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**A Descriptive Account on Monitoring Public Opinion in USA:
Nixon's Administration and the Hidden Practices in
Manipulating Communities**

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Dedication

I dedicate my work to my beloved late brother Karim who left our world in 2022 while I was conducting this study. I wish he was here with me to witness my graduation and happiness. I also dedicate my dissertation to my dear family parents, brothers, and sister who supported me throughout my whole educational process, and without them I would not reach this valuable moment. My classmates were the second family; I owe them for their supportive spirits.

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Abstract

The manipulation of public opinion has been under the scope of researchers for a long time due to its importance to politicians and citizens as well. The goal of conducting this study is to make the readers aware of the methods that governments utilize to shape their opinion concerning sensitive issues as wars. In order to conduct this research, I have used the qualitative approach, since it suits my research topic. In addition, I relied on the existing data, including books, journals, magazines, articles, and websites. Furthermore, I have used exploratory analysis on the data to come up with the results of the study, and I have also synthesized the data. Consequently, our results proved that the Nixon's administration used numerous ways in order to manipulate the public opinion during the Vietnam War. The methods included propaganda, pro-war songs, and pro-war movies, creating enemy, private groups, political oppression, and misinformation. Moreover, the research also proved that Nixon's administration used the public opinion to design its electoral campaign in 1968, withdraw from the Vietnam War, and to resign from the presidency. The rationale of Nixon's manipulation was to keep the public support for the war and to win the re-elections of 1972. The methodology of President Richard Nixon contained a lot of unconstitutional decisions and attitudes like using police brutality in order to reach his goals.

الملخص

ظل التلاعب بالرأي العام من اختصاص الباحثين لفترة طويلة نظرًا لأهميته لدى السياسيين والمواطنين أيضًا. الهدف من إجراء هذه الدراسة هو توعية القراء بالطرق التي تستخدمها الحكومات لتشكيل رأيهم بشأن القضايا الحساسة مثل الحروب. من أجل إجراء هذا البحث ، استخدمت النهج النوعي، لأنه يناسب موضوع بحثي. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، فقد اعتمدت على البيانات الموجودة، بما في ذلك الكتب والصحف و المجالات والمقالات العلمية والمواقع الإلكترونية. علاوة على ذلك، لقد استخدمت التحليل الاستكشافي على البيانات للتوصل إلى نتائج الدراسة، وقمت أيضًا بتجميع البيانات. وبالتالي ، أثبتت نتائجنا أن إدارة نيكسون استخدمت طرقًا عديدة للتلاعب بالرأي العام أثناء حرب فيتنام. تضمنت الأساليب الدعاية ، والأغاني المؤيدة للحرب ، والأفلام المؤيدة للحرب ، وخلق العدو ، والجماعات الخاصة ، والقمع السياسي ، والمعلومات المضللة. علاوة على ذلك ، أثبت البحث أيضًا أن إدارة نيكسون استخدمت الرأي العام لتصميم حملتها الانتخابية عام 1968 ، والانسحاب من حرب فيتنام ، والاستقالة من الرئاسة. كان الأساس المنطقي لتلاعب نيكسون بالرأي العام هو الحفاظ على الدعم الشعبي للحرب والفوز بإعادة الانتخابات عام 1972. احتوت منهجية الرئيس ريتشارد نيكسون على الكثير من القرارات والمواقف غير الدستورية مثل استخدام وحشية الشرطة من أجل تحقيق أهدافه.

Résumé

La manipulation de l'opinion publique fait l'objet de recherches depuis longtemps en raison de son importance pour les politiciens et les citoyens. L'objectif de cette étude est de sensibiliser les lecteurs aux méthodes utilisées par les gouvernements pour façonner l'opinion publique sur des questions sensibles comme les guerres. Afin de mener cette recherche, j'ai utilisé l'approche qualitative, car elle convient à mon sujet de recherche. En outre, je me suis appuyé sur les données existantes, y compris les livres, les journaux, les magazines, les articles et les sites Web. En outre, j'ai utilisé une analyse exploratoire des données pour obtenir les résultats de l'étude, et j'ai également synthétisé les données. Par conséquent, nos résultats ont prouvé que l'administration de Nixon a utilisé de nombreux moyens pour manipuler l'opinion publique pendant la guerre du Vietnam. Ces méthodes comprenaient la propagande, les chansons et les films pro-guerre, la création d'un ennemi, les groupes privés, l'oppression politique et la désinformation. En outre, la recherche a également prouvé que l'administration de Nixon a utilisé l'opinion publique pour concevoir sa campagne électorale en 1968, se retirer de la guerre du Vietnam et démissionner de la présidence. La justification de la manipulation de Nixon était de conserver le soutien du public à la guerre et de remporter les réélections de 1972. La méthodologie du président Richard Nixon comportait de nombreuses décisions et attitudes anticonstitutionnelles, comme le recours à la brutalité policière, afin d'atteindre ses objectifs.

List of abbreviations

?: percentage

N: Number

U.S: United States

U.S.A: United States of America

USSR: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

SDS: Students for a Democratic Society

BP: Black Panther Party

PO: Public Opinion

NY1: Spectrum News New York 1

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General Introduction

1. Introduction:

People always discuss specific political, military, and economic issues and give their opinion about them. Since the establishment of the government in history, rulers were thinking about how to manipulate the public opinion. Manipulating the public opinion is a significant part in the governing process especially in 20th century where democracy spread worldwide, and the officials in governments need public support in every step. Governments need to their nation's opinion about particular issues like wars or political crises in order to make their decisions legitimate, even if the decisions are unconstitutional or against peoples own best. In a country like the United States, the administration has to listen carefully to the opinion of their citizens; otherwise they will be out of the office. Consequently, it is necessary for them to devote all their efforts to shape the public sentiment, and translate the opinion into decisions. Especially, some presidents think that the public opinion cannot be followed blindly, and the public sentiment should follow the administration. The Nixon's administration and the Vietnam War is a sample to explore the topic deeply, and to facilitate the idea of manipulating the public opinion by governments.

2. Problem Statement:

The significance of public opinion in the political field imposes the fact that learning the methods of manipulating the public opinion is a necessity. The administration of President Richard Nixon in the United States had been given responsibility when the country was stuck in the endless Vietnam War. The gap is the techniques that Nixon's administration adopted to manipulate the public opinion during that hard period. In addition, the rationale that motivated the administration to shape public sentiment is an issue of this research. Besides that, the research is about to uncover how the Nixon's administration used the public opinion.

3. Research Objectives:

In this study we will explore the hidden practices that governments utilize to shape the public opinion. Furthermore, the purpose of the study is to investigate how the administrations utilize the public opinion. Consequently, we will focus our research to reach the hidden methods that the administration of Richard Nixon used to manipulate the public

opinion while the Vietnam War was going. Besides that, we will illustrate how they used the public sentiment, and rational behind the political manipulation.

4. Research Questions:

By the end of this research we will be able to answer the following questions:

1. How could Nixon's administration manipulate the public opinion during the Vietnam War?
2. What were the reasons behind this manipulation? Was it about political schemes or military means?
3. How they used the public opinion?

4. Research Hypotheses:

In this study, we assume that the administration of Richard Nixon had done massive efforts to manipulate the public opinion through the methods of media such as propaganda, pro war songs, pro war films, and misinformation. Furthermore, we suppose that he used other indirect techniques like creating an enemy, pro war lobbies, and oppression. Moreover, the government used the public opinion for both political schemes and military purposes as well. In addition, in my opinion he manipulated the public sentiment to win the public support for the elections of his second term.

5. Methodology:

In this research I have used the qualitative approach in order to reach the results, since this approach suits my research topic. I have used the existing data in books, articles, websites, journals, and magazines. In addition, I have utilized exploratory analysis and synthesis to conclude the best results.

6. Previous Studies:

Several studies were conducted about the methods of monitoring public opinion and the use of it. Russel Brooker and Todd Schaefer in their 2006 book *Public Opinion in the 21st Century: Let the People Speak* stated that monitoring public opinion is necessary in democracies and autocracies as well. Moreover, they argued that public sentiment can be manipulated through media, private groups, political oppression, creating enemy...etc. In addition, they explained how George Bush shaped the public opinion and used it in his campaign. In 2000, Lawrence Jacobs and Robert Shapiro in their book *Politicians Don't Pander Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness* claimed that not all politicians in democratic countries follow the public opinion blindly. Furthermore, officials manipulate the public opinion for their own interests, and they do not apply people's opinions in governance blindly. In *American Government: Power and Purpose*, Lowi, Ginsberg, Shepsle, and Ansolabehere proved media play a significant role in shaping the public opinion in the United States concerning the wars of Iraq and Afghanistan. Scott Edward Bennett explained in his 2017 book *Applying Public Opinion in Governance* how the governments of Canada and the United States used the public in economy and politics. However, the few of the mentioned literature studied the relationship between the government of Richard Nixon and the public opinion. Not all previous investigations studied the methods that Nixon's administration utilized to shape the public opinion, or how they used it. This research will use the existing data to form a study that illustrates how Nixon manipulated public opinion during Vietnam War, and whether he used the public opinion for political plans or military motives.¹

7. Definition of Concepts:

7.1 Public Opinion:

The public opinion can be explained in two degrees independent and aggregate. The aggregate degree means the beliefs, options, points of view of massive number of people. People can express their own ideas through protests, elections, or opinion polls. The concept of public opinion stands for what the majority of the people desire or think. The idea is that when more people share their opinion the better decision will be. And this is

¹ Scott Edward Bennett, *Applying Public Opinion in Governance: The Uses and Future of Public Opinion in Managing Government* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 18,19,20; Theodore J. Lowi et al., *American Government: Power and Purpose* (New York: W.W. Norton et Company, 2021), 477-81; Lawrence R. Jacobs and Robert Y. Shapiro, *Politicians Don't Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 257; Russell Gott Brooker and Todd M. Schaefer, *Public Opinion in the 21st Century: Let the People Speak?* (Boston: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2006), 61.

what democracy was built on. The independent degree is embodied in the answers of opinion surveys and letters to representatives. The opinion of independent person comes from three sources the favourites of a person, his beliefs like religious beliefs, and the offered options. Citizens will select a candidate based on the outcome of his political plan, and he believes that a certain candidate is the best choice.²

8. Contribution:

When the readers finish reading this research, they will be able to understand the real importance of the public opinion in their life. They will learn all the methods of making their opinions heard by the government after understanding how administrations use the public opinion. The readers will gain several ideas about government's techniques of manipulating the public opinion in favour of government's elites. Readers from the third world can get enough knowledge so they may deliver their voices to officials. Besides all that, this research will teach small economic companies how to manipulate the public's minds to sell their products.

9. Dissertation Structure:

This research is composed of three chapters. The first chapter is titled An Overview on Public Opinion and Decision Making and dedicated as background, so the reader will be ready to understand the second and third chapter. It will explain the types of public opinion and the relationship between public opinion and wars. The second chapter is titled Mechanisms to Monitor Public Opinion and it is the theoretical part of manipulating the public opinion. It will represent the formal and informal methods of shaping the public opinion. In addition, the second chapter will illustrate the military and political use of public opinion. The third chapter is titled Political Manipulation during Vietnam War and I will apply the theoretical part on the administration of Richard Nixon and the Vietnam War.

² Theodore J. Lowi et al., *American Government: Power and Purpose* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2021), 378, 379.

Chapter One:

An Overview on Public Opinion and Decision Making

Introduction:

After wars, the public of both conflicting sides witness the positive and negative results of the war. The freedom of the citizens is reduced under the name of emergency. The freedom of speech and political activities as well is suspended. More than that, the distrust and hate grow between people who hold the opposite opinions. The military spends more money on other cash-starved sectors of the economy. At the same time, war has some positive effects. War provides new job opportunities. Countries gain vital supplies such as oil, steel, and gold after winning wars. Consequently, public opinion is a vital part in war decision making. This chapter identifies the difference between public opinion in democratic and autocratic countries. Second, it explains the different types of public opinion, definition, and the motives behind each kind. Third, the methodology of public opinion to affects decision making. Fourth, it identifies the limits of public opinion, and relationship between public opinion and governments.

1. Public Opinion in Different Sitings:

1.1. Public Opinion in Autocracies:

Public opinion in autocracies is not effective. Dictatorship governments give the ultimate power to one person or group of persons. The desire of the people is not important for them. Furthermore, people need to worship the leader and avoid disagreement with his policies. In political, military, and economic crises, the government allows only one point of view to be heard in all types of media. Whereas, citizens who express their unfavoured opinions, they end up jailed, exiled, or even assassinated. For example is Egypt, when Amnesty International reported that the Egyptian authorities arrested more than 60.000 for their opinion about the president al-Sissi or the government as a whole (Amnesty International 2021, 1)³. The public opinion has no weight or effect in decision making because most of the elections are manipulated. In addition, they see that people are ignorant about the problems, and their answers on polls are unreliable. The public is

³ Amnesty International, "Egypt: Abused and Denied Health Care, Prisoners' Lives at Risk," Amnesty International (Amnesty International, August 17, 2021), <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/press-release/2021/01/egypt-abused-and-denied-health-care-prisoners-lives-at-risk/>.

unaware of their country's serious issues. For example, in 1986 when Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant exploded, the Soviet Union kept the accident away from the media and people, and the citizens heard about it from foreign media. In autocracies, dictators make decisions that they see it right or to serve their personal favour. Especially during wars, dictators do not follow public sentiment. In their opinion, they have the right to make decisions on behalf of the citizens. They always seek to shape public opinion by beautifying the dictator and demonizing the enemy even if they were losing the war. For example, Adolf Hitler kept neglecting the public opinion during WWII until Germany totally fell down to U.S.S.R and U.S.A in 1945.⁴

1.2. Public Opinion in Democracies:

Public opinion is the heart of democracy, and has numerous roles in representative countries. In other words, the democratic process cannot be done without the public opinion. In democracies, people are the source of power. Without people's approval politicians will not be able to succeed in elections. People have the ability of expressing their ideas freely. In addition, the government allows all the different point of views to be represented not only one point of view. Public opinion in the democratic world is a significant part of the political life. It has a weight and effect in policymaking. Democracy is based on the collective opinion of the citizens to avoid fatal catastrophes. Politicians need to measure the public opinion regularly before elections in order to design their campaigns to track people's interests or they will be out of the office. At war and peace times, leaders often estimate the public opinion before introducing decisions, laws, and any kind of policy. Furthermore, democracies must inform the public with the popular issues, and avoid hide secretes from the citizens. Public policies are based on public opinion. They control the domestic and foreign policies, besides that, scholars believe that public opinion should guide the work of the government. The public sentiment guides the work of the government through polls, and in-depth interviews results. Sidney Verba states: "Surveys produce just what democracy is supposed to produce—equal representation of all citizens. The sample survey is rigorously egalitarian; it is designed so that each citizen has an equal chance to participate and an equal voice when participating" (Keeter 2012, 605)⁵. Democratic

⁴ Chukwuemeka Ojeh, "Popular Diplomacy in an Autocracy – Public Opinion and Foreign Policy Decision-Making under the Military in Nigeria," *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies* 38, no. 2 (2015), <https://doi.org/10.5070/f7382025973>, 30.

⁵ S. Keeter, "Presidential Address: Survey Research, Its New Frontiers, and Democracy," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76, no. 3 (January 2012): pp. 600-608, <https://doi.org/10.1093/pog/nfs044>, 605.

countries have faith in the judgment of people, and the views of the citizens to improve the performance of the government rather than damage it, even at war periods.⁶

2. Types of Public Opinion:

2.1 Types Based on Directions during Wars:

Rarely when we found the public sentiment have the same point of view about a particular issue. Even though, the term itself gives us the idea that the public have the same thoughts. Public opinion is a stenography explanation of the diversity of opinion among people. Public opinion can be classified into various categories:

2.1.1 War Supporters:

In both democratic and autocratic countries, there is part of the public opinion that supports the leader during wars. This kind of citizen wants the glory and honour for their country and leader after ending and winning the war. The supporters hope that their country will be financially better after looting the resources of the defeated country. As an example; the United States after winning the Second World War became the most powerful country in the world. They believe in the motivation of the government or leader of interfering in the conflict. However, the methods of shaping the public opinion play an essential role in increasing the support for war decision. They also hope for a better financial status after the war ends. Moreover, when a country has been invaded or targeted by another country, the whole public opinion supports war decision as a normal reaction against attack. For instance, the American public supported the involvement of the United States in the Second World War, because they saw that the Nazi is a direct and dangerous threat to U.S.A. People will also support war choice for religious reasons like they did when Egypt interfered in a war against Israel on 6th of October 1973. Recent studies proved that Arabs are still support war decision against Zionists under any conditions⁷. Finally, the weapon dealers always favour war choice under any circumstances in order to benefit from the war to the extreme. (Berinsky 2013, 27)

⁶ Harold D. Lasswell, "Democracy through Public Opinion," Amazon (Xerox University Microfilms, 1975), <https://www.amazon.com/Democracy-Through-Public-Opinion-Lasswell/dp/1258430371>, 15.

⁷ UN, "History of the Question of Palestine - Question of Palestine," United Nations (United Nations, March 2019), <https://www.un.org/unispal/history/>.

2.1.2 War Opponents:

On the other hand, the public opinion that opposes the war is afraid of the aftermath of the war. In addition, they disagree with war decisions on moral grounds. In their opinion, war harms and kills their soldiers. Soldiers lose their lives in the war, and even if they survived the war, they are vulnerable to disable or psychological issues like; traumatic disorder. Civilians are the first victim of the wars. In the 20th century, wars killed around 200 million people all around the world, and millions of families were destroyed. Besides that, public opinion loathes war, because it costs a lot of money. For example, U.S engagement in Iraq and Afghanistan cost 4.8 trillion dollars. Technological development stops during wars, as a result of destroying schools, universities, hospitals, and research centres. Naturally people like to see beautiful and clean environment, however, wars destroy the nature. For example, when the U.S used the Agent Orange in the Vietnam War, the consequences on the Vietnamese environment lasted long time after the war ended (Epp-Tiessen 2022, 1).⁸

Furthermore, one of the side effects of war is empowering weapons dealers. According to Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, in 2021 weapon companies gained more than 530 billion dollars, and weapons dealers possess the ability to influence foreign policy, so they can make money from wars. In 1919, Hiram Johnson the U.S senator stated “The first casualty when war comes is truth” most ⁹ governments spread stereotypes and lies about the enemy during wars. Military conflicts cause a massive number of refugees. The UN reported that in 2021 more than 82 million civilians have been displaced by force. People sometimes oppose wars under the name of their beliefs and ideologies (Epp-Tiessen 2022, 1). For instance, Saudi public opinion refused going through war against Iraq on the basis that Muslims must not fight other Muslims.¹⁰

2.1.3 Neutral Public Opinion:

Unsure public opinion about war can be found in all parts of the world. Nonetheless, it commonly exists in autocracies. This kind of public who does not have opinion lacks the political knowledge, because they do not have enough time to think about politics as a

⁸ Esther Epp-Tiessen @ MCC Ottawa Office, “10 + 1 Reasons to Oppose War,” Peace and Justice Notebook, March 8, 2022, <https://mccottawoffice.wordpress.com/2017/11/08/10-1-reasons-to-oppose-war/>.

¹⁰ Mile Stones, “The Gulf War, 1991,” U.S. Department of State (U.S. Department of State, 1992), <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1989-1992/gulf-war>.

result of the absence of social welfare. Most citizens in autocracies devote all their time to seek bread, unlike people in democratic society who are financially stable. In addition, the lower level of education causes this type of public opinion. Therefore, the percentage of senselessness and unreliability in surveys is high. Philip Converse noted; unsure public opinion gave similar answers on two questions in different years. Each answer is poorly different, and did not follow a structure of a belief. He also noted that educated people gave coherent and stable answers in surveys. Other factor in autocracies is the difficulty of reaching information of politics.¹¹

2.2 Types Based on Placement:

Public opinion can be classified by the place of the people that hold opinion. It can be classify into national public opinion, international public opinion, and regional public opinion:

2.2.1 National Public Opinion:

This kind of public opinion means the opinion of a certain nation, and this is what the public opinion already means. Since people live in the same country, their opinion is characterized by homogeneity due to the mutual culture, background, and traditions. In addition, it can be predicted through studies and measurement techniques. National public sentiment is usually formed about the internal problems that concern that nation like the political, religious, economic crises. However, sometimes national public opinion tackles international issues if it touches their interests. Media and political can represent this type of public opinion. The government relies on this public opinion to plan its work.¹²

2.2.2 International Public Opinion:

The world public opinion or international public opinion goes beyond borders and unites people from different countries in one opinion. This type of public opinion is usually formed towards world issues such as the Zionist occupation of Palestine, the Russian invasion of Ukraine, world economic crises, or pandemic like Corona Virus. International

¹¹Shepsle Kenneth A (Harvard University), *American Government - Power and Purpose* (Ww Norton & Co, 2017), 400, 411.

¹² Boutros Al-Halak, *Public Opinion And Its Assessments* (Syria, Syria: publications of syrian virtual university, 2020), 58.

public opinion has a specific ways to express his point of view including protests. For example, when the United States invaded Iraq in 2003, demonstrations spread like wildfire all around the world as a sign of anger against the invasion. However, world public opinion cannot represent his ideas through parties or elections like the national public opinion.¹³

2.2.3 Regional Public Opinion:

The regional public opinion is an opinion formed by a group of people that live in a specific part of a country. This kind of public opinion is usually formed towards issues and problems that concern a particular region like independence, religious and political persecution, or laws that are directed to those people. For instance, the public opinion of Catalonia prefers independence from Spain.¹⁴

2.3 Types Based on Time:

Public opinion can be classified due to time. We can classify it to daily public opinion, temporary public opinion, and permanent public opinion:

2.3.1 Daily Public Opinion:

The daily public sentiment is always affected by the daily media news on politics, parliamentary sessions, sports, and especially prices. Rumours are also part of the daily public opinion. This type cannot last more than one day in the minds of people, and changes day by day.¹⁵

2.3.2 Temporary Public Opinion:

This kind of opinion is usually formed about the sudden situations like political events, police brutality, events of parties. However, this type of public opinion is not very important

¹³ Boutros Al-Halak, *Public Opinion And Its Assessments* (Syria, Syria: publications of syrian virtual university, 2020), 56.

¹⁴ Boutros Al-Halak, *Public Opinion And Its Assessments* (Syria, Syria: publications of syrian virtual university, 2020), 56.

¹⁵ Kamel Murad Khurshid, *Introduction to Public Opinion*, vol. 3 (Amman , Jordan: Dar Al Massira For Publishing & Distribution, 2013), 78-79.

to be studied. In addition, the government does not rely or interact with temporary public sentiment because it is impermanent. Temporary public opinion or moment public opinion ends with the end of the. Temporary public opinion or moment public opinion ends with the end of the event.¹⁶

2.3.3 Permanent Public Opinion:

Permanent public opinion is a deep-rooted opinion in the minds of people. The hardness of this type of public opinion comes from religion, attitudes, and traditions. For instance, most of the Arabic public opinion is always supporting the Palestinian issue since its occupation in 1948 till now. This continuous and permanent support came from strong Arabic nationalism and religious background. In addition, it cannot be affected or manipulated through time, since it is honest.¹⁷

3. The Limits of Public Opinion:

The public opinion is not completely free from gaps, it has some limits. First, the results public opinion is not always accurate due to the ambiguity of questions of surveys. Second, people sometimes do not answer the survey question honestly; they lie rather than giving honest answers. People usually lie in personal interviews surveys, since they give their answers face to face about embarrassing questions like gender, ethnicity, or other sensitive topics. Third, the public opinion can be manipulated easily by elites. Elites or politicians have the power and ability to direct the public sentiment whenever and wherever they want, since the manipulation techniques is always developing.¹⁸

3.1 Public Opinion and Wars:

The use of military force is a dangerous decision that may result harmful consequences. Since people give the power to officials, the public is an active and essential

¹⁶ Kamel Murad Khurshid, *Introduction to Public Opinion*, vol. 3 (Amman , Jordan: Dar Al Massira For Publishing & Distribution, 2013), 79.

¹⁷ Kamel Murad Khurshid, *Introduction to Public Opinion*, vol. 3 (Amman , Jordan: Dar Al Massira For Publishing & Distribution, 2013), 80.

¹⁸ Hugh Cortazzi, "The Limits of Public Opinion," *The Japan Times* (The Japan Times, March 27, 2001), <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2001/03/27/commentary/the-limits-of-public-opinion/>, 1.

part in this process. Public opinion has three mechanisms to affect war decision making responsiveness, selection, and building coalitions:

3.1.1 Responsiveness to Citizens:

In most democracies, the citizens delegate power to their official representatives. Many significant theories believe that officials after winning elections respond to public opinion. And refusing to follow the public opinion during hard times such as; war periods could be politically costly. But provoked public opinion may make it hard to unify political powers to achieve international and domestic goals, defeat powers of war, and increase finance for foreign intervention. Leaders could be afraid of the unpopular decisions that can throw them away out of office in the next elections.¹⁹

Scholars relied on the observational data in order to test responsiveness through three methods. First, they approximated the relationship between public opinion and government. Some came to the conclusion that, when the public opinion matches with the government's foreign policy during wars, it is hard to figure out if the public sentiment has affected foreign policy, or the foreign policy has influenced public opinion. This problem leads researchers to overestimate or underestimate the power of public opinion. Others found that security policies follow public opinion. (Tomz, Yarhi-Milo and Weeks 2019, 122)

Second, scholars applied historical data to measure the consequences of challenging public opinion. Democratic leaders may suffer from the rage of the citizens if they lost the war or introduced unfavourable decisions. They give a chance to researchers to observe the political costs of annoying public opinion. Therefore, the majority of the leaders of the first-world countries tend to avoid unwanted foreign policies. Researchers conducted experiments on citizens to weigh the effect of disliked administrative decisions on public opinion. Third, the authors utilized case studies and personal interviews to conclude the rationale of policymakers. Alas, this method fabricated mixed results about the level of responsiveness of leaders to public opinion. But it gave specific data about some particular

¹⁹Michael Tomz, Jessica L.P. Weeks, and Keren Yarhi-Milo, "Public Opinion and Decisions about Military Force in Democracies," *International Organization* 74, no. 1 (June 2019): pp. 119-143, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818319000341>, 121, 122, 123.¹⁹

leaders. At the same time, interviews concentrated on autocracies rather than democracies.²⁰

3.1.2 Candidates Selection:

People select officials based on the foreign policy they tend to apply if elected. By giving power to leaders who have the same point of view as the citizens, people will reduce the chance of going against their opinion. The voters can gain information about the candidates from previous decisions, campaigns, and party platforms to ensure whether their ideas suit them. Moreover, citizens do not need detailed information about the ideas of the candidates. In elections, voters do not need to have detailed information about every policy issue. The research revealed that voters depend on foreign policy postures, for instance; the right role of the military force or the appropriate degree of intervention in world affairs. People use that information to guide their thinking in choosing the right candidate. Furthermore, in democracies the citizens can contact their representatives through; emails, calls, letters or even visit them in their homes. For instance, in 2008 when congress wanted to specify 700 billion dollars to rescue financial foundations, a massive number of emails concerning that bill were sent to the House of Representatives until the computers system kept crashing.²¹

Selection is different from responsiveness, giving the authority to candidates who have the same foreign policy orientation as the voters; decreases the chances of going against the public opinion. Scholars have used two approaches to estimate the significance of foreign policy in elections. They studied the results of polls about the most significant issues facing the country. The results said ranked the domestic issues before foreign issues leading to underestimating of the importance of foreign policy in elections. Nevertheless, these issues make a difference even if they are not the first concern of the voters. The poll resulted that the citizens being concerned about foreign policy issues, but they deal with the internal problems as more problematic.²²

²⁰ Michael Tomz, Jessica L.P. Weeks, and Keren Yarhi-Milo, "Public Opinion and Decisions about Military Force in Democracies," *International Organization* 74, no. 1 (June 2019): pp. 119-143, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818319000341>, 122, 123.²⁰

²¹ Michael Tomz, Jessica L.P. Weeks, and Keren Yarhi-Milo, "Public Opinion and Decisions about Military Force in Democracies," *International Organization* 74, no. 1 (June 2019): pp. 119-143, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818319000341>, 123.²¹

²² [1] Michael Tomz, Jessica L.P. Weeks, and Keren Yarhi-Milo, "Public Opinion and Decisions about Military Force in Democracies," *International Organization* 74, no. 1 (June 2019): pp. 119-143, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020818319000341>, 123, 124.

Researchers have utilized opinion surveys to calculate how political positions on foreign crises influence support for politicians in previous elections. This research proved that foreign policy does not possess a strong effect on elections. However, this result may lead us to underestimate the significance of foreign policy. When all people have the same foreign policy view, candidates avoid mentioning foreign policy issues in their campaign and give scholars the wrong impression that people do not concern about foreign policy. (Tomz, Yarhi-Milo and Weeks 2019, 123, 124)

A later study used the same approach and concluded that foreign policy has a real outcome on elections. This may lead to overestimating the significance of foreign policy's effect on politicians' popularity. Berinsky stated that people adopt candidates on their preferred foreign policy ideas, while they should adopt foreign policy ideas on their preferred candidates. All studies about the effect of foreign policy on elections are important. Illustrating how foreign policy shapes the elections, and how it requires other elements like; internal policies and the specific features of the leader. (Tomz, Yarhi-Milo and Weeks 2019, 124)

3.1.3 Building Coalition:

No law can be passed without the approval of public opinion, or at least public opinion does not oppose it. The constituency of the legislator is not enough, he must be aware of the opinion of the whole nation. The president cannot apply his plan in the congress, unless he has the public support. Some politicians tried to pass legislations even when the public opinion went against it, however, the consequences were serious for their party. For instance, when Barack Obama attempted to pass the Affordable Care Act, later on, his party was defeated in the House, and costed him almost nine seats in the Senate. Consequently, they lost the majority in the Senate in 2014.²³

3.2 Public Opinion and Government:

The government represents the desire of the people. Citizens have the ability to express and apply their point of view a lot of methods including elections, protests, political parties, and organizations. Previous methods help people in office to know what to do. The

²³ Shepsle Kenneth A (Harvard University), *American Government - Power and Purpose* (Ww Norton & Co, 2017), 371, 420.

citizen is the core of public opinion. Politicians take a huge risk when they try to make people accept their political plans. They do this through speeches in front of people and media, and they tackle issues that attract the interest of citizens in a certain way. Officials always try to influence the thinking of people in order to reach and apply their political plans. The citizens get the best performance from the government, since the political competition between politicians creates welfare for people.²⁴

Conclusion:

This chapter presented and illustrated the relationship between public opinion and decision making. It described the differences between democratic countries and autocratic countries in terms of public opinion during wars, and the techniques of public sentiment to affect war decision. These techniques included responsiveness, selection, and building coalitions. In addition, the types of public opinion were presented in this chapter. The types were based on three classifications. The first classification was the directions of public opinion during war and included neutral, opposition, and supporters of war. The second classification was based the placement of public opinion and included national, regional, and international public opinion. The third classification was based on time and included daily, temporary, and permanent public opinion. The importance of public opinion imposes the necessity of learning the methods that governments use to manipulate the public opinion and how they use it.

²⁴ Shepsle Kenneth A (Harvard University), *American Government - Power and Purpose* (Ww Norton & Co, 2017), 371, 423.

Chapter two:

Mechanisms to monitor Public Opinion

Introduction:

Since the beginning of governments in history, public opinion is the centre of attention of governments. Even the most oppressive dictatorships need to know what the public is thinking about or wanting, in order to oppress them more adequately. All governments in the world want the support of public opinion for their decisions and policies. As a result, governments used different techniques to manipulate the public opinion as they wanted. This chapter will state, define, and explain the methods that governments use to shape the public sentiment. The methods that will be included are classified into two categories; formal techniques and informal techniques. The formal way is media and its hidden techniques to direct people to a certain area. Its techniques are faking news, satire and parody, propaganda, news fabrication, photo manipulation, and creating enemy. The informal way is education, Oppression, and private groups. In addition, the chapter illustrates how governments use the public opinion.

1. Informal Methods to Manipulate Communities:

1.1 Media:

The media is the key to the world of shaping and manipulating public opinion and its impact on our choices is getting bigger and bigger over time. It is the most powerful weapon in the world of politics. All people around the world receive their information from media including internet, media news, radio, newspapers, magazines, and broadcasts. Its power lies in the idea that it is an essential part in the daily life of people and all citizens around the world have at least televisions, radios, newspaper, and magazines. The media follows several effective techniques to apply a specific agenda and affect our thinking, opinion, and even our life styles. Since long time, the media showed that it have a powerful ability to manipulate the public opinion. It used propaganda to introduce wars and ideologies, destroy lobbies, and justify crises.²⁵

²⁵ Zoe Falcone, "The Role of Media in Shaping Public Opinion," The Quad (WordPress, March 5, 2018), <https://wcuquad.com/6010053/op-ed/the-role-of-media-in-shaping-public-opinion/>, 1.

1.1.1 Media Builds Opinion:

Usually people have no motivation to support a merciless war that consume their economy and take the lives of their young soldiers. As a result, the government starts its media machine to change the minds of people. The media spreads horror inside the hearts of the citizens. Eduard Bernays used this method of frightening when he was running a campaign in 1954 preparing the people to the operation of the united states of taking down the administration of Guatemala and replace it with an oppressive government. The policies that are being received with opposition from the citizens need broad, deep, and long time of propaganda. For example, the policies and programs of the president Ronald Regan such as; armaments were not favored by the American people. However, since the opinion of the citizens was ignored, unorganized, and diverted by the media, every person opposed his policies thought that he is the only one who did so. Consequently, poll results showed that people who supported the policies of the president Ronald Regan were much more that who opposed the policies and programs. The manipulation of the media make a person think that he is the only one who hold this sentiment, since the media represent only one point of view.²⁶

1.1.2 Media Fake News:

One of the most important features of media is fabricating and lying about facts and history. Fabricating history is an important step for the media in order to shape the public sentiment. It makes killing and torturing innocent people a way of defending against the enemy, and honorable practices for the soldiers. Having the keys of media gives you the ability of convincing people about whatever you want. For Example, Dr. Mustafa Mahmud mentioned in his 2009 book the Great Conspiracy that the Zionists promote in the media that the Holocaust killed six million Jews; however in reality the Holocaust killed a few thousands (Mahmud 2007, 2)²⁷. The way media present facts, history, and events is far from the reality.²⁸

²⁶ Noam Chomsky, *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda* (Seven Stories Press, 2006), 26,27.

²⁷ Mustafa Mahmud, *The Great Conspiracy*, vol. 346 (Cairo: Dar Akhbar El Yom, 2007), 2.

²⁸ Noam Chomsky, *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda* (Seven Stories Press, 2006), 33.

Media falsification splits into variety of essential points. In other words, the field of faking news is very wide. Sometimes news is real but the trick is in how the media deals with it. For instance, in 1916 a circus show was wandering in the streets of Kingsport, Tennessee as a way of advertising. Surprisingly, a five-ton elephant called Mary ran towards her trainer and killed him by sitting on him. The media pictured the elephant Mary as a merciless murderer and wild cruel animal that needed to die. The public opinion believed the media until Mary was hanged. Days after the execution, deep wounds under the tail of Mary were found, when the late trainer was using stick with a sharp spear. The action of Mary was a normal reaction to the brutality of the trainer. However, the media did not correct its mistake, and kept the trainer as the hero and the elephant and merciless wild murderer.²⁹

1.1.3 Satire Shows:

Satire is using fun and humor to connect with the public and providing it with news. Shows that make fun out of the news took place in the 20th and 21st century. This type of political shows is considered as entertainment shows, since it is based on fun and comedy first rather than reliability unlike real news shows that do not use comedy in delivering information. For instance, Saturday Night Live's Weekend Update is one of the satire shows. According to Tandoc, Lim, and Ling this kind of shows is considered as fake news, since the information comes from comedians not journalists. Parodies are based on selecting current issues and problems and making unreal stories from them. This type of news shows target young generation because they always look for entertainment and have the ability of engaging in the program via phone calls. Numerous studies improved the significance of these programs in shaping the public opinion. Parody and satire shows have the ability to inject social, political, and economic knowledge as much as the normal news shows. According to Morin, Keeter, and Kohut, people who watch satire and parody shows have the same quantity of knowledge as people who watch normal news shows. According to Morreale, Brewer, and Young, satire show have a great ability to shape the public opinion and the trust in the government. For example, these shows review the current speeches of politicians with their old speeches to identify and spot the contradictions. Consequently, the public sentiment hates these politicians because of these comparisons.³⁰

²⁹ Rare historical photos, "Murderous Mary, the Elephant That Was Hanged for Murder, 1916," Rare Historical Photos, October 17, 2021, <https://rarehistoricalphotos.com/murderous-mary-1916/>, 1.

³⁰ Edson C. Tandoc, Zheng Wei Lim, and Richard Ling, "Defining 'Fake News,'" *Digital Journalism* 6, no. 2 (2017): pp. 137-153, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1360143>, 6.

1.1.4 Parody Programs:

Parody is also considered as fake news shows according to previous studies. Parody also has the way as satire shows in terms of using humor to connect with the public. In addition, it utilizes presentations as satire programs to turn the news into fun and entertainment. The difference between parody and satire is that parodies put the light on problems by faking news stories. For instance, a parody website called The Onion has always been thought as a real news webpage. In 2017, The Onion published an information tells that the president of North Korea donated a nuclear researcher. Parody is different from the other types of fake news. In the case of parody, the content is falsified. However, in some cases real news programs take the content of parodies as reliable source. For example, when a newspaper in china called The People's Daily published information from The Onion tells that Kim Jung Un is the most beautiful man on the earth (BBC 2012, 1)³¹. In the previous case, parody can manipulate the public opinion easily, or people may share the information thinking of it as real news.³²

1.1.5 News Fabrication:

The fabrication of news is of the types of fake news. This kind is usually published in normal programs and channels but the news are totally fabricated, has no sources, and free from truth. Since the fabricated news is posted in real channels, it gives people the impression of legitimacy. Fabricated news contradicts with satire and parody, since the public do not know that the information is fabricated. The author of this type of news has the intention to mislead the public sentiment. Fabricated information can be posted in all possible ways including television programs, websites, and social media. As a result, the impact of fabricated news is deep because it can be found everywhere. Furthermore, even partisan groups republish these fabricated stories as they are real. For instance, an Egyptian military general claimed that he invented a cure for Virus C, although he knew nothing about science and medicine. All Egyptian channels published the information as it was real and reliable. The successful fabricated content has to be started from existing humor political situations. However, the public accepts the news as real news. The public opinion can be manipulated by fabricated information as long as it can be found in every programs; news programs and non-news programs. Consequently, public opinion cannot differentiate

³¹ BBC, "China Paper Carries Onion Kim Jong-Un 'Heart-Throb' Spoof," BBC News (BBC, November 28, 2012), <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-20518929>, 1.

³² Edson C. Tandoc, Zheng Wei Lim, and Richard Ling, "Defining 'Fake News,'" *Digital Journalism* 6, no. 2 (2017): pp. 137-153, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1360143>, 6,7.

between real news that are based on reliable sources and fabricated news that do not have sources.³³

The fabricated news can be published on social media platforms, and people are going to believe it, since it has been shared by trusted people for them. According to Metzger and Flanagin, people measure the credibility of channels by how much the channel and its stuff are civilized. In other words, they see the decoration of channel and how the presenter is dressed, and obviously this will not lead the reader to credibility. In this way, the public sentiment can be tricked easily (Metzger and Flanagin 2007, 331)³⁴. In addition, the public accept fabricated news a political figure when they already have political or racial tension with that figure. In contrast, when people have no tension with that political figure, most likely they will not accept the fabricated news on him. There are two problems concerning fabricated content. The first one is the money that the news producer will gain. Fabricated news is not always produced to manipulate the public opinion for political purposes only. However, in some situations the author fabricated news for financial purposes. For instance, a channel fabricates news about sensitive issues or political figures to attract more and more advertisements. The more people will watch this channel the more companies will pay for the channel for advertisement. Manipulating public opinion by fabricated news is not always motivated by political schemes. The second problem is the development of the fabricated news. The more the fabricated news is spread among people the more it will look real and credible. For example, when a reader find fabricated news in a particular newspaper and found it again in other newspapers, automatically he will believe that information. Generally, the producers of fabricated news do not have good intention, and they are fueled by money or political schemes.³⁵

1.1.6 Photo Manipulation:

Faking news also includes the manipulation of photos and videos to give the public unreal impression about the real situation. This type opinion manipulation is based the visual information like photos and videos unlike the previous techniques that is based on the written news. Manipulating photos has started in 1826, and it is still developing till 2022 as a result of the technological advancements. The changes on photo can be simple changes

³³ Edson C. Tandoc, Zheng Wei Lim, and Richard Ling, "Defining 'Fake News,'" *Digital Journalism* 6, no. 2 (2017): pp. 137-153, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1360143>, 7.

³⁴ Andrew J. Flanagin and Miriam J. Metzger, "The Role of Site Features, User Attributes, and Information Verification Behaviors on the Perceived Credibility of Web-Based Information," *New Media & Society* 9, no. 2 (2007): pp. 319-342, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444807075015>, 331.

³⁵ Edson C. Tandoc, Zheng Wei Lim, and Richard Ling, "Defining 'Fake News,'" *Digital Journalism* 6, no. 2 (2017): pp. 137-153, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1360143>, 7,8.

like editing colors or it can be also very complex such as removing a person from the picture or adding a person to the picture. This type can change the public opinion in a very short time, since the impact of visual news is so much deeper than the written news. The mass is expert at using these methods to direct the public sentiment to a specific area. Several studies have been conducted around the problems of identifying the real photos and the manipulated photos. This phenomenon has spread due to the people and even newspapers who share photo without verifying its credibility. For example, Zubiaga and Ji conducted experiment by manipulated a photo of liberty statue pummeled by waves and the photo included the logo of NY1 (Spectrum News New York 1). Consequently, some people in Asia believed the picture. Another example, Iran used the technique of manipulating photos to shape the national and international public opinion. An Iranian news channel called Sepah News published a picture that shows four rockets has been launched, however, the real photo showed that only three rocket has been launched.³⁶



Figure 1: Manipulated Photo was published by an Iranian channel (Nizza and Lyons 2011, 1).³⁷

The manipulated photos have the ability to trick even respected newspapers and channel not only the ordinary people. It will, consequently, manipulate the public opinion especially if the channel or journal was popular and has a lot of readers. For instance, the manipulated photo of the Iranian rockets was posted in the front page as real photo on four American famous newspapers including; Los Angeles Times, the Palm Beach Post, Chicago

³⁶ Stephanie Coffaney, "Photo Manipulation in the Media," *Polytechnic State University Journal*, December 2011, pp. 1-37, 10; Edson C. Tandoc, Zheng Wei Lim, and Richard Ling, "Defining 'Fake News,'" *Digital Journalism* 6, no. 2 (2017): pp. 137-153, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1360143>, 8, 9.

³⁷ Patrick J Lyons and Mike Nizza, "In an Iranian Image, a Missile Too Many," *The New York Times* (The New York Times, July 10, 2008), <https://archive.nytimes.com/thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/07/10/in-an-iranian-image-a-missile-too-many/?mtrref=undefined&gwh=107F8D318A89F823E7C0CCAD30E62521&gwt=pay&assetType=PAYWALL, 1>.

Tribune, and the New York Times. This false picture can affect millions of people all around the world. The high skilled editors of these pictures are highly able to control the public sentiment.³⁸



Figure 2: Los Angeles Times, the Palm Beach Post, Chicago Tribune, and the New York Times used manipulated photo in their front page (Nizza and Lyons 2011, 1)³⁹.

1.1.7 Creating an Enemy:

The media in developed or undeveloped countries need to create an enemy for the people in order to achieve its political goals. Always leaders need an enemy in order to use it as an excuse for their failure and corruption. For example, the war against terrorism has started long years ago, nevertheless, this war did not end till now because political leaders are trying to exploit it to the extreme. For instance, the human Rights Watch said that Egypt has killed and imprisoned a lot of innocent people like political rivals, students, journalist under the of fighting terrorism. In a country like Egypt, the media use the war against terrorists to give legitimacy to the government's unconstitutional abuses. This technique is used by the media, and it is an extremely effective concerning shaping the public sentiment.

³⁸ Stephanie Coffaney, "Photo Manipulation in the Media," *Polytechnic State University Journal*, December 2011, pp. 1-37, 10.

³⁹ Patrick J Lyons and Mike Nizza, "In an Iranian Image, a Missile Too Many," *The New York Times* (The New York Times, July 10, 2008), <https://archive.nytimes.com/thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/07/10/in-an-iranian-image-a-missile-too-many/?mtrref=undefined&gwh=107F8D318A89F823E7C0CCAD30E62521&gwt=pay&assetType=PAYWALL>, 1.

This method is also useful in terms of drawing the attention of people away from sensitive issues that concerns them.⁴⁰

1.1.8 Propaganda:

Propaganda is the direct method to shape the public opinion that media used from a very long time and still using till now. It is under the scope of scholars because of its importance in the political area. Propaganda means stories produced by political power in order to shape the public attitude toward a particular issue such as; wars, economic crises, political crises, and scandals. The purpose of propaganda is also to beautify political figure like the president or the government as a whole. For example, a study was conducted by Khaldarova and Pantti in 2016 argued that a popular Russian channel called Channel One follows a specific strategy in publishing stories to manipulate the national and international public opinion in favor of political figures and their agendas (Khaldarova and Pantti 2016, 893). Channel One was exposed of posting fake stories to change the opinion of people. In 2013, the Egyptian media was producing tensions and hatred between the citizens against the anti military coup protesters in Rabia Al-Adawiya through propaganda. Their propaganda was promoting that there were guns and dangerous terrorists among the protest. As a result, a lot of people assisted the police and soldiers in that massacre. The massacre included kids under the age of 14 and women (Amnesty 2015, 1).⁴¹

The propaganda technique in selling ideas to public opinion is not new. Nevertheless, the new thing is technology. The battleground of the war between public opinion and governments is ideology. Osgood illustrates:⁴²

It is often overlooked that the Cold War coincided with a moment in world history when media technologies and information resources were everywhere exploding. In societies around the world, more and more people were becoming politically active, attentive on some level to domestic politics and international affairs. . . . If politically activated segments of society could be captured by ideas, symbols, images, rhetoric, and propaganda, they could be

⁴⁰ Liora Sion, "Enemy Making," in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of War: Social Science Perspectives* (Copenhagen: Sage, 2018), 5.

⁴¹ Edson C. Tandoc, Zheng Wei Lim, and Richard Ling, "Defining 'Fake News,'" *Digital Journalism* 6, no. 2 (2017): pp. 137-153, <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1360143>, 10; Amnesty, "Blood, Death and Flames: Memories of Egypt's Rabaa Massacre," Amnesty International (Amnesty International, October 11, 2021), <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/08/egypt-blood-death-and-flames-memories-of-the-rabaa-massacre/>, 1.

⁴² Kenneth Alan Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2008).

harnessed and mobilized for foreign policy advantage. It was often here, in the struggle to win support from mass publics and ruling elites, that the Cold War played out.⁴³

1.1.9 Movies and songs:

Movies have a great psychological ability to form the opinion of people. Every country in the world use movies to shape the opinion of their citizens towards particular issues. The mass is occupied by movies production; as a result the effect is powerful. In this strategy, the viewers watch the movie from the point of view of the writer. The writer literally can fill the minds of people with ideology he wants. The writer can make people hate a particular figure and sympathies with other one. For example, the Egyptian government produced a series composed of three seasons called the Choice just to manipulate the public opinion concerning the massacre of Rabia Al Adawiya and the military coup of 2013. In addition, the series contained English subtitles in order to shape the international public opinion also.⁴⁴

Like the films, the songs have the same powerful ability to mobilize communities. Songs can change the attitudes of a person unconsciously. As the movies, the writers of the songs are highly experienced in choosing psychological words that can last in the minds of the listeners. For example, every country has a national anthem, and this anthem is always present in the national events in order to raise the national spirit in the people. A research proved that music has effect on the choices of the citizens. A group composed of 362 people was exposed to five electoral campaigns. The great majority of the 362 preferred the campaign that included music.⁴⁵

2. Formal Methods to mobilize mobs:

2.1 Private groups:

In every country, there are private economic and political groups that try to convince the public opinion to accept a particular idea such as; war, peace...etc. These groups have the financial power and skills to promote ideas that gain the public support. Some private

⁴³ Kenneth Alan Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2008).

⁴⁴ Michelle C Pautz, "Films Can Have a Major Influence on How People View Government.," USAPP, March 14, 2015, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/usappblog/2015/03/12/films-can-have-a-major-influence-on-how-people-view-government/>, 1.

⁴⁵ Emmanuel Heisbourg and Fernando Feitosa, "Does Music Affect Citizens' Evaluations of Candidates?," *Politics and the Life Sciences* 40, no. 2 (2021): pp. 172-178, <https://doi.org/10.1017/pls.2021.22>, 173.

groups believe in their ideas and beliefs. For instance, the Taliban saw that there was no option available except war, based on this, the Taliban always tried to sell the war as a solution for Afghans. Other private groups have hidden agendas, they claim that they are rescuers of helpless people; however, this type of private group seeks their financial favour through wars. As a result, they always try to sell wars to public opinion. For example; weapon industry companies see wars as a golden opportunity to make money. In other words, it is in their favour to promote and prolong wars. For illustration, Lockheed Martin is the biggest defence contractor in the world; it gained more than 44 billion dollars in 2017 by selling arms to governments all around the world. Among these governments was Saudi Arabia which dropped a bomb on a bus school in Yemen to deprive 40 students and 11 adults of their lives.⁴⁶

2.2 Education:

Education is a method that can be used to shape the public opinion. However, this technique takes a very long time to reach its purpose. The Education has unbelievable ability to shape the opinion of a whole generation. This method builds the opinion of the learners and manipulates it through fabricating historical events like demonizing some figures and beautifying other figures, highlighting some massacres and not mentioning others. The effects of teaching fabricated history to children can last with them all their life. Another technique in this method is making the learners take the information as it is without asking any questions (Staff 2018, 1). In addition, killing their critical thinking distances them from the real reality. For example, in Egypt the educational book was changed by the government, and manipulated a lot of historical events like the military coup of 2013 and the waiver of Tiran and Sanafir for Saudi Arabia.⁴⁷

2.3 Oppression:

Oppression has great power in terms of manipulating public sentiment. This method is always present in dictatorship countries where no limits to oppression. Nevertheless, even democratic countries use this technique if it was necessary to use it. The brutality of police

⁴⁶ Samuel Stebbins and Evan Comen, "Military Spending: 20 Companies Profiting the Most from War," USA Today (Gannett Satellite Information Network, February 21, 2019), <https://www.usatoday.com/story/money/2019/02/21/military-spending-defense-contractors-profiting-from-war-weapons-sales/39092315/>.

⁴⁷ Stuart Macintyre, "On 'Fabricating' History," Evatt Foundation (Evatt Foundation, June 25, 2003), <https://www.evatt.org.au/post/on-fabricating-history>, 1; Reuters Staff, "Egypt's Top Court Waives Legal Challenges to Red Sea Islands Transfer to Saudi," Reuters (Thomson Reuters, March 3, 2018), <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-egypt-saudi-islands-idUSKCN1GF0HP>, 1.

men towards people who hold unwanted opinion according to the government make other people afraid from adopting this kind of opinion (History.com editors 2009, 1). For Example, in china during the reign of Mao Tse Tung there was a special force its job was to kill, imprison, and beating people who do not like the Ruler or the Communist Party. This policy killed thousands of Chinese innocent citizens, and there is no accurate number for this mess. This oppression in china was named the Cultural Revolution.⁴⁸

3. The use of public opinion:

It is usual that democratic governments use the results of public opinion research to convert public sentiment into policies, so the government work properly. For instance, the president Lyndon Johnson was well-known for conveying the recent results of survey polls in his pocket, and changed his policies because of polls results. Not only Lyndon Johnson, but also most presidents worked with pollsters. In addition, the government sponsor the public opinion research. In other words, governments commission focus groups to deeply measure the public opinion. However, most government sponsored public opinion research is not allowed to be published in media. Nevertheless, the use of public opinion in autocratic countries is different.⁴⁹

In election campaigns, the candidates need to pay extreme close attention to what public opinion wants in order to gain their votes. In both democracies and autocracies candidates measure the public opinion, so they can design the appropriate campaign plan to win the elections. For example, George Bush in his campaign in 1988 measured public opinion in New Jersey. Consequently, he decided to use a convicted called Willie Horton who broke from prison and violated a woman as campaign problem. The campaign of George Bush focused on blaming his opponent Michael Dukakis who was the governor of Massachusetts of being responsible for the escaping of Willie and the raped woman. As a result, this was very effective in his presidential campaign. This can be applied in autocratic countries as well.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ *Freedom from Oppression: Government Communication on Swedish Democracy Support* (Stockholm: Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2008), 39; History.com Editors, "Cultural Revolution," History.com (A&E Television Networks, November 9, 2009), <https://www.history.com/topics/china/cultural-revolution>, 1.

⁴⁹ Lisa Birch and François Pétry, "The Use of Public Opinion Research by Government," *Routledge Handbook of Political Marketing*, January 2011, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203349908.ch26>, 1; Shepsle Kenneth A (harvard University), "Pubic Opinion," in *American Government - Power and Purpose* (Ww Norton & Co, 2017), 413.

⁵⁰ Schieffer Bob and Gary Paul Gates, *Acting President* (Penguin Putnam Inc., 1989), 360-63.

3.1 Opinion to policy:

In the democratic systems, public opinion should be translated into decisions and policies because the power is in the hands of people. Citizens should form opinion about taxes, constitutional modifications, and new proposed laws. Consequently, officials apply the public opinion to introduce new laws. For example, according to a Gallup poll in 1964, 58% of the Americans would welcome the signing of civil rights act. Consequently, the administration of Lyndon Johnson applied the public opinion and signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Governments use the public opinion to establish laws to gain public support (Persson 2021, 5).

Nevertheless, some governments and especially autocracies measure the public opinion to oppress the citizens. For example, the Egyptian government used the shaped public opinion to kill more than 1000 supporters of Mohamed Morsi in Rabaa al-Adawiya in 2014 (Amnesty International 2021, 1). According to Jacobs and Shapiro, politicians use the public opinion to manipulate the people and elite dislike the interference of public opinion in politics. In addition, they use the public opinion to form only useless slogans not real policies.⁵¹

3.2 Military use:

The public opinion can create a pressure to impact the government's decision to interfere in a military conflict. As a result, officials obey and use the military force to limit a foreign threat. The obvious threat against the country like Nazi results public support for military action. However, sometimes governments tend to fabricate accidents to win public support to start a war. As an example, the U.S government used the angry public sentiment to invade Iraq. As the PEW Research Centre poll results represent, the public opinion was heavily supporting the Iraq invasion after the government shaped it.⁵²

⁵¹ Phillips w Davison, "Opinion Research," Encyclopædia Britannica (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., 12AD), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/public-opinion/Opinion-research>, 1.

⁵² James Golby, Peter Feaver, and Kyle Dropp, "Elite Military Cues and Public Opinion about the Use of Military Force," *Armed Forces & Society* 44, no. 1 (June 2017): pp. 44-71, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095327x16687067>, 49.

In contrast, the government may also use the results of public opinion research to end a war intervention. If the public opinion saw that the war is endless, consuming the economy of the country, or kills their soldiers, people will react against officials to withdraw from the war. Citizens, protest against the war or elect candidates who seek the political power to end the war. For example, President Joe Biden followed the public opinion to call back the military forces from Afghanistan. The following table shows the public opinion welcoming the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Afghanistan.⁵³

US Withdrawal from Afghanistan

Do you support or oppose the decision to withdraw U.S. combat forces from Afghanistan by September 11, 2021? (%)



Figure 03: Public Opinion on Withdrawal from Afghanistan (Sullivan and Smeltz 2021, 1).⁵⁴

Conclusion:

The second chapter illustrated the methodology of manipulating the public opinion; furthermore, it explained the usage of the public opinion in democratic and autocratic

⁵³ Emily Sullivan Dina Smeltz, "US Public Supports Withdrawal from Afghanistan," Chicago Council on Global Affairs (The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, August 10, 2021), <https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/commentary-and-analysis/blogs/us-public-supports-withdrawal-afghanistan>, 1.

⁵⁴ Emily Sullivan and Dina Smeltz, "US Public Supports Withdrawal from Afghanistan," Chicago Council on Global Affairs (The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, August 10, 2021), <https://www.thechicagocouncil.org/commentary-and-analysis/blogs/us-public-supports-withdrawal-afghanistan>.

governments. Various methods of shaping people's minds were presented in this chapter including formal and informal methods. The formal techniques involved media and its hidden ways of directing the minds of citizens like; satire and parody, news faking, fabricating information, propaganda, and photo manipulation. Moreover, we presented the political and military use of public opinion by the government.

Chapter three:

Political Manipulation during Vietnam War (sample)

Introduction:

When President Richard Nixon won the elections of 1968, the United States was really under a hot tin roof. Since the United States is a democratic country and was in a serious period, President Richard Nixon needed to carefully to make the public opinion support him in his policies, and use the public opinion properly. This chapter will represent the methods that Nixon's administration utilized to manipulate the public opinion during the Vietnam War. The methods include propaganda, misinformation, political oppression, private groups, movies, music, and creating enemy. It also explains why the administration manipulated the public sentiment. In addition, the chapter explains how President Richard Nixon used the public opinion after manipulating it.

1. A Brief Overview on the Vietnam War:

The Vietnam War started in the first years of the cold war, and it was one of the dangerous consequences of the cold war also. It began directly after the Second World War between Vietnamese revolutionary forces and France. However, in 1954 France was defeated and ended its rule over Vietnam by agreeing to Geneva Peace Accords. President Eisenhower, after this, was seeking to establish the Republic of Vietnam as a counter-movement against communism. Afterward, the National Liberation Front emerged and started to attack the South Vietnam government in the late 1950s and early 1960s. As a result, President John .F. Kennedy increased U.S military support by sending advisors and arms, and this move made the situation harder. Lyndon Johnson kept at the way after the assassination of John Kennedy.⁵⁵

The direct intervention of the U.S army started in 1964 when the administration of Lyndon. B. Johnson claimed that North Vietnamese attacked U.S naval in August 1964. Consequently, the congress passed Gulf of Tonkin Resolution that allowed President Johnson to send forces to prevent future attacks. This act gave the president broad war power to avoid the collapse of South Vietnam. In addition, the U.S government considered

⁵⁵ Adam J. Berinsky, *In Time of War: Understanding American Public Opinion from World War II to Iraq* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009), <https://www.pdfdrive.com/>, 18, 20.

that if Vietnam went under the hands of communists, Asia as a whole would in the hands of Soviet Union (Berinsky 2009, 18).⁵⁶

Through time, the United States had stuck in the pit of the Vietnam War, and the number of sent troops increased from 23.000 in 1964 to around 500.000 in 1967 (Mueller 1973, 28). Moreover, the war choice supporters including people in government and media were noticeably increasing. However, there were seeds of opposition to the Vietnam War growing slowly to the extent that there were some people in congress trying to stop the financial support for the war. As a result, Lyndon B Johnson decided not to expand his office years due to the pressure of Vietnam War.⁵⁷

By 1968, the republican candidate Richard Nixon won the elections and introduced the Vietnamization strategy. The Vietnamization was based on ordering the retreat of 25.000 troops home, and giving more military responsibilities to the government of South Vietnam. Nevertheless, the involvement continued by invading Cambodia and Laos in 1970, although, Richard Nixon promised to end the war in his campaign. By 1972, there were attempts towards peace agreement between South and North Vietnam, but it failed to reach peace. In the beginning of 1973, conflicting sides decided to set the negotiating table again to end the U.S the endless violence and involvement in Vietnam. Finally, the Paris Peace Accords was signed and the involvement of U.S government in Vietnam ended. In contrast, the war North and South ended on 30th of April in 1975 when Saigon fell by the forces of Democratic Republic of Vietnam (Berinsky 2009, 113).⁵⁸

2. The Way Nixon's Administration Manipulated Public Opinion:

2.1 Vietnam War Propaganda:

The United States has unbelievable experience concerning propaganda since the First World War. All presidents of the United States who were elected during the Vietnam War including Richard Nixon exploited the Gulf Tonkin Incident in manipulating the American public opinion in order to enter the Vietnam War. Gulf Tonkin Incident is the direct excuse

⁵⁶ Adam J. Berinsky, *In Time of War: Understanding American Public Opinion from World War II to Iraq* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009), <https://www.pdfdrive.com/>, 18.

⁵⁷ History.com Editors, "Vietnam War," History.com (A&E Television Networks, October 29, 2009), <https://www.history.com/topics/vietnam-war/vietnam-war-history>, 1.

⁵⁸ Adam J. Berinsky, *In Time of War: Understanding American Public Opinion from World War II to Iraq* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009), <https://www.pdfdrive.com/>, 20.

that the government of United States used to involve in a military conflict with North Vietnam. Nevertheless, many historians believe that this accident was fabricated by the CIA just to produce tension against the North Vietnamese. President Richard Nixon mentioned this incident or lie several times to keep the public sentiment supporting the Vietnam War.⁵⁹

The printed media kept republishing Gulf Tonkin incident during the office years of Richard Nixon to keep the public opinion angry against Vietnamese who killed their soldiers. Poster were present heavily also at the time of Richard Nixon as a way of propaganda. For example, a pro war poster includes “Victory in Vietnam” to motivate the masses to support the war in a march to Washington.⁶⁰



Figure 04: pro war poster reads “Victory in Vietnam” by Stuart Lutz, 1970.⁶¹

All the governments that ruled during the Vietnam War including the one Richard Nixon realized that they need media to keep people support the war. However, each administration followed a different method. The Nixon administration supported the real media coverage to motive the emotions of the public opinion towards the dead American soldiers. In other words, the media had permission to cover and publish the pictures of dead

⁵⁹ Steven M. Landry , “Reds Driv ‘Reds Driven Off’: the US Media ’: the US Media’s Propaganda During the Gulf of Opaganda During the Gulf of Tonkin Incident,” *Student Publications*, 2020, 1.

⁶⁰ Steven M. Landry , “Reds Driv ‘Reds Driven Off’: the US Media ’: the US Media’s Propaganda During the Gulf of Opaganda During the Gulf of Tonkin Incident,” *Student Publications*, 2020, 1,2.

⁶¹ Stuart Lutz/Gado, “Poster for a Vietnam War pro-War March for Victory in Washington, DC,...,” Getty Images, January 1, 1970, <https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/poster-for-a-vietnam-war-pro-war-march-for-victory-in-news-photo/931346952>, 1.

and distorted bodies of the soldiers and Vietnamese boys, women, and old men.⁶² The public opinion had to watch horrible side of the communist Vietnamese and realize that they need to be defeated by the American army. The Nixon administration also played on the term of “Sacrifice”. This term had a great impact on the minds of the American public sentiment, since it motivated the sense of guilt in them. In addition, this term always reminded them of the young generation that left his life behind and went to Vietnam to fight for the name of his country and people. Consequently, the people would feel grateful for the efforts of the American army and soldiers. In contrast, the government of Richard Nixon tried to control the way media publish war news. The government was trying to made the news beneficial for their agenda, and avoided to make the news look like failure in eyes of people. The Nixon’s administration was lying to its people concerning winning the war. Nevertheless, the freedom of media turned against the administration and the president himself by uncovering a lot of lies concerning real number of casualties and innocent Vietnamese casualties by the American army.⁶³

2.2 Pro War Movies:

The period of the Vietnam War witnessed a number of films as a part of the military propaganda to shape the American and international public opinion. This method has a great ability to shape the public opinion, and it is still being used by the government due to its great effectiveness. Hollywood directors worked with the governments of Lyndon Johnson and Nixon’s government to produce pro Vietnam War films to increase the public support for the war. This type of films contained a numerous dramatic scenes. The Second World War was promoted by series of films called “Why we fight” in addition to Walt Disney animated movies also. During the Vietnam War and particularly in the time of Nixon’s administration, defense department created a series of films like “Why we fight called “Why Vietnam” to manipulate the public opinion. However, the style of the films was developed than those of the Second World War. These movies were extremely similar to the documentaries of national geographic, since they were based on a lot of disturbing photos. However, the movies included photos of homeless Vietnamese children and women to trigger the sense of pity in the hearts of the public sentiment. The films represented the enemy as dangerous, merciless, and conqueror in order to give the viewers the idea that the enemy needed to be terminated and the involvement of U.S forces in Vietnam was

⁶² Kimble, James. *Mobilizing the Home Front: War Bonds and Domestic Propaganda*. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006), 6-7.

⁶³ Connor Foley, “An Analysis of American Propaganda in World War II and the Vietnam War,” *BSU Honors Program Theses and Projects*, May 12, 2015, pp. 1-71, 59, 60.

necessary. This project gave a great boost to public support to war due to its hidden psychological strategies to manipulate the public opinion.⁶⁴

2.3 Vietnam War Songs:

In the period of Vietnam War music played a significant role in terms of motivating young generation in supporting the war. In the late sixties when Richard Nixon took office, rock and roll music established a social revolution. John Sinclair in his 1972 book *Guitar Army: Street Writings/Prison Writings* illustrates; "Rock and roll is not only a weapon of Cultural Revolution, it is the model of the revolutionary future. At its best the music works to free people on all levels, and a rock and roll band is a working model of the post-revolutionary productive unit" (Sinclair 1972, 117). A singer like Merle Haggard wrote a song to support the American soldiers in Vietnam War. The Song says; "were giving up their freedom and lives to make sure others could stay free". Furthermore, he criticized the students of Student for Democratic Society who were protesting against the government to stop the Vietnam War, and he said "What the hell did these kids have to complain about?".⁶⁵

At that period, the music should include motivational words in order to motive the U.S army soldiers in Vietnam, and to keep the support of the public opinion to the war. In addition, these songs made a lot of young boys want to serve their country and sacrifice by their souls in Vietnam. Many music writers were emphasizing on the idea that students of Student for Democratic Society have no responsibility towards their country and army, nationalism, and sense of duty. Moreover, students do not understand and feel the real importance of sacrifice that the soldiers are giving to the United States. A song by the Spokesman called Down of Correction was based on terrifying the American people from the red danger, which is communism⁶⁶. In contrast, a song like Battle Hymn of Lt. Calley was based on defending William Calley who was convicted of brutally killing innocent people in Vietnam. All these songs were significant part in manipulating the American public opinion to support the war during the office years of Richard Nixon. The songs were targeting the

⁶⁴ Claudia Springer, "4. Military Propaganda: Defense Department Films from World War II and Vietnam," *The Vietnam War and American Culture*, 1991, pp. 95-114, <https://doi.org/10.7312/rowe94322-007>, 151, 152, 156.

⁶⁵ John Sinclair, *Guitar Army: Street Writings/Prison Writings* (New York: Douglas, 1972), 117.

⁶⁶ The Spokesman. "Down of Correction." (*Youtube*. Youtube, September 14, 2013.) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=91MHRuceqil>.

young generation; especially the writers included psychological words like sacrifice, and red danger in order to make the songs more effective in the minds of people.⁶⁷

2.4 Misinformation:

In 1971, Daniel Ellsberg leaked a high classified file to the press mainly the Washington Post in order to stop the Vietnam War. This file contained more than 7000 paper that uncovered all the manipulation of the governments of the United States concerning the Vietnam War. After this dangerous leak, the president Richard Nixon was in very bad situation to the extent he thought of resigning. Nevertheless, the reaction of Richard Nixon was stopping the publication of the Washington Post concerning Pentagon Papers. This decision declared the war between the press and president Richard Nixon. The president wanted to keep the public opinion ignorant about what was really happening in Vietnam. Consequently, the decision was effect for a limited period; however, the American judiciary gave the green light to press to publish the Pentagon Papers.⁶⁸

2.5 Oppressing Anti-War Opinion:

Police brutality against Anti-Vietnam War movements and protests was noticeably present at the time Richard Nixon took office. This brutality had been used by the administration of Richard Nixon in order to make the American citizens change their opinion concerning the war by fear and force. In addition, the merciless of policemen reached the extant of torturing people in police stations. However, this strategy is totally against what America was based on. It is a direct violation of the American constitution that protects the freedom of speech.⁶⁹

The massacre of Kent State is one of many examples of police oppression under the reign of Richard Nixon. In 1970, the police forces asked for support from the National Guard to control a protest by students. These students were part of a private group called Students

⁶⁷ Lauren Rebecca Sklaroff , "During Vietnam War, Music Spoke to Both Sides of a Divided Nation," The Conversation (University of South Carolina, February 25, 2021), <https://theconversation.com/during-vietnam-war-music-spoke-to-both-sides-of-a-divided-nation-83702>, 1.

⁶⁸ Jr. Ben Bradlee, "The Deceit and Conflict behind the Leak of The Pentagon Papers," The New Yorker, April 8, 2021, <https://www.newyorker.com/news/american-chronicles/the-deceit-and-conflict-behind-the-leak-of-the-pentagon-papers>, 1.

⁶⁹ Elizabeth Dale, *Robert Nixon and Police Torture in Chicago, 1871-1972* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2016), 39.

for Democratic Society, and this group was against the Vietnam War and wanted to stop it. SDS organized this protest as reaction to invasion of Cambodia. The protest lasted days, and each day the situation was getting worse and worse to the extent that classes were suspended due to riots. When the National Guard arrived at the place, the guards started shooting directly at the students without warning shots. The National Guard wasted a lot of ammo in this action, and killed four students and nine survived from the wounds. The students were about to clash with the guards. However, staff of Kent University convinced the students to stop the protest and return home; otherwise there would be other dead bodies. These killings made part of the American citizens change their opinion concerning opposing the war. The strategy of brutality and spreading fear among people of Nixon's administration was effective.⁷⁰

The technique of oppression included also corrupted judges to suppress people who caught during anti-Vietnam War demonstrations. This method is also against the democracy of America. These kinds of judges are infrequent in the history of the United States, and suddenly appeared in period of the president Richard Nixon. The trial of eight men from Chicago is the perfect example. In 1968, a lot of remarkable and unforgettable events happened when the Vietnam War was going. The war had already taken the lives of more than 30.000 American soldiers. Consequently, some anti war protests was rising and making the new government of Richard Nixon take reactions against these unwanted protests. These protests were organized by different lobbies, and each lobby had its own objectives and methodology of protesting. The lobbies included the National Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, the Youth International Party, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Black Panther Party. However, eight demonstrators were caught during the protests of Chicago and convicted for being communists and criminals. The convicted protesters were Tom Hyden, Jerry Rubin, Abbie Hoffman, David Dellinger, Lee Weiner, Bobby Seale, Rennie Davis, and John Froines. After nearly a year, the trial known as the Chicago Eight started on the 24th of September 1969. The trial was totally unfamiliar with norm of democracy and fair trials as if the prosecution table was already know the results of this trial. Furthermore, the judge Hoffman Julius himself was against the convicted eight, and he sentenced five of them five years in federal prison for promoting for riots around the United States. In this trial, the government wanted to punish and make example of any citizen go against the Vietnam War. Moreover, Bobby Seale was not even in the protest, but the government included him because he believed in violence in defending the rights of black. Nixon's administration made this move to make the rest seven convicted look like Bobby Seale in the eyes of public opinion. At that hard time, the American democracy did

⁷⁰ History.com Editors, "Kent State Shootings," History.com (A&E Television Networks, March 3, 2010), <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/national-guard-kills-four-at-kent-state>, 1.

not prevent the Nixon's administration from using the judiciary to manipulate the public opinion.⁷¹

2.6 Foreign Enemy and Enemy within:

The Nixon's administration is well known for using the strategy of creating an enemy to shape the public opinion and promoting his policies. The methodology of Richard Nixon was based on promoting the brutality of the Viet Cong, so the American public opinion will support the war to destroy the brutal Vietnamese. However, the soldiers of the United States were practicing the same brutality or maybe worse than the Viet Cong. This technique was effective due to the media coverage. The Vietnam War was the first live war in the history, since more than 600 American journalists were present in Vietnam to cover it. The photographed dead corps that appeared every night in news program in the United States made the citizens hate the Viet Cong, and especially the dead bodies of the American soldiers created unbelievable hatred towards North Vietnamese. Besides the effectiveness of Nixon's strategy to manipulate the public sentiment, this method had a backfire. In other words, when the Americans saw the dead bodies of their soldiers in the news, some of them realized the necessity of stopping the Vietnam War.⁷²

Richard Nixon based his manipulation also on the idea or strategy of the enemy within to manipulate the public opinion more effectively. In this technique, Nixon's administration applied the policy of divide and rule in order to keep the people's support for Vietnam War. This policy divided the nation into two parts. The first part wanted to stop the war due to the large numbers of unnecessary casualties from the innocent Vietnamese and the American soldiers. The second part wanted the war to continue to win it and defeat the communists. In the speeches of Richard Nixon, he described groups which opposed the war as communists and traitors to their country, nation, and army. Students for Democratic Society had the large part of this description; they were pictured as allies to Soviet Union, unfaithful to their homeland, and traitors. These adjectives worked effectively with the public opinion. The people hated the students, and they held protest banners against the SDS during pro-Vietnam war demonstrations.⁷³

⁷¹ Douglas O. Linder, "The Chicago Eight Conspiracy Trial: An Account," Famous Trials (UMKC School of Law, 2017), <https://famous-trials.com/chicago8/1366-home>, 1.

⁷² Heather Stur, "The Viet Cong Committed Atrocities, Too," The New York Times (The New York Times, December 19, 2017), <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/19/opinion/vietcong-generals-atrocities.html>, 1.

⁷³ West Wing Reports, "Richard Nixon and the Enemy Within," Medium (Medium, July 8, 2015), <https://medium.com/@WestWingReport/richard-nixon-the-enemy-within-6d0c137275fa>, 1.



Figure 05: Protest banner calls the students traitors with the symbol of communism (photographed by Michael Ochs 1969).⁷⁴

2.7 Pro War Lobbies:

The American Friends of Vietnam was the strongest lobby at that time due to its power and influence in shaping the American public opinion and government itself. This lobby could convince the American administration to support the president of South Vietnam. The group was created in 1955, and continued to exist until 1975. This interest group worked with all the government during the Vietnam War. The purpose of this collaboration was to manipulate the public sentiment concerning the Vietnam War. AFV used a smart strategy to promote to its agenda. Their strategy was based on including well-known journalists, academics, public figures, and politicians. The lobby was very useful to the Nixon's administration in terms of keeping the public support for the war. Nevertheless,

⁷⁴ Michael Ochs, "A Placard Reading 'down with Student Traitors' at a pro-Vietnam War...", Getty Images (Getty Images, April 22, 2014), <https://www.gettyimages.ch/detail/nachrichtenfoto/placard-reading-down-with-student-traitors-at-a-pro-nachrichtenfoto/1014189650?language=it>, 1.

in the anti war lobbies like SDS were getting stronger during the office years of Richard Nixon, and the situation of the public opinion started to change due to the new lobbies.⁷⁵

3. The Way Nixon's Administration used Public Opinion:

In a country like the United States, officials including presidents need to be aware of what the public opinion wants or the citizens will not re-elect them as a punishment. Richard Nixon was one of the presidents of the United States from 1969 to 1974. When he was elected as a president, the United States was in a dangerous juncture because of the Vietnam War. Consequently, Nixon's administration needed to monitor the public opinion to transform people's opinion into policies. Through methods like opinion polls, media, lobbies, and elections he could measure and manipulate the public sentiment for military purposes and political schemes. (Lowi et al 2014, 376)

3.1 Military Purposes:

When President Richard Nixon won elections in 1969, he introduced his new policy the Vietnamization. The idea of his policy was to give more military responsibilities to the government of South Vietnam and the retreat part of the U.S forces. However, he ordered the inhuman bombing of Cambodia and Laos. These two conflicting actions were results of a conflicting public opinion, nevertheless, at that time opposition to the war percentage reached 56% more than supporter's percentage. The administration of Richard Nixon used the public at that time to appease who want to end the war through Vietnamization policy. In addition, they continued bombing to assure to the supporters that the war was still going.⁷⁶

The administration of Richard Nixon used the public opinion again in 1973 to end the Vietnam War. In 1973, the opposition to Vietnam War reached its highest percentage which was 60%. Furthermore, the supporter of the war reached their lowest percentage which was 29%. These public opinion data made the government realise that the right time came to end the endless war. Richard Nixon could no more ignore the public opinion in 1973. Consequently, the U.S government agreed in Paris Peace Accords to completely withdraw its

⁷⁵ Joseph G Morgan, "The Vietnam Lobby: The American Friends of Vietnam, 1955-1975," *The SHAFR Guide Online* 25 (December 1997): pp. 709-714, https://doi.org/10.1163/2468-1733_shafr_sim170110033, 709-711.

⁷⁶ Smithsonian Magazine, "Nixon Prolonged Vietnam War for Political Gain-and Johnson Knew about It, Newly Unclassified Tapes Suggest," Smithsonian.com (Smithsonian Institution, March 18, 2013), <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/nixon-prolonged-vietnam-war-for-political-gainand-johnson-knew-about-it-newly-unclassified-tapes-suggest-3595441/>, 1.

military forces from Vietnam. However, the war continued between North and South Vietnam until 1975.⁷⁷ The following poll proves that most of citizens in 1973 were against the war:

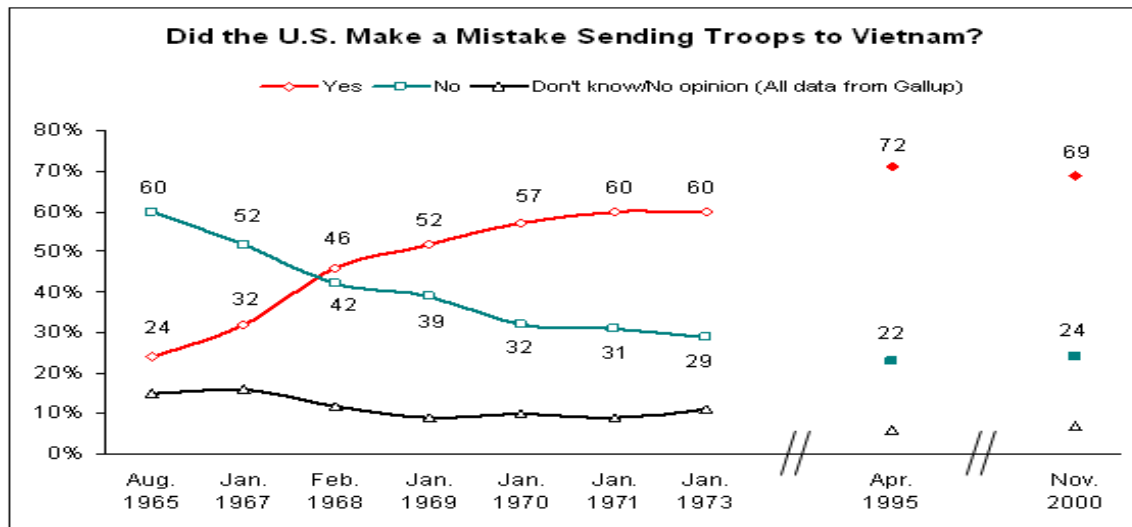


Figure 06: Americans opinion on Vietnam War from 1965 to 1973 (Rosetiel 2009, 1).⁷⁸

3.2 Political Schemes:

When Richard Nixon intended to go through the presidential election of 1968 as a republican candidate, the nation was split into two teams which they were opposition and supporters to the Vietnam War. As a candidate who wanted to win the elections, he needed to design an appropriate campaign to gain people's votes. Consequently, Nixon used the existed data about the public opinion at that time to create a campaign that attracts voters from both teams. Richard Nixon in 1968 said that he will put an end to the war in honourable way. He exploited the public opinion to make his well-known campaign "Peace with Honour". As a result, Richard Nixon won the elections by gaining 301 votes, and difference between him and the democratic candidate Humphrey was 110. The difference proved that Nixon could use the public opinion effectively in his political schemes.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ History.com editors, "President Nixon Announces Vietnam War Is Ending," History.com (A&E Television Networks, November 16, 2009), <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/nixon-declares-vietnam-war-is-ending>, 1.

⁷⁸ Tom Rosetiel, "Polling Wars: Hawks vs. Doves," Pew Research Center (Pew Research Center, May 30, 2020), <https://www.pewresearch.org/2009/11/23/polling-wars-hawks-vs-doves/>, 1.

⁷⁹ Richard Nixon, *The Memories of Richard Nixon* (Grosset, 1978), 347; "The Vietnam War and Its Impact - Nixon's Peace with Honor," Encyclopedia of the New American Nation, accessed June 12, 2022, <https://www.americanforeignrelations.com/O-W/The-Vietnam-War-and-Its-Impact-Nixon-s-peace-with->

In contrast, after President Richard Nixon won the elections of 1972 in a landslide, eventually his popularity began to decrease fast. Before the elections of 1972, Nixon ordered a group of burglars to break in the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate. Nixon ordered the burglars to plant spying devices and take with them some significant documents, and they were caught by the police at that night. Months after this event and especially in 1973 it became clear that the president Richard Nixon was behind the scandal after the Washington Post journalists Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein uncovered the evidences that proved that. As a result, according to Gallup organization the majority of the American public opinion was against Richard Nixon after the court proved his involvement in the Watergate Scandal. In 1974, Nixon's popularity reached its lowest level, and subsequently he announced his resignation as the president of the United States. According to Carroll Kilpatrick the journalist of the Washington Post, the president responded to the pressure of the public opinion in 1974 and resigned. Nixon used the public opinion to left the office.⁸⁰

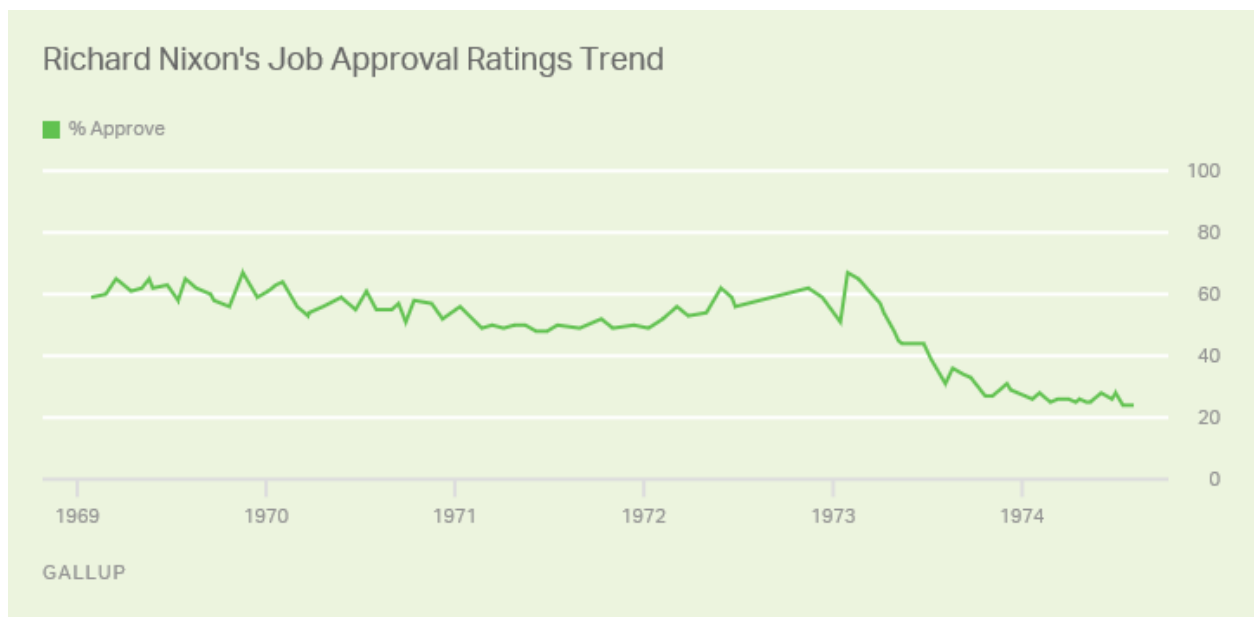


Figure 07: Nixon's job approval from 1969 to 1974 (Gallup 2021, 1).⁸¹

⁸⁰ Carroll Kilpatrick, "Nixon Resigns," The Washington Post (WP Company, August 9, 1974), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/national/longterm/watergate/articles/080974-3.htm>, 1; Haldeman, H. R. (Harry R.), 1926- and DiMona Joseph joint author, *The Ends of Power* (New York: Times Books, 1978), 99.

⁸¹ Gallup, "Presidential Approval Ratings -- Gallup Historical Statistics and Trends," Gallup.com (Gallup, August 12, 2021), <https://news.gallup.com/poll/116677/presidential-approval-ratings-gallup-historical-statistics-trends.aspx>, 1.

4. The Reasons behind Nixon's Political Manipulation:

There were numerous reasons behind the political manipulation of the president Richard Nixon. He wanted to reach specific goals through the public support. First, before the elections of 1968, President Lyndon Johnson wanted to end Vietnam War through setting peace negotiations. In October 1968, there were real intentions to end the war in Vietnam. Nevertheless, the democratic government of South Vietnam withdrew in the last minute without reasons, and the war continued another five years. Furthermore, Richard Nixon involved in the peace talks and made the government of South Vietnam withdraw the agreement. Nixon made his aide Anna Chennault contact the embassy of South Vietnam. She advised them to suspend the peace talks until Richard Nixon take the office. Moreover, she promised them with better than those of Johnson's. This conspiracy had been proved through the journalist of BBC when he published report about FBI call tapes between Nixon's aide Anna Chennault and the ambassador of South Vietnam. By this manipulation, Richard Nixon wanted the war to continue to end it, since he campaigned to end it in order to win the elections. Consequently, his plan worked perfectly, and he won the public support.⁸²

Second, Richard Nixon wanted to balance the public opinion concerning supporting and opposing the Vietnam War, and he also wanted to keep his policies popular for the next elections. In his presidential campaign, he promised the American nation to end the Vietnam War in an honorable way. As a result, Nixon's administration started its agenda to end the war through introducing the policy of Vietnamization. In this policy, the American government shifted more military responsibilities to the administration of South Vietnam, and at the same time minimized the military responsibilities of the American army in Vietnam. Furthermore, the Nixon's manipulation of the public opinion concerning the Vietnam War made the public support his policies. Consequently, he won a landslide victory in the elections of 1972, although there were judiciary corruption and massacres in his first period.⁸³

Finally, through his political manipulation Richard Nixon wanted to cover up some dangerous issues like the pentagon papers scandal and the Watergate scandal. When the Washington post started to publish sensitive articles on the pentagon papers, Richard Nixon made unconstitutional decision against the press which is stopping press publications.

⁸² Smithsonian Magazine, "Notes Indicate Nixon Interfered with 1968 Peace Talks," Smithsonian.com (Smithsonian Institution, January 2, 2017), <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/notes-indicate-nixon-interfered-1968-peace-talks-180961627/>, 1.

⁸³ "Peace for Generations to Come," "Peace for Generations to Come" ", May 5, 2022, <https://www.nixonfoundation.org/2022/04/peace-generations-come/>, 1.

Through this move, the president wanted keep the public opinion unaware of how bad the situation was in Vietnam. Furthermore, he followed the same strategy in the Watergate scandal. Richard Nixon covered up the tapes that convict him to keep the public sentiment out of the real situation.⁸⁴

Conclusion:

This chapter investigated the techniques that Richard Nixon used to manipulate the American public opinion. His methods included media and its ways like propaganda, misinformation, films, and songs. He also used other techniques such as creating an enemy for the people, oppression, and pro war lobbies. The chapter included the political use and the military use of the public opinion by the Nixon's administration. Finally, it illustrated the rationale behind the opinion manipulation of government.

⁸⁴ Matt Giles, "When Richard Nixon Declared War on the Media," Longreads (Longreads, November 10, 2018), <https://longreads.com/2018/11/08/when-richard-nixon-declared-war-on-the-media/>, 1.

General Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to investigate the methods that Nixon's administration used to manipulate the public during the Vietnam War, and how the administration used the public opinion. In addition, the rationale behind the political manipulation was part of the investigation. Numerous methodologies were followed and applied in order to achieve the mentioned purposes. First, the researcher investigated the different methods of manipulating the public opinion in general in order to apply it on the sample. Second, the researcher explored how governments use the public opinion for military purposes and political schemes. Furthermore, the researcher analyzed the existing data about President Richard Nixon and the Vietnam War such as library books, E-books, articles, and websites in order to extract the methods that Nixon's government used to shape the public opinion, how they used it, and the rationale behind the manipulation.

As a result after using the mentioned methodologies, the researcher has reached three findings. First, the administration of President Richard Nixon utilized numerous techniques in order to manipulate the American public sentiment. The media were part of the manipulation methods, since the war itself was called the first televised war in the history. The media promoted war propaganda, demonized North Vietnamese, produced pro war movies and pro war songs. The Nixon's government also used the technique of creating foreign enemy and enemy within. They made the anti-war opinion such as SDS and Black Panther enemies to the American nation, and the president himself mentioned the term enemy within a lot of times in his speeches. The foreign enemy was the communist Vietnamese and their brutality towards the American soldiers and the innocent Vietnamese. Another methods used was the political oppression towards anti-war opinion. This method used power of corruption in the American police and judiciary to punish the anti-war opinion. Consequently, the rest will be afraid of adopting anti-war opinion.

The second finding of this research is that Nixon's administration used the public opinion to design its campaign in the elections of 1968, withdraw from the Vietnam War in 1973, and to resign from presidency in 1974. The third finding is that the rationale behind the political manipulation was to gain public support in the elections of 1972, and to keep the public opinion balanced since he campaigned to end the war in Vietnam.

As a conclusion, as our hypothesis have been proved in this research, we can say that the Nixon's administration utilized undemocratic methodologies in order to achieve its objectives concerning shaping the American public opinion. The media shaped the public

opinion effectively; however, it played a role in boosting anti-war sentiment through the pictures of the dead soldiers. Furthermore, Richard Nixon could use the corruption of the judiciary in his favor to shape the public sentiment.

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