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The U.S. Foreign Policy and the Cold War Culture under Lyndon B. Johnson's Presidency

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Dedication

Alaa

This modest work is to be dedicated to my dear mother to whom I owe my success and all the support she gave me from the beginning until the end. I dedicate my efforts to all those who help me in my study year.

Abdlouahab

I dedicate my efforts to my dear parents and all my friends who help me through my study year.

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Abstract

This dissertation sheds light on the adopted policy by the U.S. especially during the Cold War and how culture had a great influence on making these policies. We are going to mention the roots of making these foreign policies and how it was established by policymakers. The main purpose of this research is about the relation between the culture and the establishment of the foreign policy, and also it shows the impact of both the two World Wars and the Cold War in particular on the American society and how was the role of media and television in fighting the spread of communism. In this research we are going to tackle the impact of the Cold War on film production, music, literature and even the public opinion.

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The United States has played and is still playing an important and decisive role on the international scene due to its status as the greatest country in the world. The role it played was conducted and established through its Foreign Policy which has deep and rooted cultural origins that date back to the Founding fathers of the United States of America

The cold war, which outbroke by the end of the Second World War, had effected and oriented the U.S. Foreign policy towards a bald policy making the United States actively and affectively engaged in the Cold War period. The period from 1963 to 1969 Under President Lyndon B. Johnson, who's two terms were overshadowed by the Vietnam War. The War, as a part of the Cold War conflict, had a deep impact on: the U.S. Government, its policy and the American Culture. This resulted in new culture known as the Cold War Culture. The government used its influence to get the needed public support to peruse its foreign policies before and during the War while people were influenced and manipulated by what was happening. This conflict between government and people was reflected on culture which, in its turn, witnessed a great and remarkable change in terms of quantity and quality. However, the period also witnessed a violation of civil rights due to the fear of Communism.

The aim of this research is to explore the grounds, facts and consequences of the American Foreign Policy from the birth of its formation. This dissertation will shed light on how culture gave birth to foreign policy and how the latter effected culture during Lyndon B. Johnson's presidency. This work will help to understand how the reflection and consequences of foreign policy was on the American Culture was and how it was represented.

We have come to choose this topic because of our deep interest in the American history especially in the Cold War period in general and the United States of government in particular. We have seen the complexities and the procedures of the U.S. system of government in terms of foreign policy making. This gave us the motivation, interest and desire to look deep into this subject matter. What was more interesting and appealing to making this research was the influence of culture during the foundation of the U.S foreign policy and the extent to how foreign policy could affect culture.

This research paper will answer a set of questions for the Cold War 1963-1969 was reflected on culture? And also how Cold War Culture expressed the concerns of the American people over the fears of the Cold War? We will try to answer some questions related to the establishment and the conduct of the U.S. Foreign Policy by both, the executive and Legislative branch. Our hypothesis, concerning the reflection of the Cold War on culture, might be the mass media which might have played a role in reflecting the Cold War culture during the period. Concerning the establishment and the conduct, it is thought that cultural as well as systematic and political environments had influenced the U.S Foreign Policy Making.

Several literature works have been conducted on U.S foreign policy and the cold war culture that raise to prominence during the Cold War period. Among the works that we have taken reference to were *U.S. Foreign Policy since 1945* by Alan Dobson(date of publication,2006), and *A History of the American People* by Paul Johnson(date of publication,1997). Dobson provides a detailed and analytical study of the U.S. foreign policy, although he provides the cultural roots for the U.S. foreign policy, there's no link to culture in terms of how it was reflected on the American society. The creation of the United States of America is the greatest of all human adventures; Paul begins with Johnson's remarkable new American history. He added: "No other national story holds

such tremendous lessons for the American people themselves and for the rest of mankind". Johnson's history is the reinterpretation of American history from the first settlement to the Clinton administration. This book covers every aspect of the U.S. history politics; business and economic, art, literature and science, society and customs; complex traditions and religious beliefs. Thus, we're taken advantage of the detailed background of the U.S. foreign policy and its conduct during the Sixties so that this research paper will depict the consequences and effects of the Cold War, with reference to the U.S. foreign policy, on the American culture, and how these effects of culture were represented. By this, our research paper will provide something interesting and a different to what have been already produced concerning our subject matter, in that, we tend to make our study as important as the literature that we've referenced.

Although the Cold War had taken thousands of lives and the government made strict censorship on what to be broadcasted and published, the Cold War culture flourished dramatically in the Sixties as a consequence of the Vietnam War. Reporters contributed greatly in making the public aware of what was going on. This awareness led to making demonstrations and movements against the U.S. government and the War alike. It also led to the prosperity and richness of literary works, songs, and movies all depicting the atrocities happening in Vietnam which took thousands of young American lives on a political lost war.

Regarding the type of this research paper which is concerned with historical events, we will conduct this historical study by using the Analytical method by presenting the materials and the background knowledge provided and try answering and discussing these information with detailed thorough analysis. Thus, the work is divided into three chapters. The first chapter provides a background knowledge about the U.S foreign policy and the Mass media in order to give an insight to our research study. The

second chapter is purely analytical as it deals with the analysis of the materials which we have presented in the first chapter. It is purely political; it deals with the violation of civil rights and the inherited power that gave the president the right to make any move that would threaten the American Nation. As for the third chapter, it deals with the reflection of the Cold War on the American Society and culture by means are the mass media and through social movements and different artistic materials.

I. Chapter One Background of U.S Foreign Policy Prior to Cold War

Introduction

Soon after the Second World War, the two previously allied superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, in the Second World war turned into two separate ideological entities with each entity trying to impose itself on international affairs and set its own political, cultural, and economic influence on other countries around the world. This made conflict fought on an international scale spreading throughout Asia, Africa, Latin America and most notably Europe. Any Soviet or Communist action was followed by an American Capitalist reaction through United States Department of Foreign Affairs through the presidential “imperialist” making of foreign policies concerning the Soviet movements. There was no direct military contact between the two super-powers; that’s why it is called and best known as the Cold War. This ideological, cultural and political conflict was heavily covered and broadcasted by the media; the thing which let the American people immerse and live the Cold War while staying home. The media had a deep influence in shaping the public opinion as far as the war was concerned. TV shows, movies, series and music introduced new popular culture to the Americans, the Cold War Culture.

I .1. Culture as a Foundation of Foreign Policy

The rule to understand or set any foreign policy is through analyzing the society. The main important aspects that the policymakers are going to take into consideration to establish a foreign policy will be based on political, economic and security issues. That

is to say, the U.S Foreign policy is driven by political and economic interests in addition to the protection of national security. These analyses from scholars are based on detail knowledge such as values, attitudes and traditions of the nation's general culture. Historians made their interpretation to foreign policies and nation's culture and they concluded that they cannot be separated. For example in the U.S foreign policies, historians knew that the roots of American foreign policies are its society, and it is clearly apparent in the American Foreign policies. Michael a Hunt's *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* says that " the American ideology contains three main aspects: visions of national greatness, a tendency to view the world in a racial hierarchy, and a strong opposition to revolutions" (Liland, *Frode Culture and Foreign Policy* 9)

The U.S foreign policy was strongly affected by the nation's general culture. It pushed the U.S to be a main actor in the international theatre; the thing that left a deep impact on its policies. When the U.S got involved into the war, especially after WW1 and WW2, it pushed America to be internationally involved and it affected its policies. This orientation made America's policymakers to take another views to set these decisions. Otherwise, there would be other factors that in some cases set pressures on decisions' makers among which power, economic interests, geography and security. Indeed, culture could be a foundation to a foreign policy. It gave a background, an explanation like what happened between America and Cuba; the latter was based on cultural views. But Culture cannot be taken always as a foundation to a foreign policy. Cultural diplomacy is a part from foreign policy and it can be easily found within foreign ministries.(Liland 16)

I.2 U.S Foreign Policy Making

The American system of government is divided into three branches; the judicial, the legislative and the executive branch for the purpose of making a balance of powers within the U.S. government so that no branch would be powerful than the other.

The United States Constitution divides foreign policy powers between the President and Congress so that both share in the making of foreign policy. The executive and legislative branches each play important roles that are different that often overlap. Both branches have continuing opportunities to initiate and change foreign policy, and the interaction between them continues indefinitely throughout the life of a policy.

2.1. The Legislative Branch

The Congress, the body responsible for making and ratifying legislations, is granted the power by the U.S. Constitution to check and legislate executive orders with reference to the Constitution. The congressional powers contain many aspects: Control of funding, the power to approve and ratify treaties and presidential nominations by at least two-thirds majority vote, Regulation of trade and commerce and the power of investigating presidential actions. Examples of the above mentioned powers is the Iran-Contra Affair in 1985 when President, Ronald Reagan's request of funding Nicaraguan anti-communist fighters was turned down, so he resorted to sell weapons to Iran and give the revenues to the anti-communist fighters. The Congress in 1989 refused to ratify the nomination of George H. Bush's Secretary of Defense, John Tower by 53-47 vote in the Senate. Also, the Congress refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles of 1919 (Dobson, 8 – 11).

2.2. The President: the Executive Branch:

“The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years” (U.S. Constitution, Article II Section 1)

“He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate shall appoint Ambassadors, and other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States....” (U.S Constitution, Article II Section 2).

The Constitution grants the president what is known as “inherent powers” which expanded President’s power beyond what is just stated in the Constitution, but rather what is inferred from the Constitution. The executive agreements have been used by presidents to pursue foreign policy by signing agreements with foreign countries and this does not require congressional approval.

I .3 Roots of U.S Foreign Policy

3.1. Exceptionalism

Every nation is driven by its own interests and so are people. The United States, as a free and independent nation, keeps track of its interests which had been set by the Founding Fathers. These interests constitute “a mission to propagate a special form of

political morality, often captured by the term exceptionalism”(Dobson, 4). This suggests that the U.S. foreign policy is bound and its objectives had been set by the Founding Fathers in U.S. Constitution which they had written. So, the U.S foreign policy is subject to the Constitution which is protected by the judiciary branch and the legislative branch as well. The U.S expansionist policy in the 1840s brought up what’s known as the Manifest Destiny¹. This usually takes the form of the promotion of liberty and democracy to what the United States perceives as unfortunate and oppressed peoples and be the ideal example to them. Dobson argues that it is simple to abide by domestic policy-making, but it is not easy to abide by those democratic principles as the international world was corrupt, self-help and power politics (4 – 5).

The roots of the U.S foreign policy goes back to the day when the Americas claimed that their expansion through the continent is destined and it is a divine call to settle across North America. John O’Sullivan, in his annexation (1845), claimed, “The fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions” (2). The uniqueness, Dobson explains, of the U.S. system of government made the United States superior to anything else in the Old World. Dobson adds that this uniqueness was in terms of humanity, which included rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as stated in the United States Declaration of Independence on July 4th 1776, and the protection of those rights(4).

3.2. Realism and Idealism

Two major approaches of how to conduct the foreign policy emerged and challenged the United States policy makers when the U.S. got involved in the international affairs. These two approaches of foreign policy are realism and idealism.

Realism is concerned with the “analysis of human nature and a conception of the logic geographical power relations” (Dobson, 2). According to the realist vision, states are required to maximize power to secure their survival if necessary and of their interests. Realism put war into consideration to guarantee a state’s security in case of a potential war in a world without order where man’s life is at stake. Human beings, in this realist vision, tend to be violent in the pursuit of their own interests, and this eventually leads to conflicts. This means that “weapons cannot be defined as intrinsically defensive or offensive: those who wield and face them decide that.”(Dobson, 3)

Meaning that it is not the military material or budget that decide military action, but rather, it is the man in power who take use of them to conduct policy and engage into war based on what they see beneficial for the interest and security of the American nation and American people. Thus, violence and war erupts out of the government’s pursuance of its interests.

Unlike realism, which has a negative and pessimistic view of human beings, idealism has an optimistic view of humanity. The American idealism takes the form of self-determination and free elections, human rights, open diplomacy, free market, international organizations and international law to prevent war (Dobson, 3).

The debate between idealists and realists has developed recently and new approaches to international relations have emerged such as neo-realism, neo-liberalism and constructivism. The neo-realists put the international system into account rather than focusing on human nature. They explain the system in terms of the distribution of power and character. Neo-liberalists focus on the “multiple actors, confidence-building and beneficial effects of the complex economic independence international regimes, law

and organizations” (Dobson, 4) Constructivism, under Alexander Wendt, rejects all these approaches. Wendt provides three macro-level systematic structures one of which is Lockean structure which is characterized by violence short of fatalities(Ibid)

I.4. U.S. Foreign Policy during WW1

Prof. F. S. Northedge defines the Foreign Policy as “[...]the use of political influence in order to induce other states to exercise their law-making power in a manner desired by the states concerned: it is an interaction between forces originating outside the country’s borders and those working within them”.¹

The relationship between two nations or more and the behaviors that relate them is known as Foreign Policy. The latter is established for achieving international and global objectives. When a foreign policy is created between two countries to influence other nations according to one another aims. What Prof. F. S. Northedge meant in his quote is that foreign policy is created in order to encourage and invoke other countries to apply their law-making which was established by the other interest nations. It has to take into consideration not only its objectives and problems, but also others’ interests. As a result, a foreign policy is an agreement applied between two or more nations to organize and establish laws that suit every state and to achieve each nation’s interests and objectives

1- Amer, Rizwan. An Introduction to Foreign Policy: Definition, Nature & Determinants
<http://amerrizwan.blogspot.com/2009/08/introduction-to-foreign-policy.html> Accessed on 20th May, 2017

4.1. Changes into U.S Foreign Policy

4.1.1 Isolationism

Isolationism is the policy of not interfering in other state affairs whatsoever. The European countries until the twentieth century were stronger than the United States. Thus, the U.S. isolationist policy toward Europe was meant to “protect the new republic’s integrity by avoiding entanglement in European conflicts” (Dobson 6).

4.1.2. Internationalism

It aimed at spreading liberty and democracy across the world for the sake of pursuing and defending the U.S. interests and from the twentieth century to seek security through a world reformed in accordance with the United States principles.

4.1.3. Unilateralism and multilateralism

Unilateralism, which is the belief to step in alone if there is an international issue that needs intervention, is often linked to isolationism. While unilateralism is attached to isolationism, multilateralism, which involves cooperation with other states to intervene in an international affair, is attached to internationalism. Internationalism might be unilateralist. For example, George W. Bush’s administration “*is characteristically unilateralist in the way it determines and executes policy*” (U.S Foreign Affairs since 1945, 6). See: Figure 1.

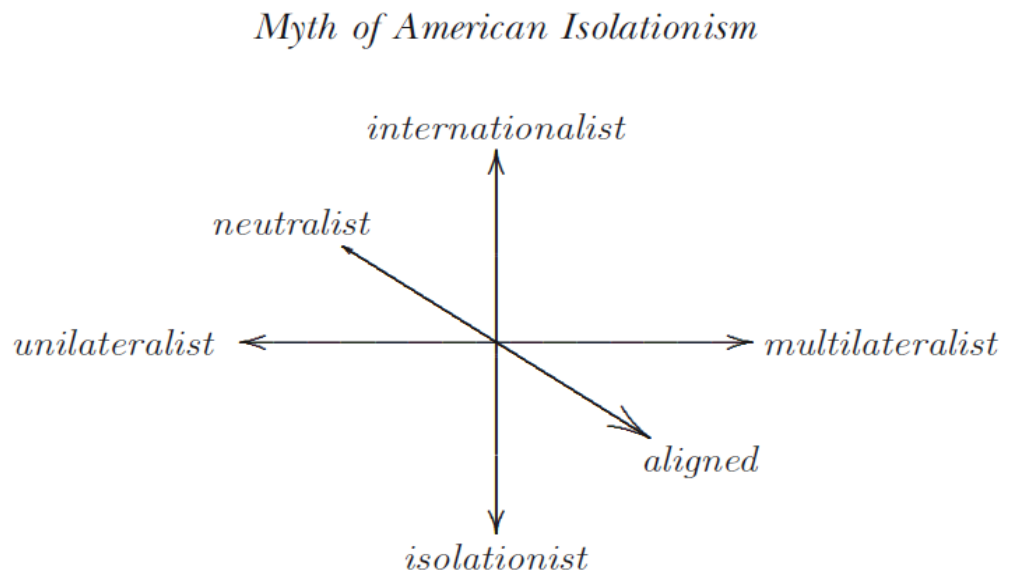


Figure 1 : Conflated Dimensions of Foreign Policy

Isolationism and internationalism were in striking views and subject to debates in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. It should be noted that isolationism first emerged and was directed towards Europe, as it was stated in Washington's Farewell Address when he put it clear, "it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her [Europe's] politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships and enmities "(qtd in. A History of the American People, 216). This policy of isolationism was reinforced in the nineteenth century by the Monroe Doctrine which stated the United States no intervention in European colonies, alliances and wars. It also stated "the American continents ... are henceforth not to be considered subjects for future colonization by European powers "(Ibid). Except for the U.S. isolationist policy in Europe, the American isolationism

was not applicable to non-European matters. The United States was involved in imperial expansion and ruthless hostilities with the Canadians, Indians and Mexicans not to mention the U.S. control over the Caribbean islands, Cuba, Philippines and the Pacific in that isolationism did not apply to international affairs outside of Europe.

I.5 The United States Foreign Policy after the Second World War

5.1.Truman and the Containment Policy

Certain events occurred after the end of the Second World War which led to changes on the United States foreign policy and the belief that internationalist foreign policy is vital for winning the competition for the appealing post-war period.

Containment was the concept of Kennan in his Long Telegram under the title, “The Sources of the Soviet Conduct”. In his work he explained,

Soviet pressure against the free institutions of the Western world is something that can be contained by the adroit and vigilant application of counter-force at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points. (Kennan qtd in. Dobson,25).

This policy was adopted by Truman’s administration and became the basis of the United States foreign policy throughout the Cold War period. Harry Truman also came up with what is known as the Truman Doctrine to contain the communist expansion and prevent it from spreading to other nations. It was directed for Greece and Turkey. Truman said the United States would provide political, military and economic support for all the countries under threat of communism. This doctrine shifted the United States stance of non-interventionism to official declared internationalism (CVCE, 6).

I.6. Culture and Society Prior to the Cold War

Culture is a representation of what's lived. It's a representation of reality. Each period of the United States was reflected in culture either through movies, TV shows, advertisements and media or this culture might be either political or social. The latter is related to society and life whereas the political culture is related to policy making with regard to cultural beliefs. (BBC article)

6.1. The Impact of Inter- war Culture on the U.S Foreign Policy

As war was taking place on the battlefield and getting escalated, another virtual war was going on Television. The mass media coverage of the war in Vietnam raised awareness of the people on what was really going in the battlefield. Consequently, this led to demonstrations and unrest by the American Community demanding the withdrawal from war and the end sacrificing of thousands of young Americans in Vietnam for a useless war. The mass media, Hollywood and newspapers set pressure on the government, but they also helped the government promote for its war in Vietnam through its propaganda. This political culture was necessary for getting the consent of the people to conduct foreign policy.

6.2. Popularity of Cinema

Cinema was the most significant development of the Roaring Twenties period. It influenced the American society in a number of ways; concerning fashion and attitudes. People were affected by the way movie characters wear and behave. Movie theatres were available across the country and it was very popular and cheap as the same time to go to cinema to spend free time there. When the First World War broke in 1914, and in

order to escape the war incidents and problems, going to movie theatres, was even more popular. (BBC article)



Movies were silent in the 1920s. Musicians and guitarists were needed to play the piano and guitar for the film theme music. Hollywood directors employed them. Hollywood became the perfect place for shooting movies outdoors as it was situated near Los Angeles which is known for its moderate and sunny weather. The major movie-makers companies in Hollywood were Paramount, Warner Bros and MGM. Every company marketed its films extensively, “cowboy movies, detective stories,

comedies and romantic movies – they succeeded in generating a huge interest in the movie stars.”(BBC article)

6.3. Politics and Cinema: The Making of Propaganda

The government took advantage of the cinema to set its propaganda. The war movies produced at the time gave a sense of patriotism to Americans and gained their support for the government. The U.S. government financed these kinds of movies to achieve its propaganda and influence the public opinion through the power of cinema.

The origin of the name propaganda is derived from the name of the Catholic Church office to spread or propagate Christianity in foreign countries. The First World War generated a different and modern function for the term by influencing the public opinion usually by means of posters, magazine articles and books. From a congressional and cinematic point of view, propaganda might have meant incitation, but not entertainment and didn't fall with the standards of the American democracy. As isolationism gained prominence in the period, any interventionist propaganda was seen as an attempt to draw the United States into war and whoever responsible for this propaganda was doing it out of interests like the Jews who supported interventionism and the U.S. involvement in the war.

Movies started to make an association between the actual life of the viewers and the international and political events in the 1930s. Movies were means by which the audience could see the outside world of the period. Warner Bros company set this cinematic trend and attitudes in an explicit manner to “take on the cultural role of amalgamating “entertainment” and “propaganda” to present a point of view on current events”(Braudy, 28). Braudy adds that the Warner's War exhibit documents the

engagement of Harry and Jack Warner in their effort to defeat the Nazi threat such as *The Confession of a Nazi Spy* (1939). The film was considered daring as it was the first film to name the enemy and attack the “Nazi expansionism and sabotage.”(28)

The New York Times set an article just a day after the release of the *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* by Warner Bros Company. The article was written on April 29th, 1939 by Frank S. Nugent

Hitler's pledge of non-aggression toward the Americas reached the Warners too late yesterday. They had formally declared war on the Nazis at 8:15 A. M. with the first showing of their "Confessions of a Nazi Spy" at the Strand. Hitler won't like it; neither will Goebbels; frankly, we were not too favorably impressed either, although for a different reason. We can endure just so much hissing, even when Der Fuehrer and the Gestapo are its victims. The Warners had courage in making the picture, but we should have preferred to see them pitch their battle on a higher plane.(28)

Movies were not protected by the Constitution until 1953. Warner Bros, a leading movie company, was very active in breaking the obstacles and limits of what could be “shown and said.”(Braudy, 28). Movies continued to deal with sensitive topics in the 1930s. The *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939) brought Harry Warner to the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee for testimony. The committee was headed by Gerald Nye and Bennett Clark both of them were isolationists. Warner was charged of violating the Neutrality Acts, in other words, of making propaganda rather than entertainment.

According to Leo Braudy, the perspective of Un-American Activities Committee attacks on Hollywood after the Second World War, suggests that propaganda is somehow a vandal act (28). Braudy goes on to illustrate the sneaking in of a material for the purpose of influencing viewers unintentionally such is the case with *The*

International, but at that time the critics and the audience as well “were totally aware of the other meanings.”(Braudy, 28)

Movies were not any different than the life and the world outside. They were a depiction of reality, but there is an extension to it where, Braudy explains, “ outside events might be seen as shadows reflected on a distorting(or clarifying) mirror.”(Braudy, 28)

Conclusion

Culture has played a decisive role in U.S. foreign policy. It was the basis of the U.S. foreign policy from which the American government set the grounds and principles of its foreign policy. While culture created the roots for U.S. foreign policy, it also reflected the consequences and engagements of the American foreign policy through the mass media via the depiction of the situation at home. With the engagement of the United States in world affairs, there emerged different conflicting views to how the United States should deal with the world around it.

Chapter Two : U.S Foreign Policy during the Cold War

Introduction

Lyndon Baines Johnson's presidency was full of sensitive as well as critical events abroad and at home. Internationally, he was faced with the several events as a part of the Cold War, the developing events in Vietnam while domestically the civil rights movements was reaching its peak. His conduct of foreign policy in Vietnam was the most debated, controversial and notorious policy-making in the history of the United States. At home, his Great Society programs to end poverty seemed suspicious. After Kennedy's assassination, Johnson declared that he would keep track of his policies with his famous speech "Let Us Continue". Culture, in the meanwhile, witnessed a remarkable shift in terms of popular culture as the war in Vietnam was escalated by Johnson's administration.

II.1. Eisenhower's foreign policy

Eisenhower's foreign policy was a distinct one due to his military experience as the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe, the NATO commander and Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army. This experience made Eisenhower aware of how valuable Europe is for the United States. Eisenhower emphasized on maneuvering the Soviet threat by means of securing access to resources.(Levin, 28) This policy of securing international resources was vital for both blocs ; the United States and the Soviet Union alike. It was a vital policy for both of them, and Eisenhower explained:

From my viewpoint, foreign policy is, or should be, based primarily upon one consideration. That consideration is the need for the U.S. to obtain certain raw materials to sustain its economy and, when possible, to preserve profitable foreign markets for our surpluses. Out of this need grows the necessity for making certain that those areas of the world in which essential raw materials are produced are not only accessible to us, but their populations and governments are willing to trade with us on a friendly basis.”(Eisenhower qtd in. Levin, 28)

Eisenhower gave the impression that he would not allow another “loss of China” and that his foreign policy would be different but not reckless as to committing troops in Korea in that, Eisenhower’s internationalist foreign policy would be quieter. This trend of foreign policy was supported by his fellow Republicans and became the dominant foreign policy for the Republican Party. (Levin, 28)

Dobson argues that containment gave policy-makers a sense of purpose and an interpretative framework. Containment gave a green light to all variety of practices “by involving national security to justify dubious means for righteous ends.”(32)

II.2. National security and Foreign Policy

The Soviet atomic bomb in 1949, which created a balance of power in terms of nuclear power, the fall of China to communism in the same year, the soviet expansion to Eastern Europe and McCarthyism at home demotivated the Americans and made them feel a lack of confidence. Under these circumstances, the National Security Council (NSC) came up with the “most debated and most arguably seriously flawed documents in modern American history” resolution (Dobson, 33). Its tone was harsh; “the issues that face us are momentous, involving the fulfillment or destruction not only of the Republic but of civilization itself.”(34). Dobson suggests that the Congress wouldn’t have approved the NSC-68 if it had not been for the outbreak of the Korean War in

1950, because the NSC required large budget. The military expenditure rose by 50 million dollars; that's 18.5 % per cent of the Gross National Budget (34).

The NSC-68 set long term bipartisan consensus between the Democrats and the Republicans in foreign policy. The NSC-68 particularly emphasized the national security and America's destined future as a "global police officer" (Dobson, 34

II.3. McCarthyism, Popular Culture and the Violation of Civil Rights:

The 1950s was a time of economic prosperity. Americans enjoyed consuming the new made goods as they were available and affordable. Companies benefited the most. New products, new cars and suburbs were constructed. The period was not totally perfect; fear of communism and the violation of civil rights at home, and the implications of the Cold War abroad overshadowed this economic prosperity.

Senator, Joseph McCarthy published a paper claiming it contained a list of communists in the State Department. McCarthy made groundless accusations without giving evidence of alleged communist members. The term, McCarthyism, is associated with the Washington Post caricaturist, Herbert Block. McCarthyism made a widespread social and cultural sensation that had a great impact on society.(Griffith,46). He declared in an address in West Virginia on February 9th,1956:

I have here in my hand a list of 205—a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department. (qtd in Griffith, 49)

McCarthyism also affected Hollywood. Many actors, screenwriters, and producers were subject to McCarthy's investigations and accusations. The Hollywood Blacklist denied employment for musicians, actors, screenwriters, producers for being accused of having communist sentiments. The Hollywood Ten was a list of nine screen writers and one director who were accused and jailed for making a communist propaganda in their films. (Griffith, 50)

The Crucible (1952) was a play which depicted the life during the practice of McCarthyism. It was more like a biography of Arthur Miller who was subject to investigation and accusation. However, Irwin Shaw also wrote a novel depicting McCarthy's practices. The troubled Air (1951) was about a director who was asked to fire four actors and a musician for being communists. As a result, the director, Clement Archer, investigates the issue leading to him being betrayed..

II.4. Lyndon B. Johnson and the “Let Us Continue” speech

Johnson took office just after the assassination of Kennedy in November, 1963. Johnson in his speech vowed to pursue Kennedy's policies domestically and internationally. He said clearly, “No words are strong enough to express our determination to continue the forward thrust of America that he [Kennedy] began.” (Johnson's speech, November 1963). Prior to his ascendance to office, there was the issue of civil rights and the rise of civil rights movements under Martin Luther King, and Johnson took advantage of the opportunity to speak about the issue, “And above all, the dream of equal rights for all Americans, whatever their race or color” (Ibid.). He advocated a passage of a civil rights act when he put it clearly, “First, no memorial oration or eulogy could more eloquently honor President Kennedy's memory than the

earliest possible passage of the Civil Rights bill for which he fought so long. We have talked long enough in this country about equal rights. We have talked for a hundred years or more.” He continued, “I urge you again, as I did in 19 and 57, and again in 19 and 60, to enact a civil rights law so that we can move forward to eliminate from this nation every trace of discrimination and oppression that is based upon race or color.” (Ibid.). Johnson did not miss the opportunity to assert that the United States would keep track of its objectives and interests in terms of its conduct of foreign policy, “This nation will keep its commitments from South Vietnam to West Berlin.” (Ibid), he added, “We must be ready to defend the national interest and to negotiate the common interest.” Johnson’s speech affirms his determination and commitment towards bold and vigorous foreign policy in Vietnam in particular and the Soviet Union and the spread of communism in all parts of the world to pursue and protect the United States economic and political interests.

II.5. The Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and the Congressional Mandate

Concern about both Cuba and Berlin prompted Congress to pass resolutions in the fall of 1962 supporting military action, if necessary, by the president at his own discretion, both of which, especially the Cuba Resolution, served as precedents and justification for the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in 1964. In both cases, moreover, Congress seemed to be as insistent as the Executive that such action should be taken to demonstrate the “unified national will” to resist communist aggression. (Congressional Research Service, 129)

The Cuba resolution which was enacted by Congress on September 26, 1962, stated the determination of the United States to prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms, the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba from extending, by force or the threat of force, its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of the hemisphere, and to prevent in Cuba the creation or use of an externally supported military capability endangering the security of the United States. (Congressional Research Service, 129)

By passing this resolution which had no time limit, and which accepted and affirmed- but did not authorize- the use of the armed forces, if necessary, Congress gave its advance open-ended approval to any decision by the President to use any or all of the armed forces of the United States to meet the perceived threat. By doing so, it implicitly accepted the President's own assertion of his constitutional right to undertake military action against communism in Cuba without needing any action by or approval from Congress, and Kennedy made this clear in his speech on September 13, when he stated that he, as president and commander in Chief, had full authority to take such action. (Congressional Research Service, 129)

Unlike previous resolutions (Formosa Middle East), there was almost no debate in committee or on the floor with respect to the legal and constitutional aspects of the Cuba Resolution. The House Foreign Affairs Committee report made no reference to this subject, and the joint report of the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committee brushed aside any possible questions by asserting that "... constitutional arguments over the relative powers of the President and the Congress respecting the use of American Armed Forces ... have their place in American public life; but it's important in the current instance that they not obscure what the joint committee is

convinced is the essential unity of purpose, not only of the Congress, but of the President and the American people as well.” The joint committee voted unanimously to report the bill favorably to the Senate, where it was passed in one day with no significant debate. (Congressional Research Service, 129)

The Berlin Resolution, passed by Congress on October 10, 1962, declared the determination of the United States “to prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the force of arms,” any violation of the communists of the Allied rights in Berlin, and the commitment of the United States to help the people of Berlin maintain their freedom. It was also open-ended and time-unlimited, and took the position that the President could use at his discretion, and without further action by Congress (unless required by the need for increasing U.S. military forces), any or all of the armed forces of the United States to meet the stated objectives of our policy. Unlike the Cuba Resolution, however, it was a “sense of Congress” resolution, which did not require the President’s signature and did not have the force of law. It did not, therefore, have the legal and constitutional significance of the Cuba Resolution, nor, for that reason, was it as important and direct precedent for the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. (Congressional Research Service, 130)

In the case of the Cuba Resolution, as in the case of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, the domestic political situation was a key factor in Congress’s action. The Cuban situation was a salient issue in the congressional campaign in 1962, and in 1964 the question of Presidential restraint in war making became salient issue in the presidential and, to some extent, congressional campaigns. (Congressional Research Service, 130)

Johnson's administration started a vigorous policy toward the developing conflict in Vietnam. Johnson was determined to escalate and win the war by all means. He and his advisors in Vietnam made the war a top priority neglecting the social, economic and political reforms of his predecessor Kennedy. His administration adopted an aggressive and sabotage propaganda towards North Vietnam. (Congressional Research Service, 130)

There was a clear shift of the U.S. administration in terms of the aggressive and strong commitment to standing up to the communists in North Vietnam and winning the war. This shift was manifested in the general election in November which changed the administration representation in Vietnam; Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge was replaced with retired Army General Maxwell Taylor who was a former military representative during Kennedy's presidency, and also was a chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Another sign of Johnson's strong military commitment was the replacement of General Paul D. Harkins, Head of the U.S. Military Assistance Command in Vietnam (MACV) with Lieutenant General William C. Westmoreland. (Coleman and Selverstone, 4)

The situation between the United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam got tense and escalated when the North Vietnamese allegedly attacked the USS Maddox and USS Turner Joy on the 2 and 4 of August 1964 in the Gulf of Tonkin. However when the information reached the Pentagon, the incident became more confusing and seemed to be incomplete because of the contradictory reports about the incident which was reported to Lyndon Johnson's administration (Coleman and Selverstone, 4)

In spite of that, the attack which happened in August 4th was just an occasion that gave Johnson and his administration broad war power. According to A. Dwayne Beggs, the resolution, now known as the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, passed both the House and Senate with only two dissenting votes – Senators Wayne Morse of Oregon and Ernest Gruening of Alaska. At the time, Senator Morse warned that the resolution could be a big mistake. All the same, the resolution came into being and was followed by limited reprisal air attacks against North Vietnam.

II.6. Johnson's Decision to Act

Politically speaking, international and domestic consequences imbedded among those pressures. The “loss of China” episode of the late 1940s and early 1950s pushed Johnson to fear from the right-wing reaction that the communism will prevail over South Vietnam. This led Johnson deeper into Vietnam; he was afraid also from an open debate about the costs of military commitment and the public views that looking for victory would have delayed legislative actions from his main project “the Great Society”. Worries rose about U.S and Johnson's credibility for his and U.S commitment to America's friends around the world. “I will not lose in Vietnam.” That is what Johnson said to U.S. Ambassador to South Saigon Vietnam Henry Cabot Lodge, this stayed as a theme during his presidency. From his saying to Senator Eugene McCarthy in February 1966, he felt his engagement in Vietnam was not in the best of the American people. “I know we oughtn't to be there, but I can't get out,” Johnson stated.” I just can't be the architect of surrender.”²⁴ (Coleman and Selverstone,10-11)

In other words, Johnson had a choice to avoid the name that it would mark to his presidency. Johnson's withdrawal from the presidential race confirmed that the war did

not end in his watch but it came on Nixon's presidency. However, the endgame in Vietnam would not come only with Johnson's decisions that he made during and after his election to office. Nixon found it ready and he continued working on Johnson's steps. Some records showed that there were some conversations tells that Johnson's decisions were very hard and distressing ones to take, conditioned by the view that the Vietnam war was a necessity neither he could a abandon nor likely win. As he lamented to Senator Russell, "A man can fight . . . if he can see daylight down the road somewhere. But there was no daylight in Vietnam. There's not a bit." (Coleman and Selverstone,12). Witnessing Johnson's words to the Marines in Vietnam, it was not a promising way to begin a war.

II.7. The Dominican Republic Crisis

In addition to what happened in Vietnam, relevant problems rose closer to America. The Dominican Crisis was a very important incident that made the president Johnson took too much time dealing with it. On the 28th April, 1965 and while meeting with Johnson's advisers about the Vietnam issue, a warning came from the from the U.S. ambassador in Santo Domingo, W. Tapley Bennett Jr informing that there is a conflict between protestors and military- backed government is about to go violent. Within this action of violent and With more than a thousand Americans seeking shelter in one of the largest luxurious city and the situation on the street deteriorating to the point of an evacuation becoming necessary, Bennett's cable said that he and his colleagues were "unanimously of opinion that time has come to land the marines. . . . American lives are in danger." Johnson directly demanded from U.S Marines to rescue Americans because The Dominican Republic is no longer able to guarantee the safety of Americans on its lands (Coleman and Selverstone,7)

Within a short period of time there were Marine's troops on the nation more than was needed to save American refugees. Before that, Johnson announced that it is a must for the American intervention. This was his first argument for the huge number of American Marine troops, however he mentioned a different argument that underlined anti-communism over humanitarianism by saying that "the United States must intervene to stop the bloodshed and to see a freely elected, non- Communist government take power". Johnson saw the intervention of U.S military a necessity to avoid "another Cuba". Questions, doubts and critics had been increased and accused Johnson's administration about the military intervention and the exaggeration in landing too much troops for some claims that tell there is a strong communist ideology controls the rebellious groups. (Coleman and Selverstone,7)

During the Dominican Crisis, the president himself contributed and played a great role to solve this issue and this operation took too much from his time. Johnson engaged himself within this battle because the Dominican Crisis became similar to Cuba situation and what Johnson was afraid of was "another Cuba". All these information revealed in some records; however, these records contained some other details which show that the president had some suspicious and doubts about the engagement he made in Dominican Republic and by sending all those troops he made his position and his credibility doubtful. (Coleman and Selverstone,9)

I have nothing in the world I want except to do what I believe to be right. I don't always know what's right. Sometimes I take other people's judgments, and I get misled. Like sending troops in there to Santo Domingo. But the man that misled me was Lyndon Johnson, nobody else. I did that! I can't blame a damn human. And I don't want any of them to take credit for it (President Johnson)

II.8. Shifting the focus on Cultural Cold War

The cold war as we hear it, it is not a war which extended to military weapon because two superpowers, the U.S and Soviet Union, knew about the danger and the side effects from using nuclear weapons. However, the U.S containment policy was based on military and political side to cover the extension of the communist cultural that affected other's life. In other words, the campaign of fighting communist extension was showed up and developed in athletic rivalry between the two powers The United States and Soviet Union. The Cold War had touched my sides in the U.S society including sports; therefore the government of the United States made some efforts to influence the international athletics. Through this article we are going to witness the years of the Lyndon B. Johnson presidential administration served as an important transition period between competing visions of American sport policy.

8.1. Sports Competition and World Influence

Sport was the main theme that the U.S government wanted to influence within the period of Cultural Cold War. Unfortunately, there efforts hardly touched the Executive bureau; however entities such as the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports and the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs presented a number of athletic programs. The federalist political ideology in the United States, within that period, did not give such an importance to minor affair like sport and this resulted in ineffectual national sport policy. The main factor that the U.S did not have a well-constructed athletics is the lack of a federal ministry for sport. Johnson's administration had priorities over sport which was the Great Society Program, and also the involvement in the Vietnam War effected the U.S government and it made sport less

important in the view of policymakers. Nevertheless, sport was used in other forms of cultural diplomacy and it played a great role to win the hearts and minds of the world. (Thoma M. Hunt, 274)

Lyndon B. Johnson's presidential administration developed to become gradually away from the issues of national physical fitness and this was caused by the victories that the Soviet-bloc did in the international competitions. . Instead, they sought to solve the problems that faced elite amateur sport system in the country. In May of 1964, The Attorney General Robert Kennedy was unhappy about the state of American Olympic group and he was worried about the upcoming Tokyo Olympic Games, Robert Kennedy told Johnson "looks like we're going to do badly" he continued "the sports organization in the United States—it's not what it should be." "We don't really know what we have in this country," Kennedy continued, "and if we want to do well in the athletic field—and I feel it is important that we do—we could do much better than we have done in the past." "Program or suggestion in the field of athletics for you and for the American public." That is what Kennedy suggested to Johnson's administration. . He therefore concluded, "I think it would be very helpful politically if you're on top of that [sport problem]." (Thoma M. Hunt, 275)

9 In July of 1964, Kennedy published his thoughts in what amounted to nothing less than a sports manifesto for the American people. "Part of a nation's prestige in the cold war is won in the Olympic Games," he began. "In this day of international stalemates nations use the scoreboard of sports as a visible measuring stick to prove their superiority over the 'soft and decadent' democratic way of life." The "success of Red-bloc countries in the Olympics and other international competitions" in comparison to the United States was intolerable in that it "has given these nations an appearance of

strength.” It was, according to the attorney general, “thus in our national interest that we regain our Olympic superiority; that we once again give the world visible proof of our inner strength and vitality.” (Thoma M. Hunt, 275)

In view of this environment, Kennedy accordingly argued that there must be “encouragement—with action as well as words—by government at all levels.”¹⁰ Like the attorney general, members of Congress expressed concern with the country’s fading position in international athletics. As Congress’s most vociferous critic of American sport, Senator (and soon to be Vice President) Hubert Humphrey issued a sharp warning regarding the devastating effects of continued Soviet dominance in the Olympic movement. The senator stressed that “the Russians are feverishly building toward what they expect to be a major Cold War victory in 1964: a massive triumph in the Tokyo Olympics.” “Once they have crushed us in the coming Olympic battle,” Humphrey continued, “the Red propaganda drums will thunder out in a worldwide tattoo, heralding the ‘new Soviet men and women’ as ‘virile, unbeatable conquerors’ in sports—or anything else.”¹¹ In September of 1962, he even requested that the Department of State conduct a “full report” on the status of the U.S.-Soviet athletic rivalry. (Journal of Sports History, THOMAS M. HUNT, 275)

Unbeknownst to Wyman, the Interagency Committee on International Athletics had already been created late in the Kennedy presidency to “collect, exchange, and review information concerning amateur athletic matters that might tend to affect the foreign relations or general welfare of the United States.”⁽¹⁷⁾. Chaired by Nicholas Rodis, special assistant for athletic programs in the State Department’s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, the committee sought to coordinate the efforts of the different agencies within the federal government that were interested in sport.¹⁸

Improvement of America's declining Olympic status was crucial, Rodis wrote to USOC President Wilson, given that "as international interest in athletics has grown, the presentation of United States athletes and athletic groups abroad has become more important as a factor in furthering United States foreign policy." "The success or failure of these [sports] groups," Rodis concluded, "is likely to be viewed as a reflection of the strength and weakness of our nation."¹⁹ (Journal of Sports History, THOMAS M. HUNT, 276)

Conclusion

Lyndon B. Johnson's presidency witnessed critical and turning events in the United States history in terms of the foreign policies made under LBJ and during the notorious Cold War. It can be concluded that U.S foreign policies was conducted for economic, political, and cultural reasons to protect the American interests overseas by all means whatsoever. This was clearly represented by the most notorious act in the American history, the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution which granted Johnson full power to wage war on Vietnam, and provided him with huge budget at his disposal. This was also the case with the Dominican Crisis allegedly to protect American citizens, but also more importantly to protect American interests in the region. However, the Cold War conflict was carried also on another field for the manifestation of superiority outside the battlefield as a technique to gain world support to make pressure on the enemy. At home, the Reds fever was strongly reflected by the rise of McCarthyism and the resulting violation of civil rights.

Chapter Three the Reflection of the Cold War Culture on Foreign

Policy making

Introduction

The Sixties, the United States, under Lyndon B. Johnson, was overshadowed by the Vietnam War. The U.S. government, in an attempt to protect its interests in South Asia, used some tactics to wage war on Vietnam. These tactics were meant to convince the public opinion that the war was intended to eradicate the communists and free the people from the authoritarian regime. In order to do so, convincing the people, the U.S. made a system of propaganda using different mass media outlets. Thus, the Cold War was reflected clearly during this period of time on the media, especially television as it became widespread in the Sixties. Accordingly, new culture came to existence, the Cold War culture represented in movies, literature and even music

III.1. The Policies of the U.S. Government during the Vietnam War:

Politically speaking, the involvement of the United States in Vietnam was officially justified by the war against the spread of communism in Southeast Asia. The partisan community like the right-wing Republicans and conservative Democrats held this political viewpoint of involvement for the sake of fighting the spread of communism. They saw intervention in Vietnam as an essential element in the worldwide struggle with communism and authoritarianism. To reach its objective the United States decided to support the Republic of Vietnam, which was under an anti-communist government. Thus, the main American objective of the involvement in the war was to prevent another fall of china, meaning that the U.S. would not accept the fall

of Vietnam to communism. Regarding the risks and consequences of the fall of Vietnam, the U.S. dedicated itself politically and militarily in an open regional war in Southeast Asia. Debates over the decision of the U.S. involvement in such a remote region for the ultimate purpose of putting an end to communism, have raised regarding the fact of the U.S. as being free and self-contained country. .(Savich, 2000)

There is still another debate over the main conflict in Vietnam in terms of being purely political and economic ruling out its mere military tendency, and the United States made a clear statement that the conflict and the decision to step in Southeast Asia was definitely and exclusively political. In fear of the spread of communism across Asia and the loss of allied and neutral nations by means of the communist pressure and aggression, the U.S. government and policymakers sought to invoke its military policy lest being left alone in confrontation of developing powerful enemy. The domino theory strengthened this political tendency. This theory holds the view that if one nation fell to communism, the other nation would fall consequently; “If Vietnam fell, then suddenly Thailand and Indonesia would fall, ultimately causing more and more countries to fall victim to communism.”(Ibid). When it comes to policy and policymakers, it is Lyndon B. Johnson who started and escalated the war dramatically after the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

Domestically speaking, there was a division over the war among the Americans simply because people could not agree on the events taking place in Vietnam. The extension of the war and its increasing tension people started questioning the war and being pessimistic about the consequences of the war. These feelings were strengthened by the slow progress of the war as well as the in concluding peace talks. People knew that the war would continue for more years. In response to the domestic situation in terms of the people’s racial issues and uncertainty toward the anti-war movement, the

U.S government started the progress of convincing the public opinion by advocating the rightfulness of engaging into the war in Vietnam. Thus, Johnson launched a campaign for the purpose of intensifying the relationship between the government and the American people to get the support of the American people for the war. To get this through, the U.S used its system of propaganda to influence the public opinion.

In modern days, propaganda can be defined as the promotion of specific concepts, practices and doctrines. It is a systematic effort to manipulate attitudes, beliefs or actions by the use of varied mediums. That is to say, propaganda is conducted through messages aiming at influence people's thoughts, actions and personal orientation. This process will ultimately lead to a great change in people as if they got brain washed.

The term "propaganda," nowadays, became meaningless as it has been excessively used mainly because of the term's excessive usage and prevalence in the 20th century. Propaganda and propaganda makers in the present time take other faces under different names such as advertisement, public affairs and media relations specialist.(Savich, 2000).

III.2. The American system of Propaganda:

When it comes to war making, there are two means by which the war is conducted. The first one is the battlefield; the second is people's minds. The latter, as stated above, is usually done through propaganda to influence the public opinion and their tendency toward a particular war. This propaganda encompasses pro-war and anti-war propaganda. The former is advocated by the government while the latter is advocated by pacifists. It is usually conducted through specific methods to undermine

enemies and most important to influence the public opinion of other countries. F. M. Conford defined propaganda as a “branch of the art of lying which consists in very nearly deceiving your enemies.”(5)

The U.S. government set up the Office of War Information (OWI) and the Office of Strategic Services. The former was specialized in overt propaganda while the latter was specialized in covert propaganda, and later came to be a direct precursor of the Central Intelligence Agency. The U.S. foreign policy began to be more focused on a critical ideological conflict which was the Cold War after the defeat of Germany. This ideological conflict of the Cold War huge and well set up propaganda directed against the Soviet Union in particular and the spread of communism in general. (Herring, 181)

An example of the American pro-war propaganda can be seen in the Vietnam War. Because of the United States’ control of information, this created a good reason for making a propaganda. Shah argued, in relation to propaganda making, that “the military often manipulated the stream media by restricting or managing what information is presented and hence what the public are told. The paramount aim of their action is to control the media. This could involve all manner of activities, from organizing media sessions and daily press briefings, or through providing managed access to war zones, to even planting stories.”(182). According to Herring, the U.S. officials created, at the same time, the Committee for peace with Freedom in Vietnam aiming at invoking the “silent center” in the political entourage. In addition, a Vietnam Information Group was established to observe people’s reactions to the war and manage the unexpected consequences that might come up. On the presidential level, Johnson himself was quoted making an order “search urgently for occasions to present sound evidence of progress in Vietnam (Herring, 182)

Consequently, American officials started producing flawed information to demonstrate the United States' warfare progress. With reference to the Vietnam War, the American propaganda did not reach its objective. One reason for its setback was the U.S. situation, because the United States was losing the war. That's what made it difficult to justify the increasing deaths of a lot of Americans on the battle field. The contrast of the structure of population effected the progress of propaganda. Philosophically speaking, Chomsky explained that the U.S. propaganda was received effectively by literate classes unlike the illiterate classes, because literate people read more often unlike the illiterate people. That's why the U.S. propaganda worked on literate people with success. Another reason why the U.S. propaganda was achieved on literate people was the fact that most of these literate people had posts in the media and management and they advocated and worked on the pro-propaganda system (Chomsky, Propaganda, American Style,80)

The U.S. government encountered difficulties in shaping the public opinion. According to Chomsky, the increasing opposition to the war undermined the American propaganda, making the government lose its control over the American people, the thing which led to rising suspicion among people toward what the government was telling. The term " the Vietnam Syndrome" came to be known for this awareness of these people who started being aware of what was happening (Chomsky, propaganda, American Style,80)

As stated above, there were several and different areas of influence. The mass media was used extensively as it was the most effective tool to catch the attention and interest of people. Mass media is seen as a "free market model" where economic forces shape thoughts.

Countries that advocate democracy including the U.S. tend to have limited control over people by means of force, because the use of force doesn't fall within the democratic principles. Chomsky adds, "since the voice of the people is allowed to speak out, those in power better control what that voice says" and the best way to control what people say and think is through coming up with different opinions, but with preserving a limited space and area for those opinions. This is established in debates and those in control must be certain that some specific thoughts and beliefs are accepted by both sides of the debate. Those thoughts and beliefs are the cornerstone of the propaganda system. "as long as everyone accepts the propaganda system, the debate is permissible" (Chomsky, propaganda, American Style,86)

Several well-known newspapers and TV channels published and broadcasted those political debates which concerned mainly the war in Vietnam. These debates never tackled the involvement of the U.S. in Vietnam and whether or not it was guilty of its war on the Vietnamese. Actually, most debates discussed the question whether or not the Vietnamese were guilty of aggression. Accordingly, the political debates over the war in Vietnam were completely limited by the U.S government. This shows how dominating the U.S. propaganda system was, and these limited debates show how thoughts could be shaped according to the interests and needs of the government.(Ibid)

III.3. Themes of the Vietnam War and its effects on the cultural life of the Americans

3.1. Power of Television

Television became the most influential tool by which government could reach people and by which people know what was going on around them as television became

the most famous source for news by the mid1960s. Despite this development, the influence of the stream media witnessed little and gradual progress. Historically speaking, this slow progress of influence for television was mainly the result of inexistence of television as a news device in the Second World War and even in the Korean War because television was not widespread at homes and there was small audience. There were other means such as newspapers and magazines at war times. By the 1960s and as television became widespread, it became the main news tool for people, and because the 1960s was dominated by the Vietnam War, and the United States became increasingly involved in the conflict, people resorted to television, preferring watching television in image and sound to reading newspapers.

The news services on television, as explained earlier, was the most available source of information despite the fact that all sources and kinds of media integrated pro-war propaganda, because broadcasted materials had a deep and strong influential role. Yet, there was a necessity to hold control over providing information; this would be achieved by creating a ground to enable the government to control information. As a result, before waging war in Vietnam, the government set up an extensive and wide propaganda and established agencies to take care of the flow of information. Savich argues those agencies such as the CIA which worked in coordination with the Radio Free Europe propaganda; the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) which coordinated propaganda broadcasts by the Voice of America (VOA). The USIA was an independent agency concerned with foreign affairs. It was created within the executive branch. This independent agency was created for the purpose of supporting the U.S. foreign policy (Ibid).

One reason why people preferred getting information through television is the manner of how these information were processed and provided. The argument for this

answer was provided and carried out by the Roper Organization for Television Information Office. The aim was to prove the increasing influence of television. The result was that 48 % per cent of people answered television while 21% per cent answered newspapers when they were asked about what the best, credible and most trusted medium was (Hallin, 1986, 106). According to Neuman, television was highly regarded as “interesting, emotionally involving, and surprising” (Neuman, Just, Crigler, 1992, 56). This can be explained by two things, visual and personality. Television makes viewers feel like they are involved in the action due to its visual aspects. People trusted news reporters easily because the audience stayed in contact with them for any updates. One example for this trust between news reporters and viewers was CBS reporter, Walter Cronkite who was called “the most trusted man in America” (Hallin, 1986, 106)

The trust between media or news reporters in particular and the public changed Americans' view of the war in Vietnam. The war in Vietnam was widely broadcasted on television with daily updates, and Americans became strongly attached to watching television to know the latest news, but TV channels offered short modified versions on the ongoing complicated war. there was a strict censorship on TV channels in terms of what material to be broadcasted and in compliance to the government standards, because the government sought to hide sensitive and critical details and give people the impression that the war was going just fine and that Americans were fighting for the sake of democracy to eradicate the evil of communism and save the South Vietnamese, but people started being skeptical about the statements coming out of the government, because they knew the government was hiding the truth. Furthermore, because of censorship, the media did not broadcast the deaths of Americans on the battle field. (Propaganda: Pro-War and Anti-War)

TV stations news are meant to be profitable in terms of money making, not for public service. Entertainment became in a way old-fashioned by the outbreak of the war. Television reports were mostly revolving around the victories of the American soldiers against the North Vietnam communists for the purpose of spreading the promises of democracy.(Television Coverage of the Vietnam War and Vietnam Veteran, 2001). Television reported soldiers with bravery and greatness. However, when the war escalated and became brutal, TV stations started looking for more thrilling and exciting stories and scenes, which led to the increase of reporters on the battle field, seeking to make daring reports about combats soldiers and other thrilling scenes. Night news of NBC and CBS were mostly concerned with the war. War coverage raised by 86 % per cent in the mid1960s. (Bonior, qtd. in ibid, 2001)

According to Herman, television covered scenes and actions with allusion to good and evil; “ a kind of morality play, a dramatic contrast between good, represented by the American peace offensive, and evil, represented by Hanoi.”(Herman and Chomsky, 2002,203). This representation was a clear support of the U.S. government and its war in Vietnam, and even it was encouraging for soldiers themselves. Unfortunately, reports did not cover the dark side of the war, because such reports were suppressed. The battle was nicknamed as a “good guys shooting Reds” by the media. (Wyatt,199581 qtd in Television Coverage and Vietnam Veteran, 2001)

3.2. Anti – War Movement

The American anti-war movement against the Vietnam War from1965 to 1971 had an ever-lasting impact on the whole nation. The anti-war movement was totally refused by all Americans. When the war in Vietnam started, many Americans believed that defending South Vietnam from communist aggression was in the national interest.

University unrest was also one of the most-remembered aspects of the Vietnam War era. Students were not the only ones to protest, student activism played an important role in bringing antiwar ideas to the broader public. The University of Washington as an example had a rich history of antiwar, civil rights, and radical activism. However, there were also other kinds of walks of life that played a key role in the struggle for withdrawal of U.S. soldiers from South Vietnam, such as middle-class suburbs and labor unions. It also included such diverse individuals as, Muhammad Ali, U.S. attorney and author Mark Lane, actress Jane Fonda or the black civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King who recognized the symbolic significance of Ali's action for the anti-war movement and called the latter's stance as a conscientious objector "a very great act of courage" Simultaneously, there was a huge number of soldiers who returned from Vietnam and who also wanted to be involved into the anti-war movement. These ex-servicemen stood both against the government's attitude towards veterans and the way how the war itself was managed. They were disappointed by the fact that soldiers who would be able to devolve their war experiences on young recruits of their unit were inexperienced. The national service took one year and after that all recruits had a chance to decide whether they want to go back home or to extend their tour of duty. Many critics claimed that this optional choice had been the reason why the U.S. troops failed in warfare in Vietnam because there was only small amount of G.I. s that was willing to extend their tour of duty. (Herring, 171)

In accordance with Herring's standpoint, the anti-war movement tended to form three principal groups. The first group was led by pacifists, who opposed all wars as immoral, thus, the Vietnam War was only another phase of their whole - life crusade. Another group was presented by followers of radical policy. "Spawned by the civil rights movement", (Ibid)

The last category that far exceeded in numbers both the pacifists and the radicals was formed by anti-war liberals. Their main interest was to trash out a question of the Vietnam War from all possible visual angles, such as strategic, moral or practical. Liberals simultaneously tended to deal with the validity of the referenced domino effect theory. They were convinced that the huge investment in Vietnam diverted attention from more urgent problems at home and abroad, which damaged America. This liberal criticism finally quickly broke out into an accusation of American “globalization.” (Herring, 172)

All these different and various groups that formed the movement did not agree with each other and among themselves on goals and ways how to win public support. From pacifists’ and liberals’ point of view, the termination of the Vietnam War meant to end it in itself. According to radicals’ standpoint, the end of the war could be achieved only by overthrowing of American capitalism. (The Domestic Course of the War) The more different attitudes to the war came into being, the more disagreement on methods was maintained. However, there were many possibilities of collective or individual forms, like legal demonstrations, grass-roots campaigns, rallying, petitioning or teach-ins that enabled to express public disapproval of the war. Among hundreds of acts of individual defiance there were cases of refusal of induction orders or of refusal to pay income tax, which were for the defense budget. In military, hundreds of young men tried to express their anti-war standpoints either by finding some legal loopholes how to evade the draft or by fleeing to Canada or Australia.

Other possible methods, like pro-war propaganda, anti-war activists also used media, music, television, symbols, posters, picket signs and movies to gain the support. Simultaneously, part and parcel of the propaganda and anti-war movement were the small round colorful political buttons that belonged to all participants of anti-war

marches. Furthermore, Melvin Small said that there existed some groups of peace activists that decided to go to South Vietnam, some Quakers and others could provide medical help to Vietnamese civilian victims of the war. Using political, racial, and cultural aspects, the anti-war movement got stronger within 1960s American society (Herring, 172)

3.3. The Reflection of Vietnam War on Novel

Norman Mailer's *The Armies of the night*, published in 1968, is one of the books which appeared on the literary market and which had received the most critical attention just after its publication. This work was a reflection of the events surrounded the March on Pentagon in Washington DC in the fall of 1967. Although the beginning of the conflict in Vietnam was not characterised by a wave of creative literary works that would be connected with the description of the war, Mailer's work was related to the Vietnam war but from a domestic point of view. The fact that Norman Mailer was not just an eyewitness but also an active participant of the March on Pentagon has made his work all the more unique and incomparable.

According to James Stark, the reviewer of this novel, "Mailer takes through Friday (burning of draft cards at the Department of Justice), Saturday (the Day of the March and Mailer's incarceration in the State of Virginia's correctional system) and, finally, Sunday (Mailer is released on his own recognizance and the last demonstrators leave the Pentagon grounds)." The book bore record to the situation from both the front line of demonstrators and from the surrounding of the prison cell, where the author himself was obliged to spend some time. It is simultaneously worth mentioning that this nonfiction masterpiece was awarded by both a Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award. (The Literature of the Vietnam War)

Among those writers who had a right to word-paint the war atrocities because of their personal war experience, we have Michael Herr, a former war correspondent for Esquire magazine who was best known as the author of “Dispatches” (1977), “a masterful collage of stories, dialogue and prose poetry on the Vietnam War.” (Dispatches, Vietnam Michael Herr, 2006). Numerous critics consider it as one of the best books about the war of that time.

Another personage of the literary world who explained his enthusiasm about Herr’s masterpiece was a journalist and author, Hunter S. Thomson. He proclaimed: “We have all spent ten years trying to explain what happened to our heads and our lives in the decade we finally survived – but Michael Herr’s Dispatches puts all the rest of us in the shade.” (Hunter S. Thomson, Dispatches, Vietnam Michael Herr).

The fruitfulness of the book could be caused by the way in which the book holds the reader’s attention. It is likely that Herr managed to make the best of his writer experience to create a writing style that appeared like “the screenplay to a war movie”, which enabled the work was easy to read and the plot had a drift to events. (Michael Herr’s Dispatches) This ability gave him an opportunity to become not only a literary writer but also a screenwriter. A few years later, he co-operated on Stanley Kubrick’s screenplay for the film “Full Metal Jacket” and he also wrote the narration for another kind of war film – Francis Ford Coppola’s “Apocalypse Now”.

According to Wendy Smith, Michael Herr, a young journalist “whose previous experience consisted mostly of travel pieces and film criticism, managed to transform himself into a wild new kind of war correspondent capable of comprehending a disturbing new kind of war.” The essence of her view is that the book “Dispatches” “was and still is the timeless portrait of war’s bedrock realities—fear, death, murder, madness. It is also a revelation of the beauty that unfolds in extreme circumstances, the

clarity of vision possible when everything extraneous has fallen away. It is a brazen display of unbridled romanticism and extravagant prose. It is a chastening exploration of our complicity in what we see from a safe distance.”

Many other literary works could be fit into, as mentioned above, the first-person combat narratives, such as Philip Caputo’s “A Rumor of War” (1977) and Ron Kovic’s “Born on the Fourth of July” (1976), “both eyewitness accounts of the life-altering experiences of men who enlisted, expecting a heroic experience, but who were forever changed by the war’s realities.” (The Literature of the Vietnam War) These narrations attempted to testify the cruelty and war atrocities by mean of not half heroic stories that should have provoked the American public to wise up the difference between Vietnam and wars such as WWI or WWII. These eyewitness evidences were “frequently brutally graphic and shocking, relating atrocities committed both by the Viet Cong and by American soldiers themselves.” (Ibid) In term of representing the soldier, generally speaking, the ordinary GI was usually presented not as to be blamed for his sometimes-bloodcurdling behavior but rather as “the victim of a bungled American policy in Vietnam.” (Ibid) It is important to awake to the fact that the authors were parts of all these war horrors and incidents, therefore they tried to mediate the surroundings and war experience through their vivid narrations.(Ibid)

A huge amount of works which, due to its writing style and mode of warfare representation, managed to transfer unsuspecting readers into cruelty of the material atmosphere. Among the literary pieces that are worth mentioning is the war novel of Tim O’Brien called “Going After Cacciato” (1978), which is the story of a soldier who made the decision to leave Vietnam to walk to Paris. (Tim O’ Brien – An Introduction to His Writing, 1997) According to Ken Loper, “Cacciato combined passages of straightforward realism with a “magical realism” reminiscent of Gabriel García

Márquez and other writers of the Latin American “boom”. In 1979 the work was awarded by the National Book Award, which invoked a wave of big surprise, because the Vietnam War, “which had come to an end only three years earlier after polarizing the country for a decade, was still so fresh in the American consciousness that it was not thought that a novel dealing with the war directly could yet be viewed objectively and appreciated on its own terms.” (Ibid) However, Tim O’Brien managed to prove his writing ability by creating also another high quality literary work “The Things They Carried” (1990), which was a collection of related stories about the Vietnam War.(Ibid)

Both literary critics and Ken Lopez appreciated this work and designated it as “the most powerful fiction to come out of the Vietnam experience.” “War stories are not always about war, per se. They aren't about bombs and bullets and military manoeuvres. They aren't about tactics. They are not about foxholes and canteens. A war story, like any good story, is finally about the human heart.” (Tim O’Brien, *The Literature of the Vietnam War*)

According to O’Brien’s statement, the book “The Things They Carried” tended to move readers emotionally. By the medium of this piece, the author tried to find and explore the connections between love and war, because the narrative was a war story as well as a love one. (Ibid)

Stephen Wright is one of the most prominent authors who wrote skillfully about the Vietnam War. His work *Meditation in Green* (1983) won the admiration of the critics as he artfully depicted the life of “a heroin addicted ex-soldier”. (Ibid) In this work, Mathew Stewart held, Wright succeeded in mixing between the realistic and the experimental description. Moreover, the work contained “[...] sense of ‘Literariness, of realized aesthetic intentions’ that could hardly be seen in other works with such a theme

especially it was difficult to write about the war in a simple way so that to enable the large audience to understand its reality (Ibid).

Most of Vietnam War authors were those who directly witnessed and experienced the war, mainly the journalists and soldiers. This last point explains why the works written at that period about the war were not discussing the issue of the war from political, historical, or ideological perspectives, but rather they were a depiction of the peoples' detailed daily lives. Nonetheless, that realization started to be criticized because, according to Susan Farrell, that kind of narration was "cliché of Vietnam literature" (Ibid).

James C. Wilson said that it was not the war that was behind the public's cognition, but it was a policy to let the war ambiguous (Ibid). This drove the attention towards the necessity of a new way of expressing the "traumatic experience" of the war (Ibid).

The Second thing the Vietnam War literature was also criticized for being limited in the manner it presented the conflict. For, authors on one view only carelessly whether that view agreed or disagreed with America's involvement in the war, besides, there was an absolute ignorance of the "Vietnamese stand-point" (Ibid).

The next point of criticism was that the Vietnam War authors margined women when they focused on the sacrifice and sufferance of the males and neglected the females' role in the war (Ibid). Vietnamese women were restrictively referred to in rape incidents; whereas, American women were described as being unable to get along with the war and its psychological effects on their ex-soldiers (Ibid).

There was another kind of literature which talked principally about the impact of the War on the next generations who try to understand the war through imagination and

here appeared another theme which was “relationship between war and gender;” however, Farrell did not believe that it could be really affecting to talk about such an event through imagination only (Ibid).

The North Vietnamese literature was mainly biographical novels and they were put beside the American productions as they were allies and experienced almost the same tragedies during the struggle against the South Vietnam. The Works started to be compared; for example, Bao Ninh’s novel *The Sorrow of War: a Novel of North Vietnam* was compared to Erich Maria Remarque’s *All Quiet on the Western Front*.

Farrell believed that *When Heaven and Earth Changed places* was one of the best Vietnamese literary works. The work tells the life story of a Vietnamese young girl called Le Ly Hayslip during and after the war (Ibid).

3.4. The Reflection of Vietnam War on Poetry

When the Vietnam War got longer and no hope of achieving victory was seen close, even poetry talked about the sense of loss, hopelessness and remorse for participating in such brutal conflict which generated sorrow and grief. John Pratt point of view was that poetry writing was the only means found to relief that grief. The Vietnam War became the best theme for both American and Vietnamese authors at the time since the influenced their psychology and inspired their writings (Ibid). Farrell saw that “the literature of the Vietnam War is an emotionally powerful and increasingly popular category of contemporary literature.” O’Brien also insisted on the fact the war was about the “human heart” more than about the bombs and strategies.

3.5. The Reflection of Vietnam War on Music:

Many various ways of how to express moods and emotions could be pointed out, including literature, film, art as well as music, as one of the most in use different. Music became an instinctive part of Americans' as marked by many several reasons why it was so. Music, as being one of many numerous branches of cultural life, is differed from any other means of expressing, such as movies, poetry or painting, by sustaining its easiness and availability practically for everyone, and slightly no limits would hinder anyone to compose or just to sing a song with a message. These music substantive features grew into a bottom line for its developing and spreading throughout the whole period of the Vietnam War. The era from the 60's till the end of the 70's outlined such a long-time epoch of fights for free-for-all civil rights, domestic civil commotion and race riots that virtually every man and woman could have figured out why to express their stand-points. Music came down through the whole years of the war as well as any other artistic category, including. literature or film production, nevertheless, and because of the so many different matters that took place during that time, some major music genres that stood for each individual during the Vietnam Era blew in.

Considering music various forms, the 40's era was characterized by big bands and jazz. These were the run-after forms of music, however, during the following decade the impact of jazz began to decline. The generation that passed through the atrocities of the World War II started to seek some new, more expressive and uplifting tones. Finally, within the scope of this endeavor, rock n' roll, the new form of music, came into existence. During the 1960's music began to copy the stances, feelings and

views of life of the US nation more than usual decades before. The period of the sixties, The Civil Rights Movement era, Vietnam War, Anti-War Movement, as well as other trials of human synchronicity. As mentioned earlier, the 60s were a time of depression and the music truly boosted the people's spirit." (Music History from the 1960s) The music was no longer instrument of amusement any more. Besides rock n' roll, folk music and the "hippy movement widely impressed the American Culture during the Vietnam War era. "The baby boomers in the late 1960's adopted the "hippie" culture which personified not only the music of that time but also the concept of "sex, drugs, and rock and roll." This disposition served to alleviate the pressures inflicted by the war culture embraced on America's home front." (3 Days of Peace and Music) For singers' and performers' part, this decade was represented by such stars - Elvis Presley, The Supremes, Janis Joplin, Joan Baez, the Folk King Bob Dylan, etc. In the matter of the following decade, the 1970's music represented the wave of the public effeteness and modulation. The importance of The "hippy movement" started to downturn and hence, music fans began to adopt hard rhythms and loud sounds of the so called new music form, hard rock. Many of these music bands, such as Led Zeppelin, Black Sabbath, and Rolling Stones represented not only a new form of music but also a new approach of living and viewing life. (The Influence of Music in Vietnam-Progression of Rock n roll)

In the matter of combat zone, it could be said that all songs of the sixties – of the beginning of the U.S. involvement - became part of the common life of foot-soldiers, helicopter pilots, snipers and flatfoots. When the battlefield situation made it possible, the U.S. troops listened to music both in the army base and in the jungle. Based on Lydia Fish's information, there were many various ways and means how to perceive the music world. For instance, "Sony radios, Akai stereos and Teac tape decks were easily available, American music was performed live by the ubiquitous Filipino

rock bands, AFVN Radio broadcast round the clock, and new troops arrived weekly with the latest records from the states.” (Songs of Americans in the Vietnam War, 1993)

Simultaneously, there existed some local “underground radio stations” that were established by GIs themselves and which, according to Lydia Fish, were taken as “part of the in-country counterculture of the war.” Besides listening to hard acid rock of GI’s radio stations, the U.S. troops’ soldiers were in a position to listen to the American music that flew on the airwaves from the enemy “Radio Hanoi”. (Ibid.) Throughout the war, the troops compiled their own top forty of songs “about going home”, like ““Five Hundred Miles,” or “Leaving on a Jet Plane,” or of darker or more cynical album cuts which reflected their experiences: “Run Through the Jungle,” ”Bad Moon,” ”Paint it Black,” or “The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down.” (Ibid)

As for another sort of war songs, the bulk of the American men and women, civilians and military, who served in Vietnam, composed some songs just for the sake of their own pleasure to help relieve the combats oppressive setting. Most of these songs were part of the “traditional occupational folklore” of the military forces. (Ibid) At the same time, there were plenty of already existed songs, which texts were gradually drafted to correspond to war scenes in Vietnam. According to Lydia Fish, Captain Kris Kristofferson rewrote one of “the most popular of all Korean War songs, “Itazuke Tower” in Germany and his helicopter pilot buddies carried it to Vietnam where it was performed as “Phan Rang Tower” and reworked again by Phantom Jock Dick Jonas as “Ubon Tower.” On the other hand, there were some cases where both the text and music of the songs were genuine and founded on the Vietnam soldiers’ experience, which also helped them to survive by diverting their attention. In respect of the themes of these war songs, the authors tried to mediate the life in the battle field and war horrors by writing songs about paying a tribute to their deadly comrades, celebrating heroic deeds, praising

of the great leaders or glorifying the war effort, as in the song “Ballad of the Green Berets.”(Ibid)

3.6. The Reflection of the Cold War on Television

In terms of function of the mass media, television mirrored a crucial and compelling role in the general public cultural, entertainment and political life. Television conjunction with film included “two of the greatest influences on modern popular culture. They both reflected it and helped shape it.” (Aviation in Film and Television) In respect of television coverage of war, according to Donald Humphreys’s view, “war on television has been the subject of both fictional accounts and extensive, often compelling, news coverage.” As for the impact of television on the war in Vietnam, it was important to be aware of the fact that “the main victim of the war was not the U.S. soldier or America’s war fighting capability, but the morale and willpower of the American public.” (In Television Coverage of The Vietnam War and Its Implications For Future Conflicts, 1984)

Conclusion

Although the Cold War had taken thousands of lives and the government made strict censorship on what to be broadcasted and published, the Cold War culture flourished dramatically in the Sixties as a consequence of the Vietnam War. Reporters contributed greatly in making the public aware of what was going on. This awareness led to making demonstrations and movements against the American government and the War. It also led to the prosperity and richness of literary works, songs, and movies all

depicting the atrocities happening in Vietnam which took thousands of young American lives on a political lost war.

This dissertation started with presenting a background about the foundation of the U.S Foreign Policy and how the cold war effected the cultural and social life of the American people. This link was represented in film production, music, cinema, literature and even the Public opinion. It showed also how the cultural aspects had a great influence on making these Foreign Policies. In addition to that, it gave a detailed information about the powers that were given to the executive branch, the president, to make any decision that would be in good and interest of the nation.

The cold war and by extension the Vietnam war had a deep reflection on the American society. The acts and the events that have been witnessed under the presidents of that period really pushed the policymakers to take different ideologies in making the U.S. Foreign Policies. Culture, on the other side, played an important role in making U.S. Foreign Policies as it was the roots and the basis on what the American government built its decisions on making its policies. The reflection of the Vietnam War can be seen in the richness of the literary works, music and movies because it depicted what was really happening on the battlefield.

The research has not covered everything; neither has it seen the subject from all perspectives. The topic can be discussed in alternative ways and seen from other different perspectives. We hope that our study has contributed to the field of American history and this research will open the doors to future studies and explored by other researchers.

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RESUME DE MEMOIRE DE MASTER

Domaine : American Civilisation

Filière : Langue Anglaise

Option : littérature et civilisation American.

Thème : « la politique extérieure et la culture de la guerre froide des états unis dans la garde du président américain L.B.JONSON

Présenté par : Djellouli Alaa Eddine et Hamira Abdouawahb

Encadré par: Nassima Kaid

Résumé : A travers cette recherche, nous allons mettre en lumière la politique suivie par les états unis, plus précisément, celle au sein de la guerre froide. Dans ce contexte, nous allons voir comment était l'impact de cette culture sur ces politiques.

C'est pourquoi, nous pensons que c'est une évidence de citer les grandes axes de fondation de la politique dite extérieure, ainsi sa formation de la part des décideurs

Notre hypothèse se centre sur deux façons de voir :

Premièrement, sur la relation existante entre la culture et la fondation de la politique extérieure, et l'effet des deux guerres mondiales spécialement celle de la guerre froide en société américaine

C'est pour cette raison, il faut parler d'avantage sur le rôle des masses médias notamment la télévision, cette dernière qui contribue à lutte le socialisme.

Cette recherche nous offre une occasion à savoir aussi l'impact de la guerre froide sur le domaine artistique tel que la musique, le cinéma, la littérature et même l'opinion publique

Mots clés : la politique extérieure, culture de la guerre froide, président américain

L.B. Jonson



الجمهورية الجزائرية الديمقراطية الشعبية
وزارة التعليم العالي و البحث العلمي



جامعة عمار ثلجي - الأغواط

كلية/معهد الآداب و اللغات
قسم اللغة الإنجليزية

ملخص مذكرة الماستر

الميدان : آداب و لغة إنجليزية

الشعبة : اللغة الإنجليزية

التخصص: الادب الانجليزي و الحضارات الناطقة باللغة الانجليزية

عنوان المذكرة " السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة الامريكية و ثقافة الحرب الباردة في العهدة الرئاسية لليندون بينز جونسون".

تقديم الطالب: جلولي علاء الدين و حميرة عبد الوهاب

الأستاذ المؤطر: نسيمة قايد

ملخص المذكرة

في هذا البحث سنحاول تسليط الضوء على السياسة المتبعة من طرف امريكا و خاصة اثناء الحرب الباردة و كيف كانت الثقافة لها تأثير كبير على اقامة هذه السياسات. بحيث سنذكر جذور تأسيس السياسة الخارجية و كيف يتم تشكيلها من طرف صناع القرار.

الفرضية الاساسية لهذا البحث تتمركز حول اظهار العلاقة بين الثقافة و تأسيس السياسة الخارجية, و أيضا تظهر مدى تأثير الحربين العالميتين و الحرب الباردة على وجه الخصوص على المجتمع الأمريكي و كيف كان دور الميديا و التلفاز على نشر ثقافة محاربة الإشتراكية. و من هذا البحث سوف نتطرق الى تأثير الحرب الباردة أيضا على صنع الأفلام و الموسيقى و الأدب و حتى الرأي العام.

الكلمات المفتاحية: السياسة الخارجية, ثقافة الحرب الباردة , لليندون بينز جونسون".