

**PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA**  
**MINISTRY OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH**  
**UNIVERSITY OF MOHAMED BOUDIAF - M'SILA**

FACULTY OF LETTERS AND FOREIGN LANGUAGES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

N° :.....



DOMAIN: FOREIGN LANGUAGES

STREAM: ENGLISH LANGUAGE

OPTION: LITERATURE & CIVILIZATION

**The Role of Mass Media in Shaping American  
Public Mind during Gulf War Two**

**Thesis Submitted to the Department of English in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Master Degree**

**By: BENKHELIFA Imane**

**BAHACHE Hafidha**

**Academic Year : 2016 /2017**

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**Academic Year : 2016 /2017**

## **DECLARATION**

We hereby declare that the substance of this dissertation entitled “The Role of Mass Media in Shaping American Public Mind during Gulf War Two” is entirely the result of our investigation and that due reference or acknowledgement is made, whenever necessary to the work of other researchers.

This work is to be carried out and complete at M’sila University, Algeria

### **Signatures**

Benkhelifa .I Bahache .H

## **Acknowledgement**

First, we are grateful to **Allah** for protection and ability to do work.

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**Thank you**

## **Abstract**

The concept of New Media, which means all the instruments of mass and electronic communication using digital technologies such as Internet, witnesses a rise after 1990s. It plays a significant role in war coverage by attracting a large number of scholars as time goes by. One of the most important wars that media covers is Gulf War Two. The aim of this study is to evaluate the impact of mass media in shaping the American public minds, focusing on the battle of Fallujah which is the salient point of the work. Since this research is related to history, the historical approach is the dominant method in the work in which the qualitative analytical and the descriptive methods are used also in order to examine the historical events. This dissertation proves the major role played by Mass Media which has great effects. Mass Media changes the American Public Opinion and that appears in the case study of Fallujah Battle which contributes as valuable evidence in our study.

**Key Words:** New Media, Gulf War Two , The Battle of Fallujah, The American Public Mind.

## المخلص

عرف مفهوم وسائل الإعلام الجديدة "وهي مجموعة أدوات اتصال جماهيري وإلكتروني باستخدام التقنيات الرقمية مثل الإنترنت"، ارتفاعا في فترة التسعينات حيث لعبت هذه الوسائل دورا هاما في تغطية الحرب مما جذب انتباه الكثير من الباحثين مع مرور الزمن. من أهم الحروب التي قامت وسائل الإعلام بتغطيتها هي حرب الخليج الثانية. تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى تقييم تأثير وسائل الإعلام على الرأي العام الأمريكي، من خلال التركيز على معركة الفلوجة باعتبارها أهم نقطة في هذا العمل. بما أن هذا العمل يتعلق بالتاريخ تم اعتماد النهج التاريخي لتحقيق الدراسة بالإضافة إلى أساليب التحليل النوعي و الوصفي لدراسة الأحداث التاريخية. انتهت هذه الأطروحة بإثبات الدور الرئيسي الذي تلعبه وسائل الإعلام الجماهيري والتي لها آثار كبيرة في تغيير الرأي العام الأمريكي الذي تسهم فيه معركة الفلوجة، كدراسة حالة، لتكون دليلا قيما في اثبات دراستنا.

**الكلمات الرئيسية:** وسائل الإعلام الجديدة، حرب الخليج الثانية، معركة الفلوجة، الرأي العام الأمريكي.

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## Table of Abbreviations

<b>Abbreviation</b>	<b>Structure</b>
<b>ARPANET</b>	The Advanced Research Project Agency
<b>CBS</b>	Columbia Broadcasting System
<b>CNN</b>	Cable News Network
<b>IP</b>	Internet Protocol
<b>ISIS</b>	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
<b>TV</b>	Television
<b>USA</b>	United States of America
<b>WWW</b>	World Wide Web
<b>WOMD</b>	Weapons Of Mass Destruction

**General**

**Introduction**

## **Statement of the Problem**

Since the end of the Cold War, there have been countless conflicts. To consider the relationship between war and media, it is important to look at the way in which mass media are involved in conflict. Gulf War Two which is a war between the US troops and the Iraqi troops in 2003, is a major global media event. Media plays a substantial role in the Iraq War, it has the responsibility to inform the public in a way that allows them to make a rational judgment about government actions.

The period of Gulf War Two witnesses a very significant role of mass media and no period sees the prominence of media like the War's one. This latter had an enormous impact on the public views and interpretations. The role of Mass Media in shaping the American Public Mind is a topic among the most important ones because it is highly significant for many decades and still be a hot debate that rises several times. This dissertation exposes the role of Mass Media in shaping the American Public Views during Iraq War.

## **Objectives of The Research**

The main objectives of this paper are :

1. To evaluate the American public views in Fallujah Battle .
2. To determine the influence of Mass Media in shaping American Public Mind during Gulf War Two .

## **Research Questions**

To fully discuss this issue, this paper will try to answer the following questions :

1. To what extent American media, public opinion, and government are related in the Second Gulf War?
2. How did mass media drastically change the American public mind about Gulf War Two?

## **Significance of the Study**

This research is different in that it tries to analyze and describe the impact of Mass Media in shaping American public mind during Gulf War two and to study it using wider perspective. Its main objective is to highlight the effects of mass media on American views. Furthermore, rather than merely gathering and restating what has already been said about this subject, this paper tends to be more critical in that it provides new point of views that are often neglected by researchers.

## **Methodology**

Studying American public views in Iraq war is highly serious and can be difficult in some ways. This research is based on qualitative analytical , and descriptive method in order to describe historical events . The analytical method will have a major influence on this paper in analyzing the relation between war and media. In addition to that it uses extract elements from speeches , addresses , and statements of American public in order to evaluate their view about the war. Comparison will also be present whenever there is clash of different point of views or statements.

## **Background of the Study**

In all nations around the world, the majority of the general public uses source to get their news and information from. This source is considered as Mass Media. This latter is the means used or the technology that is intended to reach a mass audience and to communicate to them. As societies, people share , communicate and attempt to come to terms with political events through mass media. They tend to remember important events in modern history through their media coverage. Media serves many domains, social, cultural, economic, and political ones.

During last decades, there was a debate over media and war. The use of media in war propaganda is described through the relation between media and war. It plays a significant role in war coverage and conflict. This latter is one of the defining features of the modern

world. Thus, media has an important role in reporting, analyzing and solving conflicts. It can be active in a war either in increasing violence or in solving the problem ( Puddephatt 2006).

Media has an important effect in Gulf War Two. This latter, the Iraq War, is a one fought between USA and Iraq in response to the Attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>,2011 in USA by Al-Qaeda.USA and its alliances declare war and invade Iraq on March 20th ,2003 and rapidly they defeat the Iraqi army and execute the President Saddam Hussein in an attempt to establish a new government in the Iraqi territory. The war leaves a lot of casualties and refugees mainly to Syria, Jordan, and Europe. Also it costs billions of dollars. The declaration of the war is because of many causes and both sides use media as a mediator to report events and decisions. It is a heavily televised war in which people all over the world and for the first time are able to watch live coverage from different locations. Many media sources and Channels are used to portray people's views about war whether the supported views or the opposed ones. Media also has effects on people during Gulf War Two. It contributes in shaping the American Public views about the war ( Bassil 2011).

Many writers and scholars write about Media Gulf War Coverage in different works. Jim Rutenburg in his article" *A Nation At War : The News Media ; Cable's War Coverage suggests a New Fox Effect on Television Journalism* ", published in April 16, 2003, focuses on media as the primary source of news. He concentrates on which channel is the most popular and viewed by people in receiving news during Gulf War Two. Rutenburg gives the example of CNN and Fox News Channels. He evaluates also how these sources contribute in reporting decisions (Rutenburg 2003).

Philip M.Taylor in " *War, Media and Propaganda In Gulf Wars* ", published in September,2004. University of Leeds.Chicago, focuses on the credibility of propaganda. For him, it is the first source of information, whether to tell truth or lies. Many people misunderstanding propaganda. Taylor states that media plays a significant role in firming up

the differences, rather than explaining the wider context of what is actually happening. He declares that media is a challenge between our truth and their truth(Taylor 2004).

Another dissertation entitled" *War on the Media : The News Framing of The Iraqi War in The United States, Europe, and Latin America* " , is written by Maria Pestalado in May 2006. In this dissertation Maria analyzes the portray of the Iraqi War according to nine leading News Papers from United States, Europe, and Latin America. In addition to the comparison of news coverage of each region. In other words, Pestalado reveals how the media coverage of Iraq War differs according to the country where it is published ( Pestalado 2006).

### **Organization of the Thesis**

In order to have a clear understanding of the role of mass media in shaping American public views , one must understand the relation between mass media , Iraq war , and public views and move with regard to the importance of mass media which contributes in shaping the American opinions about Iraq war .thus this paper is structured as follows:

The first chapter gives a brief overview of historical background of mass media, its types, and importance taking first into consideration many theories about media with a focus on the Manufacturing Consent Model. It also examines the relationship between American media , public opinion , and government. In addition to that, it studies the standards and responsibilities of media that is supposed to follow.

The second chapter presents Gulf War Two, its causes and effects. It studies the role of Bush's rhetoric in promoting democracy in the Aftermath 9/11. Also it deals with black propaganda in Iraq war tackling with negative media reporting and its influence on American military strategy. Finally it concludes by exploring the impact of media Iraq war coverage on American public views as a result of evaluating Fallujah battle which is the focal point of this dissertation.

# Chapter One

# **Chapter One: Historical Background of Mass Media and Gulf War Two**

## **Introduction**

This chapter sheds light on the general background of Mass Media. It represents a brief history of Mass Media and its main types “Newspapers, TV, Radio and Internet” and represents their importance in society and public life. Also, it sheds the light on the role of mass media during the Second Gulf War. In addition to Mass Media, the chapter provides information about Gulf War Two, its causes, effects, and objectives. It concludes by introducing Mass Media’s Theories with a special focus on Chomsky’s Manufacturing Consent Theory.

## **1. Conceptual Framework of Mass Media**

### **1.1. History of Mass Media**

People around the world use media, the term media is derived from medium, which means a carrier or mode. Media denotes an item specifically designed to reach a large audience or viewers. (Maheshwari 136). It also refers to the tools and instruments that allow the transmitter to convey information over time and space. That paves the way for the receiver to decode and to know the transmitter’s intended meaning. It can be defined as technologies designed to store and distribute meanings. Among media in general, mass media can be singled out regarding the meanings produced and the audience receiving them. In addition, mass media contents are produced by specialized agencies according to a pre-determined schedule of "daily actuality" within in a national or linguistic community (Reitze and Ridder 2006).

The relation between media and mass that refers to a large number of people is concerned with the question of how and why many different forms of media are used to deliver information and ideas to the mass. (Sociology Central 2011).Regarding the meaning, mass media pre-package contents and distributes them according to some substantive regime and some time schedule, they are media for masses of meanings. Regarding the audience, the

technical requirements and possibilities of mass media together with the given language delineate the boundaries of their use so that in principle, they are available for each member of a nation or language community, rather than for socially circumscribed groups only, they are media for masses of people (Meleermann , Hagenah 03).

Since mass media is the channel of communication that aims at passing information to the audience in different topics, man looks for tools to send messages to a large number of people and in short time. When the term first appears, it refers to the advent of newspapers and magazines. However, it broadens by the passage of time by the inventions of radio, TV, cinemas and internet.

As mass media addresses nations, its development is a strand of the modernization of nations (Hallin and Mancini 261). Up to now, modern societies have only three mass media: daily newspapers, dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century; radio, originating in the 1920s; and television, taking the lead in the 1950's (Meleermann and Hagenah 03). In ancient times, messages used to be written on many materials like parchments, walls, tablets and sheets that opens the door for the first public library in Athens in 540 BC. Another way for delivering news and information is using pigeons that is known as Postmen but that way took long time and distance (Introduction to Mass Communication).

The beginning of mass media is traced back to the Middle Ages in Europe. The first Printing Press is invented in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, exactly in 1450 by Johannes Gutenberg who prints the first book that is a Latin Bible. This invention allows information to be available to all people. It characterizes a period of deep and developed shift in the medium of communication around the world. This shift paves the way for printing to be the most powerful information transmit medium that enables many books and newspapers to be published on large scale (Shah 2016).

In 1534, Spanish America has the first press in the world, when King Henry 3<sup>rd</sup> allows the printing of all books making Cambridge the oldest publishing house in the world (Cambridge University Press 2016). In England, people get the news from weekly news books. In 1665, there is the publication of the first newspaper in Oxford because of the great plague that obliges king Charles 2 to remove his court from London to Oxford in order to avoid this disease. When this latter subsides, the king returns his court and the Oxford Gazette to London and names it the London Gazette (The Mitchell Archives 2007,2009).

While in America, the first successful newspaper is The Boston News-Letter in 1704 in North American colonies, where the publisher is John Campbell (Norman 2004,2016). The period of the industrial revolution knows many changes. In this time, communication becomes easier with many inventions such as the Telegraph. This latter is invented by Samuel Morse in 1844, in America. He proves that this tool works over short distances by sending the first inter-city message (Wozniaki 2016).

Another invention is the Movie Camera by Thomas Edison in 1888. His laboratory invents the motion picture camera, known as Kinetograph. This latter is a successful entertainment industry. It gives chance for films and plays to be viewed by mass audiences (Edition Innovation Foundation 2011). In the same year, Heinrich Hertz transmits wireless sounds waves. He is famous for his work on Electromagnetism. Hertz promotes the antenna receiver that is defined as " a set of terminals that is not electrically grounded for its operation " (Wikipedia 2010). He transmits radio waves and proves that these waves can travel over distances.

A flourished age of radio stations appears. The radio is the first broadcast medium that is related to political events. In 1920, USA witnesses the first scheduled broadcast program from Pittsburg's KDKA. It is a marathon of 18 hours that covers the Harding.cox Presidential race's election. Later on, that broadcast knows other programs that have relation with

civilization (DelliCarpini 23). Prior to the World War Two era, a new medium flourishes in 1950. Television or eye-catching medium develops to be more popular than radio. It catches the public attention by showing acted programs in the front of a camera. The year 1963 marks the beginning of airing half-hour news broadcasts by NBC and CBS channels, which influences society with social, cultural and political news coverage (Gale 2012).

By the late 1960s, the world witnesses the emergence of another important medium, the Internet. This latter is a collection of computer networks that has the role of sending and receiving high-speed electronic messages and data across distances around the world. During this period, internet is private for exchanging ideas. Thus, in 1990s, it changes everything because it is developed through many years and is opened to general public (Media History Timeline 2002). The notion of mass media is as old as the human civilization. That is used for communication, sending and receiving data and gathering information in social, cultural, political and economic fields. Media evolves through time to include many different types that are used for different purposes.

## **1.2. Types of Mass Media**

Mass Media is considered as an effective means of communication. It enables people spread information, express views, opinions and ideas. There are several types of mass media:

- 1) Print media:
  - Newspapers
  - Magazines and other written forms.
- 2) Electronic media:
  - Television
  - Radio
- 3) New Age Media:
  - Internet

- Computers and other modern tools of communication.

The first example of mass media is the **Print Media**; which is one of the oldest and most basic forms of mass communication. It includes Newspapers, Magazines, Books, and the different forms of printed journals ( Maheshwari 136).

## **Newspapers**

Newspapers seem to be the most favored medium by masses. They are a printed material published regularly, every day or every weekend. This printed medium flourishes until the electronic one emerges. Newspapers provide different topics that masses are interested in. These topics can be serious news about political issues, finance, culture and society. They also occupy a big part in people's daily life. They contain entertaining stories, gossips about famous celebrities, movie reviews, puzzles and cross words. Thus, they attract the attention and the interests of readers from all age groups. (Garia 01).

The history of newspapers is traced back to five centuries where newsletters are distributed among merchants to inform the social clients about everything concerning wars and economy. In 1440 s, Germany witnesses the appearance of the first printed newspaper that took the pamphlet form. While in America, there are many trials to have a successful newspaper in 1704 followed by two other papers in Philadelphia and New York. Newspapers appearance emerges due to the industrial revolution that shapes the American society. In the 1880 census, about 11.314 different papers are registered, in addition to millions of the deliberation of copies are recorded (Barber 2001).

Newspaper differs from the other media. It is characterized by regularity in publication, either every day or every month. It can be considered as a source of historical research because it can be archived for future use. The popularity of newspaper increases since it is available in any time and every one can afford for it because of its cheaper cost (Mass Media and Society 37,38). However, with the emergence of other rapid and effective media like

radio, the popularity of newspaper is reduced. The second type is the **Electronic Media**: is the kind of media that requires the user to utilize an electric connection to access it. It is also known as "Broadcast Media". It includes Television, Radio, and new-age media like the Internet, computers, and telephones (Garia 03).

## **Radio**

Radio is considered as a popular and a powerful medium of communication. Samidha Verma acknowledges, " Radio is indebted to two other discoveries for its birth, telephone and telegraph (2012) ". Verma gives an idea that radio is the result of the telephone and the telegraph that are in relation. These technologies have the ability to transmit messages with the help of electromagnetic waves that the radio consists of. The three discoveries share the same function which is sending speeches, data and information through air (Verma 2012).

Radio invention is the result of the contribution of several inventors over time. In 1873, Clerk Maxwell discovers the Electromagnetic energy. For him, this latter takes the form of waves. Heinrich Hertz, who studies and measures their length .He illustrates them and proves the theory of electromagnetic energy. However, Hertz tends to know if these waves can be used in communication or not. This task is left to be continued by Guglielmo Marconi, who develops the radio in 1909. He works with these waves and send signals across the Atlantic. Wireless telegraphy to sea ships is confirmed by his company, but they just send signals.

In 1921, voice in radio came .Radio development faces many technical issues. Another contributor to the development is Lee Defotest , who invents the space telegraphy. In 1990, he works on the Audion that concerns with changing the volume, in addition to the discovery of American radio that propagates several radio stations. From these inventions, it is noticeable that the radio develops over a period of time and efforts of several inventors who make it so popular and useful. In 21<sup>st</sup> century, many other developments in the field appear including

internet and satellite radio (Verma 2012). Following the radio invention and its evolution. Television comes to mark the golden age of the media.

## **Television**

Television is not the invention of one day, but it is derived from the radio invention. TV's history traces back to the late 1800s, when Karl Ferdinand Braun invents the Cathode Ray tube in 1897, which combines camera and electricity principles that serves in the invention of TV Picture tube. In 1884, Paul Nipkow continues the mission and invents the scanning disk that is "a flat metal disk by which Nipkow shows how to send images over wires". The Cathode Ray tube and the scanning disk are used by Boris Rosing in 1907 to transmit images onto the TV screen. The disk system develops by John Logie Baird in 1926. He is the first to demonstrate the TV system in London. While in 1928, signals are transmitted between London and New York (Evolution of Television 2012).

By 1948, cable TV is introduced in Pennsylvania to get reception in rural areas. During the period of 1950s, two innovations, the color and the digital technologies introduce a radical change and mark the TV's golden age. The Federal Communication Commission approves the first color TV standard. This latter is replaced with the current standard in 1953. After 1950, most TV programming is in color in addition to the practical videotape system development that improves the visual quality of broadcast. Thus, TV grows to be the most popular medium by the majority (The Technology of Television 01, 04). The percentage of American householders own TV rises from 9% in 1950 to 92.5% in 1965. These statistics prove that people favor using TV that leads it to be an intimate part of their lives. Its importance lies in depicting the world's events (Appendix A).

In 2009, digital TV replaces the traditional analog system, followed by high-definition TV in 2010. These inventions and development of TV medium give a clear picture of what happened in the world. Several events like the President Kennedy's assassination and wars

like World Wars, Vietnam and Gulf Wars are played out on TV with the sense of unifying all people sharing hope and tragedy (Schmitz 2012). Television continues to evolve keeping its position as the most important medium. By time, a new technology appears and changes people's life. It is the Internet.

The third type is **New Age Media**. It is considered as a high technology mass media, which is not only faster than the old mass media, but has a widespread range as well.

## **Internet**

It is a main medium of communication that gains the interest of its users. According to the *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, "Internet is an international information network linking computers, accessible to the public via modem links" (2001). It is the largest network of networks in the world. In other words, it is the combination of computers, which performs as one network. This latter paves the way for the transmission of data and messages across distances from one place to another around the world (Slater 1996).

The origins of the Internet are rooted in 1960s in USA. That is marked by the establishment of The Advanced Research Project Agency as a reaction toward The Soviet Union's first Satellite launch (Almagor 46). To know how electronic messages are sent over the network, a new standard protocol is invented in 1977. This protocol is named Transmission Control Protocol or Internet Protocol. Various branches of networks are linked to ARPANET that later tends to be called Internet (Leiner et al 24). Another initiative that marks the development of Internet is the World Wide Web that is considered as the main governing body. It is a subset of the internet that refers to a collection of documents and services which are distributed and linked together across the internet. It is established in 1990 by Tom Berners- Lee.

Internet evolves to bring the globe in a small room. It facilitates for every one access to information and to send electronic messages that take the form of E-mails. Internet also can

be used in political, cultural and economic affairs, searching for jobs or entertainment (Karen 2009). These types of mass media play an important role in the world. They influence society and every aspect of life either positively or negatively.

### **1.3. Importance of Mass Media**

Media plays a pivotal role in society, it participates in shaping the people's views. It acts as an interface between the common man and the government. It is a very powerful tool with the ability to make and break the opinion of people. Media is the most powerful tool of communication. It helps promote the right things in the right time. It gives a real exposure to the mass audience about what is right or wrong. Even though the media is linked with spreading news like a fire, but on the safe side, it helps a lot to inform us about the realities as well. Mass media has a prominent role to play in modern society. It can bring about radical changes and improve the social situation as it influences our social, civil, cultural, political, economic and aesthetic outlook. (Maheshwari 136).

It also plays a significant role in democracy. Most scholars name the mass media as the most important source of political information and the central platform of political discourse. According to political scientist Ralph Nergine (1996, 107) the mass media act as:

- An important link between the public, and the opinion of the public and the decision-making processes of government.
- A key player in the construction or creation of “the public” and of public opinion.
- A means by which the public can come to play a direct and indirect part in the democratic process. (Armin Wolf, Young Audiences, Mass Media, and Political Information, p 15, 2010, thesis)

Mass media occupies a big part in people's life in different domains. It allows people to be aware of what is happening in the world and in the right time, whether through reading

newspapers or watching TV. It plays a vital role in shaping public opinions and ideologies towards events and activities. Politicians and electors use media for their political affairs and activities, like election campaigns. They pass their voice and intention to citizens through TV programs or radio. Media is also used in entertainment. It offers amusing programs on TV or radio, games on the internet and films in cinemas. It consolidates friendship relations between people by allowing a rapid transmission of messages.

The educational environment is also influenced by media. For best learning, media's instruments are integrated in the learning process. Computers and internet seem to be the most useful media by educators. They facilitate learning by getting information in short time with little effort. It makes data searching so easier, which may allow the student to learn by himself without the need for the teacher's help. In addition to that, economy and business also benefit from media usage. It eases and promotes the distribution of goods through advertising. Consumers and clients have the chance to know the various and the new productions in addition to the price. That helps business and economy to flourish (Maheshwari 136,139). Although, media contributes in several issues that threaten the society, it has many disadvantages.

Media may have negative effects on society. It may strengthen wrong ideas and beliefs that push the public for changing their social behavior and lifestyle. It leads to psychological problems including violence and isolation, in addition to health problems like obesity. These problems come by spending most of the time in front of TV or computer. Sitting long hours using media may lead users to live in an imaginative world far from the real one (Alexandra 2012).

It leads also to the decrease in productivity, when workers waste their time chatting and using social media. Bad media's coverage sometimes leads to political issues. The information that is received from media may affect the nation. It can be the responsible for

declaring wars and increase tensions between countries when it delivers wrong news and gossips as in the case of Gulf War Two, where media plays a significant role (Maheshwari139).

#### **1.4. The Role of Media during the War**

During times leading up to or during conflict , the media plays an important part in the war .The role in the evaluation of war coverage is played by standards which media is expected to meet. For that , this part discusses functions and effects of war coverage , standards and responsibilities of media war that should be set in war coverage , and if the media can have role in conflict resolution. The role of media in society is to provide its audience with fair facts and information related to social, political, and economical issues, and it is the job of the journalist to show and uncover these truths .In wartime " The media has responsibility to inform the public in way that allows them to make rational judgment about government actions "( Hutchinson 35). That means, media in war must make people able to evaluate all the sides.

In modern wars, the information which based on facts may not give the public enough look. Thus, the real function of war coverage is that the media should interpret and evaluate the event, so that can help to guide or orientate the public .Christiane Eilders in his book "*Media under Fire : Fact and Fiction in Condition of War*" states that the important effect of media war coverage is on the public views , and on the political system (646,647). Media has massive amount of responsibilities, since it has the power to effect and influence public's thoughts and opinions. It plays a significant role in today's conflict. Mass media often takes two forms "Either it takes an active part in the conflict and has responsibility for increased violence, or stayed independent and out of the conflict "(Puddephatt 4). In other words, media tends to either minimizing and seeking for resolution and peacemaking, or exaggerating the conflict as agitator .

One of the standards for war coverage is the neutrality and independence of media. In addition to that, media should avoid manipulation which refers to media warfare that is the doctrine of the media for the aim of influencing or manipulating public opinion in order to take support to the government or the policy. In most cases, media becomes part of the conflict, not part of the solution. Thus, mass media expects to contribute in peace, seeks for solutions to the problem. For that, Chomsky acknowledges »There is a need for the media to propose peaceful choices and highlight the implications of war rather than just the more binary propagandistic approach" (1994).

## **2. Historical Background of Gulf War Two**

### **2.1. Gulf War Two**

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990 is known by Gulf War One. President Saddam Hussein shocks everyone by ordering his troops to invade Kuwait on August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1990. Iraq has a number of reasons for the invasion of Kuwait. It is mainly the thought that Kuwait is a territory that historically belongs to them which leads to hostilities ( Bassil 29). As result of Iran Iraq war, Iraq faces an economic disaster, owes huge debts and in order to recover the debts and rebuild the country again, they needs money that is why the best way for that is to obtain revenues from the sale oil. Iraq loses a lot of income because of the overproduction of oil from Kuwait. Thus, Iraq feels that Kuwait wages an economic war against them. This latter increases hatred and conflicts between them.

On August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1990, Saddam Hussein orders his troops to invade Kuwait. He controls it within 24 hours. Saddam is warned by the United States and United Nations either to withdraw of Kuwait or action would be taken, but he refuses. That is why on January 16th, 1991 George. W. Bush sends his troops to help Kuwait and quickly they win and give them freedom (*The Persian Gulf Wars* 79). The president of the United States urges other countries to do the same. As a result, twelve countries join and establish the Operation Desert Storm.

This conflict starts with atmospheric bombing followed by ground attack. The victory is for the coalition forces that expel the Iraqi troops and liberate Kuwait. (*Gulf War 1*)

After the war, revolutions in north and south begin against Saddam's regime. His army kills huge number of Shia Muslims in the south and Kurds in the north in order to recover control. The US and the UN continue to isolate the Iraqi regime. The zenith of year's tensions come in 2003 when President George .W.B declare war against Iraq which lead to the overthrow and execution of Saddam Hussein by the new Iraqi government. (*Conflict Profile: Iraq – Kuwait 2*)

Gulf War Two or the Iraq War is a conflict in Iraq. The war begins in March 20<sup>th</sup>, 2003 with the invasion of Iraq by the United States and ends in December 18<sup>th</sup>, 2011. The war has two parts. The first phase take place from March to April 2003, in this phase the United States and the British troops invade Iraq and quickly defeat the Iraqi military forces. The second phase begins in April 2003, in which United States lead forces occupied Iraq while it tries to rebuild itself and its government.

Many events lead up to the start of the war in Iraq, but the one event that initially turn on the war is the tragedy of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001. The United States forces leave Iraq in 2010 but some soldiers remain there to provide security. In December 2011, the United States military announces that its mission in Iraq was over.

## **2.2 Causes of Gulf War Two**

On March 19<sup>th</sup>, 2003, George .W.B declares war on Iraq. He gives his speech, he says that "every effort would be made to protect the lives of innocent civilians; the campaign will be broad and concerted and will use decisive force". He also says that "the only outcome that will be accepted is victory". The official reasons that G.W.B gives to congress are three main reasons:

First, the fight against terrorism and Saddam Hussein who is their greatest threat. Iraq is considered as terrorist country. In the Iran Iraq war, Iraq is removed from the US list of state sponsors of terrorism, this is because of the improvement in the regime's record. After Iraq's victory and with the invasion of Kuwait again, Iraq is considered as a terrorist one.

On September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, four airplanes are hijacked by 19 militants associate with al-Qaeda who uses the planes to carry out suicide attacks on targets in the United States. Two of the planes targets the World Trade Center in New York City and are flown into the towers. A third plane hits the Pentagon outside Washington, D.C. The fourth plane does not reach the target and crashes in Pennsylvania. The attacks, often refers to as 9/11, results in massive casualties and horror among the American public. Over 3,000 people are killed during the attacks in New York City and Washington, D.C., including more than 400 firefighters and police officers. The suddenness and brutality of the incident causes a chaos and leaves the United States scrambling.

Second, the removal of Weapons of Mass Destruction, which are chemical weapons. President Bush states that they are in war with Iraq because Saddam Hussein is a major threat to the United States. He has corrupted the Middle Eastern way of life and has much influence throughout the world. Saddam has access to weapons of mass destruction, and is capable of killing hundreds of thousands (Basil 29).

Third, the United States wants to overthrow Saddam's regime and instill or establish democracy, in which the oxford dictionary define it as a government under the representative rule of the people, political freedom and equality. These are the reasons that President George gives to invade Iraq. Theories are suggested that the United States invades Iraq because of oil, and they suspect that Bush seeks a military presence in Iraq as a way to control oil supplies (Basil 29).

### **2.3. United States' Objectives for the war**

George .W.B and his representatives of the white house in the United States that was adduced in the press had three main objectives: political and humanitarian objectives, military and anti-terrorist objectives, and economic objectives.

#### **2.3.1. Political and Humanitarian Objectives**

Their aim is to transform the Iraq's government, spread, and create democratic government of all the community including Shiest, Sunnis, and Kurds. Also to catch the Baath Party of Saddam Hussein and judge him and his members for their dictatorial regime. Saddam is considered as great threat. That is why they want to free Iraq from him, which will make it united, free, and steady. Their aim is to aid the by reconstruction and decrease the damage of the country. Adjudicate Saddam Hussein who is dictator for all the crimes and violence against human rights. They want to raise democracy and human rights of women. (Basil 30)

#### **2.3.2. Military and Anti-Terrorist Objectives**

Due to Saddam Hussein's ability to wage war, their purpose is to remove threat to the world and the use of weapons of Mass Destruction. George is under the conception that Saddam Hussein is building WOMD in order to take control of the entire world that is why they are afraid. Iraq is considered as a terrorist country after the invasion of Kuwait specially after the attacks of September 11<sup>th</sup>,2001 in the United States which cause many victims who dies and for that their aim is to fight against terrorism and spread security and peace in the country.

#### **2.3.3. Economic Objectives**

The main economic purpose is oil .The United States fears of Iraq's dominance over world's supply of oil. That is why they want to control oil supplies and protect it because it will help and be useful for the reconstruction of Iraq.

## 2.4. Effects of Gulf War Two

After the Iraq war and with the execution of Saddam Hussein in 2006 by the new Iraq government, there are many effects and great impacts in all domains. It affects both United States and Iraq. They experience difficult times, too many casualties and touch the economic system for both countries.

The consequences in Iraq are more devastating. High death, which is estimated to be about 655,000 people including soldiers and civilians and almost 40,000, injure. Iraqi citizens have dealt with a rise of crimes, violence, civil war, and has dealt with a number of psychological impact of the war. The destruction of Iraq and loss of tourism( Bassil 38,39,40).

The United States and its allies ignore the warnings of organizations and scholars concerning the protection of Iraq's heritage. There is an increase in Jihadist and terrorist's numbers, and economic decline. Iraq's oil production suffers greatly; it affects the Iraq people in the increase of unemployment, which almost is doubled. Shortage of production and imports of basic necessities ( Bassil 40). Another thing, reforms has been imposed by the United States, and the creation of an Iraqi transitional democratic government (Bassil 40).

On March 20<sup>th</sup>, 2003, the United States of America invades Iraq .No earlier war is the topic of so much polling. Both in terms of questions and extensiveness of issues cover, it dwarfs the 1991 Gulf War, which has been dubbed the "Mother of all Polling Events" (Mueller 1994).

Most Americans are behind the war and supported it. 2003 war in Iraq witnesses a great support because of the Bush administration successfully convinces them that Iraq has a hand in September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 attack (*Shaping Public Opinion: The 9/11-Iraq Connection in the Bush Administration* 525). American public opinions changes after four years of the Iraq's invasion by the United States when allegation of torture by the US soldiers come to light in

2004. Also the terror campaign by Sunni people who kill the Iraqis by thousands and American troops by hundreds (US Public Opinion on Iraq: Big Mistake 2010)

At first and in 2003, the majority of Americans believe that the war is the right decision, they agree for the use of military force in Iraq, and they believe that the war will be going well. The belief of the American decision to attack Iraq is the right one remained until 2005, where their views change. The number of people against the war increases. They believe that it is wrong decision and the war will not be going well. They support the withdrawal of American troops and the return of soldiers to their home (Trends in Public Opinion about the War in Iraq 2007) (Appendix B.C.D).

American public opinions and views about Gulf War Two are those ideas and attitudes of significant amount of Americans about Iraq war .Many factors affect American political opinions and political socialization .One of those main factors is Mass Media which includes all means of communication. It has a huge impact on the shape of public opinion.

### **3. The Theory of Manufacturing Consent**

There are multiple theories that deal with media and world politics relationship. This work relies on the theory of " *Manufacturing Consent : The Political Economy of Mass Media* " that is developed by Chomsky and Herman in 1988, NewYork. It is a theory related to media in which the term manufacturing consent comes from Walter Lippman's phrase " The manufacture of Consent"( Public Opinion 1922).The book consists of several chapters in which Chomsky and Herman make case studies about mass media. They use a method that includes promoting dichotomies which deal with the issue of reporting one single event in at least two different news sources. In other words, they observe how one event is announced in the US and how it occurs to another nation (Jones 2011).

The book also contains the theory of *Propaganda Model* in which Lippman in the 1920s writings acknowledges that propaganda became " a regular organ of popular government" (

Chomsky and Herman 1988). Its importance is recognized on public opinion and the political requirement of social order. In addition to its important function in a world of conflicts and wealth, it appears probably that media has a relation with politics. It is under a monopolistic control that is guided by the government or by an official censorship. Its role often centers in serving the needs of a dominant elite (Propaganda Model 01).

Chomsky and Herman affirm that stating news can be filtered out by money and power. These latter may control the news to suit the print and the transmission of the government's messages to the public. They state the five components of Propaganda Model which are:

- 1- The size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass media firms.
- 2- Advertising as the primary income source of the mass media.
- 3- The reliance of the media on information provided by government, business and experts funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power.
- 4- Flak as means of disciplining the media.
- 5- Anti-communism as a national religion and control mechanism.

Due to these objective filters, worthy news and events are specified from unworthy ones. Their manner of coverage and place are determined place within the media. Propaganda Model is applied to the USA mass media. The book gives several examples in which US's media plays a significant role in reporting conflicts and events as in the Vietnam War, Laos and Cambodia War, El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua elections (Chomsky and Herman 1988). The theory's role is centered on the explanation of media's behavior and performance within a political and economic society. The theory gives a clear explanation of the institutional pressures that control news content which serves dominant elite (Enoch 1996).

The Manufacturing Consent Model is chosen for extension over the two other competing models of media influence put by Piers Robinson and Gadi Wolfsfeld. The theory of "The

Policy Media Interaction" is developed by Piers Robinson. This latter claims the little influence of mass media on foreign policy in situations of policy certainty. According to him, decision makers of high policy have the power to control policy action, regardless media coverage tone and intensity ( Robinson 30). This model is used to illustrate both firm and weak policy networks and the relationship the news media has in determining policy action in war time (Fitzsimmons 56).

Beyond the Policy Media Interaction Model, the link between news and policy is clarified in *The Political Context Theory* that is provided by Gadi Wolfsfeld (Wolfsfeld 03). This theory is considered as the best way to understand the role of media within the political conflict, where the focus of the political antagonists appears in promoting their view through media in order to occupy an important part in the news story (Wolfsfeld 1997). In other words, Wolfsfeld focuses on the manner that small groups gather media attention to their cause and influence policy outcomes (Robinson 539).

As this model is not suitable enough to explain the relationship between mass media and public opinion, that is essential to this research. It is inappropriate for the study of media's role in shaping public mind. This research is designed to examine the influence of American news media coverage on public opinion during international conflict. Thus, Manufacturing Consent may affect publics and that seems very important because it may shape and change the public minds towards an event or an idea. This case can be studied in relation to Gulf War Two which is considered as one of the most important events between USA and the Arab world.

## **Conclusion**

The technological development over decades is the responsible for all the media's changes. It allows for the evolution of several types of media including print ones like magazines, newspapers and electronic media such as TV, radio and internet. Its effects

improve people's daily lives; facilitate information access, shape people's views and many other perfect effects. Nevertheless, mass media has negative effects including psychological problems, decrease in productivity and the transmission of wrong ideas and ideologies. Thus, it has many standards and responsibilities in war coverage, where media should be neutral and independent. It seems necessary to be careful while using media. Man is the only responsible for drawing benefit or harm from it. Additionally, Gulf War Two is the important event between Iraq and USA when this latter ends the regime of Saddam Hussein.

# Chapter Two

## **Chapter Two: The Impact of Media War coverage on American Public Views**

### **Introduction**

This chapter intends to present the Gulf War Two. It outlines its outbreak and effects, with special focus on the American public views concerning the war. This section also tends to examine the 9/11 attacks and the role of Bush's rhetoric in promoting democracy. In addition to that, the chapter aims to present the US media during 2003 Iraq war, taking into consideration T.V and Internet. It also deals with black propaganda issue and its role during the war by shedding the light on the negative media and its effects on the Bush administration. The chapter concludes with the impact of media war coverage on American public views as a result of studying Fallujah battle which considered as the salient of this dissertation.

### **1. The Triangle Relation: American Politics, Media and Public Opinion during The Second Gulf War**

During war time and peace, there are three elements which gain a huge interest. Government, public opinion, and media are related to each other. This relation seems to be a salient point for many debates.

#### **1.1. Government and Public Opinion**

Public opinion refers to individual opinion's combination that has relation with interested public issues. It is obvious that public opinion plays a role in different areas by using poll data to get knowledge about an issue and this role differs from one issue to another (Public Opinion 2017). It can also influence individual and group opinion and even the government (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 2017). There is a debate over the nature of the government and public opinion relationship. Public opinion is used in politics by politicians to show the exact presentation of their policies in order to gain public support. It is

also considered as tool that enable public to communicate to the politicians (Qian , Alam 2012). This relation may exist in the case of Iraq War 2003.

Public opinion in most countries that are not clearly involved militarily in the war, are against it. The government of such countries includes Denmark, Spain, Italy, and Germany cannot influence the public opinion even when it is sided with US. People are aware of the international events that happen in the world. These events include war and peace where the main concern is the central values of a society. In war time and peace, there exist a concept of a rally round the flag effect which is proved in the case of US and by Kai Hafez. This latter in his paper entitled " *The Iraq War 2003 in Western Media and Public Opinion : A Case Study of the Effects of Military (non-) Involvement in conflict Perception* " acknowledges that government may not have so much influence on public opinion. It is obvious that the public stand with their government side in the war and that may be for their own security rather than the general desire for peace ( 06).

## **1.2. Government and Media**

It may be clear that media has a relation with politics. This idea is affirmed by Walter Lippman who states that media is a main part of a government (1920). According to Chomsky in his theory of *Manufacturing Consent*, media and government have a contract relationship. Media plays a big role in reporting the government policies through propaganda which is under its control to hide the negative aspects of those policies. Thus, media is considered to be not true and biased, because it often serves the needs of its customers and that marks its lack of objectivity (1988).

In America, the favored way to get messages from the government is through using owned media (Hiebert 247). It frames stories and issues in the service of its purposes. It calls the Iraqis to remove the regime of Saddam Hussein and put down their arms or to surrender. Many polls are made by the US government to declare that Iraq owns Weapons of Mass

Destruction. Thus, the Iraqi president Saddam Hussein is linked to Al-Qaeda and he is the responsible for September, 11 Attacks of The World Trade Center. There are many polls done to justify these claims. In February 2001, about 20% claim that Iraq involves directly in the Attack, while 36% believe in the Iraq support for Al-Qaeda without any involvement (Kull 02,03).

### **1.3. Media and Public Opinion**

Media and public opinion may occupy a big part of the society. There is a relation between them. Public use media as a source of information about several issues and affairs (Soroka 28). It seems likely that media is considered as essential element to gain public support. It is used by the Bush Administration through transmitting images and tones in order to find a support for the American involvement in Iraq (Simons 80). It may lead to misperception of the war causes and effects. Differences in media sources determine the effects and the way public goes with the issue. Live images and direct videos may have the power to influence the public in an emotional way. In other words, the framed casualties influence the public support for Iraq war (Schwarz et al 2016). That lead to differences in public opinion polls which concern with the American situation in Iraq (Biernatzki 13).

### **2. American media during 2003 Iraq war**

Nowadays, it is obvious that people live in a well developed world, where mass media has become as advanced as war. Media has many responsibilities since its ability lies on influencing public thought, opinions, and political agenda. During war time and conflict, media is used by government to control the public minds and to gain their support. This tactic maybe used by most governments, USA case is an interesting example. There are two main concerns adopted by the US government, it can control the information to gain public support (Mc Ardle 2016) .

In the past , it seems that US government controls the information easily through using several methods including firming emotions of fear and hate with honor and integrity. These methods are successful before technologies developed which make the US government faced difficulties in controlling the public. As Hiebert Eladonin his book entitles "*The Impact of Mass Media* " affirms that with the development of faster communication in the 1960's and burgeoning politicization of society, the media is much harder to control (316).

Douglas Kellner affirms that" the 2003 Iraq war was a major global media event constructed very differently by varying broad casting networks in different parts of the world" (1992). For Kellner, the 2003 Iraq war which lasted from 2003 to 2011 is reported from several media sources around the world. Thus the media's predominant medium of communication evolves from radio and orient into TV and internet. Those latters are the famous and useful sources of Iraq war coverage .

Television which is a source of getting information can be so difficult to control than the print media. The Iraq war seems to be the first one that provides live and real videos from the battle field ( Hiebert 10). In media's coverage something becomes clear, something becomes more evident, is the image coverage that explains the idea of "an image is worth a thousand word" .

Due to the developments in media, media and journalists gained central position like satellite TV channels broadcasting 24 hour every day news, that is possible to report live from a combat zone ( NOHRTEDT 96). Los Angeles Times provides poll shows that the majority of Americans receive their news from TV, where Fox channel is the most viewed source than CNN and MSNBC channels (Hiebert 10) unlike Gulf War One where CNN is the most viewed source .

Fox news channel in the US in Gulf War Two based much of its broadcasting on embedded reporting and achieves highly successful ratings with its patriotic message. While the

American channel ABC massively favors attention to coalition casualties and the BBC devotes somewhat more attention to coalition losses than to Iraqi ones (Tumber and Polmer 2004:97). The period of Iraq war knows also the evolvement of satellite-linked videophones through which Americans are exposed to the horrors of war, the violence and understand deeply the war through the graphic image.

Gulf war one which lasts from 1990 to 1991 is different in media from gulf war two. It has been called the cable TV war that brought CNN to world attention (Hiebert 248) . 2003 Iraq war sees great permeation in which Internet, WWW , and Online Journalism are considered as ultimate sources of information , news, facts, and opinion. Maija Pesola states that " The Second Gulf War could be a chance for the web to take a star turn " (16) , this means that it is a chance for the web to take another role function, prime role to appear as a star.

In 2003, the internet's first all news streaming radio station is launched by CNN about the war. Online video coverage is raised by CBC and MSNBC . Also the internet's first live video news channel is established by ABC to cover the war . In addition to all that, the important or the major news papers insert a special war coverage to their web sites ( Hiebert 248) . So if the first Iraq war or GWI is the first television war , the second Iraq war or GWII could be called the first internet war ( Schwartz 2004).

It is easy for the US government before New Media exists to control public opinion but it is difficult in the Iraq war as the Time Financial Times write and mentioned that:

For the first time since the internet was adopted in the late 1990s, its power is being concentrated on an international war. The result is almost impossible to catalogue ; tensor even hundreds of thousands of weblogs –known as blogs- have been established or adopted to chronicle or comment upon the conflict . An audience of hundreds of millions surfs between them (Larson ,30).

The US government is not able to censor the media and control reports and comments of people all over the world. The advances in technology makes media more difficult to control.

American governmental control experiences a huge impediment with the emergence of new media “Internet”. Today, the internet is more attainable than ever, and social networking sites display individuals and free online where they can exchange ideas and communicate. Now the government is experiencing impedance from the journalists who are challenging the control and uniting online via new media.

## **2.1 The Effects of Bush’s Rhetoric on American Public Psychology in the Aftermath of 9/11 Attacks**

America witnesses disastrous attacks, where the targets are The World Trade Center in New York and The Pentagon which represent both a financial and military power ( Kellner 2003). These attacks of September 11th, 2001 seem to be global media events that rule public attention and excite many debates and reflections. They are considered to be the first foreign attack on America by Al-Qaeda that is considered as Terrorism. This traumatic event happens for material effects, to harm America’s global economy and power, to spread fear and horror that affect American citizens’ psychic, and to prove that America is vulnerable to any violent attack. The drama of the attacks is reflected by media through live TV broadcasting ( Kellner 01,02,04). In this light, George Bush’s contribution appears in his rhetoric to the Americans, where he presents the responsible of the attacks and he calls for a war.

It is obvious that the political speeches continue to be the essential part of modern ruling strategies and are the key to political agenda and process( Brown 2009). Jeffrey Tullis in his work entitled "*The Rhetorical Presidency*" (1987), acknowledges that presidential rhetoric is a very special case of executive power because simultaneously it is the means by which an executive can defend the use of force (203). Bush makes a rhetoric in order to meet the demand resulting from the atrocities of 9/11 attacks. He addresses the Nation on the night of the event and in several occasions too. Through the rhetoric, bush defines why the attacks

occur and how the Americans would respond to them. There are two essential factors that contribute in delivering the rhetoric, media and the president's speech writers.

The contribution of media occurs in both, broadcasting live transmission of the attacks, and capturing and delivering Bush's rhetoric to a global audience. While speech writers's role lies on conveying the president's ideas ( Dalziel 08,09). Media transforms the the demands of the rhetorical situation. Its influence plays a critical role in enabling the public to experience the situation on an individual trauma, and socially as an attack upon American identity. Robert L. Ivie considers bush as the master of rhetorical seduction (2004), because his speech is not just words , rather it is an entire performance. According to Campbell and Jamieson (2008), there is a necessity of the president to adopt language that suit the role. They argue that in his role as a priest, he can declare war on evil, in his role as commander in chief, he can declare war on terror (04).

Bush declares his speech in presidential radio addresses and TV channels, through which he uses metaphors and imagery, and present the huge number of casualties in order to affect American public opinion. He uses also an aggressive tone and specific words like evil and terror, and he calls for fighting the enemy ( Solomon 06,07). Media in this rhetoric plays a vital role in transmitting Bush's purposes that centered in finishing the totalitarian regime and spreading democracy by waging war against terrorism. Additionally, Bush wants to gain support for the American involvement in Iraq, and he succeeds in this by affecting American public opinions toward the war. This latter faces many debates over its legitimacy, that leads Bush to transmit his speech to prove the legitimacy of the war ( Simon 80).

## **2.2 Iraq War and Black Propaganda**

Walter Lippman affirms that propaganda become a regular organ of popular government ( 1920). The Propaganda Modal is written by Chomsky seeks the explanation of media's behavior and performance within a political and economic society( 1988). For Chomsky,

media uses several techniques to serve its social purposes. These techniques include the manner of choosing topics, framing issues and filtering information ( Macedo, Steinberg 208). It is used to deliver information to affect public opinion in order to serve a dominant power. It may also spread false news. It is likely that for the Americans, Propaganda is used only by other countries. However; Garth Jowett in his work of " *Propaganda and Persuasion* " acknowledges that US's government propagandizes as much as any country and it succeeds with it( 1999).

Media can be considered as main part of Bush's doctrine( Taylor 02). Usually, media and especially propaganda reflects the truth, but in the Iraq war it is the verse. US uses black propaganda, that appears in the case WMD. It engages in this fake propaganda about nuclear weapons because it seems that US may lose the battle for international public opinion (Hersh 41,43). It seems clearly that propaganda techniques succeed when the information has other sources that counter propaganda.

Another propaganda is emphasized to rescue the forged one which states that no chemical and nuclear weapons are found. This propaganda is declared by Tony Blair, the British Prime Minister, to turn up the propaganda war. He claims the execution of the British soldiers by the Iraqis at a Camp David Press. However; the Iraqis deny this claim ( Financial Times 02).

The rhetoric made by Bush in March 6<sup>th</sup> , 2003 Press Conference, claims that he is against the evil and terrorism of Iraq. He also deploys a mistrust and false information that the war against Iraq was for peace, the occupation is its liberation and the destruction of the country is its freedom and democracy ( Kellner 2003). But what the TV and internet reflect is the verse. That is why, propaganda can be seen as a competitive process between a country's truth and the other's one. This essential element in propaganda needs credibility to be successful. However; the American propaganda seems to lack credibility.

## 2.3 Negative Reporting and the US Military during 2003 War

Media tends to give the true face of Iraq war ; therefore, there are negative reporting of the US military strategy in Iraq. It reports the sufferings of civilian populations and civilian victims of the war. As stated in the first chapter that there is relationship between Mass Media and Government, in Iraq war government cannot control it. However, Mass Media does not play an important role in changing the US military strategy. Even though the coverage is extremely negative, it does not affect the Bush administration to reformulate his strategy (Fitzsimmons 60).

Media coverage of Gulf War Two shifts and changes from positive to negative coverage after a week of fighting ( Fitzsimmons 62), due to the embedded reporters in which their method is new strategy of US government to control information ( Eilders 643), they report from the battlefield giving images , videos ...etc. The majority of the American print and televised media change their tone into negative , and that does not affect the US political and military decision makers to change their strategy. However, instead of that US administration pretends to save the US forces from the destruction of the disobedience operations of Iraqis.

Many expressions of the Bush administration's resolve to stay and maintain the same strategy in Iraq as Bush maintains that "despite the increased violence against American forces , troops would remain to defeat the insurgency " ( web page ). Even though media criticism continues into late 2005 , Mass Media has a little influence on American strategy in this conflict (Fitzsimmons 67). John Murtha , US congressman , sets a new surge of media criticism of US military strategy in which there is more pressure in order to stop their operations there (Badington 2005). However, statements from members of the US executive reaffirm their existence.

Bush on November 25<sup>th</sup> ,2005 states that the US forces will not withdraw from Iraq " without having achieved victory " ( web page ) . This makes clear that the US military does

not change its method even the coverage and the tone of media reporting highly negative. Thus, negative reporting during Iraq war doesn't affect the Bush administration at all .

## **2.4The Effects of Media Iraq War Coverage on American Views**

It appears likely that media war coverage may influence society especially the public. The media during the Iraq war has many effects on American views, thus; this latter is mixed. According to public opinion poll, the support for Bush's involvement in Iraq between 2002-2003 is around 50% , and it increases to 70% when the war break out (Wilesmith 14). Concerning the main cause of the war, many public perceptions may justify the cause that led to the war with Iraq. The majority of the Americans support going to war even if the government do not give a direct evidence of it ( Kull 570).

To justify these perceptions, there is a News Corporation that owns the US Newspapers and which takes a pro-war position. The Fox TV Network reflects the tone and the content before and during the war. This Network seems to be so popular than CNN since its viewers raise from 300 percent to 3.3 million one a day ( Wilesmith 14) .Because of the mass media engagement in the war, there is an armament race. Several media sources report the Iraq war and enter in a challenge (Biernatzki, S.J 13). Chomsky's book of *Manufacturing Consent* deals with that issue of reporting one single event in at least two different news sources (1988). Several new technologies flourish during the Iraq war. It includes the Satellite videophones that allow live videos and graphic images to be transmitted ( Biernatzki 14).

Public polls are differentiated just after the outbreak of the war. Washington post poll shows that the majority of Americans believe that Iraq has relation with Al-Qaeda. Dana Milbank and Claudia Deane in the Article of " *Hussein Link to 9/11 Lingers in Many Minds* " claim that :

Nearing the second anniversary of the September 11<sup>th</sup> ,2001, terrorist attacks , seven in Americans continue to believe that Iraqi's Saddam Hussein had a role in the attacks , even though the

Bush administration and congressional investigators say they have no evidence of this . 69% of Americans said they thought it at least likely that Hussein was involved in the attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon; according to the latest Washington Post Poll ... President Bush and his administration suggested a link between the two in the months before the war in Iraq. Claims of possible links have never been proved, however. (2003)

Three months after the war, American opinions are divided. 53% support the involvement of America in Iraq while 42% refuse that. This percentage increases in April 9<sup>th</sup> to rich 76% , however ; 19% say that the war is not worthy. This increase in percentage is due to black propaganda that Iraq owns WMD and that lead Americans to consider the war as a defense) Biernatzki 14). American public also get their multiple information from military forces. This latter may control the journalism. In other words, a new system of embedding journalists and reporters appears. Reporters are embedded by the military and became part of it ( Hutchinson 37).

Chomsky and Herman in *Manufacturing Consent* book affirm that stating news can be filtered out by money and power ( 1988). The embedded system which is considered to be public relation, raises two controversies ( Hiebert 249). In one hand, the power of the military may control the framed news by the embedded journalists in order to suit the government's purposes and to develop stories from the US military perspective. Thus, the reports may not reflect the big picture needed. While in the other hand, there are journalists who cover the exact events during the war and give a clear explanation and a large context of the war issues ( Hutchinson 37).

Because of the falsely exaggerating claims about Iraq owning WMD, the horror expressed by TV images and Satellite Videophones, the unproved link between Saddam and terrorism, the reported casualties and the bloody terror campaign by Sunni Militia groups that kill thousands of Iraqi and hundreds of Americans led to a change in American Public Views.

These opinions turn against the Iraq war. Most Americans change their views and reject the war; however, a small number of them includes the Republicans favors the support of the Bush policies ( Berinsky 02).

A poll conducted by the PIPA( Program on International Policy Attitudes) in 2007 suggests that 53% of Americans believe in the withdrawal of US force from Iraq ( Kull, Telhami 2011), while 43% of them favor maintaining the US troops there ( Public Attitudes Towards The War in Iraq : 2003-2008). Arabs Networks believe that the Iraq War is an invasion and occupation, while American Networks see it as Operation Iraqi Freedom (Kellner 01). Concerning Middle East Network, Al-Jazeera is the Qatar-Based Network where unique source of visual communication is provided. It is viewed as provider of realistic depictions of wars. While Western Media complained purify the coverage (Fahmy and Johnson 2007). The special focus of Iraq War coverage is on the Iraqi civilian casualties where the Iraqis are portrayed as victims of unjust war ( Ayish 2006)

Swedish Newspapers reveal their findings that know the responsibility and anti-war protest frames. The Swedish reports seem to be more negative toward the war because, the focus attention is on the suffering of civilian population (Dimitrova and Stromback 2005). Additionally, German TV focus on Iraqi suffering more than victims in American side. Whereas, BBC devotes more focus to American loses than Iraqi loses ( Nohrstedt 103). Another study done by Livingston and Hebert shows that CNN , ABC, and Al-Jazeera provide objective and balanced coverage, while Fox News seems to be very biased in support of the war (2005).

According to the examination of Maslog , Lee , and Kim in their work ‘ ‘ *Framing Analysis of a Conflict : How Newspapers in Five Asian countries covered the Iraq War* ‘ ‘, it seems clearly that the support for war in Iraq comes from non-Muslim countries which have strong war journalism framing than those newspapers from Muslim countries( 2006). Thus,

American people become in touch with all the events happening in Iraq, that led the majority of Americans reduce their support for the war claiming that the American troops and soldiers should come back their country. Also they claim that the USA should put more soldiers into Afghanistan instead of invading Iraq to fight Taliban and Al-Qaeda soldiers .

### **3. The Impact of Media on American Public Opinion : Case Study of Fallujah Battle**

Fallujah, the city of mosques, is a home to over 300.000 Iraq's population. After the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime 2003, Fallujah witnesses a battle that fought between Sunni insurgents and American occupation with Iraqi troops, in order to restore the city from ISIS control. This latter uses violent and irregular method for political purposes. It wants to achieve control, power, and legitimacy ( Kiras 232). ISIS groups challenge USA to dominate militarily the operational environment by using terrorists and insurgents. The battle of Fallujah consists of two phases that are reported and broadcasted by different American channels.

The first battle which is called Operation Vigilant Resolve is waged as a response to the killing of four American contractors. This event happens on March 31, 2004, when four American contractors from Black Water USA are killed and hunged by Iraqi insurgents in Fallujah. That leads American military to launch an assault on April 04, 2004, but he does not succeed. The loss of the battle paves the way for second one to be declared ( Hamourtziado 01) .The battle of Separation Phantom Fury is considered to be the bloodiest one of the Iraq war. It begins on November 8, 2004 and ends on December 23, 2004( Basu 2016).

Pentagon believes that embedding reporters play a vital role to win the information war. The Americans journalists are considered themselves as essential part of the military apparatus and not only embedded journalists .Thus, the concept of embedding reporters works as a charm,where the authorities try to control the information in Iraq war to gain American

public support. The reports of Fallujah Battle begin with the death of four American military contractors , following by the Pentagon officials claim that the operation of Fallujah involves about 10.000 American troops and more than 2000 Iraqis.

Jane Arraf, a CNN journalist who is embedded with American troops says that 20 to 25 insurgents are killed by airstrikes. Another journalist, Karl Penhaul reports that four marines are wounded in one engagement of American and Iraqi troops in Fallujah. Additionally, Fallujah's population is estimated to be 300.000, but after the battle, it seems clearly that 50.000 civilians remain. CNN also reports the death of five American soldiers in a roadside bombing near Habbaniya. The American military death toll increases to 600 with 408 of them are in hostile action. Arwa Damon who is a CNN correspondent, covers the marine defensive in Fallujah. She declares that Fallujah is a cemetery for the Americans and the Iraqis. This seems clear that the destruction is apocalyptic ( Basu 2016). At the end of the battle, more than 80 Americans and thousands of Iraqis are dead in addition to the huge number of wounded soldiers.

Fox News reports that the evaluation of December 2004 uncovers that at least 6000 Iraqi citizens in Fallujah has been killed , and one third of the city had been destroyed .The violence which is pushed by the US invasion has resulted in the assassination of at least 338 Iraqis who are associated with Iraq's "new government" . The US invasion of Fallujah causes an unbelievable humanitarian disaster. The red cross reports in December 23, 2004 that three of the city's water purification plants has been destroyed and the fourth badly damaged (Media Coverage Fails on Iraq: Fallujah and the Civilian Death toll). According to New York Times, the maximum civilian deaths count at around 17000.

The American Channel 4 News reports that Fallujah battle is the bitterest battle in Iraq. It reports that the American soldiers leave the city having suffered 36 casualties; compared to the hundreds of Iraqis on June 2, 2004 .Channel 4 News obtains video from an American

fighter when the American forces launch an attack on a group of people in Fallujah street. This battle results destruction of 36.000 homes, 9.000 shops, 65 mosques and 60 school (Thomson 2004).

CBS as other channels has run many headline stories on Fallujah; presenting the battle from different corners, but with the same perspective. The real story of Fallujah is in the American media. Kiek Spitzer is an American journalist who is the first one to enter and report from Fallujah, Iraq, on November 2004 (Getting the Story Out). He reports for CBS news when he is embedded with the US forces. He covers the takeover of the Fallujah hospital with video of the seizure (Report and Video from Assault on Fallujah Nov 2004).

According to CBS, 300000 people are evicted from the city, so the American forces can take their revenge against the killer of the four contractors. For CBS half of the city's mosques have been damaged or destroyed. 82 Americans are killed and more than 600 are wounded (Battle for Fallujah CBS News Pt 1-23).

CBS description of Fallujah battle is no different than CNN, Fox News, or Channel 4 News. In each event, they try to establish an appropriate idea about the American involvement. The hints to weapons caches and torture rooms are mentioned to increase hatred for the Iraqis. The reports always are framed in a way that distore the image of Iraqi people and glorify the American occupation.

As a result from these American channels coverage of Gulf War Two, it seems clearly that the focus of the coverage is on the number of American casualties. This latter's coverage is differentiated from one channel to another due to the embedding journalists and their true coverage. American media tries to hide the real number of the Iraqi citizens are being killed at the hands of US soldiers. The truth remains hidden. But, and fortunately, many Americans have already begin to see through the smoke screen of media fabrication, manipulation and deceptions.

Fallujah battle is the true test of America's ability to control Iraq, but it ends in defeat. The videos and images of the battle's atrocities that are illustrated by American press excite shock and outrage from the American public who are afraid from having the same huge number of casualties or losing more soldiers. The American press coverage of the apocalyptic destruction and the differences in American's death number change the course of the war. The American people now believe that the war is mistake; they realize that the invasion of Fallujah is illegal and ruthless act of collective punishment that is a result of the kill of the four contractors. Americans change their views about the war and support the withdrawal of the American troops from Iraq.

### **Conclusion**

As a conclusion to the chapter, Mass Media often takes a key role in Gulf War Two. According to what is discussed and studied in Fallujah battle, new media has an important role in shaping American public minds. It has the power to change public's views about Iraq war in 2003. Many people starts to reduce their support of Americans involvement in Iraq war because they were able to obtain deeper understanding of it when presented by mass media .

**General**

**Conclusion**

This research is concerned with the role of mass media in shaping American public mind during Gulf War Two. Media has a massive impact on public interpretation of the Iraq War event. Its behavior faces many issues such as the conflict between the political needs of the leaders and the need for informed public. The goal behind this study is to examine the American public view during the second Gulf War, shedding the light on Fallujah Battle which is considered to be the important one in the war. The focal purpose of this paper is to evaluate multiple American media for the Iraq war coverage and its impact on American public opinions.

Although this research is carefully prepared and reached its aims, we still aware of its limitations. First, we have not enough time to conduct such interested topic. It would be better if it is done in a longer time. Second, because of the time and place limit, constraints in methodology are existed. The approach used is historical analytical in which the only sources of collecting data are books, articles, and websites. The study also lacks other methods such as interviews and questionnaires.

As a result from what is discussed in the study, it seems clearly that mass media and Gulf War Two are related. This finding is proved by Manufacturing Consent Theory. Additionally, it is noticable that there is a role in changing American public views by the American government and mass media. However ; during Iraq War , the control shifts from government to media. This latter tends to either minimize and seek for resolution or exaggerate the conflict. Though , media have responsibilities and standards that should follow. It should provide its audience fair facts and exact information, and let the public to evaluate it, in addition to the evaluation of all the sides of the war. Also, it interprets the events in order to help guiding the public. Mass media should be neutral and independent where it avoids manipulation and framing news.

Since mass media has relation with politics ; it occupies a vital part in any event. The Attacks of September 11, 2001 witness a large coverage by media. They seem to be global media event where mass media plays an essential role for the transmission of the president's messages and ideas to the public. The purpose behind Bush's rhetoric is to gain American public support for the Bush administration to wage a war against Iraq and to prove its legitimacy.

Information is power, and development in technology including the creation of the internet in the period of Iraq War means that the government is no longer the only voice in the country. Images that reflect the atrocities of the war from TV and internet have the power to influence the American public in a very profound and emotional manner. Another element that affects public opinion is propaganda. This latter's contribution lies in reflecting the truth. However, America engages in the Iraq War by declaring fake propaganda about Iraq's owning Weapons of Mass Destruction and the relation with Al-Qaeda without any evidence. That lead America's propaganda to lose credibility.

It is pointed out that in the first week of the Gulf War Two, there is a positive outlook of the American military strategy. It shifts to negative outlook because of the embedding reporters who give the real images of the war, and the negative tone of media reporting. Those give Americans the ability to understand deeply the events. That leads them to reduce their support for the American involvement in Iraq, even though Bush insists to not withdraw and remain to defeat the Iraqis.

It is obvious that media contributes in shaping the American public mind during the war. Many polls are made to determine public's approval and disapproval of the war. The results show that public opinions shift from supporting the war to opposing it. Furthermore, the best example to help evaluating the role of mass media in shaping American view is the study of Fallujah's Battle case. This battle witnesses a full coverage from different American sources

of news such as CNN, CBS, Fox News, and Four News. These sources contribute in delivering the war's facts and atrocities which make the American public start to analyse the war and change its course.

It seems that mass media and public opinion relation may continue to be an important interest in the international issues of war and peace. Furthermore, the impact of mass media on American public mind described in this dissertation will also continue to be part of every war in the near future. The results of this paper can be used to show that media is the backbone of politics and the responsible for either declaring conflicts or solving problems. Thus, man and authorities should be neutral and objective when presenting news to the public.

In this paper, we hope that we succeed in a way or another in shedding the light on the role of mass media in shaping the American views during Gulf War Two. Also, we prospect this work to be the first step of coming studies that may have better insights. Others may provide enough information about the impact of mass media on public opinion.

## Glossary

**Al-Qaida:** a radical Sunni Muslim organization dedicated to the elimination of a western presence in Arab countries and militantly opposed to western foreign, founded by Osama Bin Laden in 1988.

**Baath Party:** Arab political party, in Syria and Iraq. Its main ideological objectives are Secularism, Socialism, and Pan-Arab Unionism. Founded in Damascus in 1941 and reformed, with the name Baath in the early 1950s, it rapidly achieved political power in Syria.

**CBS:** it is an American commercial broadcast television network.

**Coalition Forces:** means forces constituted of military elements of nation that have organized a temporary alliance for some specific purpose.

**CNN:** it is an American cable and satellite television news channel.

**Gallup Poll:** an assessment of public opinion by the questioning of a statistically representative sample.

**Internet Protocol:** it is the method by which data is sent from one computer to another on the internet.

**ISIS:** The militant group, which begins as the Iraqi branch of al Qaeda during the U.S. occupation, gains this name after it invades Syria in 2013. ISIS is short for "Islamic State in Iraq and Syria.

**Kurds:** members of an Islamic people speaking Kurdish and dwelling chiefly in Kurdistan.

**Network:** it is a collection of computers and servers that are connected for sharing information.

**New Media:** means of mass communication using digital technologies such as the internet

**Operation Desert Storm:** the codename for the US led UN operation to liberate Kuwait from Iraq 1991.

**Political Socialization:** process of shaping one's ideas and attitudes about government.

**Rally Round The Flag Effect:** it is a concept used in political science and international relation .it is used also in wartime in order to describe the US president's popular support it reduces criticism of governmental policies.

**Shia:** member of the branch of Islam that regards Ali as the legitimate successor to Mohammed and rejects the first three caliphs

**Sunnis:** also called Sunnite, members of one of the two great religious of Islam, regarding the first four caliphs as legitimate successors of Mohammed and stressing the importance of Sunna as basis for them.

**Taliban:** a fundamentalist Muslim movement whose militia took control of much of Afghanistan from early 1955, and in 1996 took Kabul and set up an Islamic state. The Taliban were overthrown by US led forces and Afghan groups in 2001 following the events of September 11.

**Terrorism:** the threat or use of violence, often against civilians population, to achieve political or social ends to intimidate opponents, or to publicize grievances.

**White House:** also called executive mansion. The official residence of the president of the United States , in Washington, D.C, a large , two – story , freestone building painted white

**World Wide Web:** it is a subset of the internet. It is a collection of documents and services distributed across the internet and linked together by hypertext links.

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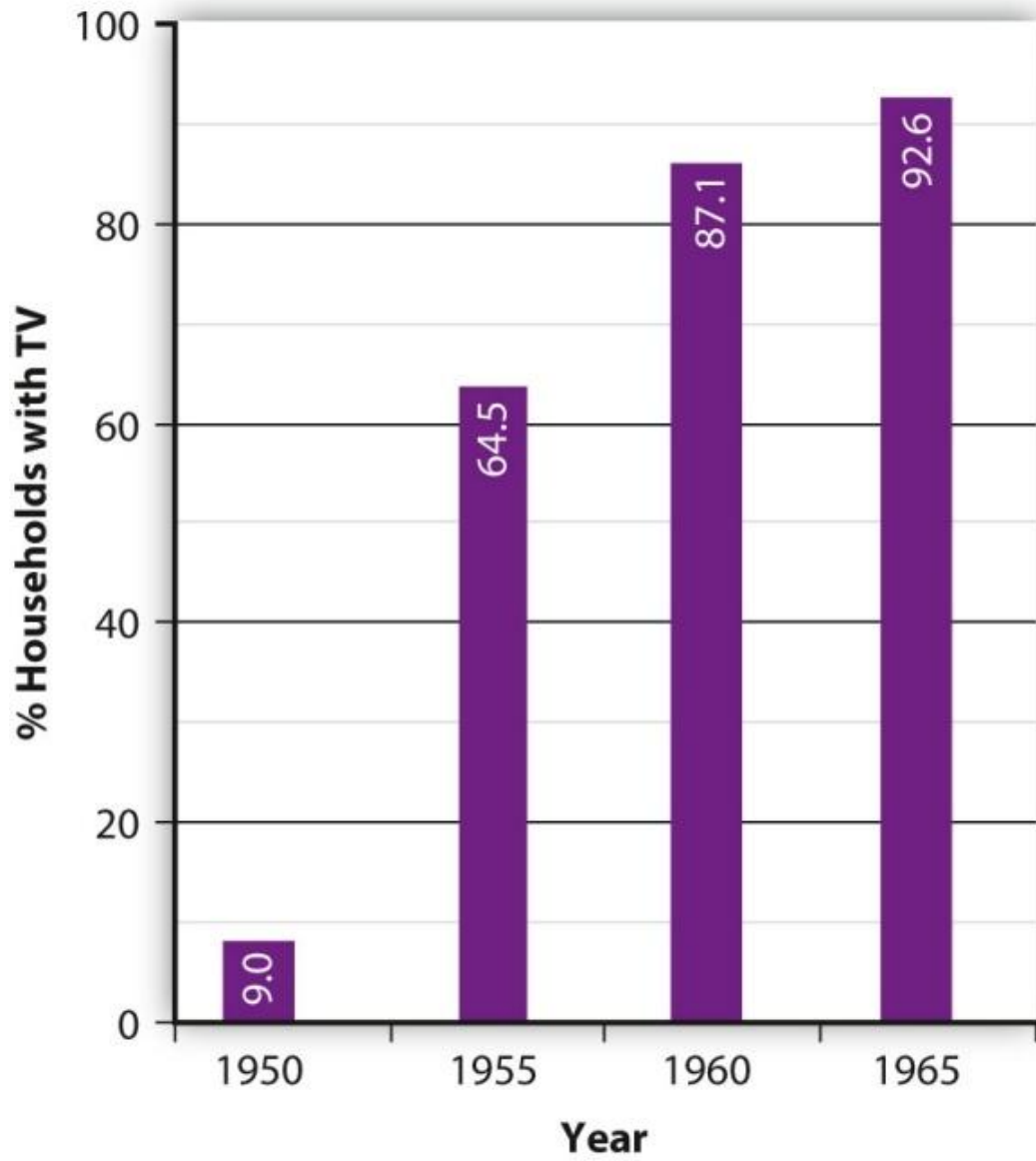
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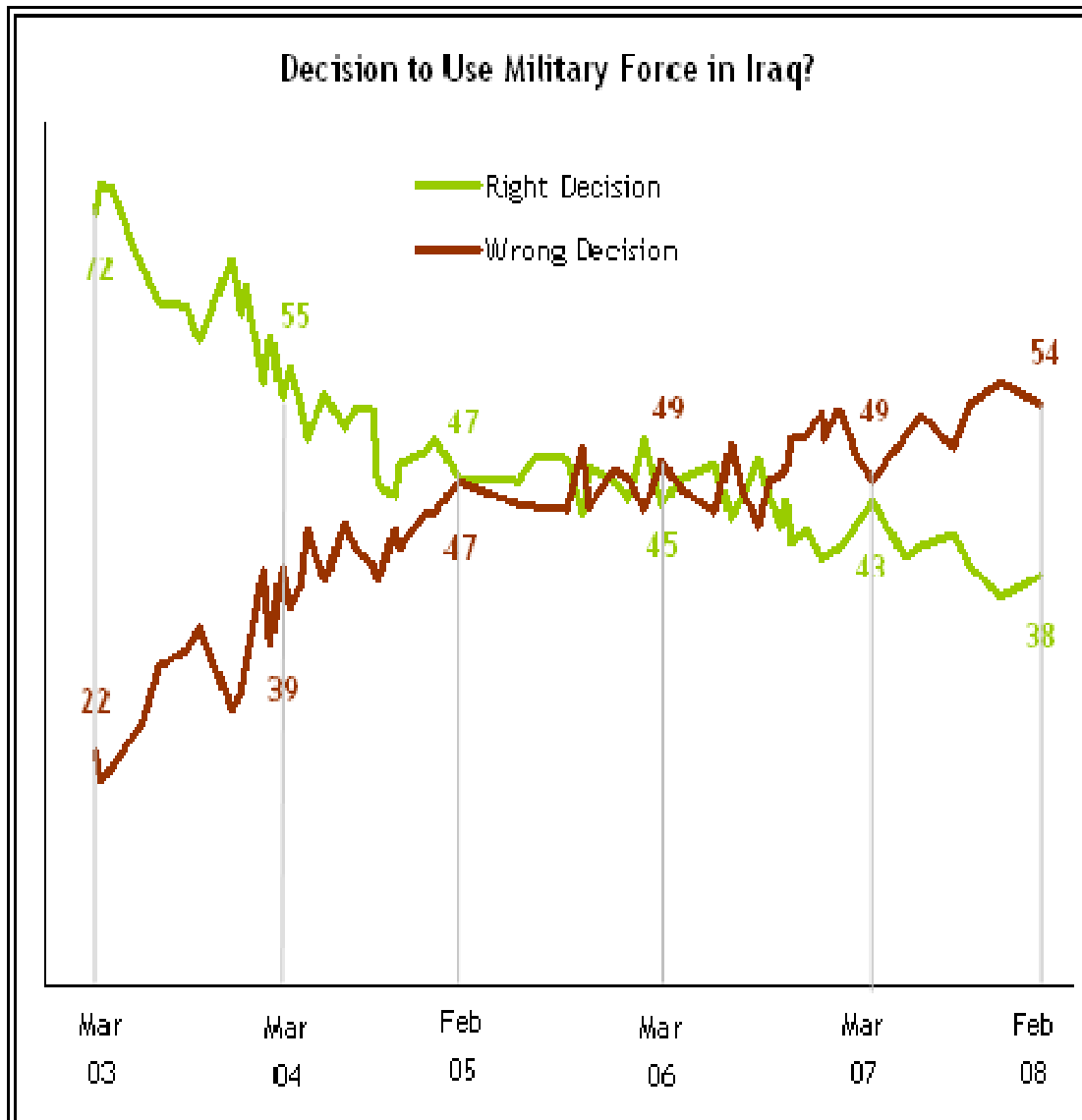
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## Appendix

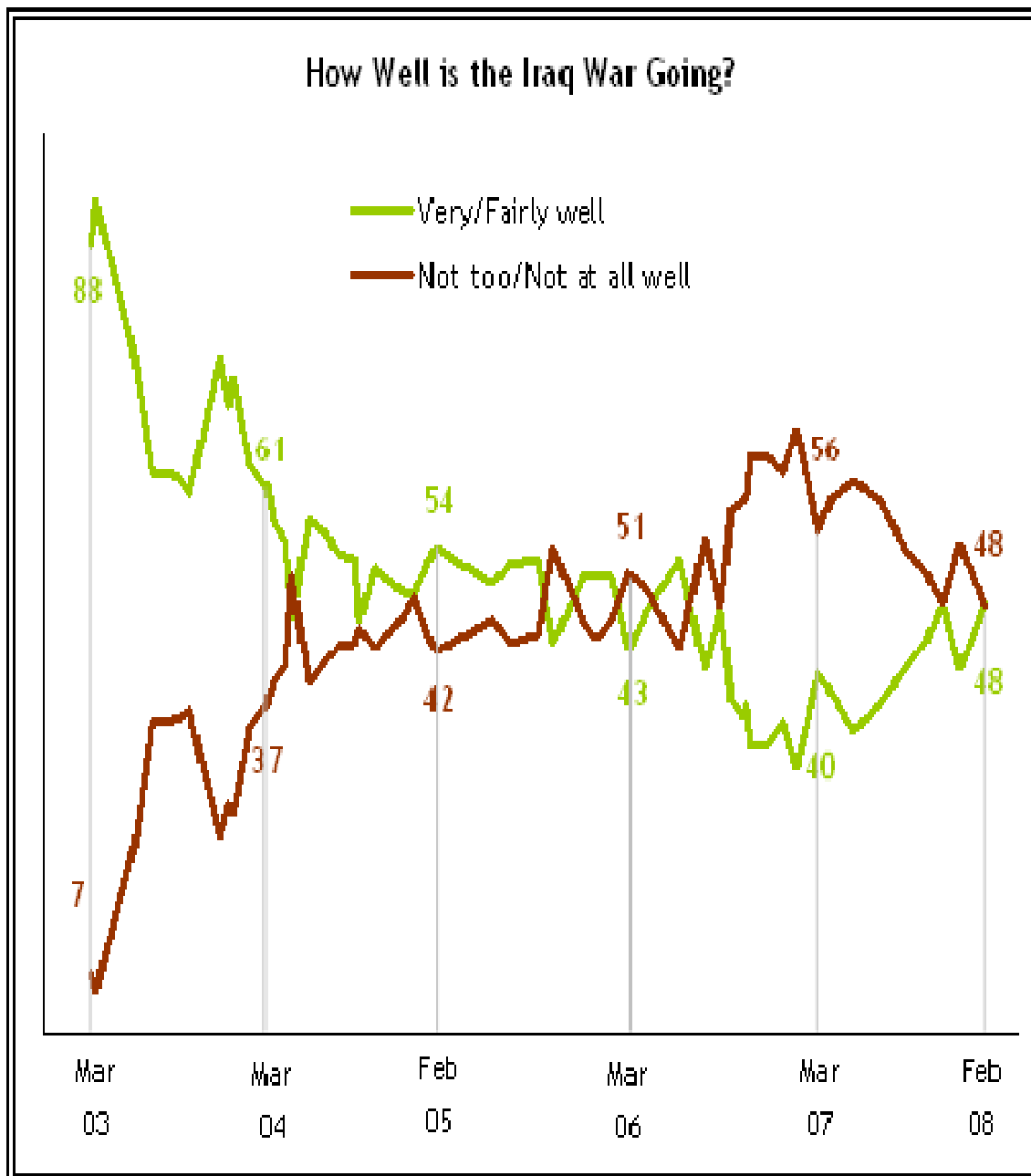
**Appendix A:** Rise of TV owning percentage between 1950-1965 in USA



**Appendix B:** Decision to use military force in Iraq



**Appendix C:** The expectation of Americans about the Iraq war going



**Appendix D:** American poll about keeping American soldiers in Iraq

