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**US Strategic Failure in Vietnam and Afghanistan : Causes and
Consequences.**

**Dissertation submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for a
Master Degree in Literature and Civilization**

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to our parents as they taught us to trust Allah, believe in hard work and that so much could be done with little and the reason why we strive to make this project successful.

I would like to dedicate this project to my beloved uncle Soufiane for being my guardian during my academic career and to my dear friend Hana. (AHMED SALAH Ilham)

I dedicate my dissertation work to my family and husband who encouraged me to pursue my dreams and finish my dissertation. (OUDINI Afaf)

I dedicate this work to my grandfather and grandmother, my sisters, my brother, my relatives and closest friend and to all those who support me. (TABAI Ilhem)

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We hereby declare that this dissertation is our own original work, and all sources used have been cited.

Abstract

Since the emergence of the United States of America as a superpower, the American generals have become ecstatic about the victory and prestige of their country. Thus, they began to wage several wars hoping for easy victories in them, but the final results of most of these wars disappointed the hopes of these soldiers (and those who expected victory for them) despite having the best and most powerful army in the world. The interventions of the United States in Vietnam and Afghanistan are considered the famous ones which caused heavy results for the US. The study under investigation examines the strategic failure of America in both countries as a global power. The dissertation aims to explain the policies implemented by it in these two wars, as well as the differences between them. It also attempts to analyze the causes of the American failure and evaluate the consequences that ruined them. The study conducted the descriptive and historical methods regarding to the historical events in both wars and the analytical method depending on having two different policies that needed to be analyzed, and determining the war failure results. The study reveals that the American wars in both countries could not achieve the needed results; moreover it gained the worse.

Keywords: United States, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Containment.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

US	United States.
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
USA	United States of America
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
DRV	Democratic Republic of Vietnam.
NLF	National Liberation Front.
VNAF	South Vietnam Air Force.
DMZ	Demilitarized Zone.
LFA	Liberation Front Army.
PPA	Paris Peace Agreement.
UIFSA	United Islamic Front for the Salvation of Afghanistan.
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence.
MAK	Maktab Al-Khidmat.
AQ	Al Qaeda.
UK	United Kingdom.

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General introduction

1. Background of the study

There are many different types of study, both internal and external, that have been undertaken into the US system and policies. These researches were promoted by the United States' crucial position as a powerful leading Nation on the international stage. In addition, the US has a history interfering in other countries' internal affairs and enacting policies ranging from forming alliances to wage wars during the Cold War. Containment is a well-known strategy used by the United States in Vietnam to prevent communism from spreading when the efficacy of this policy is a hotly debated subject, with no clear winner among those who oppose it and those who support it. The efficacy of this policy is a hotly debated subject, with no clear winner among those who oppose it and those who support it. The failure of the containment strategy in Vietnam sparked reform in the United States. As a result, foreign policy. The policy not only failed, but it also had a significant impact on US foreign policy (Gabor,2016). Vietnam, on the other hand, was regarded a part of the Cold War, and it was a victory for the United States(Wiest,2002).Because of these contradictions, the war did not escalate into a third World War and the Soviet Union did not collapse. The US containment policy in Vietnam has to be reviewed, because the US has continued to meddle in the affairs of several countries, following Vietnam. Afghanistan, on the other hand, is the country's second-longest war, behind the Vietnam war. Many legislators believe the two bills are interchangeable. The US participation in Afghanistan was comparable, and the entire tale would be important if the names of the commanders and the country were changed (Effroes,1970). Afghanistan is a catastrophic case of déjà vu for those who lived through the Vietnam War.(Sheehy,2009).As a result, the current article aims to highlight the commonalities between the two wars.

2. Research Questions

This research attempts to answer the following questions that are related to The causes of United States failure in Vietnam and Afghanistan War and its relation to the consequences of this failure that come after:

1. What are the policies of the United States on both Vietnam and Afghanistan, and what is the difference between them ?
2. What are the consequences of USA strategic failure in Vietnam and Afghanistan?

3. Research Hypothesis

Firstly; this study proposes some hypotheses about the unsuccessful policies that are applied by the US in Vietnam and Afghanistan. Secondly; the failure of the most powerful country in the world against primary powers will reduce its value in the world and will affect its international relations. Finally; we and the Soviet Union in Vietnam pursued strategies that seemed designed to produce neither victory nor. a settlement.

4. Aims of the Study

The study aims to evaluate American involvement in Vietnam and Afghanistan and its strategies in both countries in addition to determine their results. Also, it attempts to do critical analysis of the causes of its failure in both countries.

5. Methodology

The Choice of the Method and Justification

This qualitative analysis consists of three chapters. We adopted the descriptive and historical methods in the two first chapters concerning the American containment policy that is applied in Vietnam and its strategy in Afghanistan war. As the descriptive method is used to answer the questions of what, where, when and how but not why. The historical method is to gain a clear understanding of the impact over the past events on present and future ones related to the current study. It entails through examination what has been written or done. For the third chapter we followed the analytical method to identify the causes of US lost in the two wars and examine the findings of this investigation according to answering the question of why as well as the influence of US involvement in Vietnam and Afghanistan to reveal the results of the whole study.

6. Significance of the Study

This survey attempts to compare the impact of old US foreign policy in Vietnam during the Cold War with contemporary US foreign policy in Afghanistan. Our research is concerned with investigating the relationship between the past and the present this is probably through clarifying the causes of the two wars and how did America interfere in Vietnam and Afghanistan wars by providing a comparison of the two countries' political and military policies to finally recognize (know)the results of the applied strategies by US in both countries.

7. Structure of the Study

This dissertation divides into three chapters; the first two chapters are theoretical while the third one is practical. The first chapter Containment policy and the conflict ideologies in Vietnam, begins with an overview of post second World war era. It introduces concept such as capitalism and communism, Also it carries on with a historical overview of the Cold War (1947-1991) as well as the containment policy, dealing with its historical evolution, aspects and extension to Asia. The first chapter ends with the beginning of War in Vietnam by explaining the term Americanization in addition to the end of the war in Vietnam, it represents the term Vietnamization and the gradual withdrawal from Vietnam. The second chapter, American War in Afghanistan and its strategy in the country, starts with an overview of the Soviet invasion on Afghanistan. Moreover, it provides a timeline review to the events of the American war in Afghanistan (2001-present). The last part of this chapter speaks about: the beginning of war in Afghanistan as it gives a timeline review to the events and how the end of war was?

Finally, the third chapter deals with The consequences of the American war in Vietnam and Afghanistan and the causes of the American failure in the two countries. Firstly, it carries on the impact of American war on Vietnam and vice versa with mentioning the causes of the US failure in Vietnam. Secondly, it states the influence of the United States war on Afghanistan and vice versa at the end, followed by the causes of the American failure in Afghanistan.

CHAPTER ONE

American Containment Policy and the Conflict Ideologies in Vietnam.

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Introduction

The aim of the current chapter is to identify key concepts in US foreign policy during the Cold War period in order to better understand the conflict at hand. The chapter begins with an overview of post second world war and its aftermath, including the comparison between the two different ideologies capitalism and communism. In addition, it provides providing a historical overview of the cold war. It also discusses the origins of Cold War (1947-1991). Secondly, the main title of this chapter is a definition of the US containment strategy, it is best regarded as the United States' and its allies' Cold War strategy of preventing the spread of communism abroad. The chapter contains historical evolution and aspects of this policy. Then, it describes the extension of containment policy to Asia specially in Vietnam dealing with Vietnam before the American involvement the so called first Indochina War, Geneva Accords, the emergence of the crisis. Then, it deals with the American military strategy of the war in Vietnam which includes Sending military advisors and Americanization of the war and Tonkin Gulf incident. Furthermore, it discusses American ways of conducting the war by using Bombing Operations, Ground War (Guerilla War) and Technology. Moreover, it talks about Tet Offensive which led to the Vietnamization of the war. Finally, this chapter concludes with the end of the Vietnam War.

1.1. Post Second World War Era

When World War II finished, the United States and the Soviet Union arose as superpowers, significant opponents for strength, and pioneers with restricting philosophies. (Dwivedi,2014) Furthermore, the Cold War started when the adversary was crushed and the international competition between the East and the West reemerged. As far as the level of pressure, the post-World War II period was particular. (Ibid) Then, at that point, The Soviet Union fostered its atomic weapon in 1949, just the United States held an imposing business model on atomic weapons beforehand. (Ibid) The atomic age has authoritatively started. (Ibid)At last, in Asia and Africa, the ascent of patriotism and opportunity developments which implies the predominance of majestic forces started to fade toward the finish of World War II. The two superpowers took an enemy of provincial position. (Ibid)

1.1.1. Capitalism vs. Communism

Capitalism owes its roots in its founder “Adem SMITH, who laid down its principles as a socioeconomic theory, while Communism is attributed “Karl MARX ” who brought this theory as an uprising against Capitalism. Soon, these theories were adopted politically to

become the ideologies of the greatest countries in the world led by the United States (Capitalism) and the Soviet Union (Communism). They are Two opposing ideologies that have thrust the world into the conflict of the so called “Cold War ” for decades. The following is an exploration of the most important points of difference:

1.1.1.1. Ownership of Means of Production

In his article, Hess (n.d) claimed that," Capitalism believes in private ownership of land and means of production. Every man will have to earn his worth. The major share of the profits earned from business will go to the person who owns the means of production, while the workers who are responsible for running the business will get a small share". In the same article Hess (n.d) also argued that," all land and resources which enable the production of goods and services will be owned by one and all. Everything will be shared! All decisions about production will be made by the whole community by democratic means."

1.1.1.2. Society

From the perspective of Capitalism, the society is divided into three classes: the bourgeoisie, the labour, and the poor class while in Communism the society is classless. Communism advocates an uncouth, libertarian society, in which all people are treated equally. (Hess,n.d) There will be no distinctions of class, race, religion or even identity. This will be nothing to battle for. (Ibid)

1.1.1.3. Anatomy of Power

This concept is well explained by Hess (n.d) as follows:

"Communism appeals to the higher ideal of altruism, while capitalism promotes selfishness. Let us consider what will happen to power distribution in both these ideologies. Capitalism naturally concentrates wealth and therefore, power in the hands of the people who own the means of production. So, naturally they decide the distribution of power."

1.1.2. The Cold War (1947-1991)

1.1.2.1.A Historical Overview

The Second Great War moved the worldwide overall influence and made a world drove by two contending superpowers: The United States (US) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). We consider this worldwide rivalry the Cold War. All through this contention, the two sides utilized Propaganda to illustrate their adversaries. (Burleigh.H,n.d)

According to Burleigh, three key highlights were characterized the Cold War; the danger of atomic conflict, the opposition over the devotion (unwaveringness) of recently autonomous countries and the military and monetary help of one another's adversaries all throughout the planet. After the advancement of the American monetary from offering weapons to the partners during the World War II, showing American atomic force toward the finish of the conflict (Japan) and after a long history of adversary attacks, Soviet pioneer Josef Stalin needed to grow its domain and assemble a cushion between the Soviet Union and Europe. He additionally needed control in Central and Eastern European nations that the Soviets had freed. Thus, Stalin immediately settled solid socialist factions that took power in Central and Eastern Europe (the Eastern Bloc). They took orders from the USSR. In the meantime, the United States gave more than \$12 billion in guide for modifying Western European countries who consented to open exchange. The division of Europe was along a non-existent line called the Iron Curtain. Germany turned into a Cold War landmark. East and West Germany had separate governments and capital urban communities. English, French, and Americans controlling West Berlin while the Soviets controlled East Berlin. The socialists assembled the Berlin Wall in 1961. It partitioned the city. The divider turned into the main image of the Cold War the USSR extended its impact by making the Eastern Bloc across states like Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. Stalin set up manikin socialist governments that he could handle. He stifled any individual who stood up to. The United States moreover started to interfere in the issues of unfamiliar countries where it dreaded communist systems would acquire control. This got known as an approach of regulation. During the 1950s, rivalry had spread to the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America, with each side attempting to build up control. By the 1960s, the Cold War arrived at Africa. Numerous previous settlements accomplished freedom from European domains (decolonization). These new countries agreed with the Americans or Soviets to get monetary and military guide. Maybe no contention delineates the arrangement of control as a part of the Cold War better than to Korean War and Vietnam War. As the Americans had in Vietnam, the USSR interfered in Afghanistan during the 1980s. by sending troops to aid them. Similarly, as North Vietnam got help and military help from the USSR, the United States moved Soviet adversaries in Afghanistan with cash and weapons. At last, the USSR was similarly ineffective, and US-sponsored powers arose triumphant. The Cold War finally ended in the 1990s, after the emergence of economic problems in the Eastern Block and the down of Berlin War by Germans in both sides sought to reunify Germany. A similar wave of anti-communism spread throughout the Eastern bloc. (Ibid)

1.1.3. The Containment Policy of United States

1.1.3.1. Definition of Containment Policy

In a simple definition, Leffler (n.d.) defines Containment as the following:

The strategy by which the United States waged the Cold War. It had a variety of meanings at its inception and evolved over the forty-five years of its existence. The key goals of containment were to limit the spread of Soviet power and Communist ideology. Yet containment was never a defensive strategy; it was conceived as an instrument to achieve victory in the Cold War.

1.1.3.2. The Historical Evolution of Containment Policy:

1.1.3.2.1. George Kennan (1904-2005)

When his "Long Telegram" in February 1946 caught the attention of decision makers in Washington and changed KENNAN's career, he was a somewhat obscured and disappointed diplomat at the US Embassy in Moscow. From the writing of the "Long Telegram" in February 1946 to the Walgreens conference at the University of Chicago in 1950, KENAN's thoughts and political prescriptions changed rapidly. His initial focus was determining the threat from the Soviet Union. We can see "Long Telegram" and "Mr." Thanks to the new documents from the Soviet archives, Report X "has excellent observations and obvious omissions. After KENAN was appointed by the Secretary of State, his thinking shifted from focusing on threat assessment to focusing on interests. Marshall leads the newly formed policy planners. KENNAN emphasized the importance of restoring Western Europe and Western Germany and Japan because he believed that the Soviet threat was political and ideological rather than military. (Leffler,2006)

1.1.3.2.2. Truman Doctrine

Truman Doctrine arose from a speech belongs to Harry TRUMAN who was a president of the United States at that time (1945-1953). In his speech, the president Truman gave promises to help any country that is against the spread of communism and refuses to be under the umbrella of the Soviet Union. The Truman speech was such a declaration of the new American foreign policy which was the containing of communism, as stated by Spalding (2006),"Truman believed that freedom, independence, and peace must be defended and that the communists presented the primary threat to these objects. Indeed, the reason behind Truman speech came after the announcement of British Government (March,31) the stopping

of the military and economic support to and Turkey the Greece Government army which was in conflict with the Democratic Army of Greece. For Harry, this will provide the communists the opportunity to impose their hegemony on Greece and Turkey and thus allows them to expand further, as a result, Truman demanded from the congress to give military and economic aids to these countries instead of Britain in order to preserve them from the threat of Soviet expansion.

1.1.3.2.3. The Marshall Plan

The Marshall Plan was a part of anti-communism foreign policy of the United States during the Cold War period. The Marshall Plan formulation is clearly explained in Tarnoff's (2018) book as the following:

The Marshall Plan was proposed in a speech by secretary of State George Marshall at Harvard University on June 5, 1947, in response to the critical political, social, and economic conditions in which Europe found itself at that time. Recognizing the necessity of congressional participation in development of a significant assistance package, Marshall's speech did not present a detailed and concrete program. He merely suggested that the United States would be willing to help draft a program and would provide assistance "so far as it may be practical for us to do so." In addition, Marshall called for this assistance to be joint effort, "initiated" and agreed by European nations. The formulation of the Marshall Plan, therefore, was, from the beginning, a work of collaboration between the Truman Administration and congress, and between the US. Government and European governments.

Tarnoff (2018) also noted that, "Between 1948 and 1951, The United States undertook what many consider to be of its most successful foreign policy initiatives and most effective foreign aid programs".

1.1.3.2.4. NATO

In January 1949, US President Harry S. Truman called for a North Atlantic alliance to be formed for defensive purposes. Representatives from Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, the United Kingdom, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, and Portugal signed the North Atlantic Treaty agreement with the United States in April of the same year.

This Treaty serves as the legal and contractual basis for the Alliance, which was formed in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. The Treaty went into effect on August 24, 1949, after all signatory states had ratified it.(The NATO handbook, 1998)

So, members concur to share the threat, commitments, and benefits of collective defence, and any equipped assault on one or more of them ought to be considered an assault on all of them. (Cronin,2019) The organization too takes part in an assortment of universal peacekeeping and emergency management endeavors. (Ibid)

1.1.3.2.5. The Domino Theory

The domino theory is a geopolitical hypothesis developed by the United States in the 1950s, which claims that if one nation joins or is forced to join the Soviet Union's sphere of influence, its neighbours will certainly follow. (Gregory,D.et al,2009)The notion was based on a domino analogy and was used to explain the United States' military and political engagement in other nations, particularly in Southeast Asia.(Ibid)

According to Ngoe (2017):

On April7, 1954, US President Dwight EISENHOWER responded to a reporter's query about the "strategic importance of Indochina to the free world" by using the picture of “the falling dominoes ”. EISENHOWER implied that Indochina was at the top of a "row of dominoes," and that if communists "knocked over the first one," the last one would "go over very quickly. "Following the defeat of French forces at Dien Bien Phu the following month, EISENHOWER revisited his “domino theory” at the request of another journalist, arguing that the “free world” should not “write off” Indochina but rather “build the row of dominoes so that they can stand the collapse of one.”

1.1.3.3. The Extension of Containment Policy to Asia: Vietnam

After the success of the containment policy in Europe and the European economic realized an important progress, The US extended this policy to Asia as it started from Korea (The Korean War 1950) then it was applied on Vietnam.

1.2. Vietnam before the American Involvement

Since about the 19th century, France has governed over Vietnam, a Southeast Asian country on the eastern side of the Indochinese peninsula. Japanese armies attacked Vietnam in World War II. Ho Chi Minh, influenced by Chinese and Soviet communism, founded the Viet Minh, or League for the Independence of Vietnam, to oppose both Japanese occupiers and the

French colonial authorities. Following its loss in World War II in 1945, Japan withdrew its soldiers from Vietnam, leaving Emperor Bao Dai, who was trained in France, in charge. Ho's Viet Minh soldiers seized control of the northern city of Hanoi and declared the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) with Ho as president, seeing a chance to grab authority. France backed Emperor B in an attempt to reclaim control of the region. In July 1949, France backed Emperor Bao and established the state of Vietnam, with Saigon as its capital. The goal was the same for all sides: a united Vietnam. However, while Ho and his allies desired a communist-style country, Bao along with many others desired a Vietnam with strong economic and cultural connections to the West. The Vietnam War, and the United States' direct participation in it, began in 1954, despite decades of fighting in the region. Armed confrontation between northern and southern armies continued after Ho's communist troops assumed power in the north, until the northern Viet Minh won a decisive victory at the Battle of Dien Bien Phu in May 1954. The defeat of the French in the fight brought an end to almost a century of French colonial control in Indochina. (THIS DAY IN HISTORY.2009)

1.2.1. Geneva Accords

Representatives from the United States, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, France, and the United Kingdom (UK) met in April 1954 to discuss a number of Asian issues. One of the most concerning issues was the protracted and violent conflict between Vietnamese nationalist troops led by communist Ho Chi Minh and French forces who did not seek to maintain colonial rule in Vietnam. The two sides had been hitting each other since 1946. By 1954, the French had become tired of a lengthy and all-encompassing war that had depleted both the national finances and their patience. The US had backed the French because it feared that a win for Ho's soldiers would pave the way for communist expansion across Southeast Asia. When the United States rebuffed France's demands for deeper direct participation in the conflict, the French stated that the Vietnam issue would be on the Geneva Conference's agenda.

The Geneva Agreements were signed in July 1954. The French promised to remove their soldiers from northern Vietnam as part of the deal. Indochina would be indefinitely split at the 17th parallel, with elections to pick a president and reuniting the country taking place in two years. No foreign forces were allowed to enter Vietnam during that time periods. Ho begrudgingly accepted the treaty, despite the fact that he considered it robbed him of the rewards of his win. The French-installed non-communist government in southern Vietnam did

not sign, although this was of little consequence at the time because it lacked French support. The US likewise refused to sign, but stated that it would abide by the pact. (figure 1)(Ibid)



Figure 01. The Division of Vietnam on the line 17th Parallel to North Vietnam and South Vietnam according to Geneva Accords in 1954 (The Vietnam war, 2021)

1.2.2.The Emergence of the Crisis

Before the real outbreak of the American War in Vietnam, there was a series of events that worsened the political situation and subsequently led to the American military intervention in Vietnam. Because of the domino theory influences US foreign policy, the US was concerned that communism would expand to South Vietnam and subsequently to the rest of Asia. It opted to assist the South Vietnamese government by sending money, supplies, and military advisors. (The Vietnam War,2021) As we mentioned earlier, the "Geneva Accords" divided Vietnam to Two parts North Vietnam and South Vietnam. The conflict remained raging between the North and South Vietnam which led to a civil War in 1958 with the leadership of the National Front Leadership (NFL) and its leader Hu Chi Minh. (The Vietnam War, 2021)

After the Geneva conference, US government continued to support the South Vietnam Policy that was represented by the leader Ngo Dinh Diem and his Army of the Republic of

Vietnam, formed to replace the Vietnamese National Army. The result of this influence was the second Indochina War, better known as the Vietnam War"(Ibid)

1.3. The Beginning of the War in Vietnam

1.3.1. The American Military Strategy in Vietnam

Since the beginning of its war against the North Vietnam, the United States of America adopted a gradual and cautious military strategy which was able to be escalated if necessary.

1.3.1.1. Sending Military Advisors

In 1954, during the reign of the president EISENHOWER, the American intervention was still indirect. The South Vietnamese government received financial and military aids from the United States. By 1955, about 16000 military advisors were sent to South Vietnam with the purpose of training soldiers there to prepare them to fight the North Vietnam army. With the arrival of John KENNEDY to the presidency in the United States, a treaty of friendship and cooperation was done with the South Vietnam which was represented by the president Diem, which stipulated that Southern Vietnam will receive more financial and military aids.

According to Hadbod'ová (2008), "The Kennedy administration had managed to run the war from Washington without the large-scale introduction of combat troop." Despite his desire to enter the war with the least possible human military intervention, and his awareness about the danger of equal power between the US and the Soviet Union, KENNEDY was not opposed to the idea of escalation if the conflict circumstances called for it. Willbanks (2009) stated that, "this period was marked by a significant American effort to build South Vietnamese forces capable of defending against insurgency."

After the assassination of KENNEDY in 1963, the Vice President Johnson LYNDON assumed the presidency, he did not deviate from the strategy of his predecessor KENNEDY which was going to war in Vietnam with no American large-scale involvement. Accordingly, Johnson increased the number of military advisors in South Vietnam in the hope that the situation there would be contained.

1.3.1.2. Americanization of the War and Tonkin Gulf incident

During the period between 1963 and 1965, it seemed to Johnson that sending only military advisors did not prove its sufficient effectiveness, Therefore, Johnson did not find another solution except through the direct US military intervention to fight the communists forces in North Vietnam This marked the beginning of the American ground war.

The intensity of the war increased basically, after the Gulf of Tonkin incident in 1964, as an attack of the Northern Vietnamese on Two destroyers in the water of Tonkin Gulf. The first attack is about what stated by Nalty (n.d),"The North Vietnamese took the initiative, attacking the American destroyer *Maddox* outside North Vietnam's 12 miles limit on the afternoon of 2 August." Also, Nalty (n.d) stated that," the Tonkin Gulf patrol was reinforced the next day by a second destroyer, the G.Turner Joy."

In fact, the destroyer's presence in the Gulf of Tonkin was for an intelligence targets within Oplan-34. (Isserman, 2008)

In the wake of this incident, the president Johnson found an opportunity to bring the Air Forces into the war against North Vietnam. After the approval of" Gulf Tonkin Resolution", Johnson increased the number of troops in South Vietnam, "In July 1965, Johnson sent another 100000 troops, and a further 100000 in 1966. (The Vietnam war,2021)

1.3.2. American Strategy in Conducting the War

The United States of America followed different ways to conduct the war:

1.3.2.1. Bombing Operations

The American strategy of conducting the war was at first, relied only on military operations. These bombing operations were for certain purposes. For Hadbod'ová (2008) stated that whose aim was to enfeeble the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) and simultaneously to destroy military bases, air defences and the North Vietnamese industrial and transportation system." According to Johnson approves Operation Rolling Thunder (1965, as cited in Hadbod'ová,2008),"Operation Rolling Thunder and its first mission took place on 2nd March, 1965, when "100 US Air Force and Republic of Vietnam Air Force (VNAF) planes struck the Xom Bang ammunition dump 100 miles southeast of Hanoi until 1st November 1968." Although the main purpose of the operation was to attack from the air, the assaults were also guided from the ground. Afterwards several aggressions pointed out, that American air bases needed more protection. This new phase of the conflict was seen as the start of the American ground campaign. (Ibid)

1.3.2.2. Ground War (Guerilla War)

In this frame, General Westmoreland war strategy had three phases: working to slow the movement of the Viet Cong soldiers, then, destroying the enemy and captured areas will be kept under the control of South Vietnamese government.(Hadbod'ovà,2008) Later on, other Westmoreland's strategies were emerged, and the most famous one was the strategy of "Search and Destroy" which mainly depended on sending ground forces to the jungles of Vietnam villages to locate the enemy position, then using the warplanes and artillery to destroy the enemy.(Ibid) Within this strategy, the US forces carried out one of their most successful military operations, which was known as "Operation Starlite" which combined ground, air and naval warfare (Ibid) Often, American soldiers failed to implement the war strategies of Westmoreland due to the geographical nature of Vietnam, which is characterized by its large areas of jungles, and this what helped the Viet Cong forces, who were accustomed to their geographic, to impose their guerilla war fighting against the American troops who were not skilled enough in the guerilla war.

1.3.2.3. Technology

The US of America used technology as a weapon in its war against North Vietnam. The Vietnam War (2021) stated the following: The USA relied on high altitude bombers to drop heavy bombs in North Vietnam. They used jets to drum napalm, a chemical that burnt skin down to the bone, on suspected Viet Cong strongholds, and Agent Orange, an ultra-strong defoliant, was used to destroy the jungle cover. Helicopters were used to deploy and destroy guerrilla combatants. Television propaganda was used in the USA to report the "body count" of estimated Viet Cong casualties.

1.3.2.4. Tet Offensive

Many historians consider this attack as "the turning point "in the American War against the communist North Vietnam. It was a group of very important military operations with more than one target. So that Viet Cong forces along with the North Vietnamese soldiers were able to deepen in the south and they even reached the capital Saigon and launched major attacks on the American forces in 100 cities. According to Ouden (2009),"the Tet Offensive significant in the military aspects of the fighting, but its greater importance is its political and psychological impact in the United States and, in particular, inside the Johnson administration." Despite the fact that North Vietnam lost more than 80000, but the victory for them was moral (psychological). The moral victory for North Vietnam was that it was

proven to the international and especially for the American public opinion, that North Vietnam is a fierce enemy that can confront the American military power. For Isserman(2003), "After Tet, it was impossible for Americans to believe the reassuring promises of General Westmorland and President Johnson that victory was around the corner", because during the Tet Offensive, the American public opinion was misleading due to the Media Propaganda that falsified the war facts in Vietnam and portrayed that the communists were weak enemy and their defeat was a matter of time no more, in addition, Media reflected an image that the communists were cruel and war criminals.(Isserman, 2003)

The Tet Offensive impacts on US were very significant; 14000 American soldiers were killed during the year 1968, the arise of the Anti-War-Movement inside the United States, and major political changes was occurred, according to Isserman (2003),"Westmoreland was now so distrusted by the American public that the administration arranged to have him "kicked upstairs", appointing him army chief of staff in June 1968, to be replaced by his deputy, Gen. Creighton Abrams." Isserman(2003) also stated the following:

On Sunday March 3, JOHNSON spoke to the nation in a televised broadcast. That night he announced that the communists' Tet Offensive had been a failure, but he did not offer any optimistic prediction of a "light at the end of the tunnel" in Vietnam. Instead, he announced a halt to bombing raids in North Vietnam except for an area north of the DMZ. He called upon North Vietnamese leaders to join the United States

In peace talks. And at the end, he astonished his listeners by declaring, "I shall not seek, and I will not accept, the nomination of my party for another term as your president."

1.3.2.5. Vietnamization of the War

After his announcing that he would not run for the upcoming presidential elections, and his inviting for the North Vietnamese to join peace talks with the United States of America and South Vietnam, South Vietnamese leaders announced their acceptance of Johnson's invitation only three days after his speech.

(Isserman,2003) This was a significant alter in the American opinion toward the war and official US strategy. (Willbanks,2008)

When he owed his election in 1968, Richard Nixon was the fifth American president in a quarter-century to face the question of what role the United States should play in Vietnam. (Isserman,2003) For Hadbod'ovà (2008)," Vietnamization became a new term for the latest

policy of the president elect, Richard Nixon." In his speech of Vietnamization in 1969, Richard Nixon declared, "In the previous administration, we Americanized the war in Vietnam. In this administration, we are Vietnamizing the search for peace." It meant that the United States would focus on the training of the army of South Vietnam and strengthen it until they could be able to defend the South Vietnam and establishing an independent, non-communist Vietnam, and it meant also that the USA would begin to withdrawal troops from the South Vietnam.

When Nixon announced the policy of Vietnamization in his doctrine, the American public, who opposed the continuity of war in Vietnam, thought that the U.S military would begin to withdraw from Vietnam and therefore ending the war, but NIXON and his national security adviser, Henry Kissinger, believed that there was still an opportunity for victory. On this account, the American army intensified the bombing, accelerated the pace of the war and widen it in order to gain time and to destroy the communists as quickly as possible and then the start of the withdrawing of US forces from Vietnam.

In fact, the intense bombing was for two reasons, to destroy the Ho Chi Minh trail and its military bases in Laos and Cambodia (Cambodia declared neutrality from the second half of the 20th century), and also to force North Vietnam to continue the previous broken peace talks of 1969.

In March 1969, the bombing operations of the bases of the North Vietnamese army and the Liberation Front Army (LFA), initially on the east of Cambodia, but later on it expanded to Cambodia as a whole. When the bombing operations on the North Vietnamese sanctuaries forced the communists to leave them and advanced further into Cambodia.

In March 1970, an overthrowing was happened against the prince Sihanouk, by the Lon Nol (a pro-American general and Prime Minister) due to his adherence to neutrality and it accused him of giving support for the North Vietnamese. Then, the US air war was escalated against Cambodia, in one of the most brutal and bloody war in Cambodia's history. As an American reaction on this escalation, and according to Hadbod'ovà (2008),"Many demonstrations and nationwide protests eventually managed to press Nixon to withdraw American troops from Cambodia by the end of June, 1970."

With the same goals that Cambodia was bombed in 1970, the President NIXON took the decision to expand the war once again to Laos in 1971.

1.4. The End of the Vietnam War

The expansion of the war in Cambodia and Laos complicated the situation more and more. Nixon began to recognize the importance of a peace deal in order to win the reelection and avoid political humiliation. (Hadbod'ovà,2008) As a result, Henry KISSINGER was dispatched to Paris in May to propose such a peace plan that could put a stop to the war.(Ibid) If the government of North Vietnam released all of the American war prisoners, the US government would commit to withdrawing all soldiers by the end of the year.

Nonetheless, KISSINGER was pressured to reject the accord because the North Vietnamese government refused to recognize the Thieu authority in South Vietnam.(Hadbod'ovà,2008) Neither KISSINGER nor NIXON were willing to put Thieu in a risky situation without political support.(Ibid) In March 1972, North Vietnamese troops launched an unexpected and devastating invasion on South Vietnam(Hadbod'ovà,2008) The operation was timed to coincide with the start of the American presidential campaign in order to undermine the Vietnamization agenda and boost the US position ahead of the final peace talks.(Ibid) So, NIXON ordered American ground forces to return to Vietnam and began leading large air operations in the border-line area.(Ibid) Herring(1986) stated that "In the meantime, KISSINGER met secretly with Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev. For the first time Kissinger made explicit American Willingness to permit North Vietnamese forces to remain in South Vietnam after a cease fire." Regardless, the American offer was turned down. On top of that, the Soviet Union continued to financially support North Vietnam, nonetheless, KISSINGER's persistence persuaded the Soviet leadership to dispatch a high-ranking envoy to Hanoi to press for peace. Even China, another communist ally, joined the anti-NIXON protests. (Hadbod'ovà,2008)

Even though Democratic candidate George McGovern did not appear to be endangering Nixon's re-election, both NIXON and his National Security Adviser, Henry KISSINGER, were aware of the need to resurrect the peace conference before the presidential election of 1972. (Hadbod'ovà,200)

North Vietnam leaders, on the other hand, were well aware of the importance of the peace talks.(Ibid) They were aware, up until that point, that all US peace offers were kept secret.(Ibid) As a result, North Vietnam has chosen to make all individual counts of the agreement public, which should affect upcoming elections .(Ibid) NIXON retaliated by limiting North Vietnam's economic and industrial capabilities.(Ibid) Following that, he decided to conduct another major bombardment directed to Hanoi and Haiphong.(Ibid)

Simultaneously, Thieu was not thrilled when KISSINGER informed him of the apparent shift in negotiating approach during the August session, he despised the idea of an in-place cease-fire and was hostile to anything that resembled a coalition administration. (Willbanks,2008) He also scared of a negotiated peace that entailed both the entire withdrawal of U.S soldiers and the co-operation of the international community. (Ibid)

Because of his refuse of the agreement, NIXON signed a letter to Thieu requesting that he accepted the deal or he would sign it without him. (Hadbod'ovà,2008)

The Paris Peace Agreement (PPA) was signed in early January 1973, to put an end to the long-running conflict between the United States and North Vietnam. Regardless, the South Vietnamese continued to combat the communists and their allies. (Ibid) In August 1974, the United States announced a substantial reduction in military supplies to South Vietnam government, signalling the country's impending defeat. (Ibid)

The North Vietnamese took advantage of the situation and launched an attack inside South Vietnam, through which they gained control of the capital Saigon and the presidential palace on 30th April, 1975. Thus, the war in Vietnam had ended after a century of bloody war.

Conclusion

After the end of the Second World War, the world was politically divided into a capitalist camp led by the United States of America, and a communist camp led by the Soviet Union. The conflict between these two camps manifested in the so-called Cold War. The United States resorted to a policy of containment to curb the spread of communism. It began its containment policy first in Europe represented by the Marshall Plan and the establishment of NATO, and then it extended to Asia, mainly represented in the American War against North Vietnam in 1956. The US intervention in Vietnam was initially indirect, then developed into a direct military intervention. As an ally of South Vietnam, the U.S fought a long and bloody war against North Vietnam, in which it applied various military strategies. Later on, the war became complicated until it reached Cambodia and Laos during the years 1970 and 1971. After the Tet Offensive 1968, the American public opinion toward the American War in Vietnam and an Anti-war Movement was appeared, which demanded an end to the war and the withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam. With the increasing pressure of Anti-War-Movement, the high number of American died troops, the failure in destroying the communists and the concern of US President Nixon about the impact of the war on his re-election to another term, the American administration and President NIXON did not find another solution except by searching for a peaceful way to exit the war (peace with honour). So, NIXON appealed for a "Paris Peace talks" which ended the war in 1973. After the withdrawing of American soldiers from Vietnam and reducing military supports for South Vietnam government, the communists launched raids on South Vietnam, through which they caught the capital Saigon in 1975 and the presidential palace in 1975. In 1976, the two parts of Vietnam were united.

CHAPTER TWO

The American War in Afghanistan and its Strategy in The Country.

Chapter Two: The American War in Afghanistan and its Strategy in The Country.

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Introduction

This chapter deals with the American Involvement to Afghanistan. It firstly opens with an overview about the Soviet Invasion of the country and the consequences that follow. Then, it examines the American intervention in Afghanistan through three steps. The first step, before the war; describes the general statue of Afghanistan including the role of the Soviet withdrawal in the Afghan civil war which contributed in the appearance of the militant groups (Taliban and Al Qaeda). The Second steps, the beginning of the war; emphasized on the 11 September Attacks as the direct cause of the involvement and the American ultimatum to Taliban and Al Qaeda's leader Oussama BIN LADEN who will be talk about. Also, it gives a timeline of the remarkable events of the war. The third step concludes the chapter by explaining the US-Taliban peace talks as the two poles of conflict and Doha agreement which represents the American failure again in containing a country.

2.1. Afghanistan from the Soviet Invasion to the American Involvement

2.1.1. The Soviet Invasion to Afghanistan (1978-1989): An Overview

The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979 in order to protect the president Hafiz Allah AMIN who could guarantee the Soviet interests in the region. The Soviets assumed they would be there for just few months, but it took a decade. Many Afghans did not like the new communist government since it passed laws that came against their Muslim religion thus, they believed they have to resist the foreign invaders as a form of Jihad. They called themselves the Mujahideen. The Soviets next years of war in Afghanistan were with the Mujahideen who have used the country's geography to organise themselves (the different regions of the country had different resistance groups led by charismatic leaders). They knew they could not fight a world superpower as The Soviet Union so instead they waged a Guerilla fight in Afghanistan's harsh and hilly terrain, where heavy weapons forces could not easily follow. A military aid was sent to Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) by the USA which later will help the Mujahideen groups in fighting the Soviets as it is announced by the president Jimmy CARTER (1977-1981) and increased substantially under the president RIGAN as the best chance to recognise its position after the cold war and protect their country's interests in the region. Also, tens of thousands of Afghans received military training in Pakistan in order to fight the Soviet power. ("ATTAOBL",n.d.) Moreover, authoritarian monarchy of Saudi Arabia sent billions of dollars through Pakistan to the Mujahideen considering it a religious issue in addition to several hundred Arabs from Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries who came to participate in the Jihad in Afghanistan one of

them was Oussama BIN LADEN. After ten years of the war (most Soviets were killed or wounded), the Soviet forces convinced they became unable to defeat in Afghanistan due to its rugged country nature, the mujahideen resistance and it seemed like an impossible task. In 1989, the new Soviet leader Mikhail GORBACHEV withdrew the Soviet forces from Afghanistan that led to the deconstruction of the Soviet Union in 1991, Afghans civil war and TALIBAN appearance. (Ibid)

2.2. The American War in Afghanistan

2.2.1 Before the War

2.2.1.1. Civil War in Afghanistan

The Soviet Withdrawal from Afghanistan came directly with the end of the Cold War and improved US-Soviet relations. By 1991, the Soviet Union had collapsed, so it is a reason for the US government to continue pouring its resources into Afghanistan which became fragmented by complex ethnic divisions With Pashtuns majority. (Cotty,n.d) The conflict between Mujahideen and the other different groups grew into a civil war for power and control over Afghanistan; the country's situation came from bad to worse. The heavily armed Mujahideen groups fought to capture Kabul (the capital) through violent practices where the Afghan people paid the costs (killed, murder, coercion, rape, corruption and robbery by these groups became common place). The leaders of these groups became later known as "WARLORDS", but they could not remain together and divided into different ethnic group. Some Mujahideen saw that their war against the Soviet Union is succeeded, but their Jihad for Afghanistan was continuing. Especially with the ungoverned country and the ethnics conflict and assumed that the solution centred on the religious principles. As a result, they form a new armed movement based on an extreme interpretation of Sunni Islam drawing their support from the religious schools (madrassas) in Pakistan. They named themselves TALIBAN which means "religious students who seek justice and knowledge". Its leader was MULLAH Mohammed Omar. ("ATTAOBL",n.d)

2.2.1.2.Taliban and Oussama BIN LADEN

TALIBAN

The Taliban (or "students" in the Pashto language) have often been labeled as the Afghan Government and America's greatest enemy in Afghanistan. It is also known as Taliban Emirates. (Program for Culture &Conflict Studies, n.d, para1)

A Sunni Islamist movement and military organization led by MULLAH Mohammed Omar who was poor and had little formal education. It appeared firstly in Pakistan in the early 1990s after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. According to Nasreen GHUFRAN, its aim was to bring peace and implement Shari'ah (Islamic law) in what they believed to be its true sense. they appeared on the scene when the Afghans had lost all faith in the country's leadership. As a result, it gained much support especially after it protected the Afghans from the Warlords tyrannical abuse. Taliban received a financial and military (training, advisors, supplies) aid from both Pakistan's military and Saudi Arabia which helped it to succeed in controlling Afghanistan and encouraged the population to join it and believing in the idea of Jihad against the enemies of Islam. By 1998, controlled all the country's land except the Northeast, where Ahmed Shah Masud forces (the Northern Alliance) existed. It applies its interpretation of Shari'a in containing the country. i.e., women were banned from working. Schools for girls were shutdown and women were forced to be completely veiled. All games were banned. Music and television were prohibited. Criminals faced severe punishment including amputations of limbs or death by stoning). Pakistan became the first ally for Taliban and created diplomatic relations with it in addition to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. ("ATTAOBL",n.d,)

Oussama BIN LADEN

Osama bin Laden was born in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia in 1957 in a wealthy family. He is the 17th of 20-25 sons of Mohamed bin Laden, who had 52-54 children in total and Originally an immigrant from Yemen. Oussama was the only child of Mohammed and the least favourite of Mohammed's ten wives, Hamida, a Syrian woman of Palestinian descent. Hamida was reportedly a beautiful woman with a free and independent spirit who, as a result, often found herself in conflict with her husband. Reportedly by the time Osama was born, Hamida had been ostracized by the family and had been nicknamed "Al Abeda" (the slave) and her son Osama was "Ibn Al Abeda" (son of the slave). Unlike the other bin Laden children who had natural allies in their immediate circle of siblings, Osama and his mother had no such natural allies in the family. Mohammed and Hamida were divorced in 1967, when Osama bin Laden was ten years old. Reporters consisted how these events contribute in creating his strong personality. He continued his studies in King Abdul Aziz University in Jeddah where he met Abdullah AZZAM, a radical Palestinian professor at the university, and certified civil engineer. He was working toward a degree in Business Management. Abdullah AZZAM made an intellectual influence on BIN LADEN's life and conveyed to him the importance of generating the Muslims around the world to fight in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union and

establish an Islamic Emirates there thus he founded the international recruitment network Maktab Al-Khidamat

(MAK - Services Office). Bin Laden fighting in Afghanistan effected on his psychological development as a leader and contributed to the Mujahideen movement. By 1988, BIN LADEN and his loyal followers established al Qaeda (The Base) as a direct outgrowth of MAK. It is supported by Taliban groups as having the same directions and conceptions. (Jerrold M,2002)

2.2.1.3. Taliban Emirates Vs Northern Alliance

"The Northern Alliance officially known as the United Islamic Front for the Salvation of Afghanistan (UIFSA)". It formed after the Islamic Emirates of Afghanistan (Taliban) controlled the capital Kabul in 1996. The Northern Alliance was established essentially by the president Burhanuddin RABBANI and the former Defense Minister Ahmad Shah MASSOUD and other prominent figures from the Islamic state of Afghanistan who aimed to prevent Taliban from containing Afghanistan. (ibid)

According to Withington (n.d), Both India and Russia provided The Northern Alliance not only with military support in order to protect their interests in the region from the Taliban threat. India aided it by hospitals establishing, female nurses and even the beds. Moreover, the communication between Russia and The Northern Alliance were increasing to build military camps and provide arms where Taliban received a military training in Pakistan. By 2001, The Northern Alliance controlled the northern east of the country (less than 10%) based in Badakhchan province.

Before two days of September 11 Attacks, the key leader of the group MASSOUD was assassinated by Al Qaeda fighters thus; Russia and India did not find a justification to continue supporting it. After the American invasion of Afghanistan, US looked for new friends and made relationships with Anti-Taliban groups, The Northern Alliance was the logical decision. (ibid)

2.2.2. September 11 Attacks

On September 11, 2001, planes hijacked by al Qaeda terrorists crashed into the World Trade Center buildings in New York, the Pentagon building in Washington, D.C, and a field in Pennsylvania. "The suicide attacks killed nearly 3,000 people. In the United States.

disbelief, patriotism, and anger were followed by sharp changes in U.S. laws and foreign policy. They would also change the course of Afghan history. ("ATTAOBL",n.d)

2.2.2.1. Al Qaeda

Al Qaeda (AQ) is one of the longest-operating and largest jihadist militant organizations in the world. The group was founded by Osama bin Laden on August 11, 1988 after he participated in the Afghans war against the Soviet Union.

The years after, it looked for an Islamic Emirate and fought the enemies of Islam thus it began to generate support around the world to reach its objectives. After Saddam HUSSEIN invaded Iraq, BIN LADEN demanded from Saudi Arabia to interfere to help Kuwait, but its request was refused. Also, he contributed in Sudanese war against the Christians in the North. It gained much support from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq, Oman, Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Somalia, Eritrea, Chad, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Uganda, Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, and Indonesia.

In 1996, BIN LADEN declared war on the United States in an extensive fatwa published in the newspaper al-Quds al-Arabi which made Saudi Arabia put pressure on the Taliban to quiet BIN LADEN.

In 1998, he directed the attacks on the U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in 1998 that killed 224 and wounded nearly 5,000, and the attack on the USS Cole in Yemen by suicide bombers in 2000 that killed 17 and wounded 39 U.S. sailors which led President Clinton ordered 75 missiles fired at Al Qaeda camps in Afghanistan, but no senior members of al Qaeda was influenced. US diplomats' pressure on Pakistan to stop providing support to Taliban and al Qaeda and Saudi Arabia withdrew its ambassador from Kabul, but Pakistan still a firm supporter and IS I generate a political support to Taliban and continued in providing weapons. Between 1998 and 1999, it began to prepare for September 11 attacks which brought to it the forefront of international security concerns. The American Government took the warnings seriously but they may have believed that no one would be able to hurt them in their country. (Mapping Militant Organizations,2019)

2.2.2.2. Ultimatum to Taliban

After the Sept 11, 2001, the Taliban faced a US ultimatum to hand over Al-Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden and Afghanistan continues to suffer from violence nearly 18 years after the first and last major terrorist attack on US. numerous important Islamic clerics from many branches of Islam and different countries condemned BIN LADEN. Representatives of

the Taliban government of Afghanistan immediately condemn the attacks. Later, Osama bin Laden also denies involvement.¹² September-The United Nations General Assembly and Security Council pass resolutions considered the events of 11 September as a terrorist act. United States' President George BUSH stated that al Qaeda is the responsible for the attack since they are the same murderers indicted for bombing American embassies in Tanzania and Kenya. President BUSH demanded that Taliban have to deliver all al Qaeda's leaders to the United States authorities who hide in their land permanently and close every terrorist training camp in Afghanistan. Taliban refused its demand until producing an evidence, but it stated that BIN LADEN is already responsible for US embassies Bombings in 1998.

7 October- Airstrikes by United States and British planes commence against Al Qaeda training camps in Afghanistan to disrupt using Afghanistan as a base for terrorist actions. Pakistan, which had strong relationship with Taliban tried to persuade Taliban to find a compromise with US in order to avoid the invasion, but it failed. Taliban was controlled to nearly 90 percent of Afghanistan by 11/9 events, resistance to its rule had not fully collapsed. (Rahimullah,2019)

2.3. The beginning of the War in Afghanistan

For Cotty (2002), United States invaded Afghanistan on October 7,2001 just one month after September 11 Attack. It was not unexpected. The stated aim was to bring Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda to justice and prevent the emergence of other terrorist groups as the President Bush declared « the USA was acting because the Taliban had ignored the ultimatum to surrender suspected terrorist leaders, including Oussama BIN LADEN, and close terrorist training camps.

2.3.1. Timeline

The most prominent events in the American involvement of Afghanistan happened as follows:(Explains desk,2021)

Table 01. Timeline of the American Involvement in Afghanistan.

Dates	Events
September 2001	Al Qaeda hijacked four commercial aircraft and crashed them into the world trade centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington DC. The fourth crashed in a field in Pennsylvania.

	Taliban refused to deliver Oussama BIN DADEN to Taliban.
October 2001	US and UK forces led a series of air strikes in Afghanistan.
November 2001	The rising of conflict between Al Qaeda fighters and anti-Taliban groups in Tora Pora region.
December 2001	The Bonn Agreement conference in Germany to discuss peace in Kabul by UN.
April 2002	President BUSH announced a "Marshall Plan" for Afghanistan.
October 2004	The country's first Democratic Election and Hamid KHARAZAI became the president.
2005	BIN LADEN shared a recorded video where he claimed his responsibility in September 11 attacks.
2007	Taliban emerged again through suicide bombings.
2009	Killing one of the Taliban's key leaders MULLAH Obaidullah Akhund in Pakistan by US.
2010	OBAMA announced the increasing of military forces in Afghanistan.
May 1, 2011	NATO Voted for providing the Afghan Security Forces with extra forces.
2014	Hamid KARAZAI became the president for the second term.
2017	The American president Donald TRUMP emphasized on the Indian role in resolving the conflict in Afghanistan.
2019	Months of US-Taliban communication looking for a peace deal.
2020	US and Taliban signed a peace agreement in Qatar.
2021	The American president Joe BIDEN announcement to withdraw the remaining forces from Afghanistan.

2.4. The End of the War in Afghanistan

After the American failure in controlling the country and there is no hope for Taliban surrender, US tried to make negotiations between Taliban and the Afghan Government (2011-2013) by the president OUBAMA. Its tries were failed as Taliban stated that the only path for peace achieved by making negotiations with US itself. Its request also refused and Taliban continued its operations in Afghanistan. (BBC NEWS,2021)

In 2017, Donald TRUMP became the new president of the US thus the door of peace with Taliban opened again. They agreed to meet in Qatar's capital; Doha in 2020. This agreement will end about of 18 years of brutal conflicts in Afghanistan as it declared by TRUMP."I really believe the Taliban wants to do something to show we're not wasting time" He added " if bad things happen, we'll go back with a force like no-one's ever seen. " (BBC NEWS,2020)

February 29,2020, the United States signed the peace agreement with the Taliban that is aimed at ending America's longest war and bringing U.S. troops home. TRUMP said " It had been a long and hard journey in Afghanistan and it's time after all these years to bring our people back home". The deal was signed by US special envoy ZALMAY Khalilzad and Taliban political chief MULLAH Abdel Ghani Baradar with the US Secretary of State Mike POMPEO as a witness. Under the agreement, the U.S. would draw its forces down to 8,600 from 13,000 in the next 3-4 months, with the remaining U.S forces withdrawing in 14 months coupled with Taliban opened peace talks with the government in Kabul ,stopped using the country as a base for the attacks against US and its allies and harboured al Qaeda. The US and the NATO allies welcomed the agreement as long as Taliban respects the deal. US Defense Secretary Mark EPSEY said" This is a hopeful moment, but it is only the beginning. The road ahead will not be easy. Achieving lasting peace in Afghanistan will require patience and compromise among all parties". He said that the US would continue to support the Afghan Government and the Afghan president Achraf GHANI affirmed that they are ready to negotiate with Taliban. (Matthew L&Kathy G,2020)

On April 14,2021, the American president Joe BIDEN, the fourth president to oversee the war, has pledged from the White House where BUSH announced the beginning the war, that it is the time to finish the longest war in the American history. "It is time to end America's longest war." He said. And he took the responsibility. Another fourth United States president to preside over American troop presence in Afghanistan. Two Republicans, two Democrats. I will not pass this responsibility on to a fifth." (BBC NEWS,2021)

He assumed from the same speech that 11 September attacks are not a justified cause to remain their military presence in Afghanistan until 2021 when their goals have been achieved "we went to war with clear goals. We achieved those objectives. BIN LADEN is dead and AL Qaeda is degraded in Afghanistan. And it's time to end the forever war." He added. Mr.BIDEN through his speech declared that by September 2021, he will withdraw all US Forces from Afghanistan and Taliban insisted that it will not participate in any conference about Afghanistan's future until all forces leave the country.(ibid)

Conclusion

After the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, United States found the chance to involve the country to protect its oil resources, provide the capitalism extension and regain its position after the Cold War taking september11 Attacks as the essential cause. Unfortunately, it faced a strong Afghan resistance with different ethnic and militant groups as Taliban which considered US as the first Islam enemy. As a result, they wage a brutal conflict between each other from 2001 to the present day cost the United States heavily results and the longest war in the American history due to the stable position of Taliban. Lately, US recognized that the mission in Afghanistan seems as impossible thus it agreed to negotiate Taliban in Doha (Doha Agreement) looking for a peace deal.

CHAPTER THREE

**Consequences of The American War in Vietnam and
Afghanistan and The Causes of its Failure.**

Chapter Three: The Consequences of the American War in Vietnam and Afghanistan and the Causes of its Failure.

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Introduction

This chapter introduces a serious analysis for the data gathered from the two previous chapters by highlighting the consequences and causes of the American failure in both Vietnam and Afghanistan. At the beginning, this chapter starts off with an in-depth look on the positive and negative impact of the American War on Vietnam on the level of human losses, material losses and the unification of Vietnam. Then it moves to the impact of this warfare on the United States by giving details about the human losses, material losses, the American prestige and the political effects. Additionally, in the Vietnam War, it is worthy to analyze the deep causes of the American failure in Vietnam with details of economic reasons, mass media and the power of Television, and Anti-War movement. Furthermore, this chapter also sheds light on the impact of the American War on Afghanistan. In this context, this chapter deals not only with the human losses, material losses, but also with the continuity of the Taliban existence in Afghanistan. In addition, it proceeds to examine the impact of the American War in Afghanistan on the United States with taking into consideration the human losses, material losses and the continuity of the Taliban threat. Finally, it ends with an analysis of the causes of the American failure in Afghanistan including the high costs of the War in Afghanistan and the focus on the war in Iraq.

3.1. The Impact of the American War on Vietnam

The American War against Vietnam is considered one of the bloodiest modern wars, as the Vietnamese paid high price for freedom. Despite of the victory, the human and material losses in Vietnam were enormous.

3.1.1. The Human Losses

Vietnam would take several generations to recover from the consequences of the war.(Isserman, 2003) Nearly 200000 South Vietnamese soldiers were killed, the number of Viet Cong and North Vietnamese dead was unknown between 500000 and a million.(Ibid) A million or more civilians were also murdered.(Ibid) In total, at least one-tenth of Vietnam's population was killed or injured as a result of the war.(Ibid) It is also worth noting that the Vietnam War and the existence of American troops not only resulted in losses on the battleground, but affected the next generation of Vietnam people.(Hadbod'ovà, 2008)

During the war in Vietnam, almost 50000 "American Asian" babies were born to Vietnamese women as a result of their association with American military soldiers. (Vietnamese Americans in America, 2003, as cited in Hadbod'ovà, 2008) Nonetheless, attacks by members of the US

military that resulted in forceful rape and subsequent unlawful pregnancy were a more common cause of birth of these children. (Hadbod'ovà, 2008)

3.1.2. The Material Losses

The conflict had left its negative impact on the land. Vietnam's environment remains littered with bomb holes, its rivers and woods are still contaminated by *Agent Orange* and other American chemicals and farm workers continue to be murdered by unexploded bombs, artillery rounds and mines. (Isserman, 2003) Vietnam was a big rice exporter before the war. (The Vietnam War, 2021) Because of the damage of land during the conflict, the country was unable to feed its inhabitants. (Ibid)

3.1.3. The Unification of Vietnam

On this level, it could be considered that Vietnam achieved victory twice, first by defeating the United States and withdrawing its soldiers from Vietnam in 1973, and secondly by unifying the two parts of Vietnam after the North Vietnamese forces attacked and caught Saigon and the presidential palace in 1976.

3.2. The Impact of American War in Vietnam on the USA: An Analysis

3.2.1. The Human Losses

The war's consequences are still being felt in the United States. Over 58000 Americans perished in Vietnam, including 47244 killed in conflict, 10446 killed in accidents and sickness, and hundreds more killed in various ways. (Isserman, 2003) More than 300000 people were injured, many of them were permanently disabled. (Ibid) Thousands of other veterans have suffered from PTSD (also known as "battle weariness" or "shell shock" in past conflict, due to the consequences of Agent Orange poisoning, or heroin addiction as a result of their service in Vietnam. (Ibid) Psychologically, American servicemen returning after the war were likewise mistreated. (The Vietnam War, 2021) Many citizens viewed them as vicious thugs who ought to be punished or avoided at all costs. (Ibid)

Following the Vietnam War, Americans were unable to respect or trust government institutions. (Hadbod'ovà, 2008) The war's aftermath was also represented in a concept known as "Vietnam Syndrome". (Vietnam War) The concept referred to the effects of the Vietnam conflict on U.S foreign policy after the war ended in 1975. (Ibid) It was marked by American popular self-doubt and self-blame in every foreign crisis, as well as a notion that the US should always avoid military engagement in other countries. (Ibid)

3.2.2. The Material Losses

In terms of finances, the Vietnam war cost the United States lot of money. The war cost the U.S 150 billion of Dollars in direct costs and billions more in annual payments to the veterans. (Isserman, 2003, In the late 1960s, the conflict triggered a wave of inflation that damaged the economy for years (Ibid)

3.2.3. The American Prestige

The idea that the United States, the world's greatest power, had been defeated by a much smaller and weaker country was very depressing. (The Vietnam War, 2021) There was a lack of trust in the military capabilities of the United States. (Ibid) on the same concept, Ouden (2009), noted the following:

U.S commitment to a remote Southeast Asian nation was not only supportive of the South Vietnamese but also a matter of self-interest. The Americans could not afford to lose their credibility as the most powerful nation in the West. Highlighted from a U.S. perspective the whole Vietnam War from the outset was also a battle for the credibility of U.S. foreign policies and its military power.

3.2.4. The Political Effects

The American War in Vietnam had its impact on the U.S. foreign policy. This is evident in Nixon Doctrine. Nixon said that the United States will undertake no further military commitments. Its partners would be responsible for their own protection. (The Vietnam War, 2021) In addition, President Nixon attempted to reduce tension with the Soviet Union in order to split the communist superpower's support for North Vietnam. (Ibid)

3.3. Analysis of the American Failure in Vietnam War

Several aspects and reasons were associated and led to the failure of U.S in Vietnam.

3.3.1. Economic Reasons

The economic conditions inside the United States had a great role in ending the war in Vietnam. President Lyndon Johnson asked Congress for extra funds to pay for the war in 1965. (Ouden,2009) Simultaneously, it is evident that more funds will be required in the next year. (Ibid) The conflict grew to be a highly costly endeavour. (Ibid) Till May 1965, the conflict in Vietnam had consumed 100 million dollars. (Ibid) The government requested another 700 million dollars during May 1965. (Ibid) In parallel, it appeared that Johnson did not comprehend

that his aim for a "Great Society" could be constrained mostly by the war's massive costs. (Ibid) Actually, the Johnson administration overvalued the state's economic power: The United States economy was incapable of providing the funds required to enhance social system domestically while also fighting communism overseas. (Ibid) Despite this, government expenditure on community assistance at home has nearly kept pace with the war spending. (Ouden, 2009)

The problem was that the government's budget could balance only by providing funding from the private sector. (Ibid) A shortage caused inflation during this time, when the economy had attained full employment. (Ibid) The solution to keep resisting was increasing taxes. (Ibid) However, Johnson recognized that the war was unpopular, and he resisted the temptation to immediately increase taxes. (Ibid) Also, the Congress took too long to raise them, resulting in inflation and a balance-of –payments problem. (Ibid) The economic condition further deteriorated after the Nixon government assumed power in 1968. (Ibid) Nixon knew that the U.S could not continue to spend so much money on war. (Ibid) If excessive spending persisted, the United States' economy would face a catastrophic disaster. (Ibid) Along with escalating oil crisis, worsening ties with OPEC's Arab members and domestic instability, the U.S realized that the settlement was via peace talks rather than an economic plan. (Ouden, 2009)

3.3.2. Mass Media and the Power of Television

The Media generally played a pivotal role in influencing American Public opinion about the US war in Vietnam. Since the beginning of the war, the American administration had pursued a strategy of "Propaganda" to influence the public opinion and gained its support for the war against North Vietnam. For Hadbod'ovà(2008),

"In terms of war conducting, it can be said that every conflict is fought on at least two grounds-the battle-field and the minds of the people by means of war propaganda. This branch of public relations is devoted to manipulating people's attitude toward a war or war in general, rather than engaging in open dialogue."

There was a significant military and political dominance on information particularly at the start of American War in Vietnam, and that was a key determinant element to propaganda. There were various types of media that monopolized coverage during the conflict, like newspaper, periodicals featuring photographic images and broadcast. But, when television got more widespread, the most of Americans started to rely on it for receiving news instead of another source. The Vietnam War was "the first covered war via Television." But the authorities

usually selected what the TV News would report and ensured that it matched with their considerations, that's why the Americans were only able to view just few minutes of fake facts about an incredibly difficult conflict. Thereupon they wanted the American popular to think that the war in Vietnam was happening just like its plan, they showing brave troops were preserving democracy and rescuing the South Vietnamese from the horrible communists of the North Vietnam. Nevertheless, this was not the case, as the Americans soon discovered the deaths of relatives and friends which could not be hidden by the media. (Propaganda proWar and Anti-War, as cited in Hadbod'ovà, 2008) In agreement with this, Hadbod'ovà (2008) stated the following:

The major turning point in television's coverage of the war occurred during the Tet Offensive in 1968. Though the North Vietnamese soldiers managed to make an attack on a large number of important Southern Vietnamese cities, in terms of casualties, Tet was taken as a US victory. Nevertheless, the media portrayed the attack as a brutal defeat for the US. For those television and newspaper commentators who had criticized the war conflict since its beginning, this offensive provided compelling evidence of its foolishness and imprudence. As a result of the media influence on public opinion, the war protests voices were increasing.

3.3.3. Anti-War Movement

The Anti-War movement was an American current that opposed the war in Vietnam. The most extreme majority of all social classes participating in the anti-war movement effort were university students and instructor, as well as members of educational institutions. For The Vietnam War (2021), "In the 1960, protest movements began in California but spread to all the major cities and universities across the U.S.A by 1968" Four nonviolent students protestors at Kent State University in Ohio were assassinated on May4, 1970. (The Vietnam War, 2021) They were assassinated by Ohio National Guardsmen, which became recognized as the Kente State Massacre. (Ibid) In the same context, Artists composed anti-war songs as well as songs critical of the Vietnam War. (Ibid) Like "Masters of War" of "Bob Dylan" and "Give Peace A Chance" of "John Lynnon". (Ibid) Another group of Anti-War movement was the "Pacifist" who considered the war as immoral. (Ibid)

With the escalation of the war in Vietnam, the Anti-War movement reached the American administration itself and formed "a political" opposition". (Ibid) According to The Vietnam War (2021), "The American Government spent vast amounts of money on the war that could have been spent on domestic problems. Some politicians who had supported the war to begin with, such as Robert Mc Namara, to turn against American involvement." Also, civil rights

groups opposed the war because they demanded the rights of African-American in the United States. (The Vietnam War, 2021) Since they were recent trainees, numerous African-Americans were recruited and awarded for the harshest posts and missions. (Ibid) Muhammed Ali, for example, his boxing title was annulled because he refused to join the war. (Ibid)

To conclude, the Anti-War movement touched all levels of American people and this led to a significant pressing on the Government to end the war.

3.4. The Impact of American War on Afghanistan

According to Debre (2021) The two-decade-long battle in Afghanistan, which began following the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, is America's longest battle which left huge impacts on the physical and mental level.

3.4.1. Material Losses

According to Debre (2021) Afghan military and police forces received \$88 billion in training, equipment, and funding. According to the SIGAR report, another \$36 billion was spent on rehabilitation projects, education, and infrastructure such as dams and roadways. Another \$4.1 billion was allocated to refugee and disaster relief. Over \$9 billion was spent on a campaign to dissuade Afghans from distributing heroin around the world.

3.4.2. Human Losses

Khan Saif (2021) in his article claims that nearly 47,600 civilians were killed and more than twice that number were injured in Afghanistan as a result of the US occupation in the last 20 years. In the first year of the invasion in 2001, at least 2,375 civilians were killed when the Northern Alliance of mostly anti-Taliban forces in Afghanistan began regaining control of the nation with the help of the US air force and ground offensives. Khan Saif (2021) argues that, according to the Watson Institute, 400 civilians died in 2002, 450 more in 2003, and 230 in 2004, before rising to 413 in 2005, 929 in 2006, and over a thousand for the first time in 2007, when 1,582 civilians died. This trend continued in 2009, with 2,118 civilians killed in 2008, 2,412 in 2009, and 2,794 in 2010. According to the report, the increase in civilian casualties that began with the start of intra-Afghan negotiations between government representatives and the Taliban in September last year has continued, with insurgents responsible for 43.5 percent of all civilian casualties, security forces for 25%, and unidentified anti-government elements for 12.5 percent. In 2015, 3,565 civilians were slain, followed by 3,527 in 2016, 3,442 in 2017, 3,803 in 2018, 3,409 in 2019, and 3,035 in 2020. (Khan Saif, 2021)

3.4.3. Taliban is Still a Threat

On October 27, 2018, the Taliban launched a coordinated assault on numerous Hazara-populated districts, commencing in Kondolan, Uruzgan Khas (Adili& Van Bijlert ,2018). At first, the Taliban's strike was said to be aimed solely at an anti-Taliban leader. The Taliban's assault grew in intensity over the next few days, resulting in enormous civilian losses, displacement, and a humanitarian crisis for the Hazaras of Targe. (Harsat ,2019)

Harsat (2019) relied on a report written by Taqi BAKHTAYARI, a well-known Hazara author and writer, and previously submitted it to Amnesty International's Australia office, showing that Urozgan had 38 civilian losses (31 deaths and 7 injuries) and 496 IDPs, according to the report.

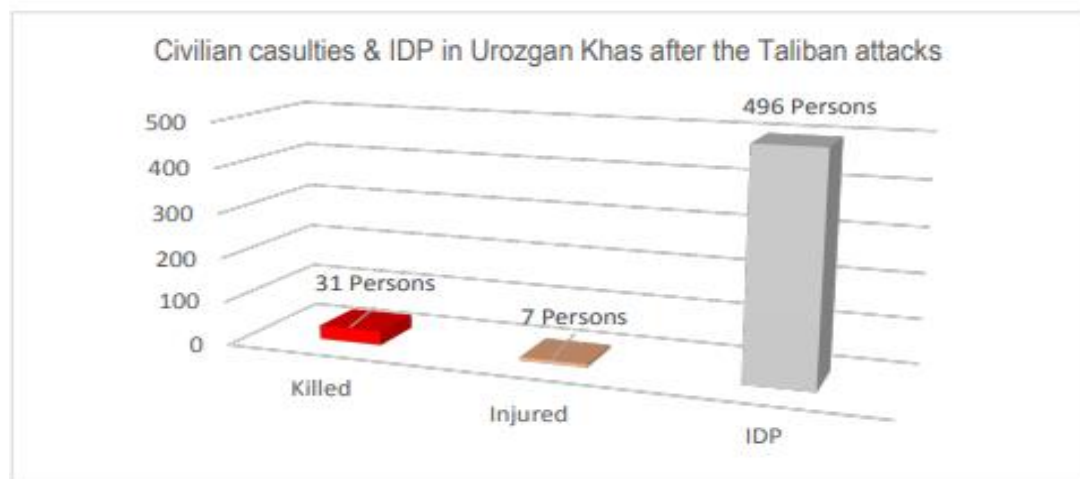


Figure 1. Civilian casualties & IDP in Urozgan Khas after the Taliban (Harsat, 2019)

Following Urozgan, the Taliban intensified their attacks, killing 11 Hazara civilians in three Malistan villages: Shirdagh, Pashi, and ZardakZawli.(ibid)

3.5. The Impact of the American War in Afghanistan on the United States

The bloody battle in Afghanistan had terrible consequences for the US , affecting them greatly on both physical and mental level, and it resulted in massive material and human losses.

3.5.1. Material Losses

According to BBC news(n.d), The cumulative military spending in Afghanistan from October 2001 to September 2019 was \$778 billion dollars. In addition, the US State Department invested \$44 billion in rehabilitation programs, along with the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and other government organizations, and this raised the overall cost to \$822 billion between 2001 and 2019, according to government data, although it excludes any expenditures in Pakistan, which the US used as a base for Afghan-related missions. Furthermore, around \$978 billion has been spent by the United States (their estimate also includes money allocated for the 2020 fiscal year).

3.5.2. Human Losses

US forces have lost over 2,300 soldiers and injured approximately 20,660 others since the battle against the Taliban began in 2001. (ibid)

According to Crawford (2018), in the post-9/11 wars, about 7,000 US soldiers and sailors have been killed. The number of US soldiers killed in the war has decreased each year, owing in part to the fact that the US has delegated much of the direct ground combat to its partners in Iraq, Syria, and Afghanistan. According to Human Cost of the Post-9/11 Wars article (2018), the American national military and police have lost over 58,000 lives since the war began in October 2001.

3.5.3. Taliban is still a threat

According to Cronk, John F. Kirby informed reporters on April 16 at the Pentagon that the US military withdrawal, which is set to begin on May 1 and be completed by September 11, 2021, is well aware of the Taliban threats. Kirby stated that we've seen their threats, and it would be foolish of us not to take them seriously. Kirby stated that it would also be foolish for the Taliban to ignore what [President Joe Biden and Secretary of Defense Lloyd J. Austin III] both stated: Any attack on our drawdown, on our forces, or our allies and partners, would be handled with vigor. While the specifics of the drawdown are still being worked out, the previous administration drew up an agreement to leave on May 1, so some preliminary plans have been accomplished, according to the spokesman. With the president's directive to begin the drawdown on May 1, those plans must be altered, and the military leadership is working on it. So, when Kirby said that it is not beyond of the realm of possibility that some extra enabling capabilities may be supplied to Afghanistan for a limited time to aid in the safe, orderly, and deliberate drawdown. (2021)

Both the president and the secretary of state made it clear that it is still in the national security interest of the United States that terrorist attacks on the homeland do not originate in Afghanistan, and that the country will not be a safe haven for terrorist groups such as al-Qaida and others that pose a threat to the United States. (ibid) "They're serious about that objective," (Cronk,2021,para9) which means that Taliban is still considered a threat on US.

3.6. The Causes of the American Failure in Afghanistan

We discovered that the United States' withdrawal from Afghanistan is expected based on the statistics we obtained previously. When the United States invaded Afghanistan with its allies in 2001, it hoped to eliminate Islamic extremists such as al-Qaeda and the Taliban while also instilling democratic values in the country. But, two decades later, the Taliban are still so powerful that they may end up controlling Afghanistan, despite the loss of 2,400 American troops. The occupation by the United States has largely failed. (Tett,2021)

3.6.1. The High Costs of War in Afghanistan

The almost two-decade war in Afghanistan has cost the US \$2.26 trillion as well as expenses will continue to climb even after the last American service member leaves Afghanistan later this year, as the Biden administration has promised. So, according to the report, the Defense Department's Overseas Contingency Operations spending accounted for the highest single expenditure - \$933 billion, or 41% of the total cost of the war effort. Budgetary limitations imposed on the rest of the department had no impact on the contentious OCO budget, which was utilized to fund war efforts and grew dramatically over time. In addition, the military's entire budget increased by \$443 billion, according to the Watson Institute, making it the war's third-highest expenditure. Also, borrowing money to pay for the battle costs \$530 billion, making it the effort's second-largest expense. In addition, the US has spent \$296 billion on the care of Afghanistan war veterans. Finally, the US has spent \$296 billion on the care of Afghanistan war veterans. (Losey,2021)

3.6.2. The Focus on the War in Iraq

The prospect of conflict with Iraq was, and continues to be, a contentious issue around the world. Any news broadcast will have a daily argument about the benefits and drawbacks of going to war. The following is a list of reasons for and against the war that were offered at the time. This is not meant to be a recommendation for or against the war, but rather a quick reference. Firstly, the United States and the rest of the world have a responsibility to disarm a rogue state like Iraq. Secondly, Saddam Hussein is a tyrant who has shown a blatant disdain for

human life and should be held accountable. Thirdly, the Iraqi people are oppressed, and the international community has a responsibility to assist them. In addition, the world's economy depends on the region's oil riches. Saddam Hussein is a rogue element who is endangering the region's oil supplies. Then, the globe of the future will be safer from terrorist assaults as a result of Saddam's removal. Moreover, in the Middle East, the establishment of a new nation that is friendly to US interests. Furthermore, Saddam's removal would be a vindication of earlier UN resolutions and lend credibility to the organization. Finally, if Saddam Hussein possessed weapons of mass devastation, he could share them with US terrorist adversaries. (Kelly,2019)

Conclusion

Despite the policy of the United States of America applied during the Vietnam and Afghanistan wars and the many years it spent there in order to achieve the desired political goals, this occupation ended up being a miserable failure for important reasons, including the Anti-war movement. Guerrilla warfare in Vietnam, the rising costs of war, and in Afghanistan, the American focus on the war in Iraq. The withdrawal of the American forces resulted in great material and human losses, whether at the American, Vietnamese and Afghan levels. As for the Taliban movement, which was considered one of the most important threats to the United States and its disastrous consequences for the two countries.

General Conclusion

The current part of the research aims to summarize the research findings in order to answer the questions. To reach this aim, it was necessary to deal with the emergence of the US as a leader of capitalism against the Soviet Union, the leader of communism, as one of the most prominent developments during the Second World War Era, in which the conflict between the two ideologies intensified and entered the stage of the Cold War. In addition, The US adopted the containment policy as a foreign policy to besiege communist expansion. This policy has taken shape after several events, starting from George KENNAN, Marshall Plan, NATO and finally, the Domino Theory. Furthermore, this policy extended to be implemented in Asia and Vietnam War is the best pattern. Moreover, the containment policy in Vietnam led to the beginning of war after the first Indochina War. During this war, The US flew a military strategy of sending military advisors, then, the Americanization of the War after the Tonkin Gulf incident. Also, the US used several ways to conduct the war as the bombing operations, ground war, technology, Tet Offensive which led to the Vietnamization of the war and ending the war. After analysis, the study found that the containment policy failed in Vietnam due to certain domestic reasons, the most important of which the opposition, media pressure, and the deterioration of the economy.

For Afghanistan, the study examines the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan before the United States followed suit later, with taking advantage of September 11 Attacks. After the development of the war events, the war was ended with Doha agreement. The study finds out that the American military involvement in Afghanistan failed to realize its goals because the war cost America heavily in time it was focusing more on the war in Iraq.

This dissertation discusses the impact of war on both Vietnam and Afghanistan on the level of human and material losses beside the unification of Vietnam and the continuity of Taliban existence. Furthermore, it deals with the impact of the two wars on America which was

human losses, material losses, and the failure of getting rid of Taliban. Moreover, this study gives a deep analysis to the American strategic failure in both Vietnam and Afghanistan. This analysis enabled us to know the power of media in influencing the public opinion and the power of protest in changing the of war in Vietnam, in addition, the financial influence on ending the war and how the lack of focus on war in Afghanistan led to the failure to realize the American policy targets. The American War in Vietnam and Afghanistan appears to be similar on the surface because they began for the search for world peace protection, but in fact, it shows to which extent the US foreign policy has developed under the pretext of preserving world peace, as it has shifted from containment policy to a policy of fighting terrorism, or rather fighting Islam. This research has been faced by several obstacles which was the lack of sources that deal with the consequences of American War in Afghanistan, the rarity of objective sources. The contribution of this study is the change of the American foreign policy of containment in Vietnam and fighting Islam under the name of fighting terrorism in Afghanistan. Finally, the current study recommends future studies to make a deep research about the consequences of American War in Afghanistan in addition to the development of events in Afghanistan after the American withdrawal from Afghanistan.

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ملخص

منذ بروز الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية كقوة عالمية أصبح جنرالات أمريكا متعطشين لشنّ الحروب وجلب الانتصارات لدولتهم لذلك بدأوا في خوض عدة معارك أملاً منهم في تحقيق انتصارات سريعة لصالحهم. لكن أغلب النتائج المحققة لم ترضي الجنرالات الأمريكيان (وكل من توقع انتصار الولايات) على الرغم من امتلاكهم أفضل و أقوى جيش في العالم, فقد عدّ التدخل الأمريكي في كل من الفيتنام و أفغانستان أشهرها, نظراً إلى الأوزار الثقيلة التي أثقلت كاهل الولايات المتحدة, الدراسة التي بين أيدينا تعالج الفشل الاستراتيجي لأمريكا في كلتا الدولتين رغم كونها أكبر قوة عالمية, كما تهدف إلى تعقب السياستين المطبقتين من طرفها أثناء الحربين بالاعتماد على المقارنة بينهما, بالإضافة إلى ذلك تحاول تحليل أسباب الفشل الأمريكي, وتقييم النتائج المحققة. تمت هذه الدراسة من خلال توظيف المنهج الوصفي التاريخي من أجل سرد أحداث وتسلسل الحربين والاستناد على المنهج التحليلي لأهميته في تقييم نتائجها حيث برز من خلال هذه الدراسة أن الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية فشلت في احتواء الدولتين بل وحققت الأسوأ.

كلمات مفتاحية: الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية، الفيتنام، أفغانستان، السياستين، الاحتواء.