the American public grew to doubt the administration, and they sought information on the situation in Vietnam from the media. Besides, the mounting number of American losses, along with the media's eye-opening portrayal of the Vietnam conflict, raised discontent with the conflict. The percentage of Americans murdered in Vietnam exceeded those killed in the Korean War. In addition, public support for the war declined by roughly 15% every

time U.S. Vietnam-related casualties climbed by a factor of ten, 60, after the Tet Offensive in March 1968 (Perlmutter, 2005). For the first time, the television brought the conflict into the American family room.

Furthermore, at the same time, Walter Cronkite, an ancient journalist, a soldier, and a man born and raised as a cable reporter reporting World War II before becoming the presenter of “The CBS Evening News” during the Cold War (Achenbach, 2018). Cronkite claims in the show titled "Stay Tuned: TV's Unforgettable Moments- Vietnam: Denouncing the Conflict "that he "returned to Vietnam in early 1968 to experience the war for myself" (Conkrite,1968). Therefore, he says "I came to the conclusion that our presence there would be neither feasible nor practicable". Walter visited Vietnam and concluded that it was a horrible conflict in the wrong place (Conkrite, 1968). For this reason, it was a watershed moment in the history of the Vietnam War.

Media played a role in raising public awareness about the unjustified murder in Vietnam. Everything became dubious because of the media, and more crucially, popular support for the cause has dwindled. President Johnson was instructed by his military experts to find means to stop the war in response to the protests and the mounting number of American casualties in Vietnam.

Johnson proclaimed that he was able to negotiate peace as a first step toward ending the Vietnam conflict in a television broadcast to Americans and Vietnamese. He additionally stated that he will not seek the presidency in 1968. The latter belonged to Republican Richard Nixon, who was widely chastised by the media for a series of scandals, including the Pentagon Papers. He was another president selected by the Americans to bring the war to an end, but he deceived the public like the other presidents.

2.1.2. The Anti-war Movement during the Vietnam War

The Tet Offensive events were considered as a turning point that makes a shift in public opinion. Because of the military conscription and ethical resistance to American participation, the U.S. anti-war movement has been slowly rising among the citizens from the beginning of the 1960s. However, following the Tet Offensive and the media portrayal of the disaster that happened in Southeast Asia at the end of the 1960s, the chain of events of outrage spiraled out of control. In the beginning, as the conflict progressed, more and more Americans became dissatisfied with the growing number of dead and rising expenditure. Thus, the modest anti-war movement evolved into an irresistible force, prompting American politicians to reconsider their support for the war. Leaders of the peace movement opposed the war on moral and financial grounds. Furthermore, Rosinsky (2008) asserts that protests against the Vietnam War began in New York in 1964 when 1,000 students destroyed their selective service enrollment cards. At the University of Michigan, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was founded. The first anti-war lecture was given there, and the SDS planned a march in Washington, D.C., with over 30,000 people attending anti-war talks at the University of California and Berkeley. Novelists like Norman Mailer, Socialist leaders Norman Thomas and Alan Watts, civic activist Bob Moses, in addition to Mario Savio, a significant player in the Free Speech Movement, were among those who attended the event.

According to Hodbod'ova (2008), the events were attended by a large number of university students and professors, as well as members of university campuses, middle-class neighborhoods, and labor unions, as well as internationally well-known figures such as 'Mohammed Ali' and 'Martin Luther King'. Meanwhile, Herbes (1969) states that a year later Joan Herbers writes in The New York Times on November 15, 1969, that "a great throng of Americans, primarily youthful and peaceful, stage a peaceful rally in Washington; Militants Stir Clashes Later,". He added that: "500,000 War Protesters Stage Peaceful Rally in Washington; Militants Stir Clashes Later". Today's peaceful protest in the heart of the city was the biggest

public march in the country's capital demanded that US forces leave Vietnam as soon as possible.

In the same context, Richard Halloran of The New York Times released an exclusive report titled "7,000 arrested in Capital War Protest; 150 are Hurt as Clashes Disrupt Traffic". According to Halloran, the protestors, who demanded an immediate end to the Vietnam War, were frustrated in their attempts to obstruct government operations (Halloran,1971).

In conclusion, many anti-war demonstrations have occurred all over the U.S territories. These episodes have been widely publicized in the media, influencing the war's outcome.

2.2. Afghanistan War: Background of 9/11 Attacks

On Tuesday, September 11, 2001, many people in the East of the United States prepared to go to work. Some visited the World Trade Center's magnificent Twin Towers in New York City, while others went to the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia. On the other hand, President George W. Bush went for an early morning run in Sarasota and Florida. Before anything happened, it was a nice day for Americans.

On September 11, 2001, nineteen young men from different Arabic nations hijacked four domestic flights in the United States. The majority of them were from Saudi Arabia, two were from the United Arab Emirates, one from Lebanon, and one from Egypt (Cvek, 2009). The events started at 8:45 a.m. when the American Airlines Flight 11 from Boston to Los Angeles was destroyed into the World Trade Center's North Tower, and this was the first attack (McDonnell, 2004). The second attack was after less than thirty minutes, at 9:03, the American Airlines Flight 175 hit the South Tower, bringing 65 passengers and crew on the way to California. When the second plane hit the South Tower at the same moment, everyone knew it wasn't a mistake. Then at 9:40 a.m., 64 passengers carried on a Boeing 757 commercial airliner flying from Dulles to Los Angeles, piercing four of the Pentagon building's five interior rings (McDonnell, 2004). Following those incidents, the last flight 93, carrying 40 passengers to San

Francisco, was smashed in Shanksville, Pennsylvania. Consequently, the World Trade Center South Tower collapsed just before 10:00 a.m., killing the majority of those trapped inside, as well as the North. After 30 minutes, the planes' passengers and crews were all killed (McDonnell, 2004). Immediately after takeoff, the four airliners were hijacked and guided to their destinations as shown in (figure 1).

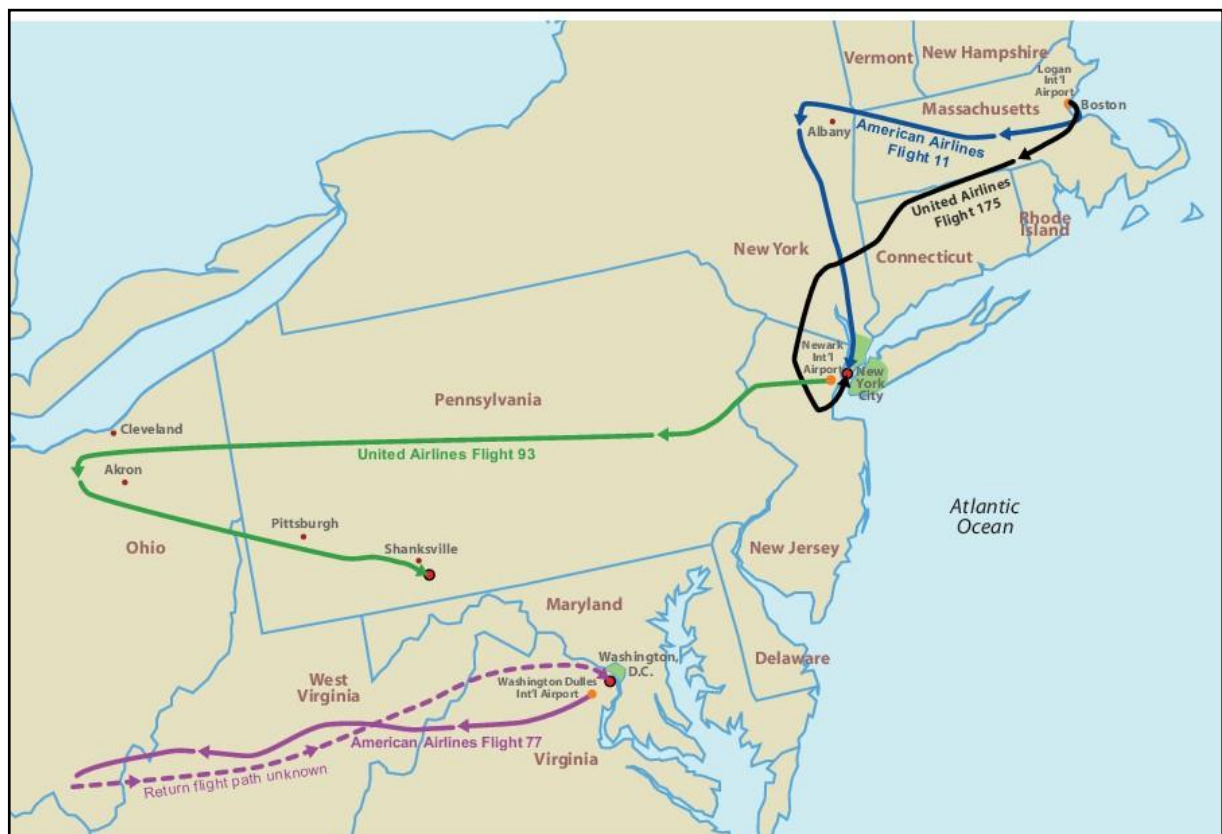


Figure 2.1. The Flight Paths of the Four Hijacked Planes on September 11, 2001. Adopted from “*One Day in History: September 11, 2001*” by R. Carlisle, 200, p.212.

Cvek (2009) claims that September 11 was “an attack that no one will ever forget”. Approximately 3000 people were killed on this day, making it one of America’s darkest days in history. The broadcasted and often displayed videos and photos of tower damage and victims became the tragedy of the day for Americans. In the United States, what happened appeared to be remarkable, and it was seen as a security danger to the United States.

To conclude, the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, D.C. on September 11, 2001, were unquestionably the most heinous and terrifying in American history. As a result of

these attacks, the United States government justified its invasion of Afghanistan as a response to September 11, 2001 events, and as retaliation against Al Qaeda for carrying out the attacks.

2.2.1. Media Response to September 11 Attacks

Media plays a significant role in shaping the public way of thinking and presenting a particular version of reality. On September 11, 2001, the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon had a major global impact. The influence of these attacks on the United States was much greater in many areas. This also affects its prestige as the most powerful government in the world. U.S. media such as Cable News Network (CNN) and other various news and TIME magazines have played a major part in portraying these attacks to persuade the rest of the world to assist the United States in its fight against terrorism.

The U.S. media helped in covering and informing the public of the 9/11 attacks. The devastation of the American flight that crashed into the North Tower, as well as the other strikes, were carried live on television. Journalists were obliged to use different means of communication such as the internet, e-mail for transmitting news and information due to the destruction of the communication system in New York (Carlisle, 2007). In addition, he claims that newspapers began to issue special editions, such as The Chicago Tribune and The Atlanta Constitution, so that biweekly newspapers became weeklies. CNN also covered the tragedy on the broadcast by displaying numerous text lines of news.

The American media and the majority of the people regard the 9/11 attacks as a direct hit on the American way of life and people's security. The American media and people demanded vengeance on those responsible for the deaths of 3,000 innocent victims. Hence, they supported Bush's plans to invade Afghanistan as a response to those attacks (Dimaggio, 2009). The media viewed Osama bin Laden to be the organizer of these attacks as Dimaggio states: CNN considered bin Laden to be "at the center of an international coalition of Islamic radicals"(Anthony R, 2009, p. 263). According to Lusingan (2004), fear, pain, and other emotions were felt differently by the Americans as a result of the media's desire to depict this

catastrophe in a frightening and shocking manner. Titles such as "A Day of Terror" and "America Under Terrorist Attack," as well as images of flames, smoke, and horror, such as the pictures of the Twin Towers, were instances of the media and other coverage. The media had a role in instilling fear amongst the population, prompting them to turn to the president for help and to take action against those guilty of the incidents.

To conclude, the U.S media uses a variety of ways to sway a wide range of people's opinions and the government's decision-making. It can even use propaganda and other measures to alter public opinion in the country's favor.

2.2.1.1. U.S. Government Response to 9/11 during the Bush Administration

The U.S government initiated an investigation into the events following the 9/11 attacks. It demanded from the Taliban to extradite Osama bin Laden, who is suspected of being the mastermind of the attacks. However, when the Taliban refused the request, the United States' goal shifted to invading Afghanistan (Dobbin, Poole, Long & Runkle, 2008). Therefore, the U.S. main aims of the Afghanistan invasion were to eliminate al Qaeda in Afghanistan and destroy the Taliban regime.

On September 11, 2001, the first speech of President George W. Bush was based on emotions, describing the attacks as "An Act of War". Bush's decision for the attacks was to invade Afghanistan and focus on jihadist groups, particularly al-Qaeda. The United States described this invasion as a "War On Terror"; a term that had been applied to an international military campaign that began after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks. According to Rodriguez (2006), Bush's decision to invade Afghanistan was emotional, and more rational response would be to research the origins and consequences of the assaults before deciding on a course of action, as well as to acquire extensive and trustworthy information on the events. According to him, Bush quickly swayed public opinion in favor of vengeance against terrorism, instilling in Americans an ultra-patriotism that would prohibit them from challenging any

resolution issued by the government. As a result, his power and prestige increased. The first way in which Bush revealed his emotions is through his declaration on Sept 11, 2001. In his declaration, he used terms to justify every military action conducted in response to a worldwide threat. In Bush's declaration to wage war against Afghanistan by using emotional intelligence and trust, he said: "Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts" (Bush, 2001, p. 1099).

On October 7, 2001, the invasion started with military operations to overthrow the Taliban and capture bin laden. There was an international coalition to invade Afghanistan led by America and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Seven countries were involved in this war, including Portugal, the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, Spain, Canada, and France (Carlisle, 2007). In addition to these countries, Jordan, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates, and Pakistan also participated in the Afghan War with small military troops (Miller, 2010).

While media reporting of the Vietnam War influenced public sentiment in the United States, it was not the primary cause of significant foreign policy shifts in the United States' subsequent engagement in overseas conflicts. The effect of public opinion during and after the Vietnam War, for example, pushed the Bush administration to revise its media practices during the First Gulf War.

To conclude, the decision to occupy Afghanistan was made more of an immediate reaction to fulfill the national psychological need for vengeance for the 9/11 attacks than as a result of precise strategic analysis.

2.2.1.2. Local Activists' Engagements with Media

Since the start of the "War On Terror" as a response to the 9/11 attacks, anti-war protests have faced challenges and difficulties to influence public opinion and political leaders' decisions. Taylor (2017), argues that the local media was regarded as one of the most powerful means of achieving agreement among anti-war activists they wished for "media face" to increase local

public awareness of their existence. Local newspapers were the first effective local media in molding people's opinions; they were the most successful and effective means of media in creating public opinion, followed by local radio, as seen in (figure 2).

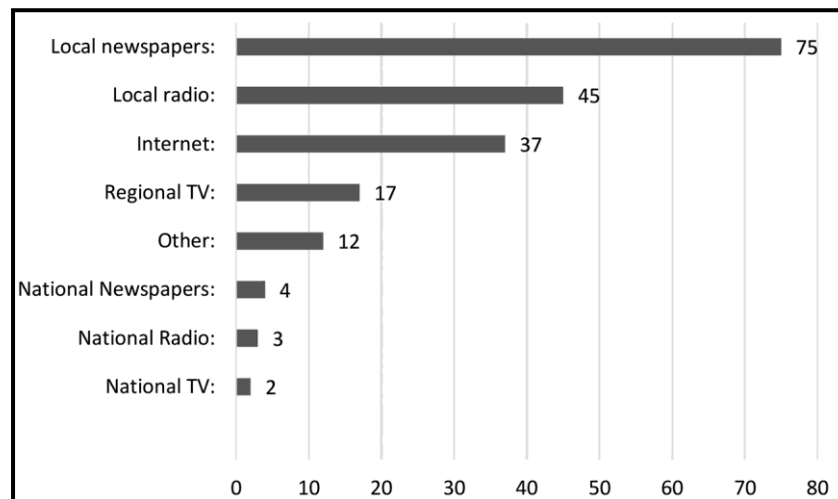


Figure 2.2. The Local Dimension of the Anti-War Movement. Adopted from “*Media Relations of the Anti-War Movement*”, by Taylor, 2017, p 104.

Similarly, Taylor (2017), states that anti-war activists rely on media, particularly local media, to spread their message and make it popular both inside and outside the country to gain public sympathy and support.

2.3. Post 9/11: The Portrayal Of Arab Americans In U.S. Media

Following the 9/11 attacks, Americans, particularly Muslims, were impacted in various facets of American life (Ali, 2017). Muslims in the United States face difficulties and a variety of volatile issues, such as racism, violence, Islamophobia, and other challenges propagated by the American media and reinforced by government policy (Ali, 2017). Parker (2008) states that September 11 attacks have focused attention on Muslims in the United States, where they are subjected to thousands of acts of terrorism and violence in the name of vengeance. According to Abdullah (2015), media coverage portrayed Muslims in a misleading, deceptive, and dismissive manner. Due to the negative impact of the media, they were not considered victims in the same way that other Americans were (Abdullah, 2015). The terrorist attacks on the Twin Skyscrapers

on September 11, 2001, had the greatest impact on Muslims. While some Muslim fundamentalists were successful in destroying the towers, the Muslim community as a whole was harmed.

2.4. Media and Terrorism

The relationship between terrorism and the media depends on how people define 'terrorism' and its dimensions. According to Spencer (2012), the concept of terrorism differs from one to another. Noam Chomsky defines terrorism as “the calculated use of violence or threat of violence to attain goals that are political, religious, or ideological in nature through intimidation, coercion, or instilling fear,” (Chomsky, 2006, p.4).

Approximately half of Americans (47%) are terrified of becoming terrorist victims (Jones, 2015). According to Spencer (2012), terrorists aim to produce terror, fear, and psychological impact among people rather than the act of aggression or the death of a victim. Their main objective is to send their message through the media. He argues that terrorism tends to use the media in three ways: first, it seeks national attention; second, it also seeks support for its objectives; and third, it aims to instill fear and terror in the general public to effect political change. In a broader sense, the media serves as a propaganda tool by covering terrorist news and events to instill fear and suspicion, attract global attention, and gain legitimacy, intending to influence people's political attitudes and beliefs. As a result, the more media attention they acquire, the more publicity they receive and the wider the audience they reach.

For White (2020), the media serves terrorists on multiple levels. It spreads propaganda through mainstream media coverage, resulting in a form of 'synergy' between the need of terrorists to be known and the desire of the media for a sensational story. Journalists are not objective; they report on events, shape public opinion, and put light on terrorist organizations that appear to be their allies. Terrorist groups may attempt "to exploit the media platform they currently have" (Jetter, 2017, p.4).

To conclude, the relationship between media and terrorism is symbiotic because terrorism cannot rise without advertising. The media has a pivotal role in shaping public opinion and spreading the message of terrorist organizations. Terrorists, on the other hand, supply the media with emotional, entertaining, and bloody news that helps them market their product.

Conclusion

The analysis of the role of the U.S. media in both the Vietnam and Afghanistan wars showed that the media was a double-edged sword that had a significant impact on public perceptions. The photographs and videos that were leaked in the Vietnam War were enough to erode morale and fuel the anti-war movement which contributed, among other factors, to the failure of the United States. On the other hand, the media coverage of the 9/11 attacks was the essential reason to wage war against Afghanistan. Despite these outcomes, imperialist actions by the United States were still going on today, such as the case of Afghanistan.

CHAPTER THREE

The Impact of U.S. Media on Vietnam and Afghanistan Wars

Chapter Three: The Impact of U.S. Media on Vietnam and Afghanistan Wars

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Introduction

This chapter seeks to analyze the results of the previous chapters to arrive at a final conclusion for this study. It begins by examining the factors that contribute to the United States' failure in Vietnam and Afghanistan, beginning with the North Vietnamese forces, Viet Cong, and their tactics. It provides a clear examination of Nixon's Vietnamization strategy. Finally, for his profound impact on the Vietnam and Afghanistan War's outcomes, the role of U.S. media has to be analyzed. The second section of this chapter addresses the success of media to promote Anti-War Movement not only in the United States of America, but in the entire world. The impact of these movements extends to other colonized nations such as the Algerian Revolution. Additionally, Black and Feminist Movements emerged. The final title in the chapter, the shift of U.S. Media, briefly compares the coverage of U.S. media in early wars like the Vietnam War with a modern war such as the case of Afghanistan.

3.1. Causes of American Failure in Vietnam War

This dissertation highlights that the United States of America failed to prevent the South Vietnamese regime from falling onto the insurgents of the Northern countries and to stop the future spread of communism in South-East Asia. Three aspects that contributed to this failure are examined. The reason behind the failure of the Americans in Vietnam should be made clearer by explaining these three aspects. Therefore, its influence on the failure of the American intervention determines the aspects.

3.1.1. Viet Cong

In the Vietnam War, the Viet Cong was a communist revolutionary army led by Ho Chi Minh, who was influenced by the Soviet Union and China. This armed wing of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam strongly fought against the South Vietnamese and the United States until America left Vietnam in the 1970s.

The Viet Cong's guerrilla tactics are thought to be one of the key reasons for America's loss in Vietnam. The military and guerilla forces of North Vietnam, the Viet Cong, had clearly determined key strategies for defeating the American Empire. According to Yung (2020), winning over the peasantry was an effective strategy used by the Viet Cong. In this strategy, following Mao Zedong's philosophy, the Viet Cong realized that defeating the Americans required the support of the peasantry. To this extent, the Communists worked hard to persuade them to change their minds. The Communists could readily claim that their philosophy fits the peasants' lifestyle since peasant life was communal and collaborative. They also proposed more equal land distribution to the peasantry and asked Communist soldiers to cease rape and pillage. This was typical of the South Vietnamese military's behavior because of the good treatment that the Communists had for the villagers. These villagers tried to aid them by providing them with food, shelter, and hiding spots. As a result of the Americans' confusion over the Viet Cong, some innocent civilians were killed.

Furthermore, the Viet Cong used another technique against Americans. This technique was based on building tunnels and traps near several military campaigns during the Vietnam War, where the Tet Offensive happened. These tunnels were built before the Vietnam War; they were used to fight against the French colonial forces. As a result, the Viet Cong began to expand them (Yung, 2002). The tunnels were used by the Viet Cong for many purposes: house troops, transfer of supplies, lay traps. They were also utilized to launch unexpected attacks. As mentioned in the previous chapters, one of the major causes of Viet Cong's success in beating Americans was the foreign aid. That is to say, the Soviet Union (USSR) and China supported the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese by providing money and arms to defeat South Vietnam and the United States.

To conclude, it is difficult to comprehend how a world power like the United States of America, with its advanced weapons and powerful army, was unable to defeat the guerilla

fighters. In other words, the United States' powerful army and modern equipment were ineffective in the Vietnam War.

3.1.2. Vietnamization

The U.S. strategy adopted in Vietnam was called the 'Vietnamization' policy. It was developed and implemented by the U.S. President, Richard Nixon, in 1969. The goal of this plan was to make South Vietnamese military self-sufficient enable to withdraw US troops from South Vietnam. Nixon once said: "I'm not going to end up like LBJ, holed up in the White House afraid to show my face on the street. I am going to stop that war." (Haldeman, 1978, p. 81 adopted from Hodbořová, 2008). After only six months in office, Richard Nixon stunned Americans and the world with his brilliant initiative.

The Nixon Vietnamization is a policy of leaving with pride that came under the slogan of peace with honor. In other words, the United States' war in Vietnam entailed arming the South Vietnamese, assuring their education, and fighting the Vietnamese without the help of American troops. It was recommended that the latter be phased out. At the same time, Saigon was becoming more powerful, and Nixon didn't want to leave Thieu alone. During this time, Hanoi did not reconsider negotiations as the U.S had expected (Herning, 2002). Instead, The United States of America reached an agreement with Saigon Hanoi, on the other hand, refused to negotiate because South Vietnam was not able to struggle without American assistance. Consequently, due to a breakdown in discussions, the first phase of Nixon's plan for peace with honor was unable to make significant progress.

Following that, Nixon came up with a new stage of his strategy, spreading the war to Cambodia and Laos by bombing Communist strongholds. Nixon invaded Cambodia in 1970 to destroy the Communist bases, believing that cutting off the Communist supplies, would devastate Hanoi. However, the latter refused to surrender. After a year, the United States invaded Laos, hoping that Hanoi would agree to negotiations. In short, during the administrations of

Johnson and Nixon, US military policies were ineffective. Hanoi finally signed the peace agreement in 1973 after realizing that it couldn't rely on its supporters for diplomatic pressure due to the tremendous losses in Vietnam.

3.1.3. The Role of U.S. Media on the American Public Opinion

During the early years of the war, the media's positive attitude towards the role of the United States in the affairs of Vietnam was notable. The American people became increasingly opposed to the country's participation in Vietnam over time. The Vietnam War, also known as Media War, was the first war to be televised and reported in the media.

In his book, "The Uncensored War," Hallin (1986) wrote: "because it is a visual medium, television shows the raw horror of war in a way print cannot". In addition, the American audience was shocked by photographs of napalm children, the burning victims, and My Lai evidence. These Brutal images destroyed the claim of the U.S. government to fight a war on an immoral enemy. Similarly, the media were transmitting civil paintings from the bottom of the battlefield. The famous Napalm Girl was a good example of those images that shaped the disillusionment and demoralization of the Americans in their decision to circle the Vietnam War (Rohn, 2014). Napalm Girl, originally called the Terror of War, is one of the symbolic images of America's most controversial war in the media, portraying the war in its entirety. As a result, the Americans lost faith in their government shortly after the genocide, and the level of protest reached a new high because they were judging a crime against humanity. Hence, this was the beginning of the end for the U.S. officials.

The media finally decided to support truth fullness. American population started to get a rain of bad news. Following that, the napalm girl photo by Phan Thi Kim Phuc shocked the world. That is to say, after the publishing of the photo depicting a 9-year-old girl's profound suffering, American voters' views on the war was changed over time.

After that, there was the My Lai Massacre. According to dozens of historians, it was the most controversial Media story and the most unbearable event in Vietnam. On March 16, 1968,

the village of My Lai was brutally killed by American soldiers, including women, young and elderly men. Many people, including young girls and women who have been raped and mutilated before their death, were killed in this massacre. The U.S. citizens could experience blood ship in media via these shockingly violent and abnormal pictures. As a result, a widespread anti-war protest took place throughout the United States of America. These incidents were simply monitored by the media. The entire coverage of the Vietnam War was geared toward bringing the war to a close.

To conclude, although the media did not always report the truth, it was one of the main reasons for the United States' loss in Vietnam since it portrayed a brutal image of the Americans to the rest of the world.

3.2. The Effectiveness of U.S. Media on Anti-War Movements

The bad portrayal of the war had an impact on both politicians and the American people. Americans continue to rely on Television to watch and comprehend the fight. Consequently, most of the American people began retracting support for the war. The media covered the fighting movement before 1968. However, it was overwhelmed by the war itself. A massive loss of government aid compelled politicians to go to war. In the same vein, rather than battling, television supported the political process (Hodbořová, 2008). However, the media, especially TV, are largely responsible for U.S. government failures. The wisdom of America's presence in Vietnam was questioned by numerous historians and researchers. As a result, conservative experts claim that the United States "lost the war" (Ecke, 2008). The world's major and most popular media source was television. TV coverage brought brutal war images to the Americans. During the Vietnam War, the American people became increasingly reliant on visual cues to keep them informed and updated about what was happening in Vietnam. By 1970, the media had established itself as a significant source of new national authority. Internally, political leaders

had been re-educated, reducing the influence of democracy in other countries (Herman & Chomsky, 2002).

The media's portrayals of the war's brutal realities, on the other hand, contributed to Americans' discontent with war and bloodshed. The TV Anti-War Movement may have an indirect influence on society. Americans began to express their feelings on urban streets, refusing to accept any involvement of the United States in the Vietnam War. At that time, television could present such scenes on a grand scale to viewers. TV stories about Anti-War Movement and were often connected to the Vietnamese events (Vaughan, 2020). Besides, certain viewpoints in the media sought to portray the war from a negative perspective. The media's coverage of the war was neutral for the government until the Tet Offensive, allowing for a reasonable response to the government's deception.

While watching the evening news in their living rooms, Americans frequently watch aircraft films, many of which show bombs falling, and patrol troops flying. The NLF and Northern Vietnam's efforts to remove the government of southern Vietnam were not halted by a half-million-strong American army (Mandelbaum, 1982). In short, U.S. Anti-Vietnam Movement has become the most successful Anti-War Movement in U.S. history, reducing wars and simplifying U.S. procedures while withdrawing troops.

3.2.1. Anti-War Movements and Colonized Countries

3.2.1.1. Veterans

As mentioned in previous chapters, by 1973, the United States withdrew from Vietnam. After returning home, the U.S. Army had to face the effects of the war on their souls, minds, and their awful experiences. Valentine (2014) notes that when the Vietnamese veterans returned home from the war, they were welcomed as heroes. However, the American people protested against them, accusing them of destruction and the murder of innocent people. Indeed, the

veterans were coldly welcomed by Americans since they risked their lives to ensure the safety of the American people.

Veterans are still haunted by the crimes they committed during the war. Similarly, they were a little blind because the government had manipulated the war's events to suit their wishes. After a while, the government's optimistic portrayal of the conflict began to fade, inflicting Veterans embarrassment and humiliation. Nevertheless, treating the subject of Veterans without addressing the majority of those returned home injured or amputated.

Consequently, Veterans were in bad shape because of the far-reaching terror in Vietnam, which had unexpected long-term consequences. According to Hochgesang, Lawyer, and Stevenson (2009), the Vietnam War Psychological Effects Study found that when servicemen returned home, they had substantial psychiatric problems (Adane & Tighrine, 2017). This can be understood to mean that The troops' mental abilities were seriously damaged, in addition to the physical pain of the furious battle between the two opposing sides.

The government abandoned Vietnamese Veterans, and the citizenry was once treated badly at home. Feeling punished twice, led them into a spiral, pushing them to rebel in their way. On April 23, the veterans decided to present the Capitol with awards, medals, ribbons, and lobbies (History of Protests,2016).

In short, Vietnam War veterans believe that their contributions to their respective countries did not end with the war. They will keep fighting for peace as well as economic and social fairness for all. They will also continue to fight useless military expeditions and teach the world actual Vietnamese war lessons. They will go to great lengths to ensure that a similar disaster does not occur in the future, and Veterans of all ages will be treated with dignity and respect.

3.2.1.2. The Algerian Revolution

Several countries around the world were influenced by the Anti-War Movement during the Vietnam War, and Algeria was no exception. Algeria started its independence Movement in 1954 during the First World War. The scale of the Movement continued to expand after breaking the French promise. After the Second World War, Algeria exercised more autonomy.

Furthermore, the Algerian War lasted from 1954 until 1962. Six French governments were deposed, including the Fourth Republic. De Gaulle was re-elected, and a civil war erupted on French soil. Over one million Muslim Algerians were killed in the war, and an equivalent number of European colonists were expelled. Above all, the conflict was distinguished by a sacrificial union of revolutions and torture (Horne, 2006) argued that, even though this vicious conflict ended with Algiers' independence over half a century ago, its effects may still be observed not only in Algeria and France, but all across the world. Indeed, the Algerian War looks to be a perfect fit for the amorphous conflicts that wrecked the Balkans in the 1990s and are now ravaging the Middle East from Beirut to Baghdad.

On November 1, 1954, the FLN declared independence from France. The FLN considered the circumstances were favorable at the moment of its proclamation to begin the war against French sovereignty. Ho Chi Minh's soldiers conquered France in Indochina just a few months ago. The National Liberation Army launched a series of underground attacks against army bases and police stations around the country. In parts of Aurès and Kabylie, especially in the mountains, the FLN established a military administration. These units were responsible for distributing supplies, gathering intelligence, and spreading the revolution's message. By 1957, the ALN counted nearly 40,000 soldiers, and fired and bombed about 800 people every month (Kellou, 2012). In the coming years, Algerian insurgency strategies often include heinous murders, disfigurement, and a 'triangular' format designed to overcome the best techniques of counterinsurgency in the French government. Though the FLN was brutal and outrageous about its violence against Europeans, the French reaction was no longer human, and the tone of

excessive violence after Sétif continued. According to the lessons of John Nagl, the French operations had failed because the whole Algerian Revolution issue had not been addressed (Young & Leszczynski, 2020).

Eventually, in 1959, Charles de Gaulle announced that Algerians will be able to choose their future. Algeria gained independence in 1962 when a treaty was concluded. According to all historians, Algeria gained independence because Algerian people's nature refuses to be submissive, and fights against a national religious trend whose slogan is "Our sacrifice to the homeland is better than life."

3.3. The Emergence of Other Movements

News media influenced American history's cultural movement. The effect of news headlines and news transmission by major news networks had a significant role in the legitimacy of the most well-known revolutionary movements in the United States and around the world, including the anti-war and countercultural movements in the 1960s and 1970s. Press was successful in supporting the Anti-War Movement. Eventually, during the Vietnam War, the media's effectiveness in fostering anti-war protests aided other social and cultural movements in the United States and around the world.

In the mid-1960s and 1970s, modern America was one of the most active generations in social change. Civil Rights Movement, the Revolution for Women's Rights, Anti-War and Counterculture Movements, as well as the Gay Rights Movement, were all linked and influenced one another (Bersha, 2013). That simply means, the anti-war movements of the early 1960s morphed into the extreme Anti-War Movement, which was instantly dubbed as an anarchist by the media. Young men and women did not just promote spirituality and duality. However, they opposed the design and struggle for their lives. The early media power was assisting many movements, while yet honest and naive at the beginning. In addition, a combination of the press, television, and radio contributed to popularizing revolutionary leaders like Malcolm X and Abby

Hoffman. They were inspired by the images to go into the streets. The movement gained momentum through the human force, as a result of news media coverage. The fair media was enthusiastic about what had organically developed within the confines of American society. At that time, with little awareness of its power, they regularly covered the protests and sought opinions from the leaders of the movement (Bersha, 2013).

In a nutshell, civil rights, the anti-Vietnam War protests, feminism, Mexican American activism, and environmentalism, as well as the first stirrings of homosexual rights, all erupted throughout the 1960s. Changes in climate, gun ownership, immigration, and gender and ethnic injustices have all been the attention of youngsters' protests in the last decade.

3.3.1. Black Movement

The Vietnam War coincided with Civil Rights demonstrations and the rise of Black Power in the 1960s in the United States. While in-home and within the U.S. armed forces, African-Americans were discriminated against. The effects of black power had been shifted into the war zone through the Civil Rights fighting (Gallagher, 2014). In other words, Civil Rights Movement's, coincidence with the Vietnamese war, helped radicalize African American military personnel in Vietnam.

Gallagher (2014) claims that, during the conflict, Black soldiers embraced Black Power on the both cultural and political levels. Vietnam was America's first ethnically mixed war. Black soldiers fought all the military meetings in America, but in separated units. That is, during World War II, one million African Americans participated and came back home, endowed with a strong passion for full citizenship rights that they could be rejected. In past wars, African-Americans have struggled not only for freedom but also for their great confidence in democracy. After Hitler's defeat and the prospect of fascism in Europe in 1945, black soldiers returned victoriously, realizing that fundamental human rights were still denied. Protesting movements

such as the Racial Equality Congress were involved. Following demonstrations and blockades, the government was forced to integrate schools and other facilities.

Furthermore, the Vietnam War was fought against communism and in defense of free democracy, rather than imposing a dictatorship. As a result, black Americans believed that if they defended democracy in other nations, they would receive it more frequently at home. Before 1960, the insignificant black soldiers of race animosity had professionally sought a career. In addition, Vietnam provided some Black soldiers with a chance to escape poor economic and social conditions at home. After years of discrimination, they saw warfare as an opportunity for their country to prove its worth. Nevertheless, Vietnam became the true subject of the 'black man' as a result of increased media and broadcast television coverage of the black fight and identity.

The national march on Washington, in 1963, was among the most significant demonstrations in the history of the United States with a participation of over 200,000 whites and blacks. Lincoln Memorial, King called for the inclusion of black Americans in the American Dream. He wished for American Blacks to be fully welcomed and integrated into U.S. society. The Civil Rights Act was subsequently adopted in 1964, which brought de Jure to legal discrimination. Consequently, discrimination in public areas and at work has been eliminated.

In short, Vietnam War probably increased awareness of blackness and helped personalize every black American by emphasizing that they had no place in other democratic struggles. While African Americans remained marginalized in American society, the growing prosperity of whiteness, according to Du Bois (1903), highlighted the confusion between what he called "double consciousness," or the impression of being American citizens with an African heritage. Tragically, discrimination exists and continues to exist in American society. As a result, African-Americans face discrimination in the military and throughout society. Though economic conditions for blacks in the United States improved, the huge discrimination between whites and blacks existed, causing racial divisions that needed to be resolved.

3.3.2. Feminist Movement

Women's voices began to emerge and be heard in public, demanding and defending their rights; this is known as Feminism. In the 1960s and 1970s, the women's liberation movement, also known as the women's rights movement, was an anti-feminist social movement located in the United States that demanded equal rights, opportunity, and independence for women.

Feminism came to be an all-inclusive term by the 1920s. However, in 1930s, the term was used to describe not only political campaigns for the vote, but also economic and social rights ranging from equal pay to birth control (Rowbotham, 1992). That is to say that women's lives changed dramatically in advanced countries. Following the Second World War, home technology lowered home production burdens, dramatically increased life expectancies. Furthermore, the expansion of the service industry has resulted in the creation of thousands of employment that do not require physical strength. Despite the socio-economic changes, cultural (particularly women's work) attitudes. In *Le Deuxième Sexe* (The Second sex, 1949), the French author and philosopher, Simone de Beauvoir, made an articulated account of the oppressive effects of the dominant concepts of femininity. It became the best-selling global feminist by emphasizing that women's liberation was also liberation for men.

Moreover, Rampton (2015) argued that Feminism has gone through several waves in parts of the Western world. Feminism of the first wave was based on the middle- or high-class women's station, and entailed electoral and political equality. Moreover, first-wave feminism also encouraged women to ask for the right of having equal contracts and own properties. Second-wave feminism aimed to be even more effective in combating social and cultural inequities. It mainly focused on equality matters and discrimination under the slogan 'the personal is political'; that is to say: women's difficulties and experiences are a result of their political situation and gender. Though the first wave of feminism was led by white middle-class women, the second one included black women and other women from poor countries looking for empathy. Additionally, economic, social, and intellectual inequities are still being addressed by

third-wave feminism. Its campaign for women's increased influence in politics and the media. This wave focused on the right of a woman to do anything she wants with her body. She also has access to birth control and abortion.

Additionally, women have always played a crucial role in wars. They fight and even die in wars. They also protest and do movements. Since the war of Vietnam, the phrase of 'the women and the kids' has not just applied the standers for those who are passive and victims of war. On 17 November 2001, Lady Laura bush held its first conference as righteous support for women's rights as a result of the imminent U.S. invasion of Afghanistan (Armstrong & Prashad, 2005). In 2001, women's rights were completely absent from the tally of female bombs, house raids, and incarceration.

Frazier (2007), claims that Anti-war diplomacy, during the Vietnam War, revealed a neglected antiwar activism feature, a relationship and transitional exchanges between the American and Vietnamese woman. This exchange had an important impact on women during the period from 1965 to 1978. Women Anti-war diplomacy made three significant points; the first point is that the exchange with Vietnamese women had an impact on the development of the U.S. feminist way of thinking. It also revealed that activists of the Anti-War movement made space for political action, undermining the government's authority while exercising citizens' diplomacy successfully. By doing that, it explains how American women used the Vietnam War to provide effective transformational partnerships in mutually beneficial circumstances.

Despite such divisions in its leadership and members, the Women's Rights Movement accomplished a lot in a short period. With the eventual support of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (1965), female entrepreneurs have had access to employment in every sector of the US economy, and long-term enterprises are required to provide schedules for increasing the female workforce. Divorce legislation was liberalized; the firing of pregnant women were not permitted for employers and the establishment of women's education programs. Women began to win a record number of political seats.

3.4. The Shift of U.S. Media: Comparative View

During wars, the media has always played a significant role; it is the primary source of public opinion formation and is regarded as a major danger to any government in the world. The American media has a reputation for being trustworthy, and it has had a role in defining and reporting on the country's foreign policies and wars. The role of the U.S media was not just reporting news, but also influencing the policy makers' opinions and decisions.

3.4.1. Early U.S. Media

The U.S. media covered many wars such as World War One and World War Two, including the Korean and Vietnam. According to Barkin (2003), the media's coverage was incredibly significant in the Vietnam War. The latter was the first to be called the "Media's War," as the U.S. media indisputably covered it, demonstrating that the media broadcasted the war to the whole public.

In the early years of the war, the American media portrayed the US presence in Vietnam as positive and encouraging, because the facts and statistics were only known by the U.S. Army and the defense department. To demonstrate the success of their armed forces in Vietnam, they simply announced the number of Vietnamese soldiers who died, without indicating American deaths. In other words, the first coverage of the Vietnam War in the United States Media was biased. In addition to that, the government did not attempt to censor the media coverage which never happened in American history. The media was very open and had a huge space to transmit the news, as were the troops being transformed from the U.S. to the brutal battlefields. However, this optimistic view did not last for so long; the media began to establish suspect and feudal relations between the American population and the U.S. administration. The United States was defeated in every conflict it fought, and the media was there to show this to the public. The brutal images of the massacre of the innocent and young troops suffering on the battlefields that were shown by the media began to disturb the Americans. The public was able to see the dark

side of war via the media. As a consequence, they lost trust in their administration and began to realize that the United States' participation in the Vietnam War was ineffective. This irritates authorities and makes them unsatisfied since the media accurately exemplifies the scenario in Vietnam. As a result, many chief executives in the United States have attempted to attack the public with interference and influence from reporters and television stations. For example, Morley Safer, President of CBS, was cursed and questioned because he shared photos of the U.S marines setting fire to homes in a Vietnamese community.

Moreover, the public was furious and reacted by working on parallel media, trying to stop the war because of the big losses of the war. Many Americans protested and began to refuse the American interference in Vietnam. In addition, a large number of families demanded the repatriation of their men from Vietnam. Consequently, the government gave in to public opinion, which was molded and influenced by the media, and withdrew its troops from Vietnam (Groll, 2004).

3.4.2. Modern U.S. Media

Today's media is more powerful than ever; it has a large web that can cover all of the world's news. The U.S. Americans saw others publicly expressing their feelings on urban streets, and demanded a halt to any U.S. engagement in the Vietnam War. Media is more known to be politically related to the government in a way or another. The coverage of international news is not quite bias like it used to be before. A large number of exclusive news was provided by congressmen or politicians to serve the presidential decisions. When 9/11 occurred, the media widely declared that it was a terrorist attack, considering the absence of evidence and the fact that the only source of information was the George W. Bush government.

Moreover, the speech that President Bush made about the urge of sending the U.S. Army to Iraq to achieve world peace was massively covered by the media in a way that the public would agree upon, supporting the decisions made by the Bush administration (Miles, 2005). The

United States went to great lengths to persuade the media to work in its favor. In the same context, the Pentagon coined the term "embedded journalist" to describe those who travel with American troops and adhere to military rules (Pritchard, 2004). The pentagon's harsh measures were a result of the media's role in the Vietnam War. The media contributed to the United States' defeat after it lost support from its citizens who were opposed to sending their sons to fight in a brutal and needless war. As a result, the United States decided to make the media an ally, covering what the government wanted to be covered. A portion of the media portrayed the war as a collaboration between US and British soldiers. The government was able to maintain strict control over the information provided by the embedded journalists thanks to the British. The media was never bias in this war, calling the invasion forces by the liberators who were implanting the idea that the U.S role in Iraq was liberating its people from the radical Muslims and achieving world peace (Miles, 2005). In their coverage of the Iraq War, the American media avoided using the term "war" or "invasion". Conversely, the term "conflict" was used to manipulate public opinion. Chomsky claimed that the U.S. propaganda had the ambition of controlling not only its sources, but all the sources which were available in the region.

To conclude, the American government was in charge of the media broadcast; the latter is in charge of depicting radical Muslims slaughtering American soldiers or Iraqi troops bombing an American military camp.

Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the ability of the Viet Cong, Guerilla forces, to win the war. In addition to receiving inspiration and support from two great nations; the Soviet Union and China, a variety of strategies were employed. Therefore, this dissertation revealed that the key reasons for American defeat in the Vietnam War were Vietnamization and the involvement of the American media. Consequently, as a result, it was obvious that the flow of news effectively changed the minds of Americans as the anti-war movements grew across the country. These

Movements influenced the whole world, inspiring many revolutionary actions. Furthermore, the media's position in U.S. policy was and continues to be crucial, as it was more vital to American policies and a part of the government than it was previously. The media, on the other hand, was not necessarily a reliable source of information. It can convey a distant image of the truth.

General Conclusion

This section aimed at summarizing the main research findings so that questions can be answered. To do this and better understand the U.S. media's impact on the two longest wars, the Vietnam and Afghanistan War, the concept of the U.S. media, as a strong global force, and its communication mediums including, radio, television, newspapers, and the Internet, needed to be defined. The research also revealed how the media shaped politics and public opinion in the United States. Furthermore, the media played a significant part in the democratic process in the United States. It spread data and acted as a connection between the government and the public.

This thesis examined the effective role of the U.S. media during the Vietnam War from Eisenhower's to Johnson's administrations. And by investigating this, the research found out that the media at the beginning praising the government's efforts. However, following numerous incidents and lost battles, the media played a significant role in promoting the Anti-War Movement across the United States, and the Vietnam War was the first televised war in human history. The study had also inferred the outrage of the U.S. government and media following the incident of the Tower during George W. administration. However, the U.S. media questioned, after 17 years of war, whether the U.S. presence in Afghanistan was an error. Again, Anti-War Movements had spread throughout America, calling for American troops to be withdrawn from Afghanistan. This confirmed the suggested hypothesis that the media succeeded in persuading the people in the two wars which forced the government of the United States to change its plans during both wars.

Considering the Vietnam War, the study looked at the incident of the Second Indochina War and found that the United States had failed to win the war. The study later revealed the Viet Cong's tactics, and Nixon's Vietnamization policy was blamed for the failure. A primary cause, such as the American media and its role in shaping public perception, was also investigated, which confirmed the proposed hypothesis that America's failure in Vietnam was related partly to

media coverage, particularly following the Tet offensive, because the war was no longer justified in people's minds.

The study in hand found out that as the Anti-War Movement spreaded across the United States. Many revolutions erupted, not just in the United States, but all over the world. In addition to that, the current study showed that the media has always played a huge part in the war. It was the main source of public opinion that any government in the world was regarded as a serious threat. The government used its policies to blackout the media. However, this was no longer possible in contemporary America. Additionally, the role of the media in this conflict was, without doubt, very important. The media, on the other hand, was not always a reliable source of information as the press described the people of Afghanistan as terrorists and linked Islam to terrorism.

In conclusion, the study recommended future research to carry out a comparative study between two Cold War conflicts; U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War and the Afghan-Soviet occupation. It was also advisable to question the U.S. and Soviet governments' economic, political and military conducted and explained the reasons why Vietnam and Afghanistan were unable to achieve both nations' strategic goals.

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الملخص

تعتبر حربا الفيتنام وأفغانستان من أكثر الموضوعات التي نوقشت على نطاق واسع في التاريخ. ومع ذلك، تبرز الأحداث المهمة فقط حينما يحقق أعداء أمريكا مكاسب هامة. وبالتالي، تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تبين أثر الإعلام الأمريكي على الحربيين الأطول في تاريخ الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية؛ وهما حربا الفيتنام وأفغانستان. تعتبر هذه المذكرة بحثا نوعيا يعتمد على المنهج الوصفي التحليلي وكذا التاريخي. وتوضح الدراسة كذلك أسباب الفشل الأمريكي في حرب الفيتنام نتيجة عدة عوامل، بما في ذلك القوات الفيتنامية الشمالية، واستراتيجيات فيت كونغ، وسياسة الفتنة التي انتهجها نيكسون. وعلاوة على ذلك، اضطلعت وسائل الإعلام الأمريكية بدور مهم في الفشل الأمريكي في كل من الفيتنام وأفغانستان. وقد نجح الإعلام في تشجيع ظهور الحركات التحريرية في الولايات المتحدة وكذا جميع أنحاء العالم. وخلصت الدراسة إلى أن الإعلام كان له تأثير كبير على الرأي العام، وهو ما أثر على مسار حربي فيتنام وأفغانستان. وقد أدى ذلك إلى انسحاب الولايات المتحدة من كلا البلدين في نهاية المطاف.

الكلمات المفتاحية: أفغانستان ، الحركات المناهضة للحرب ، الإعلام ، فيتنام.