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Poděkování:

Ráda bych poděkovala panu Mgr. Zdeňku Janíkovi, M.A., vedoucímu mé diplomové práce, za jeho cenné rady a připomínky, které přispěly ke konečné podobě této práce. Dále bych ráda využila příležitosti a touto cestou poděkovala svým rodičům za jejich pomoc a nevyčerpatelnou podporu, kterou mi věnovali nejen v době mých studií.

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INTRODUCTION

The Vietnam War was one of the most obscure episodes and, at the same time, one of the most serious conflicts not only of the Cold War period but also of the whole modern history. It was one of the longest and the most unpopular American war that took place in the 20th century. The overall impact of the war conflict managed to influence lives of American next generations. Furthermore, it resulted in scission of American nation that had to face up to the defeat that was the first one in its total history. The American involvement in South Asia started in 1964 and ended after a long-lasting period of hard struggle by a frantic departure of all remaining U.S. military personnel from South Viet Nam's capital of Saigon in 1975.

The exceptionality of this war conflict did not consist only in its long duration or on a large number of war casualties. On the contrary, many other innovative factors contributed to the new way of war perception. The talk is about the transmission of war information by means of various sorts of mass media, particularly by television, whose impact on the Vietnam War played much more decisive role than in any other war conflict of the 20th century. It was an absolutely innovative method that replaced newspapers and radio broadcasting, which was till that time the only way how to acquire information.

Thanks to the attitude of the U.S. government towards the presence of the mass media in Vietnam, the general public was actively involved in the Vietnam struggle, which caused and finally raised the wave of public opposition. The unlimited access of journalists and photographers in the battlefield enabled the American public to see the war as they had not seen it so far. The themes of the Vietnam War started to fill title pages of all various kinds of newspapers. Moreover, the policy that was maintained by the American president and his administrators caused the wave of anti-war protests and public commotions on the home front. Although the anti-war movement itself did not have the power to turn the American people completely against the war, it achieved to influence American political and military strategy.

The general questions of the Vietnam War themes are considerably complicated. Therefore, the main aim of this diploma thesis is not to cover all aspects and points of view that have connection with the topic. On the contrary, the work will concentrate only on some specific topics that are, from the author's point of view, interesting and, at

the same time, in the period of the war in Iraq also timeless. The main aim of this thesis will be engaged in a problem of the impact of the Vietnam War and its themes on the development of public opinion and cultural life of American nation. One of the features of the work will be an endeavor to find out how much decisive the impact on the belief of the general public the Vietnam War had and which methods the American nation finally used in its fight against the U.S. involvement in South Asia. This work will also try to find out some more detailed information about the ways and other resources of the U.S. government's pro-war propaganda. On the top of that, the work would try to answer the questions relating to different sorts of cultural life of Americans and the influence of the Vietnam War topic. For instance, how much the literature, music or film production reflected the Vietnam themes during the active fights in Vietnam and how much the attitude of the public towards this topic changed after the end of the warfare.

As for the methods of elaboration, the study of literary sources will be the predominant factor for the creation of this diploma thesis. The attention will be concentrated on classically written literary works whose content draws on the events and development of the Vietnam War. Furthermore, other necessary publications dealing with the impact of after-matches of war on the public opinion will be put to use. On the top of that, the content of the diploma thesis will depend on many various internet sources whose large selection will provide many different points of view and attitudes towards the themes of the Vietnam War. In the matter of the last part of this work that will be connected with the cultural life of Americans, the study of some American film productions based on the Vietnam themes will also contribute to better understanding.

1 THE VIETNAM WAR

1.1 The martial history of the USA till the conflict in Vietnam

The martial history of the USA is dated back to the Colonial Period right up until the 21st century. During the revolutionary period of the 60s-70s of the 18th century one of the biggest eyeball confrontations began to burn between the American colonials and the British dominion. The end of the 18th century was characterized, especially by the westward expansion of the European colonials to the inland of the American continent. During this expanding period the Union was spread wide.

The second half of the 19th century is described in sign of increasing tensions and disagreements between agricultural South and industrial and rich North. This most considerable enmity is known as the American Civil War and it is the right example of the interior war in which the Americans fought one another. Huge economic development of the U.S. was one of the war-contribution. The urbanization and unheard-of influx of immigrants in the North made fast the country's industrialization. The U.S. population started to increase rapidly. The complete half of the accession was formed by immigrants, which provided manpower so needed for the U.S. businesses, encouraged industrial growth and transformed American culture. The USA became one of the most powerful states of the world.

As to another example of the war conflict, the American nation gradually engaged in the World War I. Although at the beginning of the World War I the United States promoted the policy of non-intervention, on 6th April 1917 the Congress approved the alignment with the Allies and the United States officially took part in the WW I. After many years of struggle, adverse situation in the battlefields together with the economic collapse made Germany and Austria-Hungary discuss a cease-fire at the Paris peace conference at Versailles in November 1918. The end of the war was confirmed by the *Treaty of Versailles*, a peace treaty undersigned on 28th June, 1919. (Modern History Sourcebook: Treaty of Versailles, Jun 28, 1919, 1997)

Although the war had united all allied nations, the process of peacemaking threatened to divide them. As early as the beginning of 1918 Woodrow Wilson created a "program of the world's peace" to warrant protection and peaceful coexistence of

nations of the whole world. (The Avalon Project: President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points) By means of this *Fourteen Points program* the United States required to achieve a financial compensation for its military expenditures and not to support any more secret diplomacy. (For more detailed information on Woodrow Wilson's proclamation relating to the *Fourteen Points program*, see Attachment 1)

Concerning the postwar situation, the first decade of the interwar period was in sign of an economic prosperity and overall growth of the American industry that was finally interrupted by the big economic crisis known as "*Black Friday*". Since this day the worldwide recession, mass unemployment and decay of production came into being. This situation changed after the election of a new president in 1932, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who proclaimed his new policy, called *New Deal*.

As for the World War II, the United States held again the view of nonintervention. Although the U.S. military forces did not effort to intervene actively in the conflict, the U.S. government made the decision to provide needful supplies of vast quantities of war material for Great Britain, the Soviet Union, China, France and other Allied nations. According to James West Davidson, Roosevelt proposed a scheme to "lease, lend, or otherwise dispose of" arms and logistic supplies, including trucks, jeeps, landing craft and, above all, the Douglas C-47 transport aircraft. (1996, p. 744) This *Lend-Lease program* was seen as a decisive factor in the eventual success of the Allies in World War II, especially in the early years when the USA was not directly involved and the total burden of the fighting troops fell on other nations.

The situation of American involvement in the war changed after 7th December 1941 when "the first wave of Japanese planes roared down on the Pacific Fleet lying at anchor in Pearl Harbor. On 8th December, Franklin Roosevelt told a stunned nation that "yesterday, December 7, 1941," was "a date which will live in infamy." America, the "reluctant belligerent," was in the war at last." " (Davidson, 1996, p. 745-746) The direct input of the USA forces stimulated much greater development of industry, e.g. tanks, machine rifles, aircrafts and ships producing, above all the production of implements of war.

From the economic point of view, World War II cost far more money than any other warfare in the history of US. On the other side, this long-lasting war conflict consolidated the American economic power by providing capital investments and jobs, while bringing many women into the labor market, which was the cause of the fact that the industrial development of the US redoubled. The United States also started to

strengthen its political power. Although the U.S. and the Soviet Union worked together in the fight against Nazi Germany, these two allies shared their different view on how to reconstruct the postwar world even before the end of World War II. According to James Davidson, “the defeat of Germany and Japan left no power in Europe or Asia to block the still formidable Soviet army.” (1996, p. 777) Therefore, the American policy started to concentrate on how to stop or at least restrict the political expanse of the Soviet Union and its communist ideology.

The period of struggle, enmity, tension and also competition, known as Cold War, lasted from the mid- 1940s until the early 1990s. The rivalry between two superpowers intervened and also influenced many various areas, e.g. military industrial and technological developments, including the space race, ideology, psychology, and last but not least espionage. During this era a range of war conflicts in which the American troops fought against the enemy in the foreign territory came into being.

At first, the U.S. forces took a share in the Korean War, which was an escalation of civil war between two rival Korean régimes in which each of them was supported by external powers. In broad terms, the conflict was a battle between capitalistic and communistic ideology. (For more information on the Korean War, see Attachment 2)

Another war conflict in which the American forces transferred from their native continent to the foreign land was the Vietnam War. The next chapter of this work will be concerned with the broad issue of this warfare.

1.2 Historical development of Vietnam, background of the international situation till the beginning of the Vietnam War

From the historical point of view, Vietnam could not be regarded as a free and democratic country for many decades of its development. The nation of present-day Vietnam people itself developed under the influence of both descendants of nomadic Mongols from China and migrants from Indonesia. According to Davidson, “for several thousand years Vietnam had struggled periodically to fight off foreign invasions.” (1996, p. 862) For instance, the Mongol invaders urged to invade the country since A.D. 1284. Furthermore, “Buddhist culture had penetrated eastward from India. More often Indochina faced invasion and rule by the Chinese from the north. After 1856 the French entered as a colonial power, bringing with them a strong Catholic tradition.” (Davidson,

1996, p. 862) During a series of colonial wars, from 1856 to 1885, France established its influence, and within 80 years it conquered the three regions into which the country was divided— Cochin-China in the south, Annam in the central region, and Tonkin in the north.

During the World War II the French government cooperated with Imperial Japanese forces. Although Vietnam was under the control of French administrators, in fact it was only a French puppet in Japanese hands. According to Herring, the Japanese permitted the French colonial authorities to retain nominal power throughout most of the war, but the ease with which Japan had established its position discredited the French in the eyes of the Vietnamese. (1986, p.6) On the ground of the fact that “Hitler conquered France in 1940 and Japan began to move southward into Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh - the Vietnamese patriot and a Communist party functionary and revolutionary organizer - took an opportunity.” (Herring, 1986, p.5) In 1941 he found the Vietminh political organization, known as the “League for the Independence of Vietnam,” whose aim was to drive the French from Vietnam. (Ibid.) In March 1945 the Japanese deposed the French puppet government and when Japan surrendered in August 1945, the Vietminh opportunistically filled the vacuum, occupying government headquarters in Hanoi. (Ibid., p.6)

Nevertheless, the new government lasted only a few days. According to Stanley Karnow, three participating nations, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States at the Potsdam Conference decided “that Vietnam would be occupied jointly by China and Great Britain, who would supervise the disarmament and repatriation of Japanese forces.” (1997, p.163) Moreover, all parties to the agreement held at Cecilienhof, in Postdam, Germany, from 17th July to 2nd August, 1945, assigned “the Chinese to take control of the area north of the 16th parallel north. British forces arrived in the south in October and restored order.” (Ibid., p. 163)

During the period of the French Indochina existence, France, whose colonies included Cambodia, Laos, and three Vietnamese colonies of Annam, Tonkin, and Cochinchina, was ranked among the richest colonial possessors. Many various factors assisted France to achieve such a success. From Herring’s point of view, “the Vietminh had been unable to establish a firm power base in southern Vietnam, and with the assistance of British occupation forces, which had been given responsibility for accepting the Japanese surrender south of the seventeenth parallel, the French were able to expel the Vietminh from Saigon and reestablish control over the southern part of the

country.” (1986, p. 6-7) On the top of that, the French made the decision to keep Cochinchina separate from Annam and Tonkin, which enabled to get the southern colony, where their economic interests were largest, under absolute control. (Ibid., p.6-7) Nevertheless, the Viet Minh did not want to give up and still sought to expel the French government out from the North Vietnam, which led to another struggle in French Indochina.

1.2.1 The First Indochina War, 1946-1954

In the period from 19th December 1946 until 1st August 1954 the First Indochina War (also known as the French Indochina War, or the French War) took place. As to all participating parties of the struggle, both French Union forces supported by Bao Dai's Vietnamese National Army and professional troops fought together against Ho Chi Minh' Viet Minh. Fights took place mostly in Northern Vietnam. However, the neighboring French Indochina protectorates of Laos and Cambodia also did not avoid the combats.

During the fights the Viet Minh gradually managed to strengthen its control over large areas of the country. The French negative course of the war was finally confirmed through the last battle of the First Indochina War – the battle at Dien Bien Phu. The French government made the decision to defeat Ho Chi Minh's guerrillas in a classic battle. According to Moïse, the French began to build up their garrison in “area where hardly any Vietnamese lived, and where the Viet Minh could not therefore expect local support,” called Dien Bien Phu. The attack began on March 13, 1954 and ended on May, 1954, when most of the French forces were surrounded from all sides and defeated by the Viet Minh forces. This decisive battle convinced the French that they could no longer maintain their Indochinese colonies, which finally led to peace talks.

As for peace talks, *The Geneva Conference* (April 26 – July 21, 1954) was summoned in order to contribute to the end the war conflict in French Indochina and Vietnam. “The Geneva Peace Accords reflected the strains of the international Cold War. Drawn up in the shadow of the Korean War, the Geneva agreement was an awkward peace for all sides. Because of outside pressures brought to bear by the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, Vietnam's delegates to the Geneva conference agreed to the temporary partition of their nation at the seventeenth parallel

and under the terms of this Geneva Convention, civilians were to be given the opportunity to freely move between the two provisional states.” (The Wars for Viet Nam: 1945 to 1975) Moreover, most of the French Union forces had to evacuate Vietnam.

1.2.1.1 The U.S. foreign policy and military support

As for the attitude of the United States towards the French Indochina, in context of the historical development the U.S. government gradually changed its standpoints. According to Stanley Karnow, “before 1941, Americans had taken little interest in the area, but the Japanese takeover impressed upon them its importance as a source of foodstuffs and raw materials and as a strategic outpost guarding the major water routes of southern Asia.” (1997, p. 378) On the top of that, it was recognized that the Soviet Union would become a serious competitor to the West, because America viewed the Soviet Union and its allies as a bloc. (Ibid., p. 378)

Later on, Ho Chi Minh was revealed to be still under the Soviet Union’s control. As a reaction to this situation, U.S. government made the decision to ignore Ho’s petition for support in the First Indochina War. According to Herring, “in the spring of 1947, the United States formally committed itself to the containment of Soviet expansion in Europe, and throughout the next two years American attention was riveted on France, where economic stagnation and political instability aroused grave fears of a possible Communist takeover.” (1986, p. 9)

A decisive turning point of the First Indochina War and of the attitude of American policy was marked in 1950 when the Korean War took place. The U.S. spent vast bulk of dollars in support of French forces in an effort to stop the Viet Minh’s increasing involvement that was strengthen by decisive support from the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The more China’s and the Soviet Union’s military support emphasized the more U.S. government started to be skeptical of French chances of success.

After the Geneva Conference, U.S. government continued to support the South Vietnam policy that was represented by the leader Ngo Dinh Diem and his Army of the Republic of Vietnam, formed to replace the Vietnamese National Army. The result of this influence was the Second Indochina War, better known as the Vietnam War.

1.2.2 The Second Indochina War, 1954-1975

As to the reason of origin, as mentioned earlier, the Second Indochina War, 1954-1975, was caused by the U.S. indirect military encroachment on the support of Ngo Dinh Diem's policy in the South Vietnam.

In the period after Geneva Conference the Viet Minh established a socialist state—the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV or North Vietnam). In the new South, a non-communist state (the Republic of Vietnam or RVN or South Vietnam) was established by a former French and Japan puppet, the Emperor Bao Dai. In 1955 the monarch was deposed by his Prime Minister Ngo Dinh Diem and in a controversial election he made himself president. Although Diem was in point of fact chosen by the U.S. government to become a leader of non-communist state, he started to prosper from the strong American subvention to create an authoritarian regime. Later on Diem's non-democratic access to policy and unsuccessful way of governance caused that the northern Communist Party of Vietnam decided to turn profit of Diem's decreasing popularity in South Vietnam. It was determined that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is allowed to use revolutionary violence to overthrow Ngo Dinh Diem's government. In 1960 the National Liberation Front (NLF) was formed by the Communist Party to help reunify Vietnam and bring to a stop of American influence. (Vietnam War History)

The year of 1960 also went down into history as a year when John F. Kennedy won the U.S. presidential election. In his inaugural address, Kennedy made the ambitious pledge to “pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and success of liberty.” (Inaugural Address of John F. Kennedy, 1997) Although Kennedy was aware of precarious balance between the USA and the Soviet Union he did not oppose the idea of usage of any special forces for warfare in Third World countries that were threatened by communist expansion. According to Kennedy's standpoint, he believed that the guerrilla tactics employed by United States Army Special Forces such as the Green Berets would be effective in a “brush fire” war in Vietnam. (Special Forces) He saw British success in using such forces in Malaya as a strategic template. Thereupon he sent the Green Berets to South Vietnam to train South Vietnamese soldiers in guerrilla warfare. Nevertheless Kennedy's political attitude towards Diem's situation in South Vietnam respected the

only way – Diem and his military must defeat the guerrillas on their own. The American martial intervention would lead to both ominous political and military consequences.

The period of U.S. indirect intervention was terminated in November 1963, when Diem and President Kennedy were both assassinated. Around the same time, “there were 16,000 Americans military advisers in Vietnam. The Kennedy administration had managed to run the war from Washington without the large-scale introduction of combat troops. The continuing political problems in Saigon, however, convinced the new president, Lyndon Baines Johnson, that more aggressive action was needed.” (The Wars for Viet Nam: 1945 to 1975) This new direction of warfare had many reasons. The question is which one was the most decisive, whether Johnson was so much inclinable to military intervention or whether war events in Vietnam had forced him to more direct action.

1.3 The United States goes to the war in Vietnam, 1964 - 1973

As mentioned earlier, after the assassination of John F. Kennedy, the new president Lyndon Johnson inherited a rapidly deteriorating situation in South Vietnam. According to Herring, “fearing that large-scale American involvement might jeopardize his chances of election in 1964 and threaten his beloved Great Society domestic programs, he temporized for over a year, expanding American assistance and increasing the number of advisers in hopes that a beefed-up version of his predecessor’s policy might somehow stave off disaster.” (1986, p. 108) On this account, during the period between November 1963 and July 1965, Lyndon Baines Johnson changed a limited pledge of the South Vietnamese government’s assistance into an “open-ended commitment to preserve an independent, non-Communist South Vietnam.” (Ibid., p. 108) During that uncertain period, Johnson was not disposed to send a large amount of American military forces in Vietnam. Based on Herring’s attainments, “Johnson had no enthusiasm for a massive engagement of American forces on the Asian mainland. Moreover, he and his advisers feared that Americanization of the war would further undercut the self-reliance of the Vietnamese. The introduction of large-scale American forces in Vietnam would provoke much hostile propaganda throughout the world.” (Ibid., p. 116)

The political tenseness between the United States and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam finally escalated when North Vietnam naval forces twice assaulted two American destroyers, the USS *Maddox* and the USS *Turner Joy*. (The Wars for Viet Nam: 1945 to 1975) The attacks were alleged to have occurred on 2 August and 4 August 1964 in the Gulf of Tonkin. (Ibid.) However, “later research, including a report released in 2005 by the National Security Agency, indicated that the second attack most likely did not occur, but also attempted to dispel the long-standing assumption that members of the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson had knowingly lied about the nature of the incident.” (Tonkin Gulf Intelligence “Skewed” According to Official History and Intercepts, 2005)

Nevertheless, both Johnson himself and his administration made the decision to use the August 4 attack as an occasion that gave the president broad war powers. According to A. Dwayne Beggs, the resolution, now known as *the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution*, passed both the House and Senate with only two dissenting votes - Senators Wayne Morse of Oregon and Ernest Gruening of Alaska. At the time, Senator Morse warned that the resolution could be a big mistake. All the same, the resolution came into being and was followed by limited reprisal air attacks against North Vietnam.

1.3.1 The American way of conducting of the war, military strategy

The active involvement of the American military forces in the Vietnam War was started up by a special bombing operation, whose aim was to enfeeble the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) and simultaneously to destroy military bases, air defenses and the North Vietnamese industrial and transportation system. Furthermore, this bombing campaign was designed to interdict North Vietnamese transportation routes in the southern part of North Vietnam and slow infiltration of personnel and supplies into South Vietnam. (Johnson approves Operation Rolling Thunder, 1965) *Operation Rolling Thunder* and its first mission took place on 2nd March, 1965, when “100 U.S. Air Force and Republic of Vietnam Air Force (VNAF) planes struck the Xom Bang ammunition dump 100 miles southeast of Hanoi” until 1st November 1968. (Ibid.) Although the main purpose of the operation was to attack from the air, the assaults were also guided from the ground. Afterwards several aggressions pointed out, that American

air bases needed more protection. Thereupon several thousands of American soldiers were sent to South Vietnam. This new phase of the war was considered to be the beginning of the American ground war.

A question that was in no time put by not only the American society but also by some members of U.S. Army operating in Vietnam (e.g. General William Westmoreland the commander of U.S. combat forces in Vietnam) was related to a fact whether American combat forces were sufficiently trained for guerrilla warfare in the Asia jungles. Nevertheless, in July 1965 General Westmoreland requested another two thousands American soldiers to protect air bases. According to William Frisbee Jr., Westmoreland decided to formulate the ground war strategy based on the idea that the Vietnamese communists could be destroyed by, so called – “attrition way of warfare,” which was the war conception concentrated on heavy use of artillery and airpower. (Ibid.) Repeated attacks should have been the cause of enfeeblement of the Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese war preparedness.

Westmoreland's target strategy was divided into three phases. The first phase was concentrated on slowing-down the Viet Cong troops. The second one was aimed at the destruction of the enemy and sequentially the aim of the third phase was to restore the gained area under the control of the South Vietnamese government. Moreover, many other different strategies appeared from Westmoreland's phases of conduct of war. According to Joe Allen, they became an integral part of the Vietnam War. For example – an offensive tactic, called “*Search and Destroy*”, or “*Seek and Destroy*”, or “*Zippo*”, or even simply “*S&D*”. (Vietnam: The war the U.S. lost, 2004) The main aim of “*S&D*” was to send ground forces, e.g. a platoon or company, into hostile territory to locate the position of enemy units, then to destroy them and subsequently to withdraw from this area. (Ibid.) During the war this tactic started to be used by the increasing aggressive U.S. forces. Another strategy, known as “*Clear and Secure*” concentrated on focusing on enemy position, then conquering the area and occupation of the new gained position. (Ibid.)

The first major ground operation of U.S. troops took place on August 1965 and was called *Operation Starlite*. (Chapter5 - *Starlite: The First Big Battle*) It became the first military success of American soldiers and simultaneously this operation came to an example of earlier mentioned special military *S&D* strategy. The operation was led as a combination of military units – ground, air and naval.

However, many times it was very hard for American soldiers to obey the Westmoreland's strategy, because the Viet Cong mostly managed to dictate its own way of warfare. The North Vietnamese Army (the NVA) continued to fight a guerrilla war concentrated on the surroundings of the impermeable Asian jungle, which was absolutely different way of the American conduct of war.

1.3.2 The Tet Offensive

At the turn of the year 1968, after three-year long bombing period of the *Operation Rolling Thunder*, the North Vietnamese policy took over the initiative and made one of the most decisive steps of the Vietnam War. The *Tet Offensive* lasted from 30th January to 23rd September, 1968 and it was pre-planned that the main attack would fall right on the day of Vietnamese Lunar New Year, called *Tet*, which was the day of traditional celebration of happiness, hope and peace. (Tet Offensive) Instead of celebration the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam (Viet Cong) together with the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) broke the pre-arranged truce and aggressed against the South Vietnamese major cities in several phases. (For more detailed information about the assaults on South Vietnamese cities, like Hue, Khe Sanh or Saigon, see Attachment 3)

1.3.2.1 The impact of the Tet Offensive

In fine, it can be said that the *Tet Offensive* was a military defeat for the communist forces. North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong practically did not capture any strategic position or city that would help to strengthen their influence in war. In addition to communist forces, "they suffered tremendous casualties in the South and the massacre of thousands of non-Communists in Hue during the *Tet Offensive* created ill-will among many of North Vietnam supporters. Furthermore, several leading southern Generals thought the plans for the *Tet Offensive* were too risky and this created a strain in relations between northern and southern Communists." (The Wars for Viet Nam: 1945 to 1975)

Although the *Tet Offensive* was aforethought military operation, it must be also remarked that in terms of strategy, Giap's way of conduct of the attack had some

inadequacies. For instance, the timing of the offensive was not coordinated in the best way. The attacks were not commenced simultaneously, which was the cause of Westmoreland's ability to orientate oneself, build up the defensive and send all needed enforcement to attacked areas.

Nevertheless, some of the North Vietnamese military steps yet worked a change of the war opinion of the American public, which, finally, influenced the end of the Vietnam War. Thanks to their offensive, Vietnamese proved their ability to evoke huge military operation in the whole South Vietnam territory. In addition to this fact, they were able to provisionally take possession of decisive support points. Till the battle of Saigon, all Americans believed that the victory of the USA is only a matter of time. Since the beginning of the war they were led to trust that communists were not able to conduct the war in such an organized and tactical way, which contrasted with the potency and zeal that communists had shown in the *Tet Offensive*. At the same time, the press and television carried daily reports of the action, which also changed the U.S. public's mind. An enlarging amount of war reporters and photographers achieved to mediate and to transfer the cruelty of battle field in next to live transmission, which was, till that time, unaccustomed and unexpected. The next chapter of this work will be concerned with the broad issue of the influence of the media in Vietnam War.

According to Edwin E. Moïse's opinion, there were several reasons that maintained the theory that, from the public point of view, the *Tet Offensive* was still and all a communist victory. He agrees with the fact that in military terms it was a clear victory for the U.S. forces. On the other hand, he also believes that the American victory had been paid too dearly. As it was published, the total number of US soldiers reported killed in Vietnam during the year 1968 was about 14,000, which is the highest number for any year of the war. From Moïse's point of view, "the *Tet Offensive* made the brutality of the war very visible to Americans. During *Tet* the American television viewing public actually got to watch a prisoner, with his hands bound behind his back, being shot through the head by a South Vietnamese general. The Communists also committed atrocities, of course; the Communists appear to have killed several thousand civilians in the city of Hue during the period they held parts of that city. That, however, did not happen within sight of American television cameras." At all events the *Tet Offensive* signified the real beginning of the end of the American intervention in Vietnam.

Personnel changes in commanding posts of American Army were the next consequences of the *Tet Offensive*, according to Gary Thomas, when the commander of U.S. combat forces in Vietnam, General William Westmoreland, was dismissed by the president Johnson and replaced by General Creighton Abrams. Therewithal the Defense Secretary Robert McNamara was changed for Clark Clifford. Since the day of 31st March, the bombing of North Vietnam, with the exception of proximity of demilitarized zone, was brought to a stop. (Ibid.) Furthermore, the president Lyndon Johnson announced that he would not stand out for the Democratic Party's re-nomination for president in election campaign in 1968, by which means he indirectly admitted a mistake of the American intervention in Vietnam. This was also pointed out by journalist and historian Stanley Karnow, author of *Vietnam: A History*, who confirmed that Lyndon Johnson really had deep misgivings even as the *Tet Offensive* was escalated. (See Attachment 4)

Nevertheless, it can not be passed out of mind that at the beginning of the conflict, Johnson was dead certain the American intervention in Vietnam is the right decision. This opinion was recorded during his speech which he gave at Johns Hopkins University on the 7th April, 1965 when he answered the question:

"Why are these realities our concern? Why are we in South Viet-Nam?"

We are there because we have a promise to keep. Since 1954 every American President has offered support to the people of South Viet-Nam. We have helped to build, and we have helped to defend. Thus, over many years, we have made a national pledge to help South Viet-Nam to defend its independence.

And I intend to keep that promise."

(Lyndon B. Johnson, "Peace without Conquest," 7th April, 1965)

In term of development of the political situation, the *Tet Offensive* made Johnson indicate that he would go to the bargaining table with the Communists to end the war. Thereupon he started to urge on overture of peace talks, which was also accepted and supported by Republican former Vice-President and presidential candidate, Richard Nixon. Finally, the preliminary peace talks started at the beginning of May in Paris, however, the end of the war was still far away.

1.3.3 Vietnamization, Cambodia, 1969 – 1970

In the period after the *Tet Offensive*, the American militant strategy started to concentrate on more important field of warfare. *Vietnamization* became a new term for the latest policy of the president elect, Richard Nixon. It meant that all U.S. forces would be concentrated on the ARVN with the main purpose to build up the South Vietnamese Army to be able to take over the defense of South Vietnam and to build an independent, non – Communist Vietnam. The American government had no credible plan for winning the war. Nevertheless, by 1969, the American public started to force more and more the President Nixon and Henry Kissinger, the Secretary of State, to get its troops back home from Vietnam. They realized the war had to be ended. As Richard Nixon once remarked:

“I’ m not going to end up like LBJ, holed up in the White House afraid to show my face on the street. I am going to stop that war. Fast”

(H. R. Haldeman, 1978, p. 81)

According to George Herring, “while U.S. combat forces kept the North Vietnamese and Vietcong off balance by relentlessly attacking their supply lines and base areas, American advisers worked frantically to build up and modernize the South Vietnamese armed forces.” (Herring, 1986, p. 231)

Nevertheless, the course of the *Vietnamization* started to be endangered. According to Henry Kissinger’s point of view, this strategy needed more time for its development. Thereupon the U.S. government initiated the military operations in Cambodia, which would both divert North Vietnamese’s martial attention and buy time for the *Vietnamization*. This “time-buyer” would simultaneously help to throne more pro-American government in Cambodia.

The neutrality of Cambodia was proclaimed since the second half of the 20th century. However, Norodom Sihanouk, prince of Cambodia, was withal obliged to tolerate the presence of the PAVN/NLF troops and its sanctuaries on his territory to avoid being drawn into a regional conflict. Although the President Nixon and U.S. government respected the neutrality and sovereignty of the Kingdom of Cambodia, Nixon made the decision to send American troops there and to lead the bombing

campaign, which contributed to one of the greatest tragedies of Cambodia's history. According to Nixon and his advisors, "the real target of the operation was the Central Office for South Vietnam (COSVN), the "nerve center" of North Vietnamese military operations, although the Defense Department had made clear to him its uncertainty as to where COSVN was located or whether it even existed". (Herring, 1986, p. 236) In March, 1970, the overthrowing of Cambodia's neutralist, Prince Sihanouk, by a pro-American general and Prime Minister Lon Nol, led, finally, to positive results of American bombing operation.

Though Washington obviously disliked Sihanouk's neutral policy and was interested in attacks against the North Vietnamese sanctuaries in Cambodia, it has never been proved that the U.S. government would have, financially or else, supported Lon Nol. Persisting bombing attacks, eventually, destroyed much of the countryside and forced North Vietnamese to move out of their sanctuaries more to the heartland of Cambodia, which broke out into brutal civil war. The military maneuver had many decisive consequences, such as the mobilization of embittered peasants to the cause of the Khmer Rouge. The regime of this Cambodian ruling political party caused the deaths of at least one million people, by means of executions, starvations and forced labor. The American public reaction to Cambodia was another important response to the tragic decision. Many demonstrations and nationwide protests eventually managed to press Nixon to withdraw American troops from Cambodia by the end of June, 1970. Although Cambodia could have bought some time for the *Vietnamization* strategy, it also brought some decisive limits of the future use of U.S. combat forces and, at the same time, it emphasized the necessity for speeding up the pace of withdrawal.

1.3.4 Paris Peace Talks, 1971 - 1975

As mentioned earlier, the existing situation in South Vietnam of the 1970's was properly complicated. Neither Nixon's political decisions nor culminant domestic commotions were conducive to find the acceptable peaceful resolution of the conflict. "After two years of continued heavy fighting, intensive secret diplomacy, and political maneuvering, Nixon's position was worse than when he had taken the office." (Herring, 1986, p. 241) Still better, "in February 1971, Nixon again expanded the war, approving a major ground operation into Laos." (Ibid., p. 241) In term of strategy, the aim of the

military step was the same as that of in Cambodia – to gain some time for the *Vietnamization* and to break enemy supply lines.

Nevertheless, even this Laos' martial episode did not solve the problem. Furthermore, Nixon started to wise up to need a peace settlement in order to win re-election and, at the same time, to avoid the political humbleness. As a consequence in May, Henry Kissinger was dispatched to Paris to present such a peace offer that could end the war. If North Vietnam government released all the American war prisoners, U.S. government would undertake to withdraw all troops within seven months after an agreement would be signed.

The offer initiated the most intensive peace talks since the beginning of the war. Nevertheless, Kissinger was soon pressed to refuse the agreement, because the North Vietnamese government refused to accept the Thieu regime in South Vietnam. Neither Kissinger nor Nixon was willing to let Thieu without political support in the dangerous time of the elections. However, as lately as Thieu had been safely reelected, both politicians were willing to discuss again.

In March 1972 the North Vietnam troops initiated a massive, unexpected invasion of the south. The timing of the operation was purposely influenced by the beginning of the American presidential campaign in hopes to discredit the *Vietnamization* policy and to strengthen its position prior to the final peace negotiations. Because of limited amount of the present American forces, Thieu was forced to locate most of his reserves to defend the threatened towns, especially Saigon, etc. Nixon refused not to give a boost to Thieu and therefore he ordered to send American ground forces back to Vietnam and started to lead massive air attacks in the border – line area. "In the meantime, Kissinger met secretly with Soviet Premier Leonid Brezhnev. For the first time Kissinger made explicit American willingness to permit North Vietnamese forces to remain in South Vietnam after a cease-fire." (Herring, 1986, p. 247) He also warned that the Soviet Union is held responsible for the invasion hence, the continuation of the war could have damaged Soviet – American relations. The American offer was all the same rejected. On the top of that, the Soviet Union continued to support North Vietnam economically. Nevertheless, Kissinger's insistence managed to persuade the Soviet government to send a top-level diplomat to Hanoi to urge to make peace. Even China, another communist ally, did not keep out of the protests against Nixon's warfare. However, behind the scene, Chinese policy also pressed Hanoi to start to hold peace talks with the United States. (Ibid.)

Both Nixon and his National Security Adviser, Henry Kissinger, were aware of the necessity to revive the peace conference before the presidential election of the year 1972, even if the Democratic candidate George McGovern seemed not any longer to endanger Nixon's re-election. By contrast, the North Vietnamese leaders were also aware of the urgency of the peace talks. Nevertheless, they were disappointed in their hope that the invasion and offensive would force Nixon to compromise. Accordingly, the North Vietnamese leaders chose a different strategy. Till that time, they were aware of the fact that all U.S. peace offers were not made public. North Vietnam therefore decided to go public with all separate counts of the agreement, which ought to influence coming elections. Nixon's reaction was to restrict the economic and industrial capacity of North Vietnam. Thereupon, he made the decision to lead another wave of massive bombardment aimed at Hanoi and Haiphong. Concurrently, he started to press Thieu to accept the terms of agreement, strictly speaking to accept "a tripartite electoral commission" that would be compounded of the Saigon government, the Vietcong and neutralists. (Herring, 1986, p. 250) This body would be responsible for arranging a settlement after the armistice went into effect. Nevertheless, Thieu's reaction that came after was unpredictable. Thieu refused to accept an agreement that would provide for the American withdrawal and permitted the North Vietnamese troops to remain in the south. He found the counts of the treaty unacceptable. The situation was ineffective. (Ibid.)

Neither Kissinger nor Le Duc Tho, a communist peacemaker represented the North Vietnamese's interests, were not willing to resign their long-standing peace efforts. Nixon signed to Thieu to accept the treaty otherwise he is prepared to sign it without him. In early January 1973 the *Paris Peace Agreement* finally ended the long-running struggle between the U.S. and North Vietnam. The President Nixon announced the halt of all offensive actions against North Vietnam. "The Paris Peace Accords on "Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam" were signed on January 27, 1973, officially ending direct U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War." (Vietnam War Overview)

Notwithstanding, South Vietnamese still continued to fight against Communists and their allies. When the U.S. government made the decision to drastically reduce military aid in August, 1974, the South Vietnamese nation knew that their defeat was coming. "In the spring of 1975, the North launched a full-scale offensive into South Viet Nam," which culminated in the surrender of the South Vietnamese government, the

fall of South Viet Nam's capital of Saigon and the capture of the South Vietnamese presidential palace on 30th April, 1975. (The American / Viet Nam War, 2008) The state of war evoked the frantic departure of all remaining U.S. military personnel, and "the beginning of the mass exodus of hundreds of thousands of people from their lands and lives in South Viet Nam." (Ibid.)

In April 1975, the Vietnam War came to an end, which made the conflict possible to enter a new phase. Indochina, after the thirty-year long struggle, was faced the indecipherable problem of a land reconstruction. The nature and the environment, along with some twenty-five million acres of farmland and twelve million acres of forest, were totally destroyed. During a century of colonial oppression, a large number of foreign armies transformed the landscape of Indochina into ruins. In terms of the reconstruction problems, the standpoint of the United States was very similar. However, the American reconstruction was related to a different kind. The struggle took place in a long-distanced country. There was therefore no need to restore domestic material goods or the environment. The problem in the United States consisted in the reconstruction of ideology and faith of the domestic population in the honesty of purpose of the elites who determined U.S. policy.

1.3.5 The Post-war impact of Vietnam

In the post-war period, the American public tried to recuperate from such a long-lasting military intervention in foreign country and, at the same time, sought to find out whether America's withdrawal was a political defeat rather than military defeat. Many military leaders criticized a large scale of sustained bombing that did not manage to force North Vietnam to renounce, although the amount of bombing tonnage itself was more extensive than during the World War II. In accordance with George C. Herring, even General William Westmoreland admitted that the bombing had not been too effective because the North's leaders had been resolved to fight for independence and communist's predominance for thirty years.

The Vietnam–American War could be seen as a tragedy from all sides. Although communist attained a mental victory by both withdrawing of all American troops from South Vietnam and by unification of the country, on 2nd July, 1976 the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was formed by the unification of the Vietnamese Democratic

Republic and Vietnamese Republic, they were still struggling to rebuild the nation and to gain complete supremacy in the country. (A Modern Day Exodus, 2008) According to Le, “the new communist government began implementing several new economic, political, and agricultural policies based on communist ideology. These included the sometimes brutal “reeducation” (otherwise known as imprisonment and sometimes torture) of former South Vietnamese military personnel and their families.” At the same time, the conflict was not a victory even for the American side. On the contrary, this era had too oppressive impact on so many different spheres and areas that it took a long time to recover. George Herring, author of *Vietnam: America's Longest War*, says Vietnam continued to affect decisions about war, peace, and politics in the United States.

"The war is not over in the sense that the issues are not resolved yet," he said. "We have not resolved the issues of whether it was a good war or a bad war, or it could have been won or was lost by the foolishness of our leaders or opposition at home. The issues are still out there."

(George C. Herring)

The United States paid a high political cost for the Vietnam War, which was a watershed event in American history. As mentioned earlier, the martial conflict weakened public faith in government, and in the honesty and competence of its leaders. In point of fact, the American public was engaged in skepticism, if not cynicism. There were increasing amounts of representatives of all walks of life that were possessed with a high degree of suspicion and distrust toward authority of their political leaders. After the Vietnam War, Americans were able neither to respect nor to trust public institutions. The legacy of the war was also reflected in a term, so-called “Vietnam Syndrome”. (Vietnam War) The term described the impact of the Vietnam War on the US foreign policy after the end of that war in 1975. It was characterized by American public self-doubt and self-blame in every international conflict, and, simultaneously, by the belief that the United States should perpetually avoid military intervention abroad. A consensus was created, reflecting the lessons learned from the Vietnam War, predicative that “the United States should use military force only as a last resort; only where the national interest is clearly involved; only when there is strong public support; and only in the likelihood of a relatively quick, inexpensive victory.” (Ibid.)

Talking about war casualties, according to Le, “there will probably never be an adequate accounting of civilian battle deaths and casualties”. At the same time, there are still too many discrepancies relating both to the number of deaths on both sides and the amount of applied bombs and war material. Through that “the official American estimates place the number of South Vietnamese battle deaths for the years 1969 – 1973 at 107,504 and North Vietnamese and Vietcong at more than a half million. The tonnage of bombs dropped on Indochina during the Nixon era exceeded that of the Johnson years, wreaking untold devastation, causing permanent ecological damage to the countryside, and leaving millions of civilians homeless.” (The American/Viet Nam War, 2008) The war led to starvation. “The United States suffered much less than Vietnam, but the cost was nevertheless enormous. An additional 20,553 Americans were killed in the last four years of the war, bringing the total to more than 58,000.” (Herring, 1986, p. 256) “Another 153,303 U.S. soldiers were wounded, and about 2,500 are still listed as missing in action.” (The American/Viet Nam War) From the Vietnamese point of view this war conflict resulted in an estimated two million deaths and millions of starving and terrorized non-combatants. South Vietnamese lost their freedom and those who were compelled to flee the country mostly lost their homeland and their social identity.

It is also need to be mentioned that the Vietnam War and the presence of American soldiers caused not only the casualties on the battle field but it also influenced the next generation of Vietnamese nation. Over 50,000 “American Asian” children were born to Vietnamese women after the relationship between them and American military personnel during the Vietnam War. (Vietnamese Amerasians in America, 2003) Notwithstanding, more frequent reason of nativity of such babies were assaults of members of the U.S. military troops that finished with forcible rape and subsequently wrongful conception. The proximate consequence of these acts was severance of these women from their society with resulting discrimination and maltreatment of their babies, called “children of the dust”. (Ibid.)

These Vietnamese “Amerasians”, as these children are called by Shandon Phan in his work, suffered a troubled childhood. They tried to grow up in “a Confucianism-influenced and patriarchal society, they were mostly isolated by their peers for the absence of their father and their non-Vietnamese appearance. Things got worse under the Communist regime after the war ended--the new government viewed them as “children of the enemy.” ” (Ibid.) Although, according to Shandon Phan, there were

some children that were taken over to America in the final days of the war as a part of “Operation Baby-lift”, which was criticized later by the American society “as a culturally insensitive approach towards Amerasians”, the major part of them was left behind and rejected by both their American fathers and Vietnamese society.

After many years there was a growing tendency of the nation to look after America’s children left behind in Vietnam. Based on Shandon Phan’s attainments, as lately as, Sen. Stewart B. McKinney managed to say in his speech to “a Senate sub-committee in 1980” that it was time to accept responsibility. “As a result, the Homecoming Act was written in 1987, passed by Congress in 1988 and implemented in 1989. Under the *Vietnamese Amerasian Homecoming Act*, approximately 25,000 Amerasians have arrived in America with their immediate relatives. Altogether they numbered 77,000 according to a national survey conducted by Ohio State University.” (Vietnamese Amerasians in America, 2003)

In terms of army life, it is important to wise up to the soldiers’ situation of the era after the end of the war. The living conditions of veterans of Vietnam War were difficult. When these men were fortunate to live after the war cruelty in the battle field and in the jungle, they mostly would not be lucky to live in the same way as they used to. Many veterans were unable to leave behind the trauma of Vietnam, some of them lost limbs and others were poisoned by chemicals. The majority struggled with a variety of extremely severe mental problems that they and their families, friends, and communities did not understand or knew how to cope with.

At the beginning of the post-war period, neither veterans nor doctors or psychologist knew the reason of such a bad mental condition as a result of former warriors’ participation in the war. Until few years later it was found that these ex-servicemen suffered from “uncontrollable emotional reaction to an extreme psychological trauma, called Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).” (Vietnam War Veterans) According to a national survey it was found that “about one in three Vietnam veterans who served in-country suffered from full or partial Post Traumatic Stress Disorder a quarter century or more after the war. More than two in three Vietnam veterans suffered from full or partial Post Traumatic Stress Disorder sometime since Vietnam.” (Ibid.)

These ex-servicemen had simultaneously also serious problems with alcohol overuse or dependence and frequently they were unable to deprive of their drug addiction that they built up during their stay in Vietnam. At the war time it was common

that the servicemen spent their leisure time by smoking hashish, which was mostly the only way how to free their minds of the cruelty of the war. At the same time, “the availability and high quality of drugs in Southeast Asia meant that the drug culture that attracted growing numbers of young Americans at home was easily transported to Vietnam.” (Herring, 1986, p. 243)

All these factors played a substantial role in veterans’ social integration. It is important to mention that public attitudes toward veterans differentiated during the war. It was shifted from respect at the beginning of the conflict to disdain following the antiwar movement that developed at the end of the 70s. Simultaneously, it must be realized that there were no welcoming parades prepared for the returning veterans. In point of fact there was nothing done to aid veterans and their family members who needed an expert assistance. Americans seemed to shun the Vietnam veterans who were often ignored, isolated on the edge of the society, and even underprivileged by the public and the government. There is no wonder that many of these ex-servicemen that returned back home finally committed suicide. Those who did not want to give up their battle for better life but simultaneously did not succeed in integration to ordinary civilian life mostly became homeless without sufficient education and chance to get and keep jobs.

It took a long time for American nation to confess the Vietnam veterans’ sacrifice and their suffering. One of the symbols of U.S. acknowledgments and salute was the construction of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C., not until after 1982. The idea of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was formed by ex-serviceman, Jan Scruggs, who decided that the memorial must be conceived and designed to make no political statement whatsoever about the war. (Who formed the idea of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial?) “Lacking all the symbols of heroism, glory, patriotism, and moral certainty that more conventional war memorials possess, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial is a somber reminder of the loss of too many young Americans, and of what the war did to the United States and its messianic belief in its own overweening virtue.” (The Postwar Impact of Vietnam)

In terms of financial and economic situation, the impact of the Vietnam War on the U.S. economy had resemblance of wave motion. The period of 1962-65 was considered to be very positive, because of almost “full employment, very low inflation growth in productivity, gross national product, and national income, and a favorable balance of trade.” (The Domestic Course of the War) Nevertheless, as the number of

U.S. troops in Vietnam increased, the financial burden of the war grew. President Johnson's economic advisers had to come up to increased inflation. However, from domestic political reasons, Johnson tried to refuse to accept their advice until 1968. He made the decision to finance a major war and the Great Society simultaneously, which resulted in devastation of the American economy and deterioration of living standards. For all that, since the year of 1968, Johnson was finally forced to raise taxes to try to hold down inflation. Nevertheless, neither Johnson nor Nixon and his successors were able to get the inflation under control for many post-war years.

During Johnson's period, the U.S. society started to demand to found various social programs that would help them improve their social situation. The Great Society social reforms were therefore established to eliminate the poverty and racial injustice. It could be said that these reforms resembled Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. Notwithstanding, Johnson's reforms were more concentrated on "education, medical care or urban problems". (Great Society Speech, Lyndon B. Johnson, 1964) During the war and post-war periods some of the programs have been eliminated, but some of them, including "Medicare or Medicaid and federal education funding" keep going to the present. (Ibid.)

On the contrary, in Viet Nam, the communist regime started to strengthen its position by legalization of many radical economic and social policies that damaged the lives of many Vietnamese. The government started to concentrate on closing of "businesses owned by ethnic Chinese Vietnamese, seizing control of farmland and redistributing it, and on the mass relocation of citizens from urban to rural areas that were previously uncultivated or severely damaged during the war." (A Modern Day Exodus, 2008)

As mentioned earlier, the conflict in Vietnam had also an enormous devastating influence over the living environment of the whole area. The ecological destruction that began on a small scale in 1961 and finally ended during 1971 was caused, according to Marie Nunn, by the most devastating military use of herbicides, strictly speaking *Herbicidal Warfare program*, used by the United States Armed Forces. Agent Orange and "Super Orange" were the nicknames given to the herbicide and defoliant. (Ethics and ecology in the second Indo-China war) Its spraying was mostly aimed at that territory where the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong troops were militated. Nevertheless, the more the struggles proceeded the more the use of herbicide became more extensive and widespread.

Major effect was directed toward forests, when approximately 10% of trees were killed outright. “Long term effects on the indigenous mammalian fauna resulted from the indirect influence of disturbed vegetation and habitat destruction, as well as the direct toxic action of the applied chemicals,” e. g. dioxins that were released by degradation of herbicides caused major health problems, inclusive of cancer, genetic defects, abnormalities of pregnancy and high rates of birth defects not only for those exposed during the Vietnam War but also for their next generations. (Ibid.) “Today three million Vietnamese suffer the effects of chemical defoliants used during the Vietnam War. Vietnamese scientists have conducted research into the long-lasting effects of chemicals on human health. Agent Orange has also produced deadly consequences for Vietnam's natural environment with long-term poisoning of soil and crops.” (Ibid.)

2 THE INFLUENCE OF THE VIETNAM WAR ON THE AMERICAN SOCIETY

2.1 Interpretation of the Vietnam War

Interpretation of the Vietnam War has distinguished from many different patterns both during and after most of America's previous wars. Early historical assessments of the Vietnam conflict were for the most part highly critical of U.S. policy. According to Robert J. McMahon, the most widely read works that were concerned with the Vietnam War during the late 1960s and early 1970s—including those of journalists Bernard Fall, Robert Shaplen, and David Halberstam, and historians Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and George McT. Kahin and John W. Lewis—designated the policy of U.S. government mostly quite rudely and in non-discriminative way. These works presented a radically different version of the war's original purpose, and efficacy than that offered by Washington officialdom. There existed the broad agreement among early writers that the Vietnam War represented a colossal mistake for the United States, and that U.S. statecraft was beleaguered repeatedly by deficiencies, gross errors, misperceptions, miscalculations, and by significant interpretative differences.

At the beginning of the formation of public opinions on the Vietnam War two different views predominated that could still play a significant role in today's debates. The first view characterized American involvement in the war as an avoidable tragedy. In accordance to the liberal realist perspective, American politicians assessed that a true value of Vietnam's importance to the United States was connected with the economic and security interests of the United States. Simultaneously, these policymakers held an opinion that if the government had been aware of the limits of American power, then this tragedy might have been averted. The view represented the dominant interpretation of the Vietnam War. According to Robert J. McMahon's point of view, "major overviews of the war by such experts as George C. Herring, Stanley Karnow, Gary R. Hess, George McT. Kahin, William S. Turley, Neal Sheehan, and William I. Duiker take as a basic point of departure the notion that the Vietnam conflict was a tragic misadventure that could have been avoided had American leaders only been wiser, more prudent, and less wedded to the assumptions of the past."

The other major view was related to far more radical critique of American involvement. It characterized the United States as a global dominion that is responsible for its own economic expansion and that must oppose to expanding communism. Authors that tried to characterize American intervention in Indochina from this perspective usually emphasized the logical necessity of each superpower to struggle for world dominance. In accordance to Gabriel Kolko's work *Anatomy of a War*, there was formulated the most sophisticated and comprehensive definition of the radical standpoint. Kolko sees "U.S. intervention in Vietnam as a predictable consequence of the American ruling class's determination to exert control over the world capitalist system. The U.S. political economy's need for raw materials, investment outlets, and the integration between capitalist core states and the developing regions of the periphery set Washington on a collision course with revolutionary nationalist currents throughout the Third World."

In the matter of the media and politicians' attention that was focused on finding the decisive solution whether the Vietnam War was a predictable consequence or an avoidable tragedy, it must be mentioned that this question oppressed both the media world and the general public for the following several years. According to Robert J. McMahon, the solution will be found as soon as the exploration encompasses as well such fundamental questions as the purpose of American foreign relations, the nature of American society, and the meaning of the American historical experience, not only the mere origins and outcome of a war.

2.2 The Official Policies of the U.S. Government during the Vietnam War

From the political point of view, the official standpoint of the U.S. government that was related to the United States' involvement in Vietnam was launched against the spreading of communism in Southeast Asia. The political viewpoint was held largely by right-wing Republicans and conservative Democrats, who viewed the conflict in Vietnam as a basic element in the global struggle with the authoritarianism. To accomplish the aim, the United States made the decision to support an anti – communist regime maintained in the Republic of Vietnam. The U.S. foreign policy was aimed at preventing South Vietnam from falling to the communism, therefore this dominant

nation started to fight a major regional war in Southeast Asia. The question is whether the United States, as a free and self-contained state, should have incorporated itself to suppress communism in such a long-distanced region. The ongoing topic of many political debates is related to the fact whether the problems in Vietnam were primarily political and economic rather than military. The official attitude of U.S. government held an opinion that the reasons for waging the war against the communist regime were purely political. The opinion that predominated among U.S. policymakers was supported by the vision that communists could be encouraged to spread its authority and aggression and if allies and neutrals succumbed to the pressure, the United States would be left alone to confront such a powerful enemy. By this theory, the U. S. tried to rehabilitate its policy of attack in contrast with the policy of temporization of other nations.

The Vietnam War was fought during the period of the Cold War. As mentioned earlier, U.S. foreign policy was largely concentrated on suspension of spreading communistic regime. One of the reasons that promoted the political tendency was based upon so-called the domino effect theory. The theory was characterized as a “worldwide fear that if one country fell victim to communism, then one by one other country would fall victim, too.” (Propaganda: Pro War and Anti – War) This was the case of Vietnam. “If Vietnam fell, then suddenly Thailand and Indonesia would fall, ultimately causing more and more countries to fall victim to communism.” (Ibid.)

In terms of political strategies, the beginning of the Vietnam War was a result of Johnson's, a democratic president, policy, however, staying and continuing to warfare was led by his successor and henchman of the Republican Party, Richard Nixon. Today it is generally believed that Johnson was bent on escalation and full-scale war. After the *Tet Offensive* he was finally dissuaded from a policy of escalation, on the contrary he was advised to abandon war for peace. After the presidential election, the situation inherited by Richard Nixon was characterized as a big commotion. Domestic opinion about the war was divided, because there was no consensus on a course of action in Vietnam. Furthermore, the longer the war lasted the more the nation shared negative and pessimistic feelings about it. People could have seen only little progress both at the course of the war and later on at the peace talks. Therefore, they believed the fighting would continue for more years than they are able to concede. The combination of these feelings and the racial division in the country and the skepticism toward the anti-war

movement pressed U.S. government to concentrate on persuasion of the American nation that the principle of the war in Vietnam was rightful.

The administration established an intensive public relations campaign to reinforce with popular support for the war. One of the possibilities that were used by U.S. government to influence and to persuade the public opinion was the system of propaganda. The term “propaganda” is derived from the Latin *propagare*, to propagate, to reproduce, to spread, with the meaning, to transmit, to spread from person to person. Propaganda originates with the saying *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (Congregation for the Spreading of the Faith), a committee of Roman Catholic cardinals established by Pope Gregory XV in 1622, shortly after the start of the Thirty Years’ War. The committee was organized as a missionary group which proselytized for conversion to Roman Catholicism. (Savich, 2000)

A modern definition is the widespread dissemination or promotion of particular ideas, doctrines, or practices. It is a systematic effort to manipulate attitudes, beliefs, or actions by the use of varied mediums. In other words, propaganda is a set of messages that is aimed at influencing the opinions, behavior and personal attitude of large amount of people. The desired result of this process is a transformation of an independently cogitative individual in a huge number of a susceptible people. In its purest and essential form, propaganda consists in the manipulation of symbols-words, pictures, signs, and images. There are simultaneously many different forms of leading propaganda, e.g. leaflets, posters, music, movies, TV and radio broadcasts, advertisements, etc., which enables to influence wide spectrum of people.

At the present time, the term “propaganda” has been overused so that the term is practically meaningless for today. This view can be corroborated by the fact that propaganda has been one of the most prevalent and widespread phenomena of the twentieth century. Nowadays, propaganda and propagandists are known by different terms: public relations (PR), publicity, advertising, information warfare, spin doctors, image brokers, public affairs, promotion, marketing, media relations specialists or lobbyists. (Savich, 2000)

2.2.1 The U.S. System of War Propaganda

In terms of war conducting, it can be said that every conflict is fought on at least two grounds – the battle-field and the minds of the people by means of war propaganda.

This branch of public relations is devoted to manipulating people's attitude toward a war or war in general, rather than engaging in open dialogue. It includes all sorts of standpoints, both pro-war propaganda, provided by governments and war industrialists, and anti-war propaganda exploited by pacifists or enemy sympathizers. Methodology of war propaganda is used to confuse and demoralize enemies and also to influence public opinions in friendly countries. It is customary that a nation at war often uses propaganda to influence its own citizens.

According to British scholar, author and poet F.M. Cornford (1874 – 1943):

"Propaganda is that branch of the art of lying which consists in very nearly deceiving your friends without quite deceiving your enemies."

(Quoted in New Statesman, London, 15th September, 1978)

From the historical point of view, the dangers of war propaganda were first perceived in its first widespread and systematic use during World War I, the Great War. According to Carl Savich, during the following years the U.S. government was obliged to prepare for increasing influence of the propaganda system of surrounding nations. During the World War II the U.S. government established two special propaganda bureaus - the Office of War Information (OWI), specializing in overt propaganda, and the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), which specialized in covert propaganda or "information warfare" and which became the direct precursor of the CIA. After the defeat of Germany, the U.S. policy started to concentrate on another major ideological conflict, the Cold War, which necessitated an immense propaganda or information campaign against the USSR, China and global communism itself. (Ibid.)

The Vietnam War is a classical example of America's pro-war propaganda system. Especially at the beginning of the American involvement in this conflict there was a huge military and political control of information, which was also a major contributing factor to propaganda. According to Anup Shah, the author of the work related to war and propaganda, "the military often manipulated the mainstream media, by restricting or managing what information is presented and hence what the public are told. The paramount aim of their action was to control the media. This could involve all manner of activities, from organizing media sessions and daily press briefings, or

through providing managed access to war zones, to even planting stories.” Based on George Herring’s opinion, the U.S. administrations officials simultaneously helped organize the “Committee for Peace with Freedom in Vietnam”, which was seemingly a private organization with the principal aim to mobilize “the silent center” in American politics. On the top of that there was another establishment, called “A Vietnam Information Group,” which was set up in the White House to monitor public reactions to the war and to deal with all sorts of negative actions as soon as they appeared. Furthermore, the President ordered the Embassy and military command in Saigon to “search urgently for occasions to present sound evidence of progress in Viet Nam.” (Herring, 1986, p. 182) In response to that statement, U.S. officials established data manipulation and produced a large number of false statistics to show a fixed progress in the warfare.

In terms of fruitfulness of the pro-war propaganda, during the Vietnam War the U.S. propaganda system did its job partially but not totally. The main reason why the pro-war propaganda did not work at all points was the fact that the United States was not winning. Therefore, it was really hard to justify the deaths of so many young men. Another reason that could influence fruitfulness of spreading and receiving propaganda was the different population structure. According to Noam Chomsky’s point of view, the U.S. method of propaganda worked much better on well-educated walks of life than on the uneducated social classes. The secret of this success consisted in the fact that educated people read much more newspaper articles and political comments, so they received more propaganda. Chomsky simultaneously admits another possibility of the achievement that these more educated parts of the population usually worked in management, media or academia. Therefore, they worked in some detail as agents of the pro - war propaganda system and they believed what the system expected them to believe. (Propaganda, American Style)

On the contrary, the U.S. government had a lot of problems in controlling the opinions and ideas of the general population. Chomsky, by means of his article - *Propaganda, American-style* – held an opinion that “due to the widespread opposition to the Vietnam War, the propaganda system lost its grip on the beliefs of many average Americans. They grew skeptical about what they were told.” (Ibid.) These people started to understand too much what was really going on. The case of this social erosion of belief was called the “Vietnam Syndrome.” (Ibid.) From the privileged elites’ point of view, this skeptical attitude became too inconvenient.

As mentioned earlier, the system of pro-war propaganda used many different spheres of influence. There existed the most suitable instrument how to hold peoples' interest called - mass media. According to Chomsky and Herman, their "Propaganda Model" of the U.S. mass media is taken as a "guided free market model," in which a thought is controlled by market forces operating in a highly unequal society. In accordance to Noam Chomsky's opinion that was published in his article, democratic societies, such as the United States, are limited in its capacity to control human behavior by force. Chomsky claims that "since the voice of the people is allowed to speak out, those in power better control what that voice says." From his point of view, one of the possible ways how to control what the voice says, in other words - what people think - is to create political debate that appears to include many different opinions and stand-points, but actually keeps within very narrow margins. Whereupon those in power have to make sure "that both sides in the debate accept certain assumptions--and that those assumptions are the basis of the propaganda system. As long as everyone accepts the propaganda system, the debate is permissible." (Ibid.)

As to the mainstream media, such as *the New York Times*, *the Washington Post* or *CBS*, various political debates were either published or broadcasted through live transmissions. The main goal was to debate about the war. There were many debates over whether the North Vietnamese were guilty of aggression in Vietnam, but there was no discussion of whether the United States was guilty of aggression in its direct attack against South Vietnam, then all of Indochina. Noam Chomsky holds an opinion that "strikingly omitted from the debate was the view that the U.S. could have won, but that it would have been wrong to allow such military aggression to succeed. This was the position of the authentic peace movement but it was seldom heard in the mainstream media." (Ibid.) In agreement with it, it is important to wise up to the fact that all sorts of these debates were mostly limited, which reflects the over-whelming dominance of the state propaganda system and its ability to set the terms of thought and discussion.

2.2.1.1 Power of Television

By the mid-1960s, television was considered to be the most important source of news for the American public, and, in all probability, the most powerful influence on public opinion itself. Nevertheless, the progress and the influence of the news media

developed slowly and in successive steps. From the historical point of view, television as the dominant mass medium existed neither in the World War II nor in the Korean War. The television audience remained small because there was too small amount of homes that owned a television. At the time of warfare, there were other classes of media that dominated coverage, such as newspapers, magazines with their still photographs and broadcast. However, as television became more popular, more Americans began to get their news from this type of media rather than from any other source. The same can be said about the Vietnam War, because as the war conflict started to be more and more dragged on, the majority of American public started to prefer watching television news to reading newspaper the newspapers.

Although the system of pro-war propaganda was incorporated more or less in all various classes of media and, as mentioned earlier, the television news service was taken as the most exploitable source of information, the influence of broadcast also played very powerful and irreplaceable role. Nevertheless, at the first instance, it was very important to create necessary base that would enable the government control over providing information. Therefore, much earlier before the American involvement in Vietnam, the U.S. government made the decision to enlarge and to intensify the position of specialized propaganda and information agencies. According to Carl Savich, some of these government agents were created in the fifties, such as the Central Intelligence Agency that coordinated the Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty propaganda efforts or the US Information Agency (USIA) which coordinated propaganda broadcasts by the Voice of America (VOA). USIA was established in 1953 as an independent foreign affairs agency within the executive branch of the U.S. government. According to official information USIA concentrated on supporting American foreign policy. (Ibid.)

As mentioned above, broad audience preferred to acquire war-information through television to any other source. Nevertheless, it is a question why it was just like that. One of the possible answers can be related to credibility and the way of processing of provided information. A series of surveys conducted by the Roper Organization for the Television Information Office from 1964 until 1972 demonstrated the growing influence of television. The respondents were asked which medium they would trust if the media gave them conflicting accounts of a story. In 1972, 48 percent said television while only 21 percent said newspapers. (Hallin, 1986, p.106) Television was “consistently evaluated as more attention-grabbing, interesting, personally relevant, emotionally involving, and surprising” (Neuman, Just, Crigler, 1992, p.56) because of

two elements: visual and personality. The visual element of television allows viewers to feel as if they are part of the action. When news programs aired images of battles and death, Americans at home had the feeling as if they were in the jungles of Vietnam, too. Reporters became trusted very quickly because of the fact that the public turned to them every night to get some sort of new information. For instance, Walter Cronkite, the CBS Evening News anchorman, was referred to as “the most trusted man in America” throughout the war. (Hallin, 1986, p.106)

The trust had finally some effects on the way in which many Americans viewed the war. The American nation increasingly depended on watching the conflict in Vietnam through television. However, they were in a position to watch only several-minute modified versions of an extremely complicated war. “The government often decided what the evening news would cover and made sure it complied with their standards. They wanted people to believe the fighting in Vietnam was going as planned and that valiant soldiers were defending democracy and saving the South Vietnamese from the evil communists from the North. However, this was far from the truth and the American people began to figure this out. The media could not cover up the deaths of fathers, brothers, and friends. People began to notice.” (Propaganda: Pro War and Anti - War)

Concerning information communication, the television news industry is considered to be a business with a profit motive before it is a public service. At the beginning of the conflict, according to Erin McLaughlin, there was no need to make the news more entertaining by airing too dramatic stories. Reporting was relatively bloodless, focusing on the successes of “American good boys” in the fight against “Communist aggression” in the “battle for democracy.” (Television Coverage of the Vietnam War and the Vietnam Veteran, 2001) The stories of American soldiers in the fight became a foundation-stone of most of correspondents’ news. During the early part of the war, the soldier was portrayed as a “hero,” “brave men,” and “the greatest men in the world.” (Ibid.) Nevertheless, since the number of American troops increased, the producers and reporters started to concentrate on searching for more attractive and thrilling materials. During the conflict a hundred of correspondents were sent to Vietnam by their television stations to provide all required news, such as - combat actions, interviews with American soldiers, and helicopter and other dramatic scenes. From 1965 to 1967, 86 percent of the CBS and NBC nightly news programs covered the war, focusing mostly on ground and air combat (Bonior, Champlain, Kolly, 1984, p.4,

qtd. in Ibid., 2001). Television typically presented all events in terms of “a kind of morality play, a dramatic contrast between good, represented by the American peace offensive (in 1966), and evil, represented by Hanoi.” (Herman, Chomsky, 2002, p. 203) This coverage was generally very supportive of U.S involvement in the war and of the soldier himself. There was no tendency of U.S. reporters to make any efforts to see the war from the standpoint of the victims - the peasants of South Vietnam, Laos, or later Cambodia. Such evidence was ignored or suppressed. The U.S. mass media labeled the conflict as a “good guys shooting Reds” story so that it could fit into the ongoing saga of the Cold War. (Wyatt, 1995, p.81, qtd. in Television Coverage of the Vietnam War and the Vietnam Veteran, 2001)

2.3 Development of the Public Response as a Reaction on a Course of the Vietnam War

During the whole period of the Vietnam War there were various tips-off on public disagreement with the U.S. soldiers’ participation in the war in Vietnam. Although the wave of opposition started to emerge since the beginning of the struggle, it should be stressed that the intensity of the popular disapproval increased gradually. At the very beginning of the involvement the pro-war propaganda made good in influencing the public opinion and it took some time than the American society started to be skeptical toward the U.S. government and its way of representation of the Vietnam War. Simultaneously, the first indicia of disapproval coincided with the protests of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. The anti-war movement itself gained national proportion in 1965 and reached the peak in 1968.

As mentioned above, the disapproval of the American nation to Vietnam conflict became a part of both the protests of the Civil Rights Movement and the rise of Black Power in the sixties. During the period the American society started to face up the increasing tension between white and black walks of life. African – Americans were discriminated at home but also within the U.S. armed forces. On this account Vietnam was America’s first racially integrated conflict.

In terms of history, black soldiers had fought in all sorts of America’s previous military battles. Notwithstanding, the way of the integration of these soldiers in the army units was different. These soldiers were concentrated in special segregated units,

where they were obliged to accept orders from their commanders and leaders who were also of Afro–American origin. (The Vietnam War and the Civil Rights movement, 2006) Nevertheless, the way of military separation started to gradually decline. Although a small amount of segregated units still existed, the Afro–American soldiers during the Vietnam War were fully integrated into the Armed Forces. (Ibid.) This progressive step caused that the Afro–Americans started to feel worthy. However, at the same time, the incorporation had also some negative impacts because it incurred various kinds of discrimination. After all, the amount of Afro–American soldiers during the warfare started to increase. Black Americans believed that if the Vietnam War was declared to fight against spreading communism and consequently to promote liberal democracy, then if they defend democracy abroad they will be received positively at home. The Afro – American soldiers often resorted to the words of the legendary leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, W.E.B. Du Bois, when he advised during the beginning of World War I:

“Let us not hesitate. Let us, while this war lasts, forget our special grievances and close our ranks shoulder to shoulder with our own white fellow citizens and the allied nations that are fighting for democracy. We make no ordinary sacrifice, but we make it gladly and willingly with our eyes lifted to the hills.”

(An editorial “Close Ranks”, a part “The Crisis”, 1918)

From the other point of view, Vietnam also provided an opportunity for escape from poor economic and social conditions at home. In accordance to Brendan Gallagher “after years of discrimination, they viewed fighting in the war as an opportunity to prove their worth to their country.” (Ibid.)

Nevertheless, from the racial point of view, there were some signals expressed on the battlefield that black soldiers began to regret their decision to take part in this conflict. According to Brendan Gallagher, they started to identify themselves with the enemy and started to see the Vietnamese as “victims of white colonial racist aggression,” which led to many instances of desertion and refusals to obey orders given by officers. Generally speaking, the total discipline broke down. In terms of domestic situation, there were also some examples of disagreement when the Afro–American refused to be impressed because of racial reasons. For instance, a boxer, Muhammad Ali was willing to speak out:

“I ain’ t got no quarrel with those Vietcong. They want me to go to Vietnam to shoot some black folks that never lynched me. Never called me nigger and never assassinated my leaders.”

(Refusing military induction based on religious grounds, 1966)

His standpoint was to refuse to be enlisted for a soldier, which led to the fact that he was subsequently fined and arrested. Nevertheless, this position was taken as a right possibility how to react on the government’s requests. Based on Brendan Gallagher’s opinion, “Martin Luther King also urged dissenting blacks to seek the status of conscientious objectors, as indeed Ali had done.”

Although all these sorts of unequal living conditions of black Americans seemed to be originated in the Vietnam War, the background of the situation resulted from the problem that oppressed the whole Afro–American population - the hunger for the same civil rights for all Americans. There were various versions of public disfavor for this unbearable situation of the Afro–American nation. However, collective marches and demonstrations proved to be the most powerful way how to express the public resentment. One of the most powerful protests in American history took place in the capital city in 1963. More than 200, 000 blacks and whites participated the national March on Washington. (Ibid.) By one of the leaders of the indignation–meeting was a reverend, Martin Luther King, Jr., who made the decision to stand symbolically in front of the Lincoln Memorial, where he gave a speech about the urgency of the change. He called for black Americans to be included in the American Dream, which meant to be integrated into American society. Subsequently, in 1964, the Civil Rights Act was passed, which brought legal discrimination to a close. (Ibid.) The period was followed by several more protest marches that urged for more gains for African–American civil rights. Nevertheless during the continuing indignation–meetings the main aim of the Civil Rights Movement started to coincide more and more with the public disfavor for the negative course of the Vietnam War.

2.3.1 Anti – war Movement

The American anti - war movement against the Vietnam War in the period from 1965 to 1971 was the most significant movement of its kind in the whole history of this nation.

The anti-war movement, as a nation-wide campaign, became more and more powerful throughout the duration of the conflict and, at the same time, managed to intervene in many different social ranks. The university students and tutors, and members of college campuses represented the most radical majority of all social classes that were included in the anti-war propaganda campaign. However, there were also other kinds of walks of life that played a significant role in the struggle for withdrawal of U.S. soldiers from South Vietnam, such as middle-class suburbs and labor unions. It also included such diverse individuals as, foregoing, heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali, U.S. attorney and author Mark Lane, actress Jane Fonda or the black civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Simultaneously, there was a great deal of former soldiers who returned from Vietnam and who also wanted to be incorporated into the anti-war movement. These ex-servicemen demonstrated both against the government's abstract attitude towards veterans and the way how the war itself was conducted. They were disappointed by the fact that there was a lack of experienced soldiers who would be able to devolve their war experiences on young recruits of their unit. The national service of that time took one year and after that all recruits had a chance to decide whether they want to go back home or to extend their tour of duty. Many critics claimed that this fact had been the reason why the U.S. troops were not successful in warfare in Vietnam because there was only small amount of G.I. s that was willing to extend their tour of duty.

In accordance with Herring's standpoint, the anti-war movement tended to form three principal lines. The first group was represented by pacifists, who opposed all wars as immoral. Consequently, the Vietnam War was only another phase of their whole - life crusade. Another group was presented by followers of radical policy. "Spawned by the civil rights movement, drawing its largest following among upper-middle-class youth on college campuses, the "New Left" joined older leftist organizations in viewing the war as a classic example of the way the American ruling class exploited helpless people to sustain a decadent capitalist system." (Herring, 1986, p. 171) The last category that far exceeded in numbers both the pacifists and the radicals was formed by

anti-war liberals. Their standpoint was to trash out a question of the Vietnam War from all possible visual angles, such as moral, strategic or practical. Liberals simultaneously tried to deal with the validity of the referenced domino effect theory. They believed that the huge investment in Vietnam diverted attention from more urgent problems at home and abroad, which damaged America's development of cooperation with other nations and, at the same time, "inhibited the development of a more constructive relationship with the Soviet Union." (Herring, 1986, p. 172) This liberal criticism finally quickly broke out into an accusation of American "globalization."

As regards forms and methods of the anti-war propaganda, all various groups that formed the movement disagreed with each other and among themselves on goals and ways how to gain public support. From pacifists' and liberals' point of view, the termination of the Vietnam War meant to end it in itself. According to radicals' standpoint, the end of the war could be achieved only by overthrowing of American capitalism. (The Domestic Course of the War) The more various attitudes to the war came into being, the more disagreement on methods was maintained. However, there were many varied possibilities of individual or collective forms, like legal demonstrations, grass-roots campaigns, rally, petitioning or teach-ins that enabled to express popular disapproval of the war. Among hundreds of acts of individual defiance there were cases of refusal of induction orders or of refusal to pay income tax, which supported the defense budget. In light of military, hundreds of young men tried to express their anti-war standpoints either by finding some legal loopholes how to evade the draft or by fleeing to Canada or Australia.

In term of other possible methods, like pro-war propaganda, anti-war demonstrators also used music, television, symbols, posters, picket signs and movies to gain the support. Simultaneously, part and parcel of the anti-war movement and propaganda were the small round colorful political buttons that belonged to all participants of anti-war marches. Furthermore, according to Melvin Small, there existed some groups of peace activists that decided to travel to South Vietnam, some Quakers and others were able to provide medical aid to Vietnamese civilian victims of the war. "Encompassing political, racial, and cultural spheres, the anti-war movement exposed a deep schism within 1960s American society." (Ibid.)

2.3.1.1 College Protests

The strongest power of the anti-war movement, as mentioned above, consisted in hands of students' organizations that were mostly concentrated in the areas of college campuses across the country. Although the majority of these establishments were initially founded from many different reasons, e.g. to protest against nuclear proliferation or to fight for the civil rights of Afro-Americans, however, all these racial and cultural spheres were gradually overshadowed by much more important problem of that time – the dissent from the American participation in the Vietnam War. (For more detailed information about some students' campuses organizations, such as "*Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)*" or "*Free Speech Movement (FSM)*," and its impact on the anti-war movement, see Attachment 5)

2.3.1.2 Mass Media against the Vietnam War

As mentioned earlier, both pro-war propaganda and anti-war propaganda used all possible sorts of distributing information that could help them to gain its support. As well as the pro-war propaganda was aware of the fact that mass media, especially television or broadcast, can play a decisive role in controlling and influencing the public attitude towards the Vietnam War, the same opinion was held by the followers of the opposite side of the movement. On this account the anti-war propaganda system also focused in distributing information by means of various sorts of mass media, particularly by television.

By the fall of 1967, the amount of people that watched the evening news of the war increased. Erin McLaughlin claimed that up until this time, the war had strong support from the media, the public, and Congress. The military continuously reported that the U.S forces were making encouraging progress. However, the U.S. government made one big mistake, which made the public to restrict its support for the war. The problem consisted in the fact that no military censorship was established. Therefore, journalists who reported on the Vietnam War were given complete freedom to show war as they saw it. They were allowed to follow the military into combat and report their observations without formal censorship. (Television Coverage of the Vietnam War and

the Vietnam Veteran, 2001) The more terrific combat scenes journalists saw the more graphic images they used when they presented their feelings to the public. It was simultaneously the first time when the interviewed soldiers expressed their frustration with the progress of the war.

The major turning point in television's coverage of the war occurred during the *Tet Offensive*, in 1968. Though the North Vietnamese soldiers managed to make an attack on a large numbers of important Southern Vietnamese cities, in terms of casualties, *Tet* was taken as a U.S victory. Nevertheless, the media portrayed the attack as a brutal defeat for the U.S. For those television and newspaper commentators who had criticized the war conflict since its beginning, this offensive provided compelling evidence of its foolishness and imprudence. The most significant statement of that time came from the "most trusted man in America", Walter Cronkite. In a CBS special, Cronkite concluded, "To say that we are closer to victory today is to believe, in the face of the evidence, the optimists who have been wrong in the past. To suggest that we are on the edge of defeat is to yield to unreasonable pessimism. To say that we are mired in stalemate seems the only reasonable, yet unsatisfactory conclusion." (Herring, 1986, p. 200-201)

The most negative change in coverage of American involvement was the portrayal of the U.S troops. Before the *Tet Offensive*, the correspondents and reporters tried to describe stories devoted entirely to the positive morale of the troops. After *Tet*, the number of negative morale stories increased. (Ibid.) Most of these negative references included increasing drug use, racial conflict, and disobedience among the U.S soldiers. There were many nowadays already classic images that were flashed on television screens and that characterized the shocking events that happened in Vietnam all the time, such as fleeing of little naked children after their village was napalmed or the execution of a Viet Cong prisoner that was caught from its beginning to its end on film and aired as a part of the nightly news. One of the most damaging images for the U.S. soldier's reputation was caused by the television coverage of the *My Lai massacre*. Though initial reports stated that the operation killed 100 enemy soldiers in March 1968, it was revealed a year later that First Lt. William Calley and his task - force had killed up to 350 South Vietnamese civilians (Hammond, 1998, p.192). The massacre and Lt. Calley's trial became one of the war's leading stories. Moreover, it introduced the subject of American war crimes into television's remaining coverage of the war. The American nation started to wonder what was really going on in that foreign country.

The negative coverage of the war influenced both politicians and the public. The American nation still depended on television to see and understand the war. Nevertheless, the casualties and destruction they saw appeared as a result of irrational killing. Therefore, the majority of Americans started to withdraw their support for the war. Though the media had been covering the anti-war movement before 1968, it now overshadowed the war itself. Draft-card burning and demonstrations provided television with fresher conflict, human impact, and moral issues. The massive loss of public support for the war made politicians initiate the policy of withdrawal. Television no longer focused on combat, but on the political process.

It is very complicated to evaluate the overall influence of television coverage on the public meaning. Nevertheless, the belief, that the mass media, especially television, were responsible for U.S. government break-downs, is widely expressed. The television broadcasting is even said to “lose the war” because the viewing public was allowed to detect war horrors by watching uncensored scenes of combat, destruction and atrocities in their living rooms, in living color. From the realistic point of view, it is necessary to allow for the fact that television, as the principal and most believed source of news, became an instrument in shaping public opinion, no matter the pro-war or anti-war propaganda origin. Television coverage brought images of the war home to the American public, though these images, particularly at the beginning of the struggle, were rarely a true reflection of the war itself. As television news became more and more popular, throughout the turbulent years of the Vietnam War era, the American nation increasingly relied on visual elements to inform them of the situation in Vietnam. “The media had become a “notable new source of national power” by 1970 as part of a general “excess of democracy,” contributing to “the reduction of governmental authority” at home and a resulting “decline in the influence of democracy abroad.” (Herman, Chomsky, 2002, p. 170 - 171)

Nevertheless, it has become almost a platitude to say that television, by showing the terrible truth of the war, caused the disillusionment of Americans with the war or that the nightly exposure to violence contributed to public war-weariness. This assertion is hard to be proved, however, it can be taken as acceptable possibility that television generated support for the war or even caused apathy. From Mandelbaum’s point of view “a direct link between television reporting and public opinion can not be established, however, and it seems more likely that the media’s shift to a critical position reflected rather than caused the parallel shift in public opinion.” (Michael Mandelbaum, 1982, p.

157-168, qtd. in Herring, 1986, p. 203) Furthermore, there existed some views that the media wanted to expose the war in a negative light. There is a possibility that as part of an anti-war agenda, news producers and journalists purposely selected stories that depicted the war as uncontrollable and the U.S soldier as a crazed baby-killer. Simultaneously, it is necessary to allow for the fact that the negative media and public reception of the Vietnam War was partially caused by the attitude and policy of the U.S. government. One of the possibilities that could influence the negative approach of the media was the period when the government and the military lied to the media about the progress of the war. In fact, up to *Tet*, media coverage of the war tended overwhelmingly to be neutral to the government. The reporting, during and after this offensive started to be much more critical. However, it can be considered to be a normal reaction to the government's betrayal. From the overall point of view, the combination of all of these factors worked the change, when the American public turned against the Vietnam War. (Herring, 1986, p. 203-204)

Out of consideration to history, the American movement against the Vietnam War became the most successful antiwar movement in U.S. history. During the period of Lyndon Johnson's government, this anti-war attitude played a significant role in constraining the war and, at the same time, it managed to stream-line the process of U.S. troop withdrawals. The activists contrived to feed the deterioration in U.S. troop morale and discipline, which again provided needful motive force for the withdrawal of U.S. troops. The anti-war movement and anti-war criticism in the media and Congress had a significant impact on Vietnam. However, the anti-war movement itself did not have the power to turn the American people completely against the war. The effectiveness of the movement was more or less limited by the divisions within its own ranks. Nevertheless, it can be said that it influenced American political and military strategy. The disturbances and divisions set off by the anti-war movement caused a major depression among the policymakers and the public. In general terms, it can be said that the combination of all factors, such as television's view of the war, the anti-war movement, and the chaos of the Civil Rights Movement caused Americans to grow tired of violence and war, which encouraged efforts to find a way out of the war.

3 THEMES OF THE VIETNAM WAR AND ITS EFFECT ON CULTURAL LIFE OF AMERICANS

Scarcely any other American conflict in the 20th century affected nearly every aspect of American life as the Vietnam War did. This warfare had a powerful influence on American culture, politics, and life. The themes of Vietnam could be found everywhere – in newspapers, radio, television, movies, and magazines. Such a long-running suffering changed public opinion of state institutions, government, the military forces, and last but not least the media. All the events of the chaotic period of the 1960's and the 1970's, including war and domestic social changes, influenced future development of the next generation. Although most of people's attention still remained to be focus on common problems of their daily lives, there were no areas that would not be affected by the war. In all branches of social life all sorts of trends that became part of the Vietnam War were expressed, such as a growing disillusionment of government, exhausted and depressed generation of Vietnam ex-servicemen, positive development and advances in civil rights or increased influence of the women's social status. "Many of the radical ideas" and attitudes of the young generation that became a symbol of the period of the 60's, "gained wider public acceptance in the new decade." (American Cultural History 1970-1979, 1999) They were simultaneously incorporated into American cultural life that after all bad impacts of the war started to flourish. It was taken as a natural reaction of the general public to all events of that time. Therefore, both war horrors and civil commotions became the inspiration for a great deal of the literature, amusement, music, film production and even fashion.

The war inspiration, as mentioned above, influenced almost all branches of American culture. However, in the matter of detailed exploration, it was necessary to take a think how much the war description influenced each kind of American culture and whether and how the Vietnam War representation changed over time. In term of more than three-decade timing relationship, it could be said that the diverse methods of approach to the Vietnam conflict were in accordance with the different way of artistic design of all kinds of cultural categories. The feature that was common to all branches of cultural world was related to the time behavior. At the beginning of the American involvement the majority of Americans did not seem to have been willing to talk or

think about their nation's longest and most exhausting war. "That forgetfulness gave way in the early 1980s to a renewed interest in the war. Such media as Hollywood, network television, and the music industry made Vietnam a staple of popular Culture. Scholars, journalists, and Vietnam veterans produced a flood of literature on the conflict, especially concerning its lessons and legacies." (US Military History Companion: Vietnam War (1960 – 75): Postwar Impact) War stories and narrations started to become part of common cultural life. The period of the early 80's represented the most productive wave which enabled to revive nation's interest in the war and to flood the American artistic market. This reaction was caused by all different aspects, especially by timing relationship and by forgetfulness of the majority of Americans and, at the same time, by the new generation itself and its own standpoint to the struggle.

3.1 American Literary Culture and the Vietnam War

In the first few years after America's withdrawal from Vietnam there were not many literary works that would represent or prove by evidence the attitudes toward the Vietnam War. The change turned up in the late 70's and early 80's, when the wave of literary works linked with war themes started to flood the market. A large number of these pieces were represented by personal narratives "which focused on the experiences of the combat infantryman--the grunt or foot soldier. Most came from people who were actually there--soldiers, reporters, medics. In these imaginative shapings of war experience, the authors searched for literary forms to adequately express their experience." (The Literature of the Vietnam War)

3.1.1 Novel

One of the books that appeared on the literary market and that simultaneously received the most critical attention immediately after its printing in 1968 was Norman Mailer's *"The Armies of the Night."* The plot of Mailer's work was a reflection of the events surrounding the March on the Pentagon in Washington D.C. in the fall of 1967. (Ibid.) The beginning of the conflict in Vietnam was not characterized by a wave of creative literary work that would be connected with the description of the war. Indeed,

Mailer's piece was related to the Vietnam War, however it described the struggle from the domestic point of view. All the more it was important to appreciate uniqueness and incomparableness of Norman's novel that surely belonged to the category of personal narratives, which was confirmed by the fact that Norman Mailer was not only an eyewitness but also an active participant of the March on Pentagon. (Ibid.) As regards the plot, Mailer concentrated on three days duration of the March. According to James Stark, the reviewer of this novel, "Mailer takes through Friday (burning of draft cards at the Department of Justice), Saturday (the Day of the March and Mailer's incarceration in the State of Virginia's correctional system) and, finally, Sunday (Mailer is released on his own recognizance and the last demonstrators leave the Pentagon grounds)." The book bore record to the situation both from the front line of demonstrators and from the surrounding of the prison cell, where the author himself was obliged to spend some time. It is simultaneously worth mentioning that this nonfiction masterpiece was awarded by both a Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award. (The Literature of the Vietnam War)

Among other writers, who had a right to word-paint the war atrocities because of their personal war experience, belonged Michael Herr. This writer and former war correspondent for *Esquire magazine* was best known as the author of "*Dispatches*" (1977), "a masterful collage of stories, dialogue and prose poetry on the Vietnam War." (Dispatches, Vietnam Michael Herr, 2006) Many critics called it one of the best books about the war of that time, as evidenced by the book-wrapper note of the well-known novelist, John le Carré: "The best book I have ever read on men and war in our time." Another personage of the literary world that explained his enthusiasm about Herr's masterpiece was a journalist and author, Hunter S. Thomson, who proclaimed:

"We have all spent ten years trying to explain what happened to our heads and our lives in the decade we finally survived – but Michael Herr's Dispatches puts all the rest of us in the shade."

(Hunter S. Thomson, Dispatches, Vietnam Michael Herr)

The fruitfulness of the book could be caused by the way in which the book holds the reader's attention. It is likely that Herr managed to make the best of his writer experience to create a writing style that appeared like "the screenplay to a war movie", which enabled the work was easy to read and the plot had a drift to events. (Michael

Herr's *Dispatches*) This ability gave him an opportunity to become not only a literary writer but also a screenwriter. A few years later, he co-operated on Stanley Kubrick's screenplay for the film "*Full Metal Jacket*" and he also wrote the narration for another kind of war film – Francis Ford Coppola's "*Apocalypse Now*."

According to Wendy Smith, Michael Herr, a young journalist "whose previous experience consisted mostly of travel pieces and film criticism, managed to transform himself into a wild new kind of war correspondent capable of comprehending a disturbing new kind of war." From her point of view, the book "*Dispatches*" "was and still is the timeless portrait of war's bedrock realities—fear, death, murder, madness. It is also a revelation of the beauty that unfolds in extreme circumstances, the clarity of vision possible when everything extraneous has fallen away. It is a brazen display of unbridled romanticism and extravagant prose. It is a chastening exploration of our complicity in what we see from a safe distance."

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

There was a large amount of works that due to its style of writing and mode of warfare representation managed to transfer unsuspecting readers into cruelty of the martial atmosphere. One of the literary pieces that are worth mentioning is the war novel of Tim O'Brien called "*Going After Cacciato*" (1978), which is the story of a soldier who made the decision to leave Vietnam to walk to Paris. (Tim O' Brien – An Introduction to His Writing, 1997) According to Ken Loper, "*Cacciato* combined

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

“War stories aren’t always about war, per se. They aren’t about bombs and bullets and military maneuvers. They aren’t about tactics. They aren’t about foxholes and canteens. A war story, like any good story, is finally about the human heart.”

(Tim O’Brien, *The Literature of the Vietnam War*)

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

In term of fiction, one of the world’s notable writers of the Vietnam War was Stephen Wright whose novel “*Meditations in Green*” (1983) was appreciated very positively by many literary critics and reviewers. Wright “surrealistically explores the life of a heroin addicted ex-soldier who can not leave the war behind him.” (Ibid.) In accordance with a critique of Mathew Stewart, Wright’s work owned an obvious sense of “literariness, of realized aesthetic intentions, not found in the majority of narratives written about the Vietnam War.” From Stewart’s point of view, “*Meditations in Green*” made good in representing Vietnam’s wastage at both “a literal, descriptive level typical of traditional realism and a metaphorical level that links the novel to more experimental fictions.”

As regards the way how to describe the war to make sense to broad audience, it was very difficult. Writers, whose attention was paid to the Vietnam War, as mentioned

above, were mostly the ordinary foot soldiers or journalists, therefore their personal experience of the soldier's daily routine became the foot-stone for more obvious description and understanding the war. They often focused on "the surface details of daily existence – the everyday routines of war, the jokes, conversations, superstitious rituals – rather than on larger historical or political questions about the war." (Ibid.) However, this way of realizing started to be criticized and, according to Susan Farrell, it became "a cliché of Vietnam literature: *"If you weren't there, you can't possibly understand what it was like."*" From James C. Wilson's point of view, the presumption that the common reader was not able to understand Vietnam was wrong. This literary critic held an opinion that "these writers simply play into the hands of all those who wanted to keep the war a mystery." (Ibid) On this account it was important to change the way of describing the traumatic war experience into something meaningful.

The literature, based on themes of the Vietnam War, was also criticized for its constricted way of presenting the struggle. It meant that the writer concentrated just on one point of view and it did not matter whether it was on the part of supporters' or opponents' of the U.S. involvement. There was an entire lack of any kind of Vietnamese stand-point. Besides these objections to the limited viewpoint of the Vietnam War authors, there were some other disclaimer opinions of the feminist critics. They believed that "the literature reinforces a view of war in which men are the tragic victims and women are objectified or silenced. Brutal rape scenes of Viet Cong women by American soldiers are not unusual in the literature, while American women back home are often depicted as unable to understand the war in any meaningful way or to empathize with the suffering male soldiers experienced." (Ibid.) All the same, there existed some paucity loads of both eyewitness narratives and imaginative treatments of the war that concentrated on these omitted themes. According to Susan Farrell, one of these works was represented by Bobbie Ann Mason's *"In Country."* The heroine of the story is a teenage girl, Samantha Hughes, who tries to do her best to learn as much as she can about the war in which her father died. Based on Susan Farrell's view, "this novel questions the war's effect on a later generation as well as the relationship between gender and war."

In the matter of Vietnamese authors and their Vietnam War literary production, many autobiographical novels written by North Vietnamese writers started to become part of the American literary market. For instance, Bao Ninh's novel called *"The Sorrow of War: a Novel of North Vietnam"* "has been compared to Erich Maria

Remarque's classic World War I novel, "*All Quiet on the Western Front*." (Ibid.) From Farrell's point of view, one of the best known Vietnamese masterpieces of the war was called "*When Heaven and Earth Changed Places*." The story of Le Ly Hayslip's personal experiences of the period during and after the Vietnam War took place in a central Vietnam village in the late 60's and early 70's, when Le Ly was a young girl. (Ibid.) Later on, this vivid narration, as well as many others, became a film adaptation. In 1993 Oliver Stone made the decision to direct a film "*Heaven & Earth*" that was based on Le Ly's life story. The next chapter of this work will be concerned with the broad issue of the film production of that time. (Ibid.)

As for the impact of the Vietnam War themes on another branch of literature – poetry, "a large number of poems mirrored the feelings of all participants as America's longest war began to seem more and more un-winnable: the sense of loss of individuality, the feeling of guilt at having participated." (Poetry and Vietnam) The majority of them showed the martial barbarities and the horrors of war. Based on John Pratt's opinion, "the deaths of innocent civilians, the tragic ending of youthful lives, and the general sundering of moral and ethical values" influenced the generation of these authors in such a degree that writing poems was the only way how to relieve their conscience. (For more detailed information about some famous poems of the Vietnam War period, see Attachment 6)

In fine, it should be supplemented that the Vietnam War gradually became in truth an appreciative theme of the majority of authors of that turbulent period. It did not matter whether these writers were American eyewitness ex-servicemen or Vietnamese nationals. At any rate, it is possible to agree with Susan Farrell's standpoint that "the literature of the Vietnam War is an emotionally powerful and increasingly popular category of contemporary literature," which was also consistent with O'Brien's opinion that war stories are not only about bombs and military tactics but also about the human heart.

3.2 American Music at the Time of the Vietnam War

There were many different ways of how to express moods, emotion and mostly only despair implicit in the negative course of the action both in the battle-field and in the front line of the demonstrations. In terms of all these varied possibilities of

expression, such as literature, film or art, music was one of the most in use. Music became an inherent part of lives of American society as evidenced by many diverse reasons why it was so. Music, as one of many various branches of cultural life, differed from any other means of expressing, such as movies, poetry or painting, by providing its effortlessness and availability practically for everyone. Scarcely any limits would hinder anyone to compose or just to sing a song with a message. These substantive features of music became a bottom line for its developing and spreading throughout the whole period of the Vietnam War. The era from the 60's till the end of the 70's characterized such a long-time epoch of fights for the civil rights, domestic civil commotion and race riots that virtually every man and woman could have found the reason why to express their stand-points. Music came through the whole war years as well as any other artistic category, e.g. literature or film production, nevertheless, because of so many varied events that happened during that time, there existed some special branches of music that represented each individual era of the conflict in Vietnam.

In light of various forms of music, the era of the 40's was represented by big bands and jazz. These were popular forms of music, however, during the following decade the influence of jazz started to decline. The generation that passed through the atrocities of the World War II started to look for some new, brighter and uplifting sounds. Finally, within the scope of this endeavor, rock n' roll, the new form of music, came into existence. During the 1960's the music began to reflect the standpoints, feelings and views of life of the US nation all the more than it was usual in the decades before. The period of the sixties, as noted previously in this work, represented the age epoch rich in The Civil Rights Movement, Vietnam War, Anti-War Movement, and other demonstrations of human coexistence. As mentioned earlier, "the 60s were a time of depression and the music really uplifted the people's spirit." (Music History from the 1960s) The music was not just an instrument of amusement any more. Besides rock n' roll also folk music and the "hippy movement" largely impressed the American Culture during the Vietnam War era. "The baby boomers in the late 1960's adopted the "hippie" culture which personified not only the music of that time but also the concept of "sex, drugs, and rock and roll." This disposition helped to alleviate the pressures inflicted by the war culture embraced on America's home front." (3 Days of Peace and Music) For singers' and performers' part, this decade was represented by such stars - Elvis Presley, The Supremes, Janis Joplin, Joan Baez, the Folk King Bob Dylan, etc. In the matter of the following decade, the 1970's music represented the wave of the public effeteness

and modulation. The “hippy movement” started to decline in its importance hence, music fans began to prefer hard rhythms and loud sounds of a new form of music called hard rock. Many of these music bands, such as Led Zeppelin, Black Sabbath, and Rolling Stones represented not only a new form of music but also a new way of living and view of life. (The Influence of Music in Vietnam-Progression of Rock n roll)

3.2.1 Music of Combat Zone

In the matter of combat zone, it could be said that all songs of the sixties – of the beginning of the U.S. involvement - became part of the common life of foot-soldiers, helicopter pilots, snipers and flatfoots. When the battlefield situation made it possible, the U.S. troops listened to music both in the army base and in the jungle. Based on Lydia Fish’s information, there were many various ways and means how to perceive the music world. For instance, “Sony radios, Akai stereos and Teac tape decks were easily available, American music was performed live by the ubiquitous Filipino rock bands, AFVN Radio broadcast round the clock, and new troops arrived weekly with the latest records from the states.” (Songs of Americans in the Vietnam War, 1993) Simultaneously, there existed some local “underground radio stations” that were founded by GIs themselves and which, according to Lydia Fish, were taken as “part of the in-country counterculture of the war.” Besides listening to hard acid rock of GI’s radio stations, the U.S. troops’ soldiers were in a position to listen to the American music that flew on the airwaves from the enemy “Radio Hanoi”. (Ibid.) Throughout the war, the troops compiled their own top forty of songs “about going home”, like “*Five Hundred Miles*,” or “*Leaving on a Jet Plane*,” or of darker or more cynical album cuts which reflected their experiences: “*Run Through the Jungle*,” “*Bad Moon*,” “*Paint it Black*,” or “*The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down*.”” (Ibid.)

As regards another sort of war songs, the bulk of the American men and women, civilians and military, who served in Vietnam, composed some songs just for their own amusement to help relieve the oppressive situation of the combats. Most of these songs were part of the “traditional occupational folklore” of the military forces. (Ibid.) At the same time, there were plenty of already existed songs, which texts were gradually rewritten to correspond to war events in Vietnam. According to Lydia Fish, Captain Kris Kristofferson rewrote one of “the most popular of all Korean War songs, “*Itazuke*

Tower” in Germany and his helicopter pilot buddies carried it to Vietnam where it was sung as “*Phan Rang Tower*” and reworked again by Phantom Jock Dick Jonas as “*Ubon Tower.*””

On the other hand, there were some cases when both the text and music of the songs were original and based on the Vietnam soldiers’ experience, which also helped them to survive by diverting their attention. In respect of the themes of these war songs, the authors tried to mediate the life in the battle field and war horrors by writing songs about paying a tribute to their deadly comrades, celebrating heroic deeds, praising of the great leaders or glorifying the war effort, as in the song “*Ballad of the Green Berets.*” (Ibid.)

3.2.2 Protest music

The conflict in Vietnam, as noted previously, affected adversely not only the U.S. soldiers in the battlefield and the trenches in Vietnam jungle but also the general public in the USA. In term of music, protest songs offered people an opportunity for expressing their disfavor for conducting of war. Based on J.W. Anderson, “it was a form of communication that served as a uniting factor for a population that felt disenfranchised, much like the blacks during the civil rights movement.” As to structure of the songs, the situation was the same as for other kinds of war songs. The rhythm and the melody were not as much important as the message itself. Especially a political message enabled to bring out such emotions of political commotion, anger and dissatisfaction, which evoked the right needfulness to do something about it. According to J.W. Anderson, a political message in a song did not differ from “free speech guaranteed under the US Constitution. As long as there is a cause or an event that provokes emotions, there will be songs and rhetorical speeches on both ends of any issue.”

In reference to the protest music, the period of the early sixties was connected with a protest movement that spread among students at U.S. colleges. The most influential form of music of that time was represented by folk songs. According to Steve Schifferes, “the folk-song movement of the 60’s was already well-established with artists like Joan Baez and Bob Dylan reaching a relatively small but devoted audience.” Plenty of folk singers were also linked with the Civil Rights Movement and its mass

demonstrations against segregation. For instance, Bob Dylan's song "*The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll*" and "*Birmingham Sunday*" by Joan Baez pointed out "the losses in the civil rights struggle" in Southern cities like Selma and Birmingham. (Vietnam: The music of protest, 2005) Bob Dylan made the decision to take advantage of his musical groundswell and started to "take on political influence." (Bob Dylan Biography) Bob's songs reflected his interest in traditional folk, blues and gospels. His songs of the sixties represented "a simple folk melody coupled with lyrics questioning the social and political status quo," (Ibid) which was evidenced by the anthem of the Civil Rights Movement "*Blowin' in the Wind*" that, according to Steve Schifferes, happened to be the most famous song of this era. Throughout the piece, Bob Dylan proved his mastery both as a singer and composer of protest songs.

The folk protest movement started to shift its focus during the 1965 when the presence of the US soldiers in Vietnam began to escalate. Within a few years the protest movement melted into mass students' demonstrations on US campuses that culminated by the March on Washington and the Pentagon. More and more people began to use the folk songs as the instrument of their anti-war expression. These people believed that "the music and the message were born generally because of the knowledge that war was not a solution to world problems, but specifically because of Vietnam and the thought of dying for a cause that could not be in any form, matter, or substance, be justified." (Vietnam Era Anti War Music) The supporters of these songs were represented mostly by young men who faced the "possibility of serving in Vietnam during the Selective Service draft" and who felt the necessity for looking up to somebody who could support them in their fights against the US government. (Vietnam: The music of protest, 2005)

One of these personalities, whose texts of songs expressed the same feelings of desperation as of the majority of the population, was Joe McDonald, alias Country Joe. This singer and composer of the anti-war song lyrics impressed the wave of young protesters through his song "*I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixin'-To-Die-Rag*" that provided an inspiration and energy for all participants of the Anti-war Movement. "Its bitter lyrics '*you can be the first one on your block to have your boy come home in a box*' were played again and again at rallies and demonstrations." (Ibid.) From Anderson's point of view, Country Joe and the Fish's song became "the satirical anthem of the anti-war movement." (Ibid.) (For Joe McDonald's explanation how he had written the song, see Attachment 7) According to Joe McDonald, alias Country Joe: "the song attempts to address the horror of going to war with a dark sarcastic form of humor called GI

humor,” which was a way of how people could express their feelings and complain about their situation without being in trouble. At the same time, it kept them from going insane. (Ibid)

Concerning other songs and their political lyrics, there was a large number of them that affected the progressive anti-war movement. From Anderson’s point of view, “the music became more daring and more political” during persisting and constant fights in Vietnam. One of these pieces was the song “*Rejoyce*” that was based on James Joyce’s novel “*Ulysses*.” The song’s author, Grace Slick, once explained:

“I just assumed that most people of our generation have had at least a couple years of college and I further assumed my generation would understand the black humor of the song, the idea of a mother saying how wonderful their kid was because he killed a lot of people. Kind of a disgusting war mode thing.”

(Grace Slick, Vietnam Era Anti War Music)

By 1968, the war in Vietnam escalated, hence the level of campus protests, as a natural reaction to the draft, started to rise dramatically. Based on Steve Schifferess’s opinion, the nature of the protest songs changed. “This was the era of the youth counter-culture, flower power, and the Woodstock music festival. Rock music replaced folk music as the centre of protest culture, and cultural protest merged with political demonstrations. Groups like the San Francisco-based Jefferson Airplane and the Grateful Dead were closely associated with the protest movement as they moved into drug-influenced acid rock.” (Vietnam: The music of protest, 2005)

In the matter of the protest music, it should not have been forgotten about one of the most widely known musical and cultural events of the sixties – Woodstock 1969. “The summer of 1969 was a time of change. It was the year of the Beatles swansong, the first manned moon landing, and hippies protested with the establishment over U.S. involvement in Vietnam.” (Woodstock 1969) “The Woodstock Music & Arts Fair” took place on a farm in Bethel, NY, which was the city about 100 miles far from New York City. (Woodstock Remembered) This event, strictly speaking its three-day duration from 15th August till 17th August, graved in mind of thousands of people as “three days of peace & music” (Woodstock 1969) There were tens of well-known performers, artists and singers, such as Richie Havens, Jimi Hendrix, Neil Young, Joe Cocker, Country Joe McDonald & The Fish, John Sebastian, Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young,

Melanie, Arlo Guthrie, CCR, Janis Joplin, Santana, Jefferson Airplane, and the Grateful Dead who became an inherent part of the celebration. (Woodstock Remembered) For instance, Jimi Hendrix expressed his view of life through the song "*Purple Haze*." He used it to define the political and social unrest that oppressed the whole Vietnam generation, which he confirmed also by a remonstrative burning of American flags during his performance. (Vietnam: The music of protest, 2005) As regards some typical symbols of Woodstock, there must be mentioned the symbol of "the white dove, illustrating the overwhelming emergence of peace in home front affairs, as well as international affairs and the guitar, representing free expression for what many Americans." (3 Days of Peace and Music)

As the war began to draw to a close, the protest music started to change again. As mentioned earlier, the following era of the seventies pictured the moods and standpoints of the general public that started to feel exhausted and depressed. The culture of the flower children decreased. New rhythms of hard rock started to influence more and more young people. The protest movement had passed. However, from Steve Schifferes's point of view, "the convergence of culture and protest left a heavy legacy which still lives on. It stamped an indelible mark of rebellion on the rock music scene and was the origin of the culture wars which still dominate American politics today."

3.3 The Reflection of the Vietnam War in Television

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

3.3.1 News coverage

War themes together with the powerful medium of television represented a strong combination that was able to form public opinion not only of American nation. War has simultaneously inspired other products of television industry, such as documentaries, docudramas, dramatic series and situation comedies. Although war topics started to appear on television screen since the origin of this invention, the influence of militant topics developed gradually. First of all, it depended on progress and availability of television itself and also on the military-television relationship. As for technical origination of television, it was needful to wise up to the fact that the development of this kind of communications was not fast and without obstacles. On the contrary, the medium evolved slowly and in successive steps. From this point of view, the Korean War (1950-1953) was still and all the first remarkable conflict that occurred on television screen. During the conflict the television audience remained very small because there was too small amount of homes that owned the invention. In addition, the period was represented by such a low technical level that no satellite technology was available, which had association with the time of delivery of television film that depended on its transportation by air to broadcasters. (War on Television) On this account, both insufficient technology and small amount of audience limited the television industry to play a major role in news coverage of the Korean War. Therefore, there were other classes of media that dominated coverage, such as newspapers, magazines with their still photography and, broadcast.

As to the relationship between the military and television, there was too little amount of information available on this particular topic. According to Major Cass D. Howell, the lack of these pieces of information was caused “partly due to the relative youth of television news, and by the feeling of the part of governmental branches that television is just another part of the press.” From this point of view, World War II was already an important point of departure for viewing press coverage in Vietnam, especially because of the similar shift of policies and public attitudes towards the conflict. Based on Howell’s information, there was a high level of cooperation between the press and the U.S. government. For instance, “the Executive News Director of the Associated Press, Byron Price, served as the government’s chief censor at the request of President Roosevelt. The press voluntarily established a “Code of Wartime Practices”

which was used to help its reporters and editors avoid inadvertent disclosure of harmful information.” (James P. Kehoe, 1967, qtd. in *Television Coverage of The Vietnam War and Its Implications For Future Conflicts*, 1984) Reversal of opinion came into being as lately as during the Korean War, when the press started to put the questions about detailed number of military information. The government’s reaction was to establish censorship. Up to a certain point, the similar situation happened in Vietnam, which was the real turning point of the television role in war coverage.

It could be said that there existed two major obstacles connected with the military-television relationship. One of the pressures that the television media had to face in reporting the Vietnam War was the fact that “the major television stations had to deal with what came from their affiliates. The Nixon administration used the affiliate stations to control what the major networks filmed in Vietnam better than any other U.S. administration.” (*The News Media’s Coverage of the Vietnam War*) Nixon consolidated his position right through these mostly conservative branch-establishments because he was sure that it was not in their behalf to portray the U.S. military forces in a negative way. According to Henry A. Rhodes, the second problem that oppressed reporters in reporting what happened in Vietnam was related to the source of information. In most cases, the only information resource was impersonated by U.S. military personnel who provided news releases and verbal accounts of battlefield and air activity. This way of administration was mediated in Saigon by the daily military briefings for the press called the “*Five O’ Clock Follies*.” (*Vietnam on Television*) From Richard Pyle’s point of view, these briefings were much “ridiculed, and there were many valid criticisms,” which was also confirmed by Henry Rhodes and his publicized cases that “if the reporters were critical of the U. S. in their articles, they could be assured of having a tough time getting information the next time.”

In respect of journalese official attitude toward war coverage, from Cass D. Howell’s point of view, it was important to take a think about “the myth of objectivity.” There existed a large number of professional journalist and TV commentators who tried to describe and characterized objectivity as the main aim of the journalists’ career. Based on Howell’s information, Walter Cronkite, the former publicist and television anchorman, declared his personal standpoint that related to the objectivity of newscasters:

“But we are professional journalists... We are trying to reach an objective state. We are trying to be objective. We have been taught from the day we went to school, when we began to know we wanted to be journalists, integrity, truth, honesty, and a definite attempt to be objective. We try to present the news as objectively as possible, whether we like or don't like it.”

(Walter Cronkite, Television Coverage Of The Vietnam War And Its Implications For Future Conflicts)

This professional opinion of “most trusted figure” in American public life, as Walter Cronkite was often denoted, was consistent with feelings of many other war journalists. (Cronkite, Walter – U.S. Broadcast Journalist) On the other hand, Major Cass D. Howell also asked the question whether it was possible for the individuals, who presented television news, to leave over their “liberal dispositions and report world and national events in a dispassionate and objective manner.” His answer represented his opinion that it was impossible to separate out the personal and professional stand-point. Howell believed that “from virtually every perspective, including the media itself comes the finding that news is often colored to suit the beliefs of the individuals involved in its collection and presentation.” He confirmed his view by a statement of NBC anchorman, David Brinkley, who said:

“If I were objective, or if you were objective, or if anyone was, we would have to be put away in an institution because we’ d be some kind of vegetable. Objectivity is impossible to a human being.”

(David Brinkley, National Educational Television, 1968)

With respect to these discrepant opinions relating to the objective viewpoint of news-man profession, there existed a special system of rules and standards established by the Federal Government that should have ensured that desirable result of news coverage of war. More precisely, the point is that, in addition to the professional honor and conduct of reporters, there existed the “Federal Communications Commission (F.C.C.)” that imposed the set of specifications known as the “Fairness Doctrine,” which both established important restrictions on the ability of the networks to proselytize in an open way and regulated the airwaves to provide they will be used “in

public interest.” (Television Coverage Of The Vietnam War And Its Implications For Future Conflicts, 1984) Cass D. Howell claimed that “a key element of the Fairness Doctrine concerning objectivity of reporting is that a television licensee is not permitted to distort or suppress the basic factual information upon which any truly fair and free discussion of public issues must necessarily depend.” (Ibid.)

The myth of objectivity had connection also with Dr. Ernest Lefever’s analysis of news coverage. According to Major Cass D. Howell, Dr. Lefever concentrated specially on CBS news coverage during the final period of the American involvement in Vietnam. From Howell’s point of view, the results of Lefever’s research documents proved that CBS had an overwhelming and decisive influence in undermining the U.S. position on the war. For instance, his content analysis of network news broadcasts from 1972 and 1973 offered material that CBS made the decision to choose to broadcast about the war during that period. Howell drew the attention that the most common themes related to the three countries involved in the conflict were: “U.S. involvement is wrong because the war is cruel, expensive, or senseless. (United States, 254 times) Regime is an obstacle to peace, or other criticism. (South Vietnam, 88 times) Armed Services are doing well. (North Vietnam, 56 times)” (Ernest W. Lefever, 1974, 102 - 104 p., qtd. in Television Coverage of The Vietnam War and Its Implications For Future Conflicts, 1984)

Pursuant to Howell’s summary of Dr. Lefever’s work, he also managed to chart the CBS newsmen’s direct expressions of their opinion. The result that Dr. disposed by means of tapes of CBS news broadcast had an “overwhelming preference for the liberal, anti-war viewpoint.” (Ernest W. Lefever, 1974, 78-79 p., 95 p., qtd. in Television Coverage of The Vietnam War and Its Implications For Future Conflicts, 1984) Dr. Lefever researched other bulk information sources and documents, which confirmed his opinion that there was a lack of journalistic objectivity and fairness on the part of CBS. Based on him, “all evidence suggests that CBS evening news employed various techniques of selective reporting and presentation to advocate a position opposed to U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. It failed to present a full or fair picture of opposing viewpoints on the issues of peace negotiations, the problem of American POW's, the nature of the U.S. military presence, or on a larger canvas - the significance to the United States of the struggle between Communist and non-Communist forces in Southeast Asia.” (Ernest W. Lefever, 1974, 131 p., qtd. in

Television Coverage of The Vietnam War and Its Implications For Future Conflicts, 1984)

As mentioned earlier in previous chapters of this work, television networks were often said to be able to influence and finally changed the public opinion on the course of the Vietnam War. A question is how individuals, such as newsmen and anchormen, could influence public perception of war via the television news broadcast. Edith Effron claimed that although there must have been a professional honor of journalists and, at the same time, the special set of restrictions, "Fairness Doctrine," established to function as a safety fuse, there still existed some specific factors, events and subjects that were not able to prevent effecting on public opinion. On the part of persons who had a chance to intervene in the process of news coverage, Kurt Lewin was apparently the first one who individualized the group of these people as so-called "gatekeepers." (Gatekeeping) Based on Lewin's characterization, "the gatekeeper is the person who decides what shall pass through each gate section." (Ibid.) Simultaneously, this social-psychologist emphasized that these gatekeepers "made decisions at various points about which items would continue to the ultimate destination, which would get shunted aside, and generally exercised judgement about the shape the final product would take." (Television Coverage of The Vietnam War and Its Implications For Future Conflicts, 1984) The theory originally appeared from the situation of housekeeping when Lewin tried to describe a process in which all wives and mothers had to solve the problem which foods end up on the family's dinner table. (Gatekeeping)

As for the representatives of gate-keeping, it was necessary to awake to the fact that these gatekeepers were represented by reporters, editors, writers and anchormen of the television news industry. It signified that there existed a large number of individuals who by the medium of their decisions and choices were able to change the resulting form of television news. Furthermore, the attitudes of these people were much more liberal and anti-war than the ones of the rest of the general public. At the same time, "their choices were profoundly affecting the public's perception of national and inter-national events." (Television Coverage of The Vietnam War and Its Implications For Future Conflicts, 1984) Therefore, Lewin's theory could be taken as one of possible ways that helped to influence the public opinion on conducting of the Vietnam War, which was confirmed by some of the gatekeepers themselves. (See Attachment 8)

In term of typical and factual features of the content form of television news coverage of Vietnam, war horrors and barbarities were shown very rarely. Especially the first few years of the news coverage represented the war in Vietnam in more or less a positive way. Therefore, according to Daniel Hallin, there was a “bit less than a quarter of film reports from Vietnam showed images of the dead or wounded. The violence in news reports often involved little more than puffs of smoke in the distance, as aircraft bombed the unseen enemy.” These inceptive reports were related to a “battlefield roundup, written from wire reports based on the daily press briefing in Saigon and read by the anchor and illustrated with a battle map.” (Vietnam on Television) Based on Hallin’s journalistic awareness, the normal and common way of a report creation consisted of some typical steps, such as, earlier mentioned, the battlefield roundup that was usually followed by a policy story from Washington. The final concept was afterwards supplemented by a film report from the battle-field. It was typical that, since the film was flown to the United States for processing, it was about five days old. The emphasis of this early news was “on the visual and above all the personal: “American boys in action” was the story, and reports emphasized soldiers’s bravery and their skill in handling the technology of war.” (Ibid.)

As for the content of the war news, it must be mentioned that there still existed some exemptions when television screen mediated events of violence and suffering to American people. For instance, in August 1965, CBS screened a “report by Morley Safer which showed Marines lighting the thatched roofs of the village of Cam Ne with Zippo lighters, and included critical commentary on the treatment of the villagers.” (Ibid.) Disregarding these proved cases of barbarities executed by U.S. foot-soldiers, from Richard Pyle’s point of view, the press in the early period was more or less not pressed to be critical of the United States attitude towards the Southeast Asian country, which resulted from rather positive and supportive kinds of news reports of that time. On the other hand, from his standpoint, “it was beginning to question the methods – and to doubt much of what U.S. leaders insisted true.”

The complete change of both the way of news coverage and the journalists’ attitudes happened during early 1968 and continued through the later invasion of Cambodia and Laos till May 1975, “when North Vietnamese tanks finally crashed the gates of South Vietnam's Presidential Palace and helicopters lifted the last desperate evacuees from the U.S. Embassy roof.” (From Tonkin Gulf to Persian Gulf) However, it is also necessary to come to realize that “the disintegration of morale that followed Tet

was a complex process, not the immediate result of a single event.” (The 6:00 Follies: Hegemony, Television News, and the War of Attrition) On the other hand, as mentioned earlier, television coverage of war horrors and civilian and military casualties really increased significantly during the Tet Offensive, when the war came into Vietnamese cities and the reporters, who presented the war situation, felt the need to mediate all sorts of these destructive events. They gradually became cynical and crabby, and they wanted to convey this to the American public. Nevertheless, although it was true that the Tet Offensive registered a change in the way of television war coverage, the change was not too crucial. “Undeniably, Vietnam became more and more controversial as it progressed, and hints of discontent increasingly filtered through mainstream media after early 1968. Despite increased skepticism among journalists and increased coverage of dissent, the mainstream media still provided a vehicle for the establishment position without offering much purposeful interpretation or geopolitical context.” (Ibid.)

In spite of the official journalistic standpoint, there existed cases of news coverage that confirmed increasing need of being concerned with the worsening situation in Vietnam in more detailed way. For instance, “viewers of NBC news saw Col. Nguyen Ngoc Loan blow out the brains of his captive in a Saigon street. And in 1972, during the North Vietnamese spring offensive, the audience witnessed the aftermath of errant napalm strike, in which South Vietnamese planes mistook their own fleeing civilians for North Vietnamese troops.” (Vietnam on Television) All these reports were results of the fact that during the Vietnam War there was no rigorous military censorship that would prevent from delivering such tragic and bloody scenes. Historically, the U.S. military preferred a public information policy to suppression. Nevertheless, this attitude of the U.S. government differentiated from each particular conflict. As mentioned earlier, during the World War II, there existed strict censorship for obvious reasons of military security. This way of military-press relationship was again imposed in the Korea War and, later on, in Vietnam. Some senior officials, including President Lyndon Johnson, considered this way of policy to be practical. However, according to Richard Pyle, officials finally confessed that “there was no way to control an international press corps of several hundred people from dozens of countries.” Therefore, it could be said that the Vietnam War was the most openly reported war in modern times. Except that there was no military censorship, Major Cass D. Howell also drew attention to the fact that “the military went to great lengths to

provide transportation, lodging, meals, and briefings to a U.S. press corps that eventually grew to battalion-size strength.”

In term of the expansion of the size of the media in Vietnam, the same situation dominated in the USA. Television was just the right medium which was instrumental in the change of American public opinion from a “position strongly supporting to one strongly condemning the American defense of South Vietnam.” (Television Coverage of The Vietnam War and Its Implications For Future Conflicts, 1984) For instance, “in 1963, NBC and CBS doubled the length of their national news coverage (from 15 to 30 minutes) and in that same year Americans reported that, for the first time ever, most of them received the majority of their news from television instead of newspapers and magazines.” (William A. Wood, 1967, qtd. in Television Coverage of The Vietnam War and Its Implications For Future Conflicts, 1984) The question is why this interactive medium had such a power. Columnist and reporter Michael Novak presented his personnel opinion on this question in the article “Dangerous to Your Health” published in National Review:

“Television does not tell you anything you could not learn more fully and in context from the papers, and the best magazines. What then does television add? In a word, impact. To watch television news is to submit to wallops in the solar plexus. The moving pictures on the news are not pruned from reels of tape for the sake of calmness and objectivity. They are chosen for power.”

(Michael Novak, “Dangerous to Your Health,” National Review, 21st March, 1980, p. 358)

In conjunction with the expanded number of reporters and television stations in Vietnam and the increasing popularity of television news coverage, an inevitable change of way of news reporting had to come into being. As Daniel Hallin claimed, television networks found out that “what New York wanted was "bang-bang" footage, and this, along with the emphasis on the American soldier, meant that coverage of Vietnamese politics and of the Vietnamese generally was quite limited. The television coverage changed, which was a natural reaction to the public development. The television medium started to long for more and more action. Therefore, it always very strongly appreciated all combat scenes that revived ordinary reporters’ recitations of war facts. “In Vietnam this came to be called “shooting bloody,” a preference for

footage of dramatic engagements, even though they were often irrelevant or uncharacteristic of the total event.” (Television Coverage of The Vietnam War and Its Implications For Future Conflicts, 1984) The search for action footage also meant it was a dangerous assignment because “nine network personnel died in Indochina, and many more were wounded.” (Vietnam on Television) Although the journalist still tried to present the U.S. forces and foot-soldiers in a positive light, at the same time these reporters “grew skeptical of claims of progress, and the course of the war was presented more as an eternal recurrence than a string of decisive victories.” (Ibid.) More and more reports emphasized the human casualties of the war, for instance, “on Thanksgiving Day 1970, Ed Rabel of CBS reported on the death of one soldier killed by a mine, interviewing his buddies, who told their feelings about his death and about a war they considered senseless.” (Ibid) This was one of many other reports that showed the changes in television’s portrayal of the war because the mediators, the journalists, started to be more personnel, which also corresponded to the way of conducting the war. At the beginning of the U.S. involvement the morale was strong and also the television reflected “the upbeat tone of the troops.” (Ibid) Nevertheless, as the war continued the morale started to decline as well as the tone of the reporting.

In relation to news coverage, the period of the wartime in Vietnam belonged to one of the biggest stories that television news has ever covered. The influence of television news coverage on the development of the Vietnam War has been analyzed in the previous chapters. Nevertheless, other aspects concerning the television coverage of the Vietnam War are also noteworthy. As has already been noted, Vietnam was often characterized as the “television war.” (The 6:00 Follies: Hegemony, Television News, and the War of Attrition) The characterization was not accidental because this was the first conflict that was “systematically televised, and it was so televised during a period when television was becoming a more compelling presence in American life.” (Ibid.) (As for pronouncement of Vice President Hubert Horatio Humphrey, see Attachment 9)

The impact of war perception through the medium of television was difficult to determine. Television war coverage inspired to hold a discussion, debates, and speculations about the margin of its effect on public meaning. Based on Donald Humphreys’s opinion, there is no “historical evidence to prove that a graphic portrayal of war disinclines a viewing public to engage in a war. Despite a less than definitive understanding of television coverage and its impact on popular support for war efforts, military strategists began to integrate domestic public relations strategy and overall

military strategy during the Vietnam War.” From the opposite point of view, many other popular theories and opinions described this medium as the one which in a way lost the war. “Methodical scholarly accounts of televised coverage also uniformly discover that television coverage was inclined overall to highlight positive aspects of the Vietnam War and that viewers exposed to the most televised coverage were also most inclined to view the military favorably. Nevertheless, domestic social schisms blamed on the Vietnam War and the war’s ultimate failure to sustain a non-Communist regime in Vietnam was often blamed on television and other media.” (War on Television) Some specialists argued that television coverage of struggle forced citizens to “confront the dirty realities of war, contrary to popular belief, actual combat footage constituted a relatively small proportion of television coverage. Others argue that television was unable to convey the true nature of war.” (The 6:00 Follies: Hegemony, Television News, and the War of Attrition) Michael J. Arlen, the author of the well-known statement that described the conflict in Vietnam as the “living-room war,” wrote:

"I don't for a moment suggest that the networks should stop showing film of men in combat-although I can't say I completely agree with people who think that when battle scenes are brought into the living room the hazards of war are necessarily made 'real' to the television audience."

(Michael J. Arlen, “Living-Room War”, 1967)

This New Yorker’s television critic wrote these words about network news coverage of Vietnam and published them in his famous essay called “*The Living-Room War.*” (Talk About the Passion, 2006) He also explained his standpoints relating to the dependence between television news coverage and the audience by means of his opinion that “television plays a powerful role in shaping our view of the world, but not by pictures alone,” which was confirmed by his statement that “we still need the help of reporters and anchors to illuminate and annotate what we see, otherwise we are looking at a picture of men three inches tall shooting at other men three inches tall.” (Ibid)

The Vietnam War definitely differed from any other warfare of the U.S. nation. As mentioned earlier, one of the reasons that confirmed Vietnam dissimilarity was the influence of television media. The nature of war did not change in the course of American history as the way of its perception. More than any other factor it was the

presence of television cameras that managed to coverage the war horrors and barbarities whereby the general public had a chance to see combat first hand and to perceive all varied details of jungle and trenches surroundings. There existed a vast bulk of examples that confirmed the theory that television medium had a powerful dominance in working on public opinion. According to Major Cass D. Howell, this was the first time when people could find out “what happens to a person when he steps on a land mine, this is what dead children look like when collected and stacked up after a rocket attack.” This was what the whole Vietnam War was all about. Therefore, there was no wonder that the American public was disgusted and peevish by it. “War had not changed, but now everyone could see it for what it was.” (Television Coverage Of The Vietnam War and Its Implications For Future Conflicts, 1984)

3.3.2 Documentary film

Concerning the television production, as mentioned above, there were many different kinds of this branch that started to develop during the expansion of the mass media, and that simultaneously began to be inspired by the conflict in Vietnam. The war themes connected with the U.S. soldiers’ everyday life in Vietnamese jungle and trenches reflected in television documentaries, dramas, TV serials and soap operas.

In reference to the television documentary, according to Major Cass D. Howell, “documentaries are a form of news, and are often presented to provide in depth coverage of topics too complex to be fully aired during the nightly thirty minute broadcasts. Random House Dictionary defines it as “portraying and interpreting an actual event, life of a real person, etc., in a factual, usually dramatic form.” (Television Coverage of The Vietnam War and Its Implications For Future Conflicts, 1984) Based on Tom Mascaro’s standpoint, it is “an adaptable form of nonfiction programming that has served various functions throughout the medium's history: as a symbol of prestige for advertisers and networks, a focal point for national attention on complex issues, a record of the human experience and the natural world, and an instrument of artistic and social expression.” (Documentary) Mascaro simultaneously added that “the health of the documentary form serves as an indicator of a network's commitment to news and as a barometer of social, political, and economic dynamics.” (Ibid) In light of professional view, historian Erik Barnouw, by means of his speech reported in “*Television*

Quarterly,” described the documentary films as a “necessary kind of subversion” that “focuses on unwelcome facts, which may be the very facts and ideas that the culture needs for its survival.” (Ibid.)

As for documentary coverage of the Vietnam War, this form of news became a great possibility to provide in-depth coverage of war themes from all different points of view. In general terms, documentary films are “non-fictional, “slice of life” factual works of art - and sometimes known as “*cinema verite*.”” (Documentary Films) During the whole history of film development, “as films became more narrative-based, documentaries branched out and took many forms since their early beginnings - some of which have been termed propagandistic or non-objective.” (Ibid.) One of main advantages of documental production was its form because these films afforded such an open space that enabled to prove the needful point, which was also the case of, for instance, the CBS documentary “*The Selling of the Pentagon*.” This work was an example of a collection of facts that were very skillfully arranged to serve as a veritable proof of war events. (For more detailed information about the documentary film production relating to themes of the Vietnam War, see Attachment 10)

3.3.3 Soap Opera, Serial Story

In light of war coverage, television serial format served as another instrument that reflected the theme of the war conflict in Vietnam. Generally speaking, the word “serial” has been used for all different kinds of cultural world, such as literature, radio, television, film, music, etc. In the matter of television medium, serial stories became one of the substantial basics of the telecasting of many varied television stations. The serial format itself originated in radio, in the form of several-minute limited daily programs called soap operas. Later on, in consideration of the development of the television invention, people gradually started to become converted from the radio listeners to the TV watchers. At the beginning of the telecasting there was no problem to hold the TV audience’s interest of the program. Nevertheless, in the process most of the television companies began to come to realize that small amount of films together with documentary and news production could not be enough. Therefore, production of serials started to become more and more significant because this form of mass media amusement managed to cease the wave of declension of TV audience.

In respect of the most characteristic features of television serial programs, according to Robert C. Allen, there is a narrative linking between each episode. Furthermore, the content of every single episode must more or less reassume to the content of the previous one. “The viewer’s understanding of and pleasure in any given serial installment is predicated, to some degree, upon his or her knowledge of what has happened in previous episodes.” (Soap Opera) As for serial characters, these headstones of the fruitfulness of this television product can undergo changes across episodes. Except that they remembered all their memories and stories that happened in previous parts of the serial story, it was also possible that the character vanished from the serial because of his or her death. Simultaneously, in case of the real successful of this product, the characters together with their impersonators gradually grew older. Talking about the structure, “the episodes are designed to be parceled out in regular installments so that both the telling of the serial story and its reception by viewers is institutionally regulated.” (Ibid.)

As mentioned earlier, the original serial production derived from another mass media product called soap opera. In term of war topics, this was the form of television, initially radio, production that was innovative in its affecting through the themes of the Vietnam War. According to Robert C. Allen, from historical point of view, the term “soap opera” was created by the American press in the 1930s to indicate the exceptionally “popular genre of serialized domestic radio dramas, which, by 1940, represented some 90% of all commercially-sponsored daytime broadcast hours.” The first part of the term - “soap” – corresponded with the “sponsorship by manufacturers of household cleaning products,” while the second part of the term – “opera” represented an “ironic incongruity between the domestic narrative concerns of the daytime serial and the most elevated of dramatic forms.” (Ibid.) The characterizing quality and fruitfulness of the soap opera form consisted in its system of particular episodes, which contents could but mostly did not have to concur with the previous episodes. Robert C. Allen distinguished two basic narrative types of soap opera. The first one was taken as “open” soap operas, in which there was “no end point toward which the action of the narrative moves.” (Ibid.) On the contrary, as concerned “closed” type, that was more common in Latin America in a form of telenovel, the narrative does not eventually close. (Ibid.)

The soap opera form started to develop since the first half of the 20th century and as for the themes and topics of this mass media product, they remained the same

without any massive changes. Initially, the soap operas were created to attract a special target group – “working class women with simple tastes and limited capacities.” (Ibid.) A major change happened during the half of the 1960s, which was, according to Robert C. Allen, a key period in the history of U.S. daytime soap operas. The main aim was still to attract female viewers aged between eighteen and forty-nine. Furthermore, all television companies felt the need to bring something new. Therefore, unusual topics became part of the new soap operas episodes, such as – gothic theme, high school and college background, etc. One of the most lasting innovations in the soap opera genre during the period was established by “American Broadcasting Company (ABC),” whose writers Irna Phillips and Agnes Nixon brought brand new and innovative ideas that attracted the public attention. The first topic of their work applied to the class and ethnic difference. In contradistinction to the rest of soap operas, whose authors tried to avoid these controversial social issues as much as possible, Nixon made the decision to do her best to use, especially these problems that oppressed American society in the late 1960s to make people think about them.

One of Nixon’s innovative act was connected with “*All My Children*” which was aired for the first time in 1970. (Ibid.) As its name suggested, this piece was concentrated both on a matriarch and on the brotherhood of man. Nixon’s professional standpoint was not to make any difference how the character looked like or where he or she came from. From her point of view, every human being had the same equal rights to live and to enjoy life. Moreover, she also realized that the audience of television soaps had to be bored with still the same topics. In addition to change of the subject matter, she simultaneously decided to focus on the new target group that would belong to the opposite demographic group then it was usual. She used young adult characters, whose stories and destiny should have attracted new young viewers. The show was and for nearly forty years still is one of the most famous soap operas of the television history. The success embodied not only in its dealing with many different socially significant issues that were up-to-date at that time but also in a decent and intelligent way of its interpretation. The author was not afraid of using such complicated topics like racism, rape, AIDS, child abuse, drug use, abortion, homosexuality or the Vietnam War. In term of the last mentioned issue, Nixon was above all influenced by a story of a young boy who was drafted against his will and later was missing in action. Nixon’s reaction to this true story was to create such a hero who would represent the group of all young men who were also forcibly drafted. Robert Allen claimed that this tactic of such new

and original themes had very much in common with ABC's general programming strategy in the 1960s, "which also resulted in *"The Flintstones"* and *"American Bandstand."* *"All My Children"* was the first soap opera, whose organizational structure addressed what was to become the form's perennial demographic dilemma: how to keep the existing audience while adding younger recruits to it." (Ibid.)

On March 23, 1975 Anthony Astrachan wrote the article that was entitled *"There's a schism in the world of the Grand Old Soap Opera: Life can be beautiful/relevant"* and published in the *New York Times*. ("One Life," Many Issues, 2008) The author noted that "Mrs. Nixon put the ultimate contemporary reality into *"All My Children"* with three sequences related to Vietnam." (qtd. in Agnes Nixon Biography) According to Scott Gore, this article "focused on how soaps were changing their format in order to tackle many relevant issues." One of the most important sub-plot of mentioned soap opera was represented by a peace activist Amy Tyler played by Rosemary Prinz, a real "soap-opera superstar." (Agnes Nixon Biography) Other sub-plots had respect to destiny and future life of Amy's son, his enlistment in the Army and his return home as a rescued prisoner of the Vietnam War.

In reference to themes of the Vietnam War, Daniel Hallin believed that "Vietnam has not been a favorite subject for television fiction, unlike World War II, which was the subject of shows ranging from action-adventure series like *Combat* to sitcoms like *"Hogan's Heroes."* " In contrast to the World War II, the themes of Vietnam was too vivid and painful, therefore during the war itself it was virtually never touched in television fiction. The difference in picturization of the World War II and the Vietnam War, according to Daniel Hallin, consisted in the fact that Vietnam could not be credibly portrayed either as heroic or as promising conflict, which was needful for commercially successful television fiction. On the other hand, both viewers and TV fans had a chance after all to watch some serials and soap operas, whose plot was a little bit influenced by the conflict in Vietnam. However, these mentions of war characterized both from a domestic point of view, e.g. anti-war marches, and from a battle field experience did not become a headstone for the whole plot.

As lately as, in 1978 Hollywood and its attitude towards the themes of the Vietnam War came to a change. This center of film production risked when it made the decision to make a film based on the Vietnam topic. However, the film, *"The Deer Hunter,"* had finally such a success that it afforded the needful opportunity to a number of scripts that started to be written and realized. (Vietnam on Television) Although

"The Deer Hunter" was a typical piece destined for a movie-theatre screen, the film's achievement opened the door especially for all kinds of television serial projects. One of the first steps was made by NBC which aired its pilot of Vietnam sitcom called *"6:00 Follies,"* however, in term of previews and ratings, the TV viewers accepted this new form of television amusement in an embarrassed and not very positive way. (Ibid)

The change took place in 1980 when a serial *"Magnum, P.I."* was aired for the first time. Its success reflected the change of the attitude of the general public toward the themes of Vietnam. For completeness' sake, during the sixties the Vietnam War veterans gradually appeared in minor roles of the serial stories where they were often portrayed as unstable and socially deprived. However, since the late 70s and the beginning of the 80s the personification of war ex-servicemen started to be more positive and kind. Such serials as *"Magnum P.I."* and later *"The A-Team,"* (1983) *"Riptide,"* (1983) *"Airwolf"* (1984) and others represented the new beginning of a "trend toward portrayals of Vietnam veterans as central characters in television." (Vietnam on Television) The Vietnam veterans were now externalized as heroes who had no problems with alcohol or drug addiction. On the contrary, they were characterized as reliable and trustworthy men who were able to help their war-time comrades and to act as a team. In this sense, the Vietnam War experience became suitable and much more profitable for television companies.

CBS' s television serial format, *"Magnum P.I.,"* represented the new wave of American television shows, whose main character was not ashamed for his Vietnamese background. From Rodney Buxton's point of view, "Magnum became the personification of an American society that had yet to deal effectively with the fallout from the Vietnam War." Strictly speaking, Thomas Magnum, played by Tom Selleck, was a former Naval Intelligence officer who became a private investigator. Therefore, each episode was related to an attractive action connected with a crime solving, and, at the same time, "many of the most memorable episodes dealt with contemporary incidents triggered by memories and relationships growing out of Magnum's past war experiences." (Magnum, P.I., Rodney Buxton) The surrounding of the serial that was successful for its not only humorous and funny style but also for its thoughtful and dramatic scenes was located on the north shore of Oahu in Hawaii. It is necessary to acknowledge a fact that the Magnum viewers were surely attracted to the handsome Tom Selleck and to the glamorous, tropical Hawaiian nature. Nevertheless, according to Rodney Buxton, the series had also a great influence on American public because it was

one of the first to “regularly explore the impact of the Vietnam War on the American cultural psyche.” (Magnum, P.I., Rodney Buxton) This piece could be taken as a mental therapy because as soon as Thomas Magnum began to deal with his past, the American nation did the same. Furthermore, the series’s fans could appreciate that the CBS network did not try to avoid such a heavy themes. Among other things “*Magnum P.I.*,” managed to “recognize the difficulty Vietnam era soldiers faced in making the readjustment to civilian life. Many episodes touched upon the impact that serving in Vietnam had on Magnum and his friends, as well as echoes to the events of World War II.” (Magnum, P.I.)

The gradual progress of the 1980s and “*Magnum P.I.’s*” positive critiques and high ratings opened the “door for other dramatic series which were able to examine the Vietnam War in its historical setting. Series such as “*Tour of Duty*” and “*China Beach*,” though not as popular, did point out that room existed in mainstream broadcasting for discussions of the emotional and political wounds that had yet to heal.” (Magnum, P.I., Rodney Buxton) Due to Magnum’s success, these two serials set in Vietnam could also find a place on the schedule of network televisions. According to Rodney Buxton, “the most distinguished, “*China Beach*,” often showed war from a perspective rarely seen in post-World War II popular culture: that of the women whose job it was to patch up shattered bodies and souls. It also included plenty of the more traditional elements of male war stories, and over the years it drifted away from the war, in the direction of the traditional concern of melodrama with personal relationships. But it does represent a significant Vietnam-inspired change in television's representation of war.” (Vietnam on Television)

The serial story that was firstly aired in 1988 was finally the real one which tried to explore personal and professional borders among “American soldiers and civilians staffing a hospital and entertainment company during the Vietnam War.” (China Beach) However, Michael Saenz drew attention to a bad quality of “*China Beach*” interpretation, because “the show’s hybridization of filmic and televisual genres, its rhetorically complex invocation of popular music, and its pointed modernist-cum-postmodern reflexivity, eventually shifted the emphasis from the story to the telling.” The authors of this piece tried to evoke the real atmosphere of the Vietnam era, therefore the whole show was supplemented by Vietnamese soul, blues and also rock. ““*China Beach*” frequently used such nostalgic music to frame the show’s events as remembrances. Even more ambitiously, the program consistently invoked the audiences’

feelings of nostalgic distance from the period in which the songs originated. That separation served as an analog for the feelings of distance which the protagonists, immersed in a war, were likely to feel from the society producing those songs.” (Ibid.) In general terms, music played an important role in mediation the war to the viewers. The rest of television production components, for instance lighting, sound, sets, and camera movement did not help to increase the quality of the television war product. From some critics’s point of view, “*China Beach*” represented a “remarkable case of intrinsically televisual fiction.” (Ibid.) Others perceived it not as an “exploration of the ethical and aesthetic possibilities of one of American culture’s key sites for the fictional production of touchstone sentiments.” (Ibid.) According to their standpoint, it personated a “conceited diminishment of history.” (Ibid.)

In general terms, the television serial format contributed to liberalization of the tenseness that tied down the American nation. As mentioned earlier, each television product, such as documentaries, news, soap operas, etc. had a different timing of its reaction to the Vietnam War situation. At the beginning of the serial form production, the television network companies were a little bit afraid of dealing with the themes of the war in Vietnam. However, the timing relationship and the successive development of public’s attitude toward the conflict finally indicated that the American society was ready to face up to this problem and to talk about it. In reference to soap operas, according to Robert Allen, “derided by critics and disdained by social commentators from the 1930s to the 1990s, the soap opera is nevertheless the most effective and enduring broadcast advertising vehicle ever devised. It is also the most popular genre of television drama in the world today and probably in the history of world broadcasting. No other form of television fiction has attracted more viewers in more countries over a longer period of time.”

3.4 Film Production

The Vietnam War and its themes, as well as topics of many other war conflicts that American nation waged in its history, influenced all different sorts of American cultural life. However, from the historical point of view, the features of the Vietnam War evidently differed from any other previous American war, in which the U.S. public had apparently clear and distinct purpose to fight. On the other hand, in the case of

Vietnam, people at home knew too little or none at all about the enemy or about places of the battles. Most of the G.I.s in the battlefield had simultaneously no idea about the reason they fought there. In view of Stuart J. Kobak, “the military forces were forced to fight a one-handed battle in Vietnam, the other hand doing battle on the domestic political front.” The movies that were made to bring closer the events and characteristic features of the Vietnam War were generally determined to reflect this nation-wide confusion.

As to timing, the Vietnam War and its topics became one of the most controversial issues of the 1960s and early 1970s. With regard to fruitfulness of the U.S. film production of that time, vast bulk of movies of the late 60s and early 70s personified “the bitter aftertaste of the war, the conflict itself remained strikingly absent from the screen, as Hollywood, like the country as a whole, had difficulty adjusting to the grim legacy of a lost and troubling war.” (Hollywood and the Vietnam War) In general terms, since the end of the Vietnam War in the spring of 1975, there was large quantity of works that served as filmmakers’ suitable means how to express their negative attitude towards the U.S. government’s way of conducting the conflict.

Although some movies that ventured to reflect the conflict at the time of actual combat, when the American armed forces were actively fighting and dying in Vietnamese jungle, were also available, as compared with loads of the following ones, their coverage was insignificant. Instead, as mentioned for many times in this thesis, the primary media representation of combat in Vietnam was television news coverage, therefore there was no need to create feature films. On the top of that, other factors, both industrial and ideological, appeared to exercise a more direct influence on the production of war movies during the period. “Hollywood studios were suffering in the late 1960s from a recession brought on by post-World War II industrial and cultural changes and by their consequent investment in some disastrously unsuccessful blockbuster films.” (Vietnam War: American Cinema and the Challenge of Vietnam: 1964-1975) Furthermore, for economic and political reasons, both film studios in Hollywood and the US government were indecisive to put the new war on screen. “As a result, by 1970 a number of otherwise successful screenwriters, such as Samuel Fuller, Sy Barlett, and Stanley Kramer, had scripts in circulation that focused on the Vietnam War, but they found no support from studios or from the Pentagon. At the Pentagon, the Department of Defense Motion Picture Production Branch supported only one movie

during the war, with an estimated \$1 million worth of military hardware and expertise - John Wayne's "*The Green Berets*" (1968)" (Ibid.)

Both Hollywood and government were willing to support such projects dealing with Vietnam in a special, from their point of view, appropriate and adequate way, e.g. "America is transparently good, the enemy undeniably evil, combat goals clearly defined, and failure unthinkable." (Ibid.) There were some examples that reflected these difficulties: "*The Green Berets*" as well as "*A Yank in Viet Nam*" (1964), "*Operation C.I.A.*" (1966), and "*To the Shores of Hell*" (1965) and that took pains over to "fit America's complex relation with Vietnam within the parameters of the classic Hollywood narrative and the combat genre, by focusing on a well-defined mission or target." (Ibid.) According to Michael Anderegg, a large majority of films of that era had no real connection with the reason of conducting the war in Vietnam or with the effort to reflect the war horrors and barbarities. By contrast, these pieces used the war only as an attractive background for their characters and plot situations. From his point of view, some kinds of movies were attracted to the Vietnam themes indirectly without their own willful endeavor. On that ground, it is obvious that first veritable and high-quality film interpretations of the conflict started to fill the screen mostly in the late 70s. (Hollywood and the Vietnam War)

Although a variety of fiction films that related to or showed the influence of the Vietnam War started to come into being, only few typical war movies, as mentioned earlier, really tried to describe the combat atmosphere and surroundings. As to films that were politically supported to present the general theme of the war during the period of actual struggle in Vietnam, most notable in these terms was virtually only one Hollywood-born film dealing with Vietnam called "*The Green Berets*" (1968). A long time before the beginning of the American involvement in South Vietnam, President John F. Kennedy approved "an elite, multi-purpose force for high priority operational targets of strategic importance," also popularly known by the legendary nickname "Green Berets," which was some kind of Army's Special Forces. (Special Forces) According to Alex Diaz-Granados, this term was made famous by both "Barry Sadler's one-hit wonder song, Robin Moore's best-selling book, and, of course, the 1968 film that starred and was co-directed by John Wayne."

"*The Green Berets*" belonged to that sort of war movies, such as Wayne's "*They Were Expendable*" (1945) or "*The Sands of Iwo Jima*" (1949) whose aim was to attract the general public and its attitude towards the World War II. (Ibid.) All these

pieces became a kind of propagandistic action films for their reflection of the main hero who was able to yield precedence to his country, his duty and the Marine Corps than to solve his own personal problems. Neither Wayne's "*Green Beret*" character of a highly decorated combat officer, Colonel Mike Kirby, was an exception. He represented that sort of masculine hero soldiers who were deeply convinced of rightness and inevitableness of their military action. (Ibid.) The movie "applied generic elements of both the World War II combat film and the western in its effort to depict the heroism of the Special Forces and their struggle to protect Vietnamese peasantry from the hostile "Cong." " (Vietnam War: American Cinema and the Challenge of Vietnam: 1964-1975) Nevertheless, according to Alex Diaz-Granados, this film piece was not such a realistic, supportive and well-created movie as Wayne's previous works. "In the words of conservative author Tom Clancy," the piece presented "little more than a World War II-era propaganda film wrapped in a Vietnam suit of clothes." (Tom Clancy, Special Forces, qtd. in John Wayne & Co's *The Green Berets* is a Dud of a Vietnam War Film, 2005)

As to one of the biggest movie's battle coulisse, Wayne's servicemen and comrades had to face out the attack on Camp A-107 near Da Nang, which was an imitation of the real battle of Nam Dong that had taken place in the night of 6th July, 1964. (Ibid.) All-night battle scenes supplemented with hordes of North Vietnamese soldiers swarming over the barbed wire admonished of about Native Americans incursions in Western films. Based on Alex Diaz-Granados's perception, the Army believed that this way of film representation would result in public support for the conducting of war. Although, it cannot be denied that during the wartime the movie could be responsible for some positive reactions, in general terms, the Army did not succeed in its aim. The scenes, characters and the general impression appeared too unrealistic to provoke an interest of American nation to be positively inclined to the conflict in Vietnam. By contrast, the film piece raised discontent rather than public persuasion that America was right to participate in the Vietnam War. Respecting all the different parts of film-making that influenced the overall quality of the work, e.g. script, camera, actor's performance, etc., both Alex Diaz-Granados and many other various film critics considered this piece as a bad example of the Vietnam War high-quality film production.

As mentioned earlier, the struggle in Vietnam was too unpopular with the general public. Therefore, mainly at the beginning of the U.S. involvement there was no

need to create such sort of realistic war films in quantity. Moreover, from Stuart Kobak's point of view, on any given day of that time the average American television viewer had a chance to turn on the tube and catch the Vietnam show. Consequently, "the last thing the public was looking for was a Vietnam movie." (Ibid.) However, once the military forces got started its "powerful engines through the beaches and jungles of Vietnam, the images of the war found prime space on the television airwaves." (Vietnam: The Hollywood Pariah) A number of films that started to come into being during the wave of the latest seventies concentrated on a description of the real life situations and problems of the returning Vietnam veterans. In the majority of cases, these ex-servicemen were shocked by the cold, impassive and hostile welcome they received when they returned to the United States. The way of their portrayals in the Vietnam War movies was mostly connected with the general public's conception of cruel, irreparable and alcoholic crushed men. They were often compared to a "deranged ticking time bomb that could explode at any time and in any place." (Hollywood and the Vietnam War)

The main characters of films like "*Taxi Driver*" (1976) or "*Apocalypse Now*" (1979) were described exactly in such a manner. Robert De Niro's interpretation of New York taxi driver, Travis Bickle, became the real example of the returning Vietnam veteran's negative portrayal. (Ibid.) According to David Litton, Travis, as a former member of the U.S. Marine forces, was not able to adapt himself to the world that seemed to change ever since he returned from Vietnam. Still, much more probable version was that it was not the world but Travis himself who changed. He was disgusted by all various representatives of the filth world around him, e.g. prostitutes, junkies, etc. Influenced by his Vietnam War experience, he suffered from unbearable desire to rectify every sort of such mistakes that were made by the nation around him.

The similar way of ticking time bomb comparison could be used for Marlon Brando's character of Colonel Kurtz in Francis Ford Coppola's film, "*Apocalypse Now*." (Apocalypse Now (Redux) (1979) (2001)) This, originally six-hour-long, pessimistic and apocalyptic movie master-piece tried to explain its critical standpoint of the way that society worked during the Vietnam War. Strictly speaking, the "film told about US Army assassin Captain Willard's mission, both a mental and physical journey, to terminate dangerously-lawless warlord and former Colonel Kurtz who has gone AWOL, became a self-appointed god, and ruled a band of native warriors in the jungle."

(Ibid.) Based on Danel Griffin's view, the piece described the themes of "the loss of a cultural center."

The film's way of society observation could be comparable to postmodernists' manner who preferred "embracing culture and jumping into it full-force" in contradistinction to modernists' way who tried to "distance themselves from societal structures and observe their world external from culture." (*Apocalypse Now*) Postmodernists' method of observation was conducive to their often apprehension of the "darkness in society, because by embracing culture, they constantly experienced its depravity." (Ibid.) According to Griffin, these differences between two genres corresponded at all points to Coppola's postmodern film "*Apocalypse Now*," which was based on modernist work of Joseph Conrad, "*Heart of Darkness*."

As regards two main heroes of Coppola's movie, Colonel Kurtz and Captain Willard played by Martin Sheen, personified two, initially, totally dissimilar personalities whose destiny and attitude to life became exceedingly similar. Brando's Colonel Kurtz was personated as a mad man who became a victim of the influence of war atrocities because he had virtually no chance how not to succumb to such a long-lasting impact. As regards to Captain Willard, "at the beginning of the film, he was already a time-scarred war hero who knew that mankind was deprived. His journey to find Kurtz only confirmed this knowledge and turned him darker still." (Ibid.) Although Willard was aware of all various kinds of horrors that happened in the world around him, after meeting Kurtz, his world became so depraved and lost for him that even the return home could not save him from its obscurity. As to Willard's feelings, according to Danel Griffin, "there was no distinction between Vietnam and home - the entire world has been transformed into horror. Willard was trapped forever in darkness."

The movie tried to point out the fact that any man could truckle to all kinds of madness and unpredictability because every human being perceives the world around him in the same way. He just needs the right environment to allow his temptations and hidden imaginings to be free, which was confirmed through Captain Willard. (Ibid.) This apparent divergence of attitude to life afforded the opportunity to prove that although Captain Willard and Colonel Kurtz were, as to personality traits, absolutely discrepant from each other, finally, they were both the same. (*Apocalypse Now* (Redux) (1979) (2001))

As to Vietnam veterans' situation, as lately as the end of the 70s both American society and popular culture started to hold them to be victims of the war rather than

maniac product of the conflict. For instance, “*Coming home*,” (1978) or “*The Deer Hunter*” (1978) began the popular rehabilitation of the veteran. (Vietnam: The Hollywood Pariah) Simultaneously, another specific category of films as “*Missing in Action*” (1984), “*In Country*” (1989) with Bruce Willis, “*Cease Fire*” (1985) with Don Johnson and “*Jackknife*” (1989) with Ed Harris depicted veterans as psychiatric cases who came home from the war broken and down and out. (Vietnam War: American Cinema and the Challenge of Vietnam: 1964-1975) We should not omit such movies known as so-called Rambo series, especially “*Rambo: First Blood II*” (1985), which transformed the veteran into a misunderstood hero who after a long-running suffering twisted into a psychotic killer.

“*The Deer Hunter*,” Michael Cimino’s powerful, disturbing and unrelenting look at the Vietnam War, targeted the lives of three blue-collar workers and friends before, during, and after their service in the war. (*The Deer Hunter* (1978)) According to Tim Dirks, “there was a flood of films critical of the American involvement in Vietnam following 1975 when the war officially ended - and the movie appeared as one of the most controversial.” For Stuart Kobak, this Cimino’s great film “dealed with the war on mythic terms, basing almost its entire Vietnam scenario on the contest of Russian Roulette that took place first amongst the prisoners captured by the North Vietnamese in the Northern jungle and then later in the back alleys of Saigon and its seedy environs.” In terms of all varied kinds of notation that served as a great possibility how to indirectly express some different areas of the war, “in some perfect yet mystical way, the deadly game came to symbolize the war. For each continuing moment in Vietnam, the bullet was waiting to click into the chamber that lined up with the barrel of the gun,” which expressed the insecurity and jeopardy for each combatant in Vietnam.

Concerning other characteristic features of the movie, based on Tim Dirks’s opinion, “the film was structured around the metaphor of “deer-hunting” - both from the viewpoint of the hunter and from the perspective of the game target.” Although director Cimino was mostly criticized for his one-sided portraying of all the Vietnamese characters such as soldiers and torturers that appeared in the film as atrocious, cruel and heartless killers, he managed to argue that his piece was neither political nor polemical work to press for objective coverage of the Vietnamese characters. By contrast, ““*The Deer Hunter*” succeeded astounding well because it did not deal with the realities of the war but created its own central image. In some ways it was also a very patriotic film that

did not force the public to make a direct confrontation with the mistakes of the Vietnam years.” (Vietnam: The Hollywood Pariah)

Besides some foregoing Vietnam War films that focused on salt old war veterans, their attitude to life and fighting both with surrounding world and with themselves, another group of Vietnam War films - like *“Platoon”* (1986), *“Casualties of War”* (1989) and *“Born on the Fourth of July”* (1989) provided quite a different view of the war. These movies were created with an intention to focus on very young and too naive and innocent men who became members of the ground troops in Vietnam. Screenwriters and directors of these works sought to retell the story of the Vietnam War in “terms of the soldiers’ loss of idealism, the breakdown of unit cohesion, and the struggle to survive and sustain a sense of humanity and integrity in the midst of war.” (Hollywood and the Vietnam War)

One of the most appreciable films, that provided a gruesome vision of the Vietnam War, formed one third of Oliver Stone’s special Vietnam trilogy. As the period since the end of the war gradually distanced the public and Hollywood from the reality of the war in Vietnam, Oliver Stone got a chance to present his own experiences “as a Vietnam dog soldier” through a small budget project. (Vietnam: The Hollywood Pariah) He wanted to have opportunity to create his own piece for a number of years, but the peevishness of Hollywood toward Vietnam did not allow him to undertake it. (Ibid.) “Oliver Stone’s screenplay for *“Platoon”* had been floating around for almost a decade and there had been no takers willing to fund the picture,” which undoubtedly contributed to the higher quality of this piece. (Ibid.) *“Platoon,”* the first part of Stone’s trilogy, appeared on the world in 1986 and subsequently the second third of the masterpiece, *“Born On The Fourth Of July”* (1989), came into being. Finally in 1993 the trilogy was completed with *“Heaven And Earth”* which possibly “remained the most definitive US movie showing the war from the viewpoint of the Vietnamese.” (Platoon, Skyjude – Movie legends)

As for *“Platoon,”* that released in 1986, Stuart Kobak held an opinion that it was the purest of the Vietnam War films. The reason why Kobak thought of it was his vision that Stone’s piece represented “the fourth point on the seminal compass of Vietnam films. If *“Go Tell the Spartans”* (1978) can lay claim to being the most cynical of Vietnam films, *“The Deer Hunter”* the most mythical, and *“Apocalypse Now”* the movie that frames for all time the insanity of war, *“Platoon”* surely presents sharpest realization of the day to day soldiering in the boonies of Vietnam.” Kobak’s opinion

could be confirmed by Roger Ebert's standpoint that although the Vietnam War has inspired some of the greatest American films like "*Apocalypse Now*," "*The Deer Hunter*" or "*Coming Home*" since 1986 there was the movie that should have been made before any of the others, because this was the one that managed to reflect the Vietnam War atmosphere in the best way.

In respect of quality of war films, according to Patrick Levell, Francois Truffaut was one of the greatest directors who expressed their opinion of the genre of war and especially anti-war films. Once he raised his presumption:

"There's no such thing as an antiwar film."

(Francois Truffaut, Empty Metal Jacket: Jarhead's Dereliction of Duty)

F.T's words suggest that there is no such thing as an anti-war film because, as to Jeffrey M. Anderson explanation, "all movies glorify their subject, and, therefore make war look exciting." Based on Roger Ebert's opinion, Francois Truffaut's theory about the impossibility to create an anti-war film was promoted by his vision that all "war movies, with their energy and sense of adventure, end up making combat look like fun." However, not only from Roger Ebert's point of view, it was hard to subscribe to such an attitude. "If Truffaut had lived to see "*Platoon*," the best film of 1986, he might have wanted to modify his opinion," because Stone's masterpiece regarded the Vietnam War from infantryman's point of view, which provided the necessary vivid and distorted perspective that disclosed not half a funny war. (*Platoon*, 1986)

Oliver Stone, writer and director of the movie, personally experienced the Vietnam War. Consequently, he tried to do his best to make a film about the war "that is not fantasy, not legend, not metaphor, not message, but simply a memory of what it seemed like at the time to him." (*Platoon*, 1986) By means of the film "*Platoon*" he tried to write and send a message that the war was totally meaningless.

"Somebody once wrote: 'Hell is the impossibility of reason.' That's what this place feels like. Hell."

(Chris Taylor (Charlie Sheen), "*Platoon*," 1986)

This was one of several monologues by which the main character Chris Taylor, played by Charlie Sheen, provided an eye-view into his intrinsic space and conscience that was gradually damaged slightly part by part, day after day spent in Vietnam. The young infantryman represented that group of young and innocent college students who were persuaded that their active participation in the war was their patriotic duty. Their understanding of the war simultaneously belonged to the group of naive and even silly imaginings of war heroic acts. Chris also suffered from the same kind of blinders and incomprehension of the real image of the war. Only a week after his arrival he realized that he has made a horrible mistake by his voluntary recruitment. Taylor described the war from his, strictly speaking, from Oliver Stone's point of view, which was reflected in, at all points, breathtaking film scenes. According to Robert Ebert's view, "the movie was told in a style that rushed headlong into incidents."

As for the plot and other characters of the movie, the main hero showed the viewers round all kinds of soldier's routine from point to point, which again contributed to totally evoking military atmosphere. No defined battle lines and carefully worked-out combat scenes led the viewers to believe that the enemy was everywhere. There were simultaneously no real heroes in this movie and no real rascals. (Platoon) "There was just a group of frightened men fighting for survival in their own ways and counting the days until they can leave the country." (Ibid.) In term of the characters close to Taylor's personage, most of them, including a demonic Sergeant Barnes (Tom Berringer), were dangerous, selfish, violent and far-gone. (Platoon, 1986) On the other hand, there were other "good" fighters like Sergeant Elias, played by William Dafoe, or Bunny (Kevin Dillon) whose existence should have compensated the balance pans. (Ibid.) However, from the general view, the line between good and evil was covered or absent in the film. For instance, as mentioned earlier, Sergeant Elias was portrayed as a caring, warm-hearted and intelligent leader who escaped cruel reality by means of the use of drugs. His foeman, Sergeant Barnes, was portrayed as an efficient fighting machine that will stop at nothing to finish his job. (Ibid.) Nevertheless, the viewers could also soon realize that he, just like any other soldiers, tried to do everything to guarantee his own survival. (Platoon) In general terms, Stone's piece was about the conflict between doing right things as personified by William Dafoe's Elias on one side, and behaving like a killing machine that is a little bit in every human being, personified by Tom Berenger's Sergeant Barnes. In regard to Chris Taylor, he was only an observer in this whirl of war events.

The American military forces in Vietnam were described as not well coordinated units that allowed their soldiers to murder, rape and damage villages. The question was why Hollywood provided, seemingly illogically, such an opportunity to create movies that depicted the “American military as unrepresentative and twisted, America as a malignant force in the world, and all wars as pointless.” (War Films, Hollywood and Popular Culture, 2006) Another question was how Oliver Stone, creator of this Academy Award winner for best picture, managed to make such an “effective movie without falling into the trap Truffaut spoke about - how he made the movie riveting without making it exhilarating.” (Platoon, 1986) According to Roger Ebert’s opinion, Oliver Stone accomplished to avoid the choreography that was and surely still is standard in most of all war movies.

As for another feature of this work that guaranteed innovation and new direction of viewers’ perspective, Stone’s piece did not impose a sense of order upon combat, which was normal and common for traditional war movies. “He abandoned any attempt to make it clear where the various forces were in relation to each other, so that we never know where “our” side stands and where “they” are.” (Ibid.) On the top of that, the viewers had a great possibility to try to identify themselves with the soldiers and to feel “the constant fear that any movement offers a 50-50 chance between a safe place and an exposed one.” (Ibid.) For most of film reviewers, Stone’s new system of plot description was innovative and managed to attract attention and imagination of the lookers-on. On the other hand, some other critics complained that “the character development in the story was weak” and that the movie had no real plot. (Platoon) However, right these very new views supposedly made the film different from other movies which glorified war.

“*Platoon’s*” great success was confirmed, as mentioned earlier, by the award for Best Picture of the 1986 Academy Awards. At the same time, the film also won the category for Best Director, Best Film Editing and Best Sound. (Vietnam: The Hollywood Pariah) Altogether, “*Platoon*” became the most successful work of that annual volume that gathered a total of eight nominations. The film’s success was both very supportive and reflected that the general public, Hollywood and U.S. government reached much more comfortable attitude toward the Vietnam War, which was achieved by highly needed timing relationship. The accomplishment simultaneously provided financial support and confirmation that the viewers were ready to watch other high-quality war films located in Vietnam. According to Stuart Kobak, “a good Vietnam

script had as good a chance as any other to find the financial backing needed to forge a script into a film.” Both decades of the 80s and the 90s provided a resurgence of interest about the Vietnam War. For instance, Stanley Kubrick concentrated his attention on a view at the war in the 1987 film, *“Full Metal Jacket”* and Barry Levinson’s *“Good Morning, Vietnam”* (1987) featured Robin Williams, in one of his few non-comedian roles, as an Armed Forces Radio disc jockey broadcasting from Vietnam. (Ibid.) Films like *“Bat 21”* (1988), *“84C Charlie MoPic”* (1989), *“Hamburger Hill”* (1987), and *“Casualties of War”* (1989), which was one of the movies that were based on an actual event that happened during the warfare in Vietnam (See Attachment 11), also got a chance to bear record to the Vietnam War. (Ibid.)

After several years, since *“Platoon’s”* success, Stone made the decision to go on to complete his trilogy of Vietnam movies with the making of *“Born of the Fourth of July”* (1989) and lastly, *“Heaven & Earth”* (1993). Based on Stuart Kobak’s point of view, “none of these works had the same sense of importance as those four, early mentioned, seminal films on the Vietnam compass. On the other hand, both these works provided two different and, at the same time, appreciable points of view of the war in Vietnam. The first movie, *“Born of the Fourth of July,”* concentrated its attention on the impact of war from domestic point of view. The movie attempted to describe the living conditions of those Vietnam ex-servicemen who had the luck to survive all various types of war atrocities and returned back home. In general terms, the film spent very little time on the battlefield in Vietnam. Instead, the movie focused on the return of one particular member of U.S. Marine troops, played by Tom Cruise, to the States and on the war whose principles he perceived in much more different way at home than in the Vietnamese jungle.

According to Jason O’Brien, “the film was based on the true story of Ron Kovic, a young, naive man who went to Vietnam in the noble efforts of serving his country.” Tom Cruise managed to personify the character of Ron Kovic in such a good way that the viewers had a great opportunity to empathize the same feelings and moods as the main hero. Concerning a real story of Kovic’s life, it happened, as to many others, that Ron Kovic, star athlete and high school leader, became inspired by one strong sentence that was a part of John F. Kennedy’s powerful speech:

“Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country.”

(John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address, 20th January, 1961)

As for Roger Ebert's, Ron Kovic belonged to that sort of young people who waited to hear that kind of message. “And when the Marine recruiters came to visit his high school, he was ready to sign up. He was aware of a danger of being wounded or killed, but he wanted to make a sacrifice for his country.” (Ibid.)

Regrettably, the story had no happy ending. On the contrary, Ron Kovic experienced the same destiny as many of other servicemen in Vietnam. During the combat, he was shot in the chest, which caused his permanent paralysis. His living situation was damaged both by the war injury and by the public opinions and moods that dominated in the United States along about that time. Based on O'Brien's attainments, Ron Kovic “soon grew embittered with life, losing his chances to be a man, condemned to a wheelchair for the rest of his life.” According to Robert Ebert, “he was a demoralized, spiteful man who sought escape in booze and drugs and Mexican whorehouses. Later on, he began to look outside of himself for a larger pattern to his life, the pattern that inspired his best-selling autobiography, *“Born on the Fourth of July.”*” His following reaction was to join the anti-war movement. “He got thrown out of the Republican Convention where Richard Nixon was speaking, and finally was allowed to speak at the Democratic National Convention in 1976.” (Born on the Fourth of July (1989)) Oliver Stone also made the decision not to omit any important part of Kovac's life. Therefore, he concentrated his work on the narration of Kovac's life experiences since his growing up and enlisting in the war, till his injury that finally led to his new role of a strong member of vox populi.

The movie did not achieve such a great success. However, it became an Academy winner in 1989 for the Best Director and Best Film Editing. The movie dealt with the much more controversial and tragic issue of the war than most of any other kind of war films. Stone urged to present specific group of young people with dreams who decided to go the extra mile for their country and for some vision they had. According to Roger Ebert, Stone also pointed out the fact, that when the majority of veterans came back home, they still tried to behave as patriots. “They were hurt and offended by the hostility they experienced from the anti-war movement,” but they also wanted to endure and to prove that their struggle was not vain. Stone spent in combat

the whole one year, therefore he was experienced enough to be able to describe all various aspects of the Vietnam War. In comparison to his previous work, "*Platoon*," he showed such confusing firefights that the viewers were mostly disoriented where and who exactly the enemy was. Based on Roger Ebert's opinion, in "*Born on the Fourth of July*" Stone tried to do his best to direct a "crucial battle scene with great clarity so that we can see how Kovic made a mistake" that racked him for the rest of his life. The piece was based neither on special effects nor on exquisitely staged scenes. "It was not a movie about battle or wounds or recovery, but a movie about an American who changes his mind about the war. It was a film about ideology played out in the personal experiences of a young man who paid dearly for what he learned." (Born on the Fourth of July, 1989)

In 1993, with "*Heaven & Earth*," Oliver Stone achieved to complete his so-called "Vietnam Trilogy," which was, as for James Berardinelli's opinion, the centerpiece of Stone's filmmaking career. In his previous films that formed the two thirds of this master-piece, Stone described the Vietnam from the point of view of a combat infantryman and a disabled veteran. In "*Heaven & Earth*" he targeted the war through the eyes of a Vietnamese woman who represented all of the common people who wanted only to go on to their common lives. (Heaven and Earth, 1993) (For more detailed information relating to plot of the film, see Attachment 12)

According to Roger Ebert, the story was actual, which he exemplified by Stone's "*Platoon*" (1986), inspired by his own combat in Vietnam, and "*Born on the Fourth of July*" (1989), based on the autobiography of Ron Kovic. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier in this thesis, Oliver Stone virtually made the decision to direct a piece "***Heaven & Earth***" based on personal experiences of Le Ly Hayslip's, a young Vietnamese girl whose vivid narration in her book, "*When Heaven and Earth Changed Places*," became a film adaptation for Stone's last part of his Vietnam War witness.

It happened for the first time when the director of the trilogy tried to place himself inside a woman's imagination. Roger Ebert claimed that Oliver Stone succeeded in his effort. The general success of the movie was partly the result of his hard work. On the other hand, an extraordinary performance of "the disorientation of a woman whose life and values are placed in turmoil" by Hiep Thi Le in the leading role largely achieved a good result of the film. In point of fact, one of the factors, that helped Hiep Thi Le to impersonate a character with such a complicated destiny, was the fact

that Hiep herself was born in Vietnam. At any one time, she came to America as a child consequently she got a chance to know both worlds.

According to James Berardinelli, "*Heaven & Earth*" was a great film but with a lack of the narrative strength of Stone's first two stories of Vietnam. He claimed that the movie "possessed only flashes of the power of *Platoon*" and *Born on the Fourth of July*," although it also reflected all various features of director's work such as "stylistic, thematic, and narrative content." (Ibid.) As for Berardinelli's opinion, it was a solid motion picture, and its story was certainly worth committing to film, but "*Heaven and Earth*" was no masterpiece.

In fine, American nation has been involved in a large number of wars in the world but the Vietnam War was the one that has left an expressive print in the memories of many generations. In regard to film production, no country in the world could be compared to the American way of making war films. Nevertheless, as to the previous war depiction, Hollywood usually tended to describe the U.S. military forces as a conductive and helpful peace maker. But movies about the Vietnam War appeared to be different. Hollywood in the same way as the general public had a feeling that there was no real reason for the warfare. Therefore, both the centre of the film production and the community needed the same distance of years to face up to the whole impact of the Vietnam War. A lack of movies that would be engaged in the Vietnam themes dominated during the conflict. The problem consisted in strong influence of the U.S. government's policy over Hollywood and the film industry. Both ideological and economic factors played a decisive role in war film production, because neither film studios in Hollywood nor the US government were at the start willing to put the war that did not deal with a special, from their point of view, appropriate and adequate way on screen. Therefore, only small amount of films, such as "*The Green Berets*," "*A Yank in Viet Nam*" or "*Operation C.I.A.*," that reflected government's requirements were created.

Although the political administrators had a real power to influence the content of American war films mainly in the 60s, during the following decades of the 1970s and 1980s war films started to create the major line of Hollywood production. In the decades following the Vietnam War, many war films were made to depict the harrowing experience and events of the war. As for the way of the war coverage, many various points of view contributed to broader characterization of such a long-running conflict. A number of films, such as "*Taxi Driver*" (1976) or "*Apocalypse Now*" (1979), that

started to come into being during the wave of the latest seventies concentrated on a description of the real life situations and problems of the returning Vietnam veterans. On that ground, the era of the end of the 70s characterized the new wave when both American society and popular culture started to hold the ex-servicemen to be victims of the war rather than maniac product of the conflict. Films, such as "*Coming home*," (1978) or "*The Deer Hunter*" (1978) began the popular rehabilitation of the veteran. Furthermore, as for the "*The Deer Hunter*," it must be mentioned, that the great success of this piece afforded the needful opportunity to a number of scripts that started to be written and realized.

Concerning other ways the Vietnam War description, group of films – like "*Platoon*" (1986), "*Casualties of War*" (1989) and "*Born on the Fourth of July*" (1989) provided quite a different view of the war. These movies were created with an intention to focus on very young and too naive and innocent men who became members of the ground troops in Vietnam. One of the creators and directors of such films was also Oliver Stone, who personally experienced the Vietnam War. Consequently, he held the view that he must show how meaningless and needless the war was, which was also the main aim of many other war films of that period that differed from other movies which glorified war. On the top of that, Stone's both film master-pieces and their success reflected that the general public, Hollywood and U.S. government reached much more comfortable attitude toward the Vietnam War. The accomplishment simultaneously provided financial support and confirmation that the viewers were ready to watch other high-quality war films located in Vietnam, which was confirmed by the wave of war films of the 80s and the 90s that flooded the American market of the film industry.

In general terms, themes of the Vietnam War played an important role in the whole period of the conflict. Although some of the war film products were strongly political and, later on, others were only too full of action, all of them, without any exception, formed an integral part of the Vietnam War history and its impact on cultural life of American society.

CONCLUSION

The diploma paper focuses on the history of the Vietnam War and its impact both on opinion and cultural life of American public. The Vietnam War belonged to one of the longest conflicts in American history and, at the same time, it was the most unpopular American war of the 20th century. Moreover, in terms of history, the general background of the conflict differed from other kinds of war in a large number of various aspects that contributed to the exceptionality of the war.

From the general point of view, the United States paid a high political cost for the Vietnam War, which was a watershed event in American history. The martial conflict gradually weakened public faith in government, and in the honesty and competence of its leaders. After the Vietnam War, Americans were able neither to respect nor to trust public institutions. In addition, new American generation inherited some new lessons that resulted from the Vietnam War and reflected new policy of the United States. "The United States should use military force only as a last resort; only where the national interest is clearly involved; only when there is strong public support; and only in the likelihood of a relatively quick, inexpensive victory." (Vietnam War)

Concerning other specific features of the Vietnam War, the way how the public was informed about all events that happened in Vietnam was absolutely unique and innovative. The talk is about the new role of mass media as a mediator between the battlefield situation in Vietnam and the domestic front. As for the term of propaganda, the diploma thesis focuses both on the official attitude of the U.S. government towards the American nation and the public reaction to worsening situation that started to emerge after the *Tet Offensive*. In the matter of pro-war propaganda, although this branch of public relations that enabled to manipulate people's attitude toward a war was incorporated more or less in all various classes of media, the paper concentrates on the system mostly in light of the television industry.

The following parts of the diploma thesis are engaged in various aspects of the public reaction to a negative course of the Vietnam War. The work reflects the background and reasons of the wave of opposition that was one of the features that confirmed the uniqueness of the Vietnam War. The thesis also endeavors to characterize the background and the aspects that caused various kinds of public disfavor for the U.S. soldiers' participation in South Asia. Moreover, the work processes some information content relevant to the anti-war movement, its way of protests and television as a sort of

mass media, which played much more decisive role than in any other war conflict of the 20th century.

The last chapter analyzes the impact of the Vietnam themes on cultural life of American nation. However, the issue relating to all different sorts of cultural world is too broad. Therefore, the work concentrates on only four main parts that offered sufficient comprehensiveness of the topic and, at the same time, matter of interest. As for the impact of the Vietnam themes on American literature, the thesis strives for more detailed view of novel production. It summarizes that the Vietnam War became gradually in truth an appreciative themes of the majority of authors of that turbulent period.

Another part of the thesis works with information related to another branch of the American culture – music – that came through the whole war years as well as any other artistic category, e.g. literature or film production. Because of so many varied factors of that time, the work concentrates on some special branches of music that represented each individual era of the conflict in Vietnam, such as music of combat zone or protest music.

In terms of television production, this branch of mass media played an important and an active role in cultural, entertainment, and political life of the general public. Therefore, the diploma thesis concentrates on various branches of television industry such as news coverage, documentaries, soap operas and dramatic series that reflected the war themes connected with the U.S. soldiers' everyday life in Vietnam. War topics started to appear on television screen since the origin of this invention, however, the influence of militant topics developed gradually. The work seeks to cover the beginning of the involvement of the Vietnam themes in television production. Moreover, it describes the importance of television cameras in Vietnam and the attitude of some television companies towards this a little bit controversial topic.

Furthermore, the paper processes another branch of film production – documentary film. This form of news became a great possibility to provide in-depth coverage of war themes from all different points of view, both positive and negative or objective and propagandistic. The work simultaneously tries to characterize the development of the Vietnam themes in documentary films from the historical point of view. Moreover, the thesis seeks to point out the political background that also played an important role in the development of television production, especially in documentary and feature films.

Soap operas and TV serials, that served as another important instrument that reflected the theme of the war conflict in Vietnam, forms one of the last parts of the thesis. These branches of television industry also reflected relaxation of the tensions that tied down the American nation. The work simultaneously seeks to point out that although the television network companies were a little bit afraid of dealing with the themes of the war in Vietnam, the timing relationship and the successive development of public's attitude toward the conflict finally indicated that the American society was ready to face up to this problem and to talk about it.

Finally, the diploma thesis approaches the topic of film and movie production based on themes of the Vietnam War. The work concentrates on some specific film examples created both during the period of the actual combat in Vietnam and the era after the end of the involvement, because all these factors influenced the way how the movies and their content were perceived by the viewers. On the top of that, the thesis concentrates on different aspects of the war themes coverage.

RESUMÉ

Tato diplomová práce se pokusila zachytit významné události, které měly vliv na vývoj společnosti ve Spojených státech amerických ve 20. století. S ohledem na účast USA v obou světových válkách, největší důraz je kladen na okolnosti vzniku a samotný průběh vietnamské války. Podrobněji se pak tato práce zabývá vlivem tohoto válečného konfliktu na vývoj a změny nálad a názorů veřejnosti jak na samotnou účast vojenských jednotek USA ve Vietnamu, tak i na postoj, který americká vláda zastávala v průběhu války vůči společnosti.

Práce se dále zabývá odrazem tohoto dlouholetého válečného konfliktu v některých oblastech kulturního života americké společnosti, zejména v televizním a filmovém umění. Převážně v těchto dvou kulturních odvětví je patrný vývoj od propagandistického působení, založené na glorifikaci hrdinství mladých amerických mužů v uniformě v boji proti nebezpečí komunismu až po díla kriticky poukazující na nesmyslnost války.

Celá práce je rozdělena do tří kapitol. První kapitola se zabývá důvody a samotným průběhem války ve Vietnamu. Druhá kapitola rozebírá jak vliv tohoto konfliktu na americkou společnost tak i její projevy jako reakci na ni. Ve třetí kapitole se pak tato diplomová práce soustředí na tematiku vietnamské války a její odraz v kulturním světě literatury, hudby, televize a filmu.

RÉSUMÉ

This diploma thesis attempted to trace some significant events that had an influence on the development of society in the United States of America in the 20th century. In consideration of American involvement in both World Wars, the strongest stress of this work is laid on the background of origination and the development of the Vietnam War itself. In more detailed way the thesis is engaged in the impact of this military conflict on the development and changes of public moods and opinions relating both to the involvement of U.S. military forces in Vietnam and to the attitude of the U.S. government towards the general public during the war.

The final papers deals with the reflection of this long-standing war conflict in some spheres of cultural life of American society, especially in television and film production. Predominantly in these two cultural branches there is a perceptible development from propagandistic coverage based on glorification of bravery of young American uniformed soldiers in their fight against communism till the works that critically point out the senselessness of the war in Vietnam.

The diploma thesis is divided into three chapters. The first chapter is engaged in the reasons and the course of the Vietnam War. The second chapter analyses both the conflict and its impact on the American society and community demonstrations as its reaction to the war. As for the third chapter, the thesis concentrates on the themes of the Vietnam War and its reflection in cultural world of literature, music, television, and film production.

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ATTACHMENTS

Attachment 1

Woodrow Wilson - “The Fourteen Points Strategy”

To the address of the reason why the program was created Woodrow Wilson claimed:

“We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secure once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us.”

(President Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points, 8th January, 1918)

Attachment 2

The Korean War

“Since the World War II the country had been divided along the 38th parallel: the north was controlled by the Communist government of Kim Il Sung, the south by the dictatorship of Syngman Rhee.” (Davidson, 1996, p. 796) In summer of 1950 North Korean troops had crossed the parallel. From Davidson’s point of view, it happened possibly to fulfill Kim Il Sung’s proclaimed intention to “liberate” South Korea. (Ibid. p. 796) The United Nations Organization decided to stop the North Korean expansion so a coalition of states headed by the USA was formed to take control of the attack against the North. “For the United States, Korea confirmed the threat of Communist expansion. The armed forces buildup occasioned by the crisis became permanent.” (The War in Korea, 1950-1953, 2000) The day after American troops crossed the 38th parallel China threatened with the possibility to enter in war. Thereupon, the Chinese People’s Volunteer Army was assembled. Nevertheless, China was limited by the time when it waited for substantial Soviet help and, at the same time, Soviet assistance was limited to providing air support no nearer than sixty miles from the battlefield. Although the US knew about the role of the Soviet Union, it was kept quit so as to avoid the possibility of escalating the conflict into a nuclear war. The end of the war conflict finally did not bring any decisive results. In 1953 the United Nations Organization, the representatives of the North Korea and China signed the cease-fire. Nevertheless, after three years of this warfare the division line between both Koreas stayed on the same 38th parallel as at the beginning of the war.

Attachment 3

Part 1

The Battle of Hue

Most of the attacks aimed at allied forces were taken by surprise, which was the main goal of the assailing forces. Notwithstanding most of these aggressions were quickly knocked back. One of the exceptions was the struggle in the ancient imperial capital of Hue. On 31st January, 1968, the second day of the *Tet Offensive*, Hue started to be besieged by two regiments of the North Vietnamese Army (NVA). (The Battle for Hue City, 2004) By contrast only three undermanned battalions of US Marines made a stand against the NVA. For better conception of the proportion of armament on both sides – a regiment is a military unit in size from a few hundred to 5,000 soldiers that consists of a variable number of battalions, whereas a battalion has only around 500-1500 men. (Ibid.) Nevertheless, the Marine Corps behooved to maintain its position in Hue because of its strategic significance. This city became a distribution point for re-supplying of US Marines. “A railroad and major highway passed through the city, connecting the Marine Corps command at Da Nang to the Demilitarized Zone. The Perfume River was used by US Navy supply boats moving to and from the mouth of the river and the South China Sea. If the city fell to the North Vietnamese, the US effort in Vietnam would suffer a major blow.” (Ibid.) Furthermore, the city of Hue was also taken as a psychological prize in the struggle for control in the country.

As mentioned earlier, North Vietnamese held an overwhelming advantage in numbers of troops, whereas the Marines held an advantage from the technological and gun-power point of view. “The Marines developed new tactics during the battle as well, such as pairing an M-48 tank with and antitank M-50 Ontos (a self-propelled vehicle with six 106-mm recoilless rifles). Along with their tanks and Ontos, the Marines were able to employ weapons such as tear gas grenades and 3.5-inch rockets to drive the enemy from their positions.” (Ibid.)

On 24th February, 1968 the elite Black Panther Company of the First South Vietnamese Division managed to tear down the NVA’s flag from the center of the city

and a few days later the North Vietnamese troops retreated from the city. (Ibid.) The Allies managed to maintain its position in this important strategic point.

Part 2

The Battle of Khe Sanh

Another battle that was not driven back in such an easy way was the struggle against the Marine Corps base a “Khe Sanh in Quang Tri Province” (McNamara, 2000, p. 363-365) Both Ho Chi Minh and the People's Army of Vietnam (PAVN) commander General Vo Nguyen Giap were aware of the important strategic location of this base to be left out of their North Vietnamese military plans. Americans were simultaneously aware of the importance of the fortress near the small village Khe Sahn since the beginning of the 60s. According to Peter Brush, this former French fort was heavily fortified and withal located only a few miles from the borders of North Vietnam and Laos, which enabled the allied attacks on the Ho Chi Minh trail and enemy incoming lines. After a Vietnamese engineer unit constructed the airstrip in Khe Sahn, the U.S. Marine Corps helicopter units were stationed around Khe Sanh to support all U.S. Special Forces and the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) operations. (Ibid.) “In April 1964, the Marines sent a communications intelligence unit to the area to monitor Viet Cong and PAVN radio-communications.” (Ibid.)

Although the showdown of Khe Sanh began on 21st January, 1968, the struggle between NVA and the U.S. Marine Corps started much earlier in this area. (Ibid.) In fact, based on Peter Brush’s attainments, the PAVN started to intensify its activity against the Marine Combat Base in late 1967. The main aim was to occupy the base and to take possession of the airstrip. Due to continuous bombardment of the area of Khe Sahn Marine garrison, the air channels of supply had to be restricted, which influenced the logistic and material supply of the U.S. troops in wide surroundings. The North Vietnamese Army forces encircled and heavily assaulted the Marine base with rocket, mortar, artillery, small arms, and automatic weapons fire. From the strategic point of view, the situation started to be very complicated. The Marine Corps at Khe Sanh started to be surrounded by thousands of North Vietnamese, withal they were commanded by U.S. military leadership in Vietnam “to quickly improve their positions

to the greatest extent possible--to "dig in" in order to be prepared for a forthcoming ground attack. By mid-January, evidence of a strong NVA presence around the combat base became overwhelming." (Ibid.)

The bad emergence of the earlier mentioned battle of Hue finally had an effect an effect on the battle of Khe Sahn. During the worst fight, the commander of PAVN, General Giap, decided to move some of his military forces from Khe Sanh to Hue. Although he sought to turn Khe Sanh into another Dien Bien Phu, at the same time, he did not want to lose the possibility to overrun such a strategic city of Hue. After all, the shifted troops did not exercise decisive influence on the course of combat at Hue. The enfeebled number of the North Vietnamese troops at Khe Sahn caused that the Marines managed to hold their ground and, simultaneously, to drive out the PAVN forces from the region. Notwithstanding, in summer, 1968 it was decided to abandon the U.S. combat base at Khe Sahn. (Ibid.) Finally, both the Communists and the Americans withdrew from this area and Khe Sahn became an unimportant point in the map.

From the strategic point of view, the battle of Khe Sanh could be considered as neither victorious fight for the U.S. forces nor defeated battle for the North Vietnamese troops. In Peter Brush's account of the influence of the battle of Khe Sanh on the Vietnam War, he claimed that "if the siege of Khe Sanh was meant to be only a Communist ruse then it was a successful one and if it was meant to be another Dien Bien Phu, it was a strategic failure on the Communist side. All in all, Khe Sanh had little impact on the outcome of the Vietnam War."

The same could not be said about the battle of Hue, because the suppression of commotion in Hue had an important, if not decisive, impact on the rest courses of combat. The U.S. Marine Corps managed to isolate Hue and, sequentially, to eliminate supply and support of the NVA forces. Thomas D. Pilsch claims that "isolation caused an immediate drop in NVA morale and changed the nature of the defense. Once the enemy was isolated from external support and retreat, the objective of the NVA in the city changed from defending to avoiding destruction and attempting to infiltrate out of the city."

Part 3

The Battle of Saigon

Probably the most dramatic episode of the war and, simultaneously, the example of the fight that took apparently the earliest possible time in the whole history of warfare, was the conflict that moved the battlefield from the jungle to the centre of the allied forces - to Saigon. The battle can be taken as a psychological rather than a military operation, because of the fact that the American Embassy building became the main aim of this attack, which meant that both the NVA and Viet Cong forces were surely enough aware of the importance of the Embassy in Saigon for its externalization of the American presence in Vietnam. Nevertheless, another six important targets in the city were also assaulted by Viet Cong units, e.g. "Saigon's Tan Son Nhut Airport, the presidential palace, or the headquarters of South Vietnam's general staff." (Herring, 1986, p. 189)

In accordance with Herring, the first attack of the Viet Cong's squad started early in the morning. "At 2:45 a.m. on January 30, 1968, a team of Viet Cong sappers blasted a large hole in the wall surrounding the United States Embassy in Saigon and dashed into the courtyard of the compound." (Herring, 1986, p. 186) Although Viet Cong attacks had been taking place in Saigon for more than an hour, the embassy guards had not been informed of this fact and, at the same time, had not been supported. After the Viet Cong squad's attack on the embassy compound's wall, several MPs were killed. The U.S. Marine forces eventually arrived. They had been trying to get the Building and its vicinity under their control for more than six hours. After killing of the sappers' commander, it was only a matter of time when the Marine troops retrieved its position. Although the Viet Cong squad was unable to take the Building of Embassy, they had been more successful with Saigon's National Radio Station which they managed to capture and held for a few hours. (The Tet Offensive, 2004) The conflict finally did not influence the next military operations of the U.S. combats in Vietnam. Nevertheless, it had much worse impact on the American public view of the conflict. The event achieved to shock the self-confidence of each average American, who, till that time, believed in trouble-free course of the war.

Attachment 4

Stanley Karnow

“Many of the tapes that have come out since then indicate that he was tormented. There are particularly conversations with Senator Russell about 'What am I doing here, how can I get out, how can I avoid it?' But, on the other hand, you know, he did not want to be the first president to lose a war, he did not want to be a president to lose a war to communism,” Mr. Karnow noted.

(Stanley Karnow, Vietnam War Haunts American Politics, Society)

Attachment 5

Students' campuses organizations, anti-war activities

One of the students' campuses organizations that fought for a wholesale restructuring of American society was called "*Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)*," founded in 1964. (The Anti-War Movement in the United States) At the beginning of its existence, this establishment that actively supported Lyndon Johnson in his 1964 campaign to promote the social programs of the Great Society was still not yet an anti-war organization. When the U.S. government began to bomb North Vietnam, the wave of protests increased and all these kinds of students' organizations started to focus more and more on the system of anti-war propaganda. During March of 1965, SDS organized marches on the Oakland Army Terminal, the departure point for many troops bound for Southeast Asia. Simultaneously, on 17 April 1965, it managed to arrange for a march in Washington where between 15,000 and 25,000 people gathered at the capital to protest the bombing. (Ibid.)

The assistance of other campuses organizations, for example – "*Free Speech Movement (FSM)*" at the University of California at Berkeley, helped to emphasize the influence of the anti-war movement. Right this establishment initiated its protests on 5th May, 1965 when its forty students staged the first public burning of a draft card in the USA. (Ibid.) The draft was used by the United States government to recruit young adult men to fight in Vietnam, which led to gradual resistance and to mass anti-draft campuses' rallies. Although some of these fire-brands were charged and sentenced to prisons of up to several years, this way of protest was also taken as an excellent way how to express the anti-war stand-point. According to Mark Barringer, another alternative method of the student activists' participation in the movement was to concentrate their influence on a series of "teach-ins" that represented a gentle approach to the anti-war activity and, at the same time, started to educate large segments of the student population about both the moral and political foundations of U.S. involvement.

As to the teach-ins' history, the first ones began to take place at the University of Michigan on 24th March, 1965. (The United States Antiwar Movement and the Vietnam War) Later on, these seminars were spread to other campuses around the country, which brought faculty members into active anti-war participation. "These protests at some of

America's finest universities captured public attention. The teach-ins did concern the administration and contributed to President Johnson's decision to present a major Vietnam address at Johns Hopkins University on April 7, 1965. The address tried to respond to the teach-ins campus protest activity. The Johns Hopkins speech was the first major example of the impact of anti-war. Johnson was trying to stabilize public opinion while the campuses were bothering the government." (Ibid.) Nevertheless, in 1965, as mentioned earlier, the U.S. government ordered to start to bomb parts of Northern Vietnam, which catalyzed and pushed forward the anti-war public opinion of what was really going on in Southeast Asia. (Ibid.)

Between 1965 and 1968, there was a decisive group of Civil Rights leaders that enlarged its sphere of influence not only towards the fight for equal rights to everybody but also to emphasize its influence and attitude as active proponents of peace in Vietnam. Their role started to be very significant in the system of anti-war propaganda. According to Mark Barringer, one of the most important leaders that openly expressed his support for the anti-war movement and that simultaneously "established a new dimension to the moral objections of the movement" was reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. His subsequent assassination in April, 1968 brought all sorts of latent racial unrest and riots to light. The wave of resistance was lifted throughout the country. U.S. Army units had to be brought into the nation's capital to maintain order, which only testified the theory of mood-tired, angry and frustrated American society.

During the year of 1967, number of Americans that were against the war and that wanted to end this struggle started to increase. The anti-war movement dramatically reinforced after an October event when more than 35,000 mostly young people started to besiege the Pentagon, the "nerve center of American militarism." (Herring, 1986, p.173) It was the turning point for the Johnson administration because the public support for his conduct of the war started to fade away. President Lyndon Johnson was pressed to reassure the situation accordingly he formed a public relations campaign in which he emphasized how well the war was going. However, "for many observers the war had become the most visible symbol of a malaise that had afflicted all of American society. The "credibility gap" – the difference between what the administration said and what it did – was exposed during nation-wide *Tet Offensive* on 30th January, 1968, which had produced a pervasive distrust of government." (Herring, 1986, p. 175)

There were many reasons why the American nation had a right to feel cheated. For instance, after watching an execution, strictly speaking - film shots in which

General Nguyen Ngoc Loan executed by firing squad the suspected NLF officer on a public street in front of journalists, many Americans felt that they had been deceived by their own government. The widespread public disaffectedness that followed led to Johnson's decision not to escalate further and not to stand for his re-election, which meant that the anti-war movement unwillingly helped Richard Nixon win the election. Nevertheless, there were other much more important impacts of this lie. As for Mark Barringer, the public opinion shifted dramatically and led to violence. In April, the anti-war protesters occupied the administration building at Columbia University, which pressed police to use force to evict them. (Ibid.) Other raids on draft boards in Baltimore, Milwaukee, and Chicago soon followed. Radical sort of activists was also concentrated on factories and manufacturers of napalm which were targeted for sabotage. The following "brutal clashes between police and peace activists at the August Democratic National Convention in Chicago typified the divided nature of American society and foreshadowed a continuing rise in domestic conflict." (Ibid.)

In contradistinction to violent riots and conflicts in Chicago, there were established new forms of mass protests so-called the "moratoriums" that represented a new turn in the evolution of the antiwar movement. These fall demonstrations were organized by liberals and took place from 15th October till 15th November. The majority of middle-class citizens were attracted to this new form of non-violent protest that was led in sign of peaceful and dignified affairs with religious overtones. "Across the nation, church bells tolled, the names of American war dead were called out at candlelight services, and participants quietly intoned the antiwar chant "Give Peace a Chance. In Washington's March of Death, thousands of protesters carrying candles marched from Arlington Cemetery to the Capitol, where they placed signs bearing the names of GIs killed in Vietnam in wooden coffins." (Herring, 1986, p. 230) However, there was no change in foreign policy of the U.S. government that would be produced or at least instigated by these fall demonstrations.

The standpoint of the government's policy was not changed, indeed. Nevertheless, there were many other events that started to help regain the public solidarity and, at the same time, stimulate the new wave of violent mass protests and marches. These affairs started to gradually appear in public in the late 70s, which supported the public standpoint that the government tried to conceal the truth. One of these events that intensified the anti – military moods of the American nation was the trial of *the My Lai massacre* which became public in February, 1970. The incident itself

happened on 16th March, 1968 when the U.S. soldiers entered the small village – My Lai – where they were expected to have an ordinary checking patrol. In point of fact, as it was published, the U.S. soldiers became the initiators of the mass murder of around 500 civilians, mostly women and children. Before being killed, most of the victims were raped, beaten, tortured and sexually molested. The whole village was finally destroyed and burned out and almost all Vietnamese villagers were killed off. A military court charged 14 officers, including Lieutenant William Calley, who was found guilty of at “least twenty-two murders” and sentenced to life imprisonment. (Herring, 1986, p.242) The trial itself also predicated about the fact that the U.S. soldiers were under insupportable pressure, as evidenced by the other cruel incidents that happened during the Vietnam War, such as My Khe incident. Although the publication of this incident raised a dust and a wave of public opposition, at the same time, it caused that public attention was concentrated on holding a discussion on the question of responsibility for alleged war crimes.

All these examples of government camouflage and dupery led to many other civil commotions that were intensified in April, when the President Nixon, who had previously committed to a planned withdrawal, finally announced that U.S. forces had entered Cambodia. One of the most important and, at the same time, controversial decisions of Nixon’s presidency was motivated by a variety of inducements. The attack was launched against Cambodian sanctuaries to destroy communist command-and-supply buildings as well as to buy time for Nixon’s plan of Vietnamization. Although Nixon was surely aware of a possible reaction to his unexpected stroke, in sign of another wave of students’ marches, there is no doubt that this decision had at last much more important impact on the development of the anti – war movement than he had ever expected.

One of the Cambodia’s consequences was the violent assault between students’ demonstrators and the National Guard. On 4th May, 1970 four students, two of them women, were killed and eight others wounded during students’ protests at Kent State University in Ohio. In accordance to allegation of auricular witnesses, a crowd of about 1,000 undergraduates was forced on the Commons, a grassy campus gathering spot, by members of the Ohio National Guard. This group of uniformed civil servants made an attack through lobbing tear gas after which the burst of gunfire followed. News of the killings swept the nation. The situation that happened at Kent State University ground was described by many pressmen and journalists. One of them was a metropolitan

reporter of the New York Times, John Kifner, who mediated the event through his article, *4 Kent State Students Killed by Troops*, published on 5th May, 1970 on the main page of the New York Times. He managed to acquire information that according to statement of an adjutant general of the Ohio National Guard, Sylvester Del Corso, “the guardsmen had been forced to shoot after a sniper opened fire against the troops from a nearby rooftop and the crowd began to move to encircle the guardsmen.” Nevertheless, the reporter, who was with the group of students, “did not see any indication of sniper fire, nor was the sound of any gunfire audible before the Guard volley. Students, conceding that rocks had been thrown, heatedly denied that there was any sniper.” (Ibid.) At night, after many hours of the pacification of the situation, the entire campus was sealed off and a court injunction was issued ordering all students to leave. (Ibid.)

The whole history of this event gave rise to accretion of the public indignation. “Death, previously distant, was now close at hand.” (Ibid.) The Kent State shootings incident raised not only a national student strike that launched in more than 500 colleges and universities, which paralyzed America’s higher-educational system, but also a wave of opposition that was raised in many cities across the country. All other incidents, according to Mark Barringer, such as shooting at Jackson State, a black college in Mississippi, in which the government intervened in a forcible way, played into hands of students’ campuses organizations. However, there came into being such changes of the anti-war leaders’ style that the progression of public attitude towards the anti-war movement started to vary.

These changes started to be significant ever since the period between 1969 and 1973 when the public reaction became both more powerful and, at the same time, less cohesive. For instance, in November of 1969 a second march on Washington, D. C. gathered more than 500,000 participants and, simultaneously, on the opposite side of the country there were more than 150,000 protestors in San Francisco. (The Anti-War Movement in the United States) In terms of the leaders of the movement, as mentioned above, till that time the clean-cut, well-dressed, mostly SDS members were now being subordinated as movement leaders. Their replacements gained less public respect and tagged them with the label “hippies”. Their activities were frequently denounced not only by normal citizens but also by media commentators, legislators and other public figures. Based on Mark Barringer’s standpoint, this new wave of leaders was obliged to fight not only against the U.S. government but also against mainstream opposition formed by middle-class Americans that were displeased at the youth culture of the

period-long hair, casual drug use, atypical music and promiscuity. “The new leaders became increasingly strident, greeting returning soldiers with jeers and taunts, spitting on troops in airports and on public streets. A unique situation arose in which most Americans supported the cause but opposed the leaders, methods, and culture of protest. The movement regained solidarity following several disturbing incidents.” (Ibid.)

Nevertheless, all these changes of public perception were related not only to changing exterior of movement leaders but also to the varying way of the demonstrations’ organization. Concerning the structure of the demonstrations, the beginning of the period, when the anti-war movement started to be extended not only across the university campuses but also across common cities and towns, was in sign of peaceful series of public speeches and dialogues supplemented with musical or poetical presentations. (Ibid.) During the changing situation in South Vietnam, the majority of the participants tried to draw attention both of the general public and of the U.S. government by leading marches and demonstrations through the various government grounds, e.g. one of the most exploited places was the Lincoln Memorial. After the turning point of the Kent State Shootings, both anti-war moods and the way of remonstrating itself changed. Anti-war protests became increasingly more violent, which was characterized by acts of vandalism, spray-painting, and destroying of common property. As a reaction to this violent situation there was a growing wave of disillusionment that started to overflow the whole American society.

For some members of these frustrated walks of life there was the only way how to escape and save. As a kind of protest these people started to reorganize their lives, some of them left the school and the traditional way of building reputation and careers to find new style of living. These people were called “hippies” or “Flower Children”, which was derived from the fact that they wore flowers, the symbols of nature and innocence, in their long hair and distributed flowers to passersby. The living attitude of this community was in sign of overall releasing, which included more sexual freedom, drug taking, such as Cannabis or LSD, and less working. The way of the movement was taken as an escape and a way how to express feelings, visions and reactions to the surrounding world.

As the U.S. troops began to come home, between 1971 and 1975, the anti-war protests started to gradually decline. Although there were still many remaining activists that remonstrated against continued U.S. bombardment, discomfort of South Vietnamese political prisoners and U.S. financing of the war, the amount of campus

demonstrations and general anti-war activities had never again reached its extensiveness. The reason why this finally happened is complicated. For instance, from Nixon's point of view, the general public has already had enough of all sort of marches, strikes, teach-ins, riots, and any other forms of activism. The American society started to be exhausted.

Attachment 6

Vietnam War Poetry

As regards the relation of poetry to the Vietnam War, John Clark Pratt claims that “the Vietnamese tradition of poetic expression produced a large body of work, both personal and political, written by soldiers and civilians of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the Republic of Vietnam (RVN).” It was very difficult to appreciate a lyre of these authors, because most of these poems were and still are not available in translation. However, one of the translated books of poetry that drew reviewers’ attention belonged to Thích Nhất Hạnh. His collection of 15 poems called “*The Cry of Vietnam*” (1968) reflected war horrors and barbarities. (Poetry and Vietnam) Although many other war poems of Cambodian, Lao or South Vietnamese authors were written, poem productivity of American poets was much more expressive. Based on John Pratt’s view, “poetry about Vietnam falls into three general categories: political protest poems, usually written by established poets who had not been to Vietnam; verse novels, in which chronologically linked poems depict one person’s experiences at war; and the hundreds of usually short, personal lyrics that present individual scenes, character sketches, or events.”

The first category was represented by the work “*A Poetry Reading against the Vietnam War*” (1966), edited by Robert Bly and David Ray. (Ibid.) However, much greater publicity was heeded to Walter Lowenfels’s anthology “*Where Is Vietnam?*” (1967) created under the contribution of 87 poets. (Ibid.) In the matter of plot’s placing, John Pratt highlighted the fact that most of these poems reflected “the writers’ attitudes to U.S. involvement in Vietnam by references to the political scene, the war as seen on TV or reported in the newspapers, and to antiwar themes in general. These anthologies and the numerous individual poems that were published served to define and sustain the general intellectual opposition to the war.”

The verse novels documented the attitudes of young men toward the Vietnam War by the medium of Dick Shea’s work “*Vietnam Simply*” (1967), in which the author represented a Navy lieutenant’s feelings and observations about the entrance of U.S. Marines troops into the war. Another piece, McAvoy Layne’s “*How Audie Murphy Died in Vietnam*” (1972), was written in special short, staccato verses that also reflected

the surroundings of Marine troops from basic training of a Marine recruits to their combat. (Ibid.) According to John Pratt, the third verse novel that is worth mentioning was published by a Hispanic veteran, Leroy Quintana. His *“Interrogations”* (1990) described a “young army draftee experiences training, combat and the aftermath of the war.” (Ibid.)

Attachment 7

The-I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixing-To-Die Rag

Joe McDonald explained how he had written the song:

"I wrote 'Fixin' To Die Rag' in summer of 1965 after I had been discharged from the US Navy for several years. It just popped into my head one day and I finished it in about 30 minutes. I did not have a conscious purpose in mind although I had been working on another song about the Vietnam War called 'Who Am I?' for several days so I had the war on my mind. The 'Who Am I?' song was part of a play I was writing songs for titled Change Over, written by Fred Hayden and directed by Nina Serrano. It was performed twice, once on the University of California Berkeley campus and once on the San Francisco State College campus. 1965 was the year that the Vietnam War became big news and a big protest issue with students."

(Joe McDonald – Country Joe, 301: The-I-Feel-Like-I'm-Fixing-To-Die Rag Protest Song)

Attachment 8

The representatives of gate-keeping:

"It is absolutely impossible to write a broadcast or put together pictures without having a point of view."

(John Secondari, ABC, Ibid.)

"It's impossible not to have a point of view. Once you start selecting facts and choosing what and whom to put on the air, a point of view is implicit."

(Gerald Green, NBC, Ibid.)

Attachment 9

Vice President Hubert Horatio Humphrey

For instance, Vice President Hubert Horatio Humphrey explained his attitude toward the presence of television cameras that “brought home the reality of war that shocked the nation and broke its will.” (Television Coverage of The Vietnam War and Its Implications For Future Conflicts, 1984)

“... this is the first war in this nation's history that has been fought on television where the actors are real. Where, in the quiet of your living room of your home, or your dormitory, or wherever you may be, these cruel, ugly dirty facts of life and death in war and pain and suffering come right to you; and it isn't Hollywood acting. I've had letters from mothers that have seen their boys shot down in battle”

(Hubert H. Humphrey, Television Coverage of The Vietnam War and Its Implications For Future Conflicts, 1984)

Attachment 10

Documentary film production

As for the reflection of the Vietnam War in the television documentaries, the turbulent period of the sixties became the right time when this branch of TV production started to present all sorts of martial events. These documentary films provided a real space to assume an attitude in a positive or negative way. It also gave the opportunity to express both objective and propagandistic approach to the Vietnam War. According to Tom Mascaro's information, also plenty of periodic documentaries covered these war incidents from both domestic and battlefield point of view. For instance, "American Broadcasting Company (ABC) offered a weekly series beginning in 1964, called "*ABC Scope*". (Documentary) As the Vietnam War escalated, the series became "*Vietnam Report*," from 1966-68. National Broadcasting Company (NBC) aired "*Vietnam Weekly Review*". CBS Broadcasting Inc. (CBS) launched an ambitious seven-part documentary in 1968 called "*Of Black America*."" (Ibid.)

Era of the 1968 represented one of the most variegated years that brought a change in the interest of network news and, at the same time, a decline in TV documentary production. Various TV stations concentrated its network reports on civil commotions, antiwar protests, and worsening situation in the battle-field in Vietnam. The situation started to be alarming. "The Nixon administration launched an assault on the media and encouraged station owners to complain about news coverage in exchange for deregulation. TV coverage of the Democratic National Convention triggered protests against network news." (Ibid.) As a reaction to the situation, network management began to experiment with "less-controversial programs." (Ibid.) These new programs presented a special newsmagazine that supplemented all evening news and documentaries. From Mascaro's point of view, these newsmagazines started to be very popular during the period of the 60's, as evidenced by the fact that Ray Carroll, a reporter of this brand new television program, became a real star. One of the most fruitful examples of these programs of that time called "*Sixty Minutes*" belonged under the creative decision of the television station CBS. Although its slow start, the program achieved unprecedented success. (Ibid.)

The whole period from the late 1960's throughout the 1970's was characterized by various reactions and attitudes of other TV stations towards this new type of less polemical programs. It was a kind of rivalry or contest among all these stations. For instance, NBC aired its piece "*First Tuesday*" in 1969, later on, ABC answered through "*The Reasoner Report*" (1973). (Ibid.) ABC concentrated to "establish itself as a full-fledged network," therefore this television company revived the "*CloseUp!*" documentary series, produced by Av Westin, William Peters, Richard Richter, and Pam Hill, under whose leadership "the "*CloseUp!*" unit excelled in documentary craft, featuring artfully rendered film, poetic language, and thoughtful music tracks." (Ibid.)

In the matter of the network documentaries progression, Tom Mascaro claimed that this branch of television industry factually vanished during the period of Reagan governance. He verbatim claimed that "the documentary's decline in the Reagan years was one indicator of the ebbing of the New Deal influence on American culture." (Ibid.) From a different point of view, competition among cable TV, independents, videocassettes, and many other technical inventions could also contribute to decrease and erosion of network audiences. All these pressures that were the cause of recession of the documentary production continued till the beginning of the 80s, which was proved in 1984 when only eleven documentary films were created. (Ibid.) Nevertheless, back to the period of the 70s where still existed some examples that were worthy of watching. One of that few documentaries which managed to attract the critics' attention was the CBS documental "*The Selling of the Pentagon.*" According to Garth S. Jowett, this film aired in "primetime on CBS on 23 February 1971" was concerned to examine the ascending usage and cost "to the taxpayers of public relations activities by the military-industrial complex in order to shape public opinion in favor of the military." (The Selling of the Pentagon)

This documentary, narrated by Roger Mudd, evoked a wave of disagreement and quarrels, which was caused by its topic direction. The film focused, especially on three areas of Pentagon activity to mediate and describe its influence on manipulation with public meaning, such as "direct contacts with the public, Defense Department films, and the Pentagon's use of the commercial media--the press and television." (Ibid.) The main reason that caused the contention of the U. S. government related to the question how the producers and creators of the film "re-constructed" some remains of interviews and speeches of some statesmen and servicemen shown in the documental. (Ibid.) The problem consisted in the fact that most of the sequences were forcibly taken out from

the context of several different interviews and conversation and subsequently these passages were implemented in other discontinuous parts of the film. Based on Garth S. Jowett's standpoint, this controversial way of film creation evoked the complaints only 14 minutes after its broadcast. In a month, CBS let the documentary run again. The former version was supplemented by 20 minutes of critical remarks, but the politicians were still not satisfied. Therefore, "the network had voluntarily submitted the film and completed script of *"The Selling of the Pentagon,"* but refused to supply the outtakes, draft notes, payments to persons appearing, and other material that had been subpoenaed." (Ibid.)

In light of this complicated situation, the "Federal Communications Commissions" (FCC) refused to be involved in the case. On the contrary, the "Special Subcommittee on Investigations" was in charge of seeing into the case. Several meetings and series of hearings were held by this institution in an effort to find the real contravener. One of the witnesses who had to give evidence was also Dr. Frank Stanton, the president of CBS, who claimed that he had "a duty to uphold the freedom of the broadcast press against Congressional abridgment and he pointed out the differences between print and broadcast journalism. He noted that these issues would not arise with the print media, but because broadcasters need government licenses while other media do not, the First Amendment permits such an intrusion into the freedom of broadcast journalism, although it admittedly forbids the identical intrusion into other press media." (Ibid.)

During the following months, the tenseness between the CBS and the U.S. government politicians increased. The complicated situation also started to express itself in the field of print journalism. At the beginning of June the "New York Times published the first installment of the series of what became known as *"The Pentagon Papers."* (Ibid.) Finally, all these factors became the reason that the case moved rapidly through the courts, which, according to Garth S. Jowett, resulted in the fact that the "Supreme Court allowed the unrestrained publication of those documents." Furthermore, this legislative body recommended to start to debate over the possibility that Congress would be able to "give authority to the FCC to move in a constitutional way that would require the networks to be as responsible for the fairness and honesty of their documentaries as for quiz shows and other programs." (Ibid.) However, after a "roll call vote" it was clear that the new vision did not make good, which confirmed the final result of the whole process in favor of a victory for CBS specifically, and

broadcast journalism in general. (Ibid.) From Garth S. Jowett's point of view, "'*The Selling of the Pentagon*' became a milestone in the development of the television documentary." The author's positive attitude towards the film was not related to the content itself. On the contrary, the admiration was conditioned by the fact that the film represented a clear statement that the networks could be in no matter pressed to be under government control.

Following period of the 1980's also represented some sorts of television companies that created various numbers of film products and documentaries that were connected with themes of the Vietnam War. One of the most successful TV services was, as mentioned earlier, the "Public Broadcasting Service (PBS)," included non-profit activities as a public-service television company. In 1983 David Fanning, journalist and executive producer, produced PBS's investigative series called "*Frontline*." In accordance with the official PBS's information, "in 2007, after 24 seasons and more than 485 films, "*Frontline*" remains America's only regularly scheduled investigative documentary series on television. The series has won all of the major awards for broadcast journalism, including 32 Emmys, 22 duPont-Columbia University Awards, 12 Peabody Awards and nine Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Awards." (Executive Producer David Fanning)

Nevertheless, the most successful documentary that was produced by the same television station was called *Vietnam: A Television History*. In reference to the time duration of the serial story, the project took six years from its "conception to completion". (About the TV Series) In 1983 it premiered as a 13-part series that provided a detailed both visual and oral account of the Vietnam War. From the reviewers' point of view, "this piece carefully analyzed the costs and consequences of the controversial but intriguing war." (Ibid.) The documentary series finally won several television's top awards, including "six National Emmy Awards. Mr. Ellison, executive producer, also received two individual Emmys. Among the program's many other honors were a George Foster Peabody Award, a George Polk Award and an Alfred I., DuPont-Columbia University Broadcast Journalism Award." (Richard Ellison, 80, Producer of Documentary on Vietnam, Dies, 9th October, 2004) The DuPont/Columbia jurors themselves uttered:

"These 13 hours of spellbinding, journalistically exemplary television have deservedly been called a landmark in American broadcast journalism and the most important and most

compelling documentary series ever made. The power and importance of this series will endure."

(About the TV Series)

The documentary set succeeded in effecting on reviewers' senses. For instance, during its broadcast in the U.S. in the fall of 1983 "the documentary received very positive reviews from *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *Variety*. Furthermore, both *Time* magazine and *Newsweek* hailed the series as fair, brilliant, and objective." (Vietnam: A Television History) Nevertheless, there existed other critiques of the piece that viewed it as "overly generous to the North Vietnamese." (Ibid) This documentary work simultaneously took effect on average viewing public. According to the Museum of Broadcast Communications, "before it was aired in the United States, over 200 high schools and universities nationwide paid for the license to record and show the documentary in the classroom as a television course on the Vietnam War." Together with this pedagogical effort, "the Asian Society's periodical, *Focus on Asian Studies*," published a special issue entitled, "Vietnam: A Teacher's Guide" to aid teachers in the use of the documentary in the classroom." (Ibid) Despite the fact that *Vietnam: A Television History* was one of the most popular history documentaries used as part of educational system, Stanley Karnow was inspired by the fruitfulness of the TV serial, thus he made the decision to write a book as a "companion" to the PBS series. This best-selling book, *Vietnam: A History* was also honored for its high standard and quality of historical texts and information. Therefore, Karnow's piece became part of educational materials in college history courses.

The idea of the film reached back to 1977. During that time, filmmaker Richard Ellison and foreign correspondent Stanley Karnow, who had been both a journalist in Paris during the 50's and a correspondent in French Indochina since 1959, started to discuss details of the project. Later on, these two authors with a vision engaged a professor at the University of Wisconsin, Dr. Lawrence Lichty, as a director of their media research, to "help gather, organize and edit media material ranging from audio and videotape and film coverage, to still photographs and testimonial. As a result, *Vietnam: A Television History* became a "compilation" documentary relying heavily on a combination of fixed moments (photographs, written text) as well as fluid moments (moving video and film)." (Vietnam: A Television History)

The earlier mentioned authors of the idea to create a documentary piece that would present “both sides of the Vietnam war story, the American perspective and the Vietnamese perspective” concentrated on the fact that “throughout the 1960s and 1970s, documentaries and films on the Vietnam war tended to look solely at American involvement and its consequences both at home and in the region.” (Ibid.) On this account, Karnow and Ellison urged to create a “more comprehensive historical account that traced the history of foreign invasion and subsequent Vietnamese cultural development over several hundred years. Both producers believed that to gain a more comprehensive view of Vietnam would enable the documentary to become a vehicle for reconciliation as well as reflection.” (Ibid)

Attachment 11

“Casualties of War” (1989)

“*Casualties of War*,” written by playwright David Rabe and directed by Brian De Palma, was one of the movies that were based on an actual event that happened during the warfare in Vietnam. According to Roger Ebert, the message of Brian De Palma’s work was in compliance with a theory that each human being and his human values could be lost under the influence of all shocking and unexpected war events. Furthermore, Brian De Palma pointed out that as a reaction to decreasing level of humanity most of U.S. soldiers in Vietnam suffered from reinforcing of their animal instincts, which was mirrored in their violent and barbarous behavior. (Casualties of War, 1989) For the main line of this true story, during a secret mission, for the purpose of visit a prostitute, an American patrol in Vietnam led by Sergeant Meserve (Sean Penn) made the decision to kidnap a young and innocent girl from her village. Simultaneously, it was supposed to be a revenge for the member of their squad who was killed by an enemy sniper. As to the Vietnamese girl, she was not suspected of any activity that would be conspiratorial. On the other hand, she was too terrified and solitary to defend against soldiers’s will. She was forced to march with them through the jungle although she anticipated her unavoidable end.

As mentioned earlier, the story pointed out that every average man surrounded by unbearable and violent long-running events could lose his human face and common sense. On the other hand, the film also showed what happened during the actual event, which confirmed the fact that not everybody had to always lose his personality and sense for justice and responsibility. In very truth, one of the patrol’s members called Eriksson, a young infantryman played by Michael J. Fox, managed to oppose his comrades and refused to participate in the rape and murder of that young girl. In the end, it was him and “his testimony that brought the others to a military court martial and prison sentences.” (Ibid.)

The movie itself was not so much about details of the event as about the surrounding atmosphere – “the dehumanizing reality of combat, the way it justified brute force and penalized those who would try to live by a higher standard.” (Ibid.) Brian De Palma concentrated on execution of his film in very naturalistic and vivid

way. For the personalities of the movie's characters, they were not described just from one point of view. On the contrary, Roger Ebert claimed that "Meserve was a good soldier, strong, violent and effective. He was capable of heroism and had leadership ability," nevertheless he had probably lost, or he never had "the fundamental moral standards" that most of people living in a normal world usually have. The general impression of the film was really oppressive, for instance - the sequence of scenes of girl's rape and murder. Based on Roger Ebert's opinion, the viewers of the movie had to be much more inescapable, especially when they reflected that the story was true, and the victim was real. From his point of view, the movie also managed to hit off "how impotent Eriksson's moral values were in the face of a rifle barrel." His comrades were decided to do what they wanted to do, and Eriksson was basically powerless to stop them. It bore witness to the fact and the movie made it clear that "when a group dynamic of this sort is at work, there is perhaps literally nothing that a "good" person can do to interrupt it. And its examination of the realities of the situation is what is best about the movie." (Casualties of War, 1989)

Attachment 12

“Heaven & Earth” (1993)

The story began in the village of Ky La in central Vietnam during the 1950s, where a peasant girl, Phung Le Ly, played by Hiep Thi Le, sought to look after her and her mother's paddy-fields. (Heaven and Earth, 1993) During that period of tranquility Le Ly, her family and other villagers lived in a common way as all of them were accustomed to live for many centuries. According to Robert Ebert, after “a warplane streaked across the sky, in an instant all she knew was destroyed.” The next part of her destiny took her “from the rice fields of the Central Highlands to the suburban split-levels of California.” (Ibid.) In successive steps, as Le Ly grew, she and her village “were put through diverse torments as they became caught between American-backed South Vietnamese government troops and the Viet Cong. Le Ly was tortured by one side and raped by the other before leaving Ky La for Saigon and a life as a prostitute.” (Heaven and Earth, 1993) Although the war destroyed Le Ly's whole life and Saigon became just another kind of externalization of a cruel military impact on public life, there was one splinter of hope represented by Sgt. Steve Butler. The U.S. soldier, personified by Tommy Lee Jones, presented “a lonely and kindly American GI who was looking for someone to settle down with.” (Ibid.) As for Roger Ebert's view, Butler's image of her was without resource influenced by his own internal demons, fear and guilt, “his need for a woman who will simultaneously forgive him, and surrender to him.” Finally, the pair married and started their new life in San Diego, California.

Attachment 13

Chronology of the history of Vietnam, 1940s – 1990s

- **1941:** Ho Chi Minh forms the Viet Minh.
- **1946:** Viet Minh forces attack a French garrison in Hanoi beginning the first Vietnam War.
- **1950:** President Truman's National Security Council decides to provide military aid for the French war in Indochina.
- **1954:** Following the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu, an agreement is reached splitting Vietnam at the 17th parallel into a Communist North and a non-Communist South, pending nationwide elections in 1956.
- **1955:** Ngo Dinh Diem proclaims the Republic of South Vietnam and becomes its president.
- **April 1959:** President Dwight D. Eisenhower commits the United States to maintaining South Vietnam's independence.
- **July 1959:** Two U.S. advisors are the first Americans killed in a guerrilla attack 20 miles north of Saigon.
- **April 1960:** North Vietnam begins mandatory military service as its troops infiltrate South Vietnam.
By year's end, about 900 U.S. military personnel are in Vietnam.
- **Nov. 1960:** Democrat John F. Kennedy defeats Republican Richard M. Nixon for president.
- **Dec. 1960:** The National Liberation Front (the Viet Cong) is proclaimed.
- **May 1961:** Kennedy sends 100 Special Forces troops, trained for guerrilla warfare, to Vietnam.
- **Dec. 1961:** Secretary of State Dean Rusk says South Vietnam is in "clear and present danger" of communist conquest.
- **Feb. 1962:** More American advisors and support personnel arrive. Kennedy warns that American advisors will return fire if attacked.
- **May 1962:** In response to communists moving into Laos, U.S. sends 5,000 Marines and 50 fighter jets to Thailand.

- **Oct. 1962:** U.S. discovers Soviet missile sites under construction in Cuba. Soviets agree to remove missiles, but crisis heightens fears of superpower conflict.
- **Jan. 1963:** In battle of Ap Bac, South Vietnamese and Americans suffer worst defeat to date: five U.S. helicopters downed and three Americans killed.
- **Aug. 1963:** Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. delivers his "I Have a Dream" speech during civil rights march in Washington.
- **Nov. 1963:** South Vietnamese generals kill President Ngo Dinh Diem in a plot condoned by key American officials who felt Saigon could not win under his leadership. Three weeks later, Kennedy is assassinated. Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson succeeds him.
- **1964:** North Vietnam begins infiltrating its regular army units into the South.
- **Aug. 1964:** The Maddox, a U.S. destroyer, is slightly damaged by enemy boats in Tonkin Gulf. After a reported second attack--which many later concluded did not occur--Congress passes Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, giving Johnson authority to intensify the war.
- **Oct. 1964:** China explodes its first atomic bomb.
- **Nov. 1964:** Johnson elected in landslide over Republican Barry Goldwater, who had pushed for an even tougher approach to Vietnam.
- **Dec. 1964:** Bob Hope begins frequent visits to entertain the troops.
- **Jan. 1965:** Johnson sends Congress a budget containing the biggest expansion of domestic welfare programs since the New Deal, reflecting his goal of providing funds for both the war and what was called the Great Society.
- **Feb. 1965:** Viet Cong attack an American airfield at Pleiku. U.S. bombers attacked targets in North for the first time, in a reprisal for attacks on U.S. bases.
- **March 1965:** First U.S. combat troops in South Vietnam land in Da Nang.
- **April 1965:** As Johnson formally authorizes combat troops to be used for offensive operations, antiwar movements become more active.

- **Aug. 1965:** Large scale race rioting, resulting from the arrest of a black motorist by a white officer, leaves 34 dead in Watts section of Los Angeles.
- **Oct. 1965:** Antiwar sentiment continues to build; protests held in 40 U.S. cities.
- **Dec. 1965:** American troop strength reaches 184,300; to date there are 636 U.S. deaths.
- **Jan. 1966:** Congress is asked for \$ 12.8 billion to help finance the war; merits of war debated in Congress, but the money eventually is approved.
- **June 1966:** Johnson expands bombing to oil installations in Hanoi and Haiphong.
- **Summer 1966:** Race riots break out in Chicago and several other northern cities. Riots escalate a year later.
- **Sept. 1966:** U.S. announces that it is using chemicals to destroy enemy's jungle cover, thus introducing the herbicide Agent Orange into the conflict; thousands of American soldiers later say they developed cancer and other afflictions as a result of exposure.
- **April 1967:** Boxing champion Muhammad Ali refuses induction into the armed forces, citing religious reasons. He tells reporters, "*I ain't got no quarrel with them Viet Cong.*"
- **Oct. 1967:** At least 50,000 protesters march on Pentagon. For first time, opinion polls find more Americans are against the war than support it.
- **Nov. 1967:** Democrat Eugene McCarthy announces that he will run as a presidential candidate dedicated to ending the war.
- **Dec. 1967:** U.S. military personnel in Vietnam reach 485,600; 16,021 killed to date.
- **Jan. 1968:** North Vietnam launches massive Tet offensive, reaching all the way to U.S. Embassy in Saigon; despite heavy communist casualties, public relations victory goes to Hanoi, fueling antiwar movement.
- **Feb. 1968:** Viet Cong and North Vietnamese kill 2,800 civilians in Hue. U.S. casualty rate reaches weekly high: 543 killed.

- **March 1968:** Johnson announces he will not seek reelection. My Lai massacre of South Vietnamese civilians by American troops leaves hundreds of unarmed civilians dead.
- **April 1968:** Rev. King, who had called for total withdrawal from Vietnam, is assassinated.
- **May 1968:** Moves toward peace bring first substantive meeting between U.S. and North Vietnam in Paris. Bloodiest month of the war for U.S. casualties, 2,371 Americans killed.
- **June 1968:** Robert F. Kennedy, a Democratic presidential candidate opposed to the escalation of the war in Vietnam, is assassinated.
- **Aug. 1968:** Violence erupts between police and antiwar demonstrators at Democratic convention in Chicago.
- **Nov. 1968:** Richard Nixon, who vowed to achieve peace with honor in Vietnam, defeats Democrat Hubert H. Humphrey in presidential election.
- **May 1969:** U.S. proposes peace plan calling for troop withdrawal by both sides.
- **June 1969:** Nixon announces that U.S. troops will begin unilateral withdrawal.
- **July 1969:** Apollo 11 astronauts land on the moon.
- **Aug. 1969:** Woodstock festival, a social and musical milestone, draws an estimated 500,000 to upstate New York.
- **Sep. 1969:** North Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh dies in Hanoi; successor pledges to continue war.
- **Nov. 1969:** Details of the My Lai massacre become public.
- **Dec. 1969:** First Vietnam War draft lottery, tying mandatory military service to date of birth, is held in U.S.
- **Feb. 1970:** National Security Advisor Henry A. Kissinger begins secret peace talks in Paris; Nixon later appoints him secretary of State.
- **Mar. 1970:** The United States begins bombing North Vietnamese sanctuaries and supply routes in Cambodia.
- **April 1970:** U.S. and South Vietnamese troops invade Cambodia in effort to cripple enemy supply lines; it is last big operation of the war for the United States.

- **May 1970:** Four students killed by National Guardsmen during antiwar protest at Kent State University in Ohio.
- **Dec. 1970:** Congress prohibits using troops or advisors in Cambodia and Laos.
- **March 1971:** Lt. William L. Calley Jr. convicted of premeditated murder in My Lai massacre.
- **June 1971:** New York Times begins publishing top-secret Pentagon Papers, which explored the U.S. decision-making process regarding South Vietnam.
- **July 1971:** The 26th Amendment lowers the voting age to 18.
- **Nov. 1971:** Nixon announces that U.S. ground forces have taken a defensive role, leaving offensive attacks to the South Vietnamese.
- **Dec. 1971:** U.S. military strength declines to 156,800. U.S. death toll, 45,626.
- **March 1972:** North Vietnam begins a full-scale invasion of the South.
- **April 1972:** In effort to pressure Hanoi on lagging peace talks, bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong resumes after four-year lull.
- **June 1972:** Five men seized while breaking into the Democratic National Committee headquarters at the Watergate building in Washington.
- **July 1972:** Actress Jane Fonda, an anti-war activist, goes to Hanoi on a fact-finding mission, poses for pictures with North Vietnamese soldiers, and becomes target of criticism in U.S.
- **Oct. 1972:** National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger announces, "Peace is at hand." His announcement of a tentative accord turns out to be premature.
- **Nov. 1972:** Nixon wins second term, defeating Democrat George S. McGovern.
- **Dec. 1972:** The North Vietnamese walk out of the Paris peace talks; American bombers strike at Hanoi and Haiphong.
- **Jan. 1973:** U.S., South Vietnam, Viet Cong and North Vietnam sign a cease-fire agreement.
- **March 1973:** Last U.S. ground troops leave Vietnam.

- **Nov. 1973:** Congress overrides presidential veto of War Powers Act, which limits president's ability to wage war without congressional approval.
- **Jan. 1974:** North Vietnam orders major offensive to "liberate" South Vietnam.
- **April 1974:** Cambodia falls to Communist Khmer Rouge rebels, who begin program of genocide that kills more than a million Cambodians.
- **Aug. 1974:** Nixon resigns in Watergate scandal and is succeeded by Vice President Gerald R. Ford.
- **Sep. 1974:** Ford offers clemency to Vietnam draft evaders and military deserters.
- **Apr. 29, 1975:** Last U.S. military personnel killed, in rocket attack.
- **Apr. 30, 1975:** North Vietnamese capture Saigon, ending the Vietnam War.
- **July 1975:** North Vietnam annexes South Vietnam and disbands the National Liberation Front.
- **Dec. 1978:** Vietnam invades Cambodia and occupies the country for a decade.
- **Nov. 1982:** The Vietnam Memorial in Washington is dedicated.
- **Feb. 1994:** The United States ends its 19-year trade embargo against Vietnam.
- **July 1995:** The United States extends full diplomatic recognition to Vietnam.

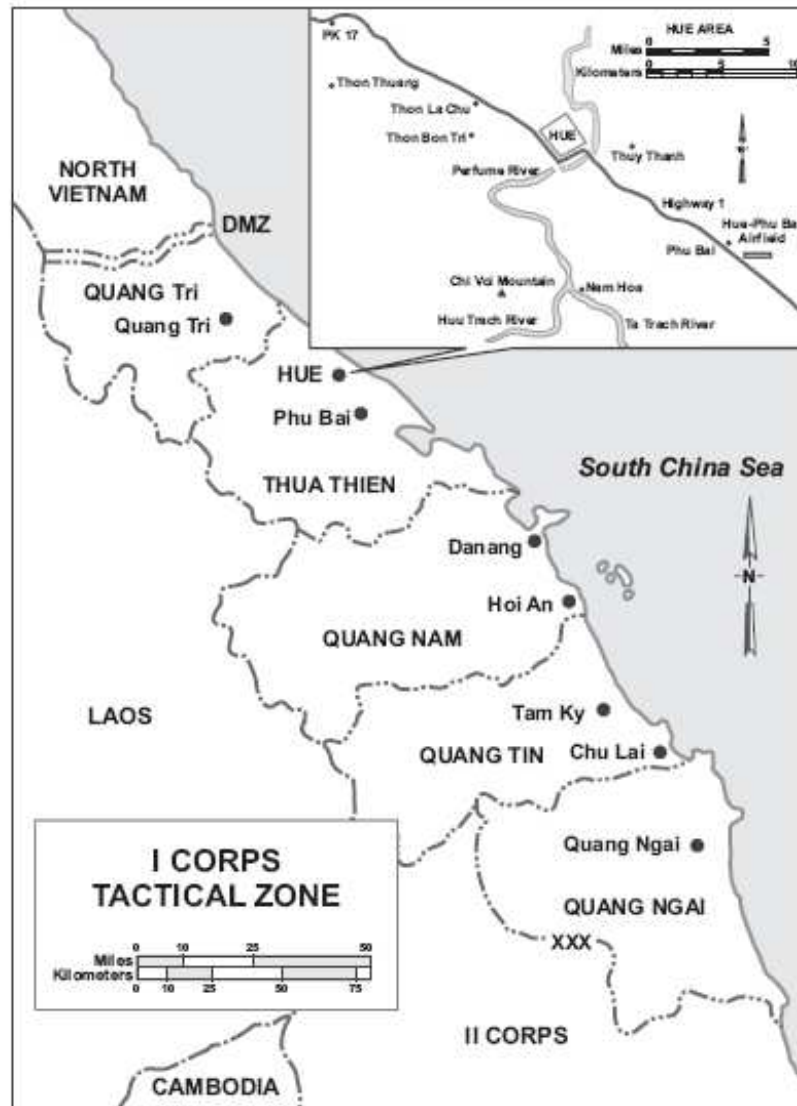
Source: "Vietnam War Chronology." Digital History. Online. Available at:
 <http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/article_display.cfm?HHID=515>.

South Vietnam – The Tet Offensive, 1968



Attachment 15

Location of City of Hue, 1968



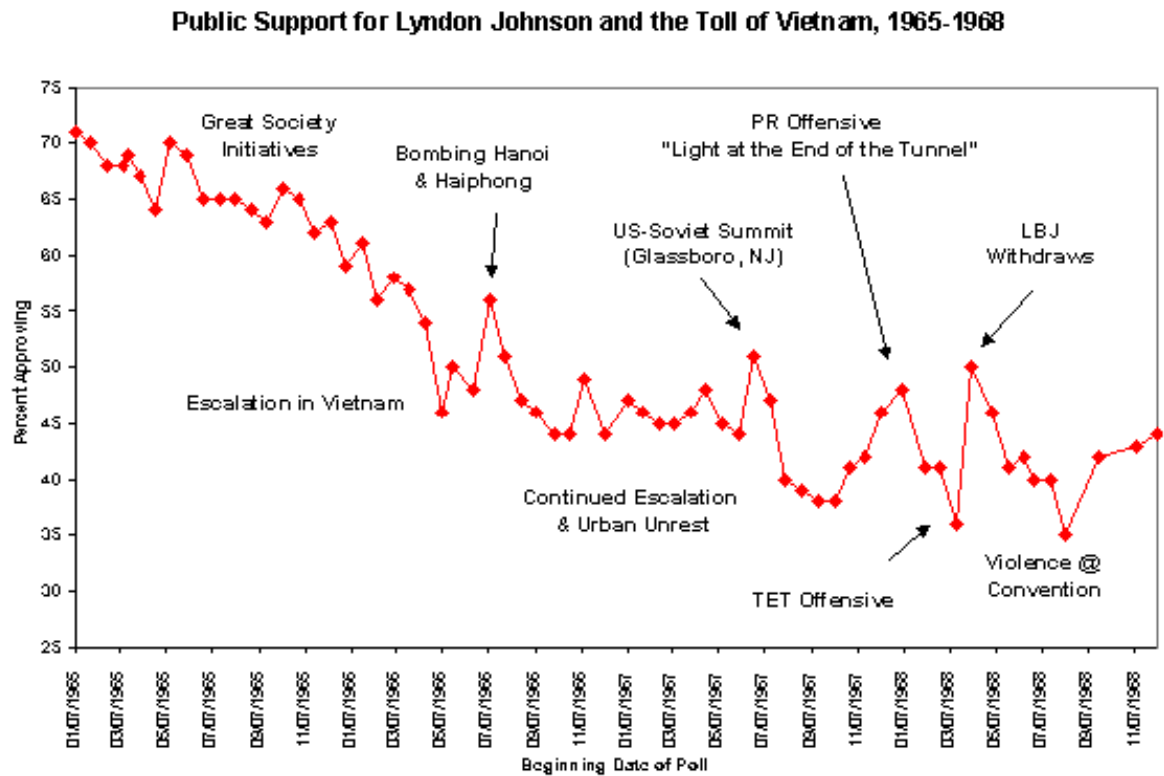
1968. Nevertheless, the city was on one of the principal land supply routes for the allied troops occupying positions along the DMZ to the north, and it also served as a major unloading point for waterborne supplies that were brought inland via the river from Da Nang on the coast.

Source: Willbanks, James H. "The Battle for Hue, 1968". Command and General Staff College. Online. Available at:

<http://www.cgsc.army.mil/carl/download/csipubs/Block/chp5_Block%20by%20Block.pdf>.

Attachment 16

Public Support for Lyndon Johnson, 1965 - 1968



Source: "The War in Vietnam, 1965 - 1968". Southern Methodist University. Online.
Available at: <<http://faculty.smu.edu/dsimon/Change-Viet2.html>>.

Attachment 17

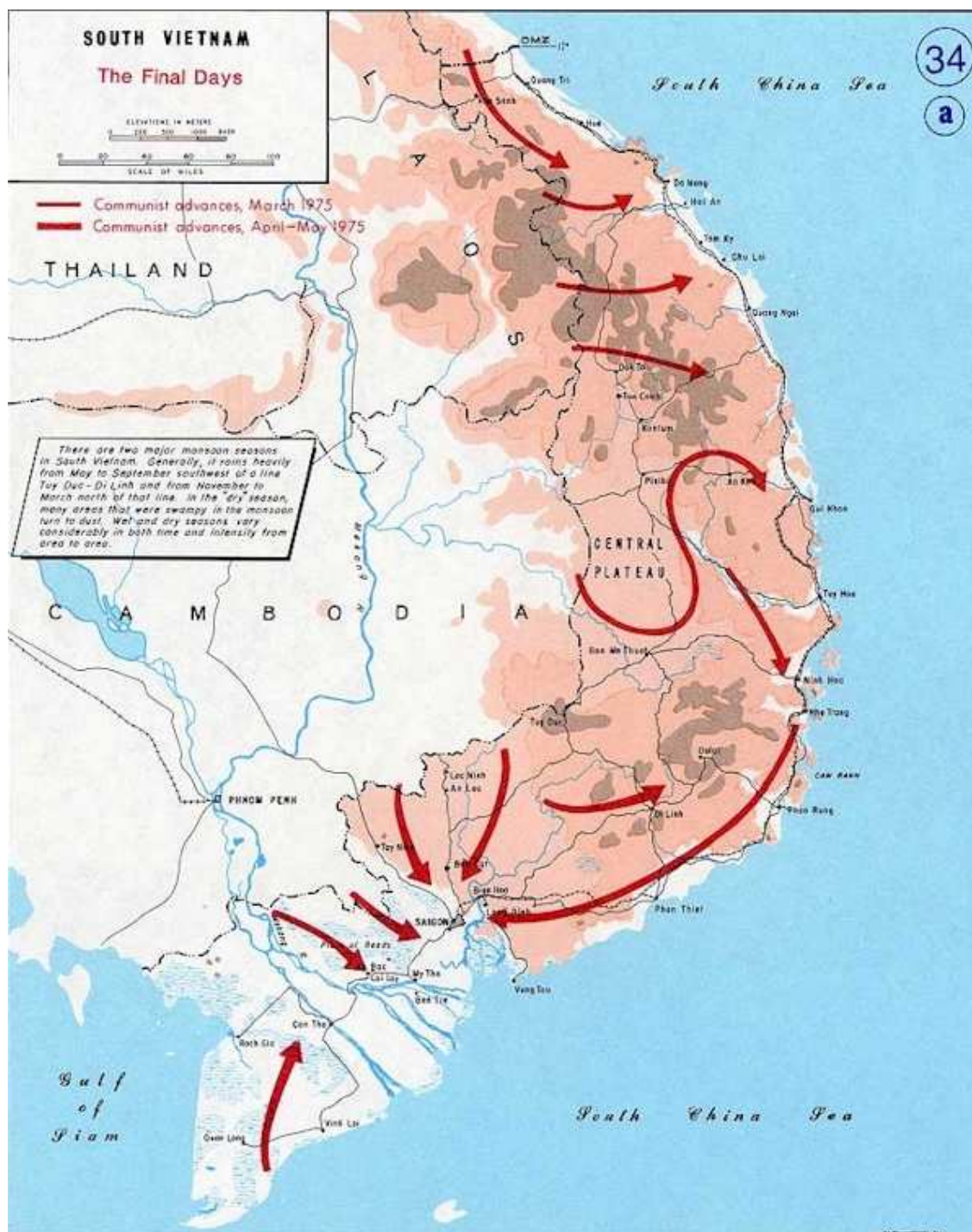
American soldiers in action during the Vietnam War



Source: "The Battle for Hue City". MilitaryPhotos.net. Online. Available at:
<<http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?t=10344>>.

Attachment 18

Final situation in South Vietnam



Source: "Maps of Vietnam". Modern American Poetry. Online. Available at:

<http://www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/vietnam/maps.htm>.

Attachment 19

Anti-war Movement



Source: "The War in Vietnam, 1965 - 1968". Southern Methodist University. Online.
Available at: <<http://faculty.smu.edu/dsimon/Change-Viet2.html>>.

Attachment 20

Mass-media coverage of the Vietnam War



A Viet Cong terrorist was captured by South Vietnamese military officials and summarily executed in the streets of Saigon.



In 27th February 1968, the anchorman for the CBS evening news, Walter Cronkite, traveled to Vietnam and filed several reports. Upon his return, Cronkite took an unprecedented step of presenting his "editorial opinion" at the end of the news broadcast on February 27th. "For it seems now more certain than ever," Cronkite said, "that the bloody experience of Vietnam is to end in a stalemate."

Source: "The War in Vietnam, 1965 - 1968". Southern Methodist University. Online. Available at: <<http://faculty.smu.edu/dsimon/Change-Viet2.html>>.

Attachment 21

Film Production – “Platoon,” 1986



Charlie Sheen – in his role of Chris Taylor, “Platoon”



Tom Berenger – as Sgt. Barnes, “Platoon”



Francesco Quinn – as Rhah, “Platoon”

Source: "Platoon Pictures". StarPulse.com . Online. Available at:

<<http://www.starpulse.com/Movies/Platoon/Pictures/>>.

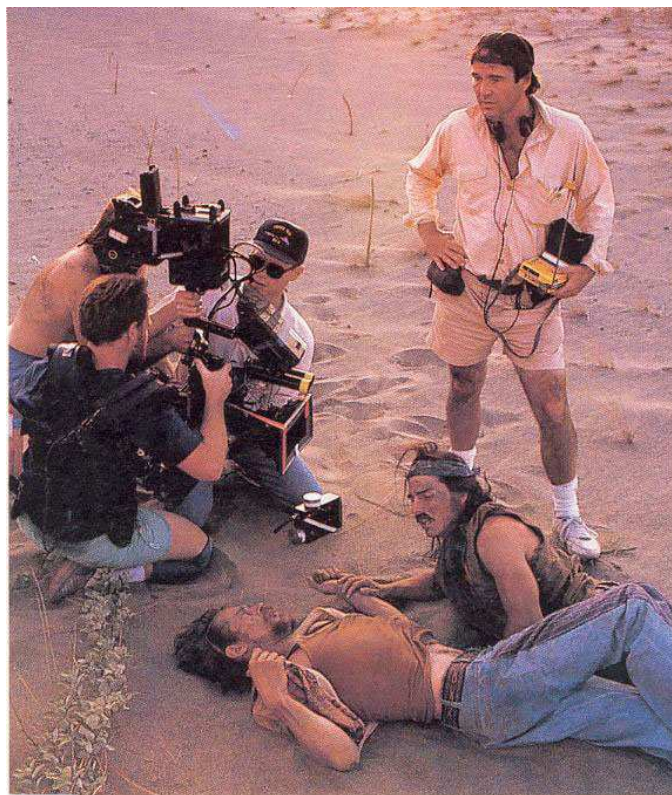
Attachment 22

Film Production – “Born on the Fourth of July,” 1989 – Behind the scenes images



Oliver Stone and Tom Cruise during the shooting of military scenes







Source: O'Brien, Jason. "Oliver Stone & His Films". Oscar World. net. Online.
Available at: <<http://www.oscarworld.net/ostone/default.asp?PageId=41>>.