

# **Representations of Vietnam War in 1968 and 1969 in California Newspapers: A Linguistic Analysis**

Tereza Oršulíková

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doc. Ing. Anežka Lengálová, Ph.D.  
děkanka



  
PhDr. Katarína Nemčoková, Ph.D.  
ředitelka ústavu

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## **ABSTRAKT**

Tato práce zkoumá tiskovou reprezentaci událostí, které vedly k ukončení amerického zapojení do války ve Vietnamu, konkrétně útok na americkou ambasádu v Saigonu v roce 1968 a protesty mírového hnutí ve Spojených státech v roce 1969. V tomto období pozdních šedesátých let se povědomí amerických občanů o válce změnilo a velkou část národa pohltila protiválečná atmosféra. Tato práce srovnává zobrazení války v konzervativních a liberálních novinách vydaných v Kalifornii. Cílem práce je pomocí analýzy novinového diskurzu vyvodit, jakou ideologii tyto noviny šířily, a objasnit způsob, jakým mohou média ovlivnit vnímání reality prostřednictvím volby jazykových prostředků.

Klíčová slova: novinový diskurz, diskurz války, Válka ve Vietnamu, diskurzivní analýza, útok Tet Offensive, protiválečné protesty, konzervativní noviny, liberální noviny, 1968, 1969

## **ABSTRACT**

The present thesis deals with the press representation of events that led to the end of the American involvement in the Vietnam War, specifically the Tet Offensive and anti-war protests. The thesis compares representations in liberal and conservative Californian newspapers during the years 1968 and 1969 when the public opinion of the Vietnam War changed and large part of the nation no longer supported American participation in the War. Its aim is to reveal by the use of discourse analysis what ideology was conveyed by the press and how the media may influence the readers' perception of reality through the selection of linguistic means.

Keywords: newspaper discourse, war discourse, Vietnam War, discourse analysis, Tet Offensive, anti-war protests, conservative press, liberal press, 1968, 1969

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I hereby declare that the print version of my Bachelor's thesis and the electronic version of my thesis deposited in the IS/STAG system are identical.

# CONTENTS

<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>I THEORY .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS.....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>2 NEWSPAPER DISCOURSE .....</b>	<b>14</b>
2.1 Functions of newspapers.....	14
2.2 The settings of newspapers .....	15
2.3 Language – textual analysis .....	16
2.3.1 Linguistic means and their effect.....	16
2.3.2 Headlines and Leads .....	17
2.3.3 Word selection – Lexis .....	17
2.3.4 Participant – Social actors .....	18
2.3.5 Syntactic devices .....	19
<b>3 WAR DISCOURSE .....</b>	<b>21</b>
3.1 War Propaganda.....	21
3.2 The Ideological Square .....	22
3.3 Representation of participants .....	22
<b>4 BACKGROUND INFORMATION .....</b>	<b>24</b>
4.1 Political background .....	24
4.1.1 Democratic policy.....	24
4.1.2 Republican view of the War .....	25
4.2 The Late Sixties .....	25
4.3 California – The Golden State .....	26
4.4 Events that helped to end the War .....	26
4.4.1 Tet Offensive .....	26
4.4.2 Anti-war protests .....	27
4.5 Selected newspapers .....	27
4.5.1 <i>San Mateo Times</i> .....	28
4.5.2 <i>Lodi News-Sentinel</i> .....	28
<b>II ANALYSIS .....</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>5 NEWSPAPER ARTICLES ANALYSIS.....</b>	<b>30</b>
5.1 Representation of the Tet Offensive .....	30
5.1.1 American success portrayal .....	31
5.1.2 Influencing perception through reference to participants .....	33



5.1.3	Reference to casualties .....	34
5.1.4	The change in representation of the Tet Offensive.....	35
5.2	Anti-war protests representation.....	38
5.2.1	Representation before the march .....	38
5.2.2	The march on October 15 .....	40
5.2.3	Moratorium on November 15 .....	41
<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>		<b>45</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>		<b>47</b>
<b>APPENDICES .....</b>		<b>50</b>

## INTRODUCTION

Newspapers have the power to manipulate the readers perception of reality with the help of language used. In the world where receiving information from newspapers became part of everyday life it is important to critically think about the information in order not to get easily influenced by media and to create our own opinion.

By analyzing the representation of Vietnam War in the press, the thesis aims to show how it is possible to discover the ideology behind the information with the use of linguistic analysis and critical thinking. Especially in time of war, people have no possibility of discovering what is happening at the battlefield beyond the borders of their country. Therefore, they rely on the sources from newspapers.

During late 1960s the issue of the Vietnam War in the United States became controversial. The public opinion changed dramatically and it caused the division between attitudes within the United States among American government members as well as in the public (Schmitz 2005, 151-152). It is possible that such separation applied to the newspapers which might have followed the policy of the government.

The cause of the change was the fact that the war did not seem to end soon and the American involvement in terms of number of soldiers reached its peak in 1968 (Hagopian 2009, 6). The numbers of dead caused dissatisfaction among the public and provoked the public outrage (Schmitz 2005, 44). In fall 1969 the public outrage for the War culminated (Hagopian 2009, 28). The largest antiwar movements and demonstrations of peoples' dissatisfaction with the war took place in California. As Eymann claims, the state of California played important role in the events of 1960s and 1970s (2004, 2). I find the issue of the Vietnam War unique and interesting for the reason that during 1960s the people who required the end of the war unified and formed a movement promoting peace by the means of protesting against republican government's policy. It may be said that the voice of public, who sought for another way than military to end the War, and openly expressed their dissatisfaction, helped to bring the War to an end. This may be a message to current society not to passively receive any information or condition given by the social development.

## **I. THEORY**

## 1 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

This section of the theoretical part first discusses the connection between language and society. Then, it describes the method of critical discourse analysis used in the analytical part of this thesis, drawing upon Ruth Wodak, Norman Fairclough and John E. Richardson, whose works are based on similar principles and often refer to each other.

The representation of reality in newspaper articles is done by means of language and text. Language can be understood as an essential part of social life, closely interconnected with its other elements as stated by Fairclough. These elements are for example location, time - certain historical point, social class division, attitudes and political opinions, which are all affecting and being affected by language (2003, 2). Richardson views language from two perspectives: as a product of society and at the same time as a phenomenon that helps to recreate it (2007, 10). This suggests the idea that not only society can change the form or shape of language but also that certain form of language used has the power of changing the situation in society. Therefore, the relationship between language and society can be seen as reciprocal. Fairclough states that in its everyday and professional usages, language enables us to understand issues of society and to perceive the world we live in (1989, vi). From this the conclusion can be drawn that language and the social settings or context are closely related to each other.

According to Wodak, language in use, embedded in context, is referred to as a discourse (2005, 23).

One of linguistic approaches to discourse is called Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The method can be defined as systematic ways of analyzing the political and social import of text (Wodak 2005, xi). Wodak points out that the approach is interdisciplinary. It combines aspects of more sciences - linguistic disciplines such as semiotics, studying meaning, or syntax, dealing with the sentence structure, and psychology, sociology, history or ethnographic studies (2005, 3-14). This implies that critical discourse analysis works with multidimensional reach of the text and studies various aspects of a given text.

In Fairclough, discourse is said to have three elements: text, interaction - processes of text production, distribution and consumption, and social context. Consequently, the process of discourse analysis consists of three stages which include description of text, interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction, and explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context (1989, 109). These levels can be

understood as investigating the text from general point of view and gradually proceeding to deeper analysis of the meaning, ideology and cultural background.

The use of language has a certain effect on the reality of people. Fairclough states that the text not only gives us information and ideological views but also has the ability to inflict changes in knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and values of the society (2003, 8). The ideological effect of the text is as Fairclough concludes understood as maintaining or even strengthening existing ideologies or changing them and bringing new ones. This effect is achieved by diffusing representations of aspects of the world that contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power between groups (2003, 9).

To summarize this, critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary approach examining a text, which is understood as language in use. It discovers the ideology conveyed by the text while taking into consideration the source of the text and its purpose as well as social context in which particular text is used. Critical discourse analysis deals with the issue of power relations implied in society and therefore in the text and explains the relationship between society and language.

## 2 NEWSPAPER DISCOURSE

The media is usually understood to refer to the press, radio and television broadcasting (Thornborrow 1999, 43). The present thesis focuses on media and text in written form, the newspapers. This subsection discusses social and institutional context of newspapers and describes factors influencing the language used. Then, it focuses on concrete characteristics of newspapers language and lists linguistic means typical for newspapers discourse.

### 2.1 Functions of newspapers

Media discourse or journalistic discourse can be understood as specific type of discourse and as specific kind of sociocultural practice according to Van Dijk. He sees media discourse as a complex communicative event which contains not only social context and participants, but also embodies the processes of specific production and consumption (1988, 2). Thornborrow describes the functions of newspapers as an objective source of information as well as form of entertainment (1999, 44). Fowler's view is that besides informative and entertaining function, newspapers are business aiming to make profit (1991, 20, 47).

Another function of newspapers, as Richardson claims, is that they are means to disseminate the agenda of those in power as they are owned by powerful corporations and shaped by their agenda. Yet, Richardson also assumes that journalists can remain distinct from the agenda of promoting views of powerful and the main function of journalism is "to enable citizens to better understand their lives and their position in the world" (2007, 7). Whether this function is fulfilled and the extent of such fulfillment remains a question of every newspaper, its philosophy and individual approach. The fulfillment depends on whether newspapers follow attitudes of propaganda and shape their attitudes in order to increase their profit or their aim is to provide objective and reliable information. The characteristics of media discourse follow from these purposes and objectives.

Discourse, in general, plays important role in shaping people's realities (Talbot 2007, 3). It provides people means for understanding social issues. In modern society, media is a primary source of information and according to Talbot "primary source for understanding the world" (2007, 3). Thus newspaper discourse has the power of constructing peoples' notions about the world. Moreover, Thornborrow claims that media has the power of deciding the importance of events and deciding whether an event is newsworthy (1999,

44). Consequently, media discourse is undoubtedly a powerful tool in creating public opinion.

## 2.2 The settings of newspapers

The attitudes of the media reproduced in their products are affected by the social context and the institutional settings. When focusing on factors affecting media discourse and the representation of reality, there is a need to understand that newspaper discourse is situated in a context, the social settings (Richardson, 2007, 220). Without context, newspaper discourse loses its meaning and purpose.

The structures of social settings referred to by Van Dijk as macrostructures determine language used in newspapers. The social situation has influence on the news and their form. It can influence not only the language used but also the selection of news that is published and their organization. This means that depending on a particular society or culture, certain words, phrases and topics are considered to be more or less suitable or important and thus represented accordingly (1988, 13-15).

Based on Richardson's view of media discourse, a more specified level of the settings of newspapers having effect on journalistic language is the institutional settings (2007, 76). Newspaper agencies are institutions that are owned and funded by certain groups of people. Thornborrow states that the institution of newspapers is characterized by a set of processes, practices and conventions developed by the people inside, placed in a particular social and cultural context (1999, 43). Thus newspaper production is subject to specific processes and routines that are unique for every single newspaper agency. Accordingly, the ideologies supported and spread by these newspapers are influenced and often determined by the super ordinate group as Richardson explains (2007, 147-148).

As stated by Thornborrow, before published in newspapers, every report must go through several stages. In this process many different people may take part at each stage and consequently influence the final form of the article. Concerning this, Thornborrow's view is that newspaper agencies should be seen as a complex institution, not a group of individuals who control and manipulate what information reach the public (1999, 43-44).

Richardson explains the most specified level of the influence on news discourse, the effect of the journalists' views and attitudes (2007, 115). As mentioned in the previous paragraph, in process of writing an article, journalists are still limited and led by the opinion of the newspaper agency. Van Dijk states that the control systems select relevant

major topics during text processing (1988, 24) and thus journalists routinely pursue the information which are in accord with the current situation (1988, 15). However, Richardson suggests that the attitudes of journalists reflect in style of writing and representing the reality (2007, 115). He claims that the social circumstances in which journalists work, including the fact that journalism is their job and they pursue profit, may influence the way of representing events so that they appear desirable and sell (2007, 221).

Comparing these points of view, it can be concluded that the discourse of newspapers and their attitudes are influenced by factors within the institution and, at the same time, by external aspects. Factors influencing language of media can be seen as three levels' structure going from the most general to the specific one. These levels are broad social context in which newspapers are set, another, more specified level is the institutional level – language and ideologies influenced by opinions and attitudes of newspaper agency owners and the third, most specified level is the perspective of particular persons, journalists. Apart from providing information, newspapers can also be seen as entertainment, business and means to spread the ideology of powerful groups.

### **2.3 Language – textual analysis**

The features of newspapers that were mentioned previously have significant influence on language used in newspapers. It can be said that these aspects define unique type of discourse, differentiated from others. Journalistic language is a specific style of text having typical features designed by special routines and being subject to prescribed rules and criteria. According to Matheson (2005, 27), “the vocabulary of the news is strongly patterned”, meaning that there are particular words that newspapers use regularly when referring to events, people and places, as well as special sentence structures serving informative and also emotional purposes. Moreover, as Matheson states, the audience shares common expectations about the newspapers' relationship with the context, thus the principles of newspapers language, in order to communicate effectively, are subject to needs of the crowd (2005, 27). This section describes the set of features forming journalistic language habitually used in newspapers.

#### **2.3.1 Linguistic means and their effect**

Use of different linguistic forms has the effect on representation of an event as well as on the interpretation. Thornborrow (1999, 49) states that linguistic choices made in a text can construct different linguistic representations of events. This part of the thesis describes



linguistic means used in media and comments on what newspapers aim to achieve by using them, i.e. the effect of linguistic means on readers' perceptions and interpretations. It is important to state that the message is conveyed by the newspapers explicitly – directly said, or implicitly – ideology indirectly implied in the text (Jeffries, 2010, 8).

For achieving desirable ideological effect, newspapers use the means of rhetoric. Richardson describes rhetoric as a “political language designed and therefore capable to shape public belief and decisions and behavior of the audience”, including means of logos explained as a persuasion through logical argumentation, ethos achieving persuasive effect through credibility and pathos, the emotional appeal (2007, 186). Pathos is achieved by using emotionally charged words, words with positive or negative connotations and often by hyperbole – the linguistic means of exaggeration using mostly superlative terms (Van Dijk 1988, 16).

### **2.3.2 Headlines and Leads**

Special attention should be paid to headlines as they are seen as important part of the news according to Blažková. They are supposed to grasp the message and the atmosphere of an article as well as to express the attitude of newspapers towards the event. They are described by Blažková as specific in terms of grammar as they usually employ simple sentences omitting grammatical words. Moreover, headlines attract the attention of the reader. (2011, 81)

Van Dijk explains the role of headline and leads as that their function is to summarize the message in the article and signal the main topics. They precede the article and help the reader to identify the specific news category (1988, 53). Moreover, leads provide the basic information about time, location, participants and the circumstances of the event. The emphasis on the leads is marked by newspapers by printing the leads in special type or layout (1998, 144).

### **2.3.3 Word selection – Lexis**

Thornborrow notes that figurative language is widely used in media for the purposes of better understanding of abstract concepts (1998, 92). Matheson explains figurative language by saying that the meaning of words extends beyond the dictionary meaning. His claim is that apart from the dictionary meaning, words carry specific cultural knowledge and expectations within conditions in which they are being used. This results in arising specific connotations that the readers have for such words. The exact meaning of a word is

created when used in combination with other words which affect the connotations (2005, 27). It can be said that figurative language helps readers to better imagine the situation they perceive.

One of the means of figurative language used frequently in newspapers is metaphor. As an example of metaphor, Van Dijk (1988, 16) uses the words *attack* or *defense* borrowed from military language when referring to demonstrations, which are by this means framed by newspapers as violent action. This example shows that newspaper may use the metaphor in order to frame events as certain types. Another means of figurative language is metonymy, described by Matheson as use of terms which refer to another term related or associated with it (2005, 180). Van Leeuwen describes metonymy as representation by means of reference to a place or thing closely associated with the term and as an example he uses substitution of the nation by the name of the country in a sentence “Australia was bringing in about 70,000 migrants a year” (2008, 46).

Another means of newspapers discourse is use of euphemisms and mitigating devices. Thomas explains the function of euphemisms as helping to cover words that are not suitable e.g. when writing about the fact that a person dies, newspapers may use the word *pass away* (1999, 160). Moreover, as Thornborrow states, mitigating devices help newspapers to keep the distance from what is being written. The use of these devices may suggest that the press is not confident about the information and do not consider it as absolute fact (1999, 49).

#### **2.3.4 Participant – Social actors**

When focusing on participants of represented event, it is important to investigate how newspapers refer to them and name them. These devices have the capacity of changing attitudes towards the mentioned person or persons in terms of respectability or importance, positive or negative relationship or view of his/her position in society (Fairclough 2003, 145-150).

One of the devices newspapers may use is nominalization or categorization. Van Leeuwen states that due to this device, participants can be represented as classes, using categorization and generic reference implying that the social actors belong to a certain group i.e. *doctors* or *scientists* or as individuals, applying nominalization and specific reference. In case of nominalization, i.e. using specific noun for representing social actor, two ways of representation can be distinguished. The participant can be either named by

using personal name e.g. *Mr. Smith*, or classified according to his/her profession or position in society for example referring to the social actor as *the lawyer* (2008, 35, 40-41). Such representation determines the perception of the person by readers.

Another distinction of representing participants according to Van Leeuwen is done through using personal or impersonal terms, which are nouns that do not describe human characteristics (2008, 46). These devices help to express positive or negative attitude towards referred persons. To illustrate this, examples provided by Fairclough may be used, such as reference to police as *filth* which express the lack of respect towards the police (2003, 146). In terms of respectability or importance of the social actor, it can be observed that newspaper may use honorifics e.g. *Mr. President*, personal names or categorization expressing respectable or important position in society, for example the term *doctors* (Fairclough 2003, 146).

### 2.3.5 Syntactic devices

Apart from selection of words, their combination in a sentence helps to shape the readers' perception. The representation of an event includes the following elements listed by Fairclough: processes, participants and circumstances (2003, 135-155).

However, it can be observed that in newspaper articles not all the elements of clauses are always included. One of the linguistic means of newspaper discourse described by Fairclough is the process of inclusion or exclusion of certain elements and assigning prominence or salience, i.e. more importance (2003, 135-137). These processes are described by Van Dijk as foregrounding and backgrounding of circumstances, conditions or persons (2008, 104). They are designed to highlight desirable fact as Fowler claims while covering matters that are not desired to be acknowledged by the public (45, 1991). By employing backgrounding or foregrounding, newspapers employ their power of deciding what is important and what is not and what will be seen as important by public.

Important linguistic device which allows newspapers presenting event in the way that they intend and to promote their ideology is transitivity (Fowler, 1991, 71). Richardson claims that transitivity describes the relationship between participants and the roles they play in reported process (2007, 54). Thus transitivity of a sentence enables assigning the function of agent to participants, i.e. the active position suggesting power, or function of patient – position of the affected one, mostly powerless (Fowler, 1991, 75-76). Due to this device, newspapers manage to manipulate the reader's view of persons involved in the

happening. The roles of agent and patient are demonstrated in the example sentence stated by Fairclough *Reagan attacks Libya*, where *Reagan* is in the position of agent who acts upon *Libya*, which is in the position of patient (1989, 121). Newspapers may also apply passivization, explained by Van Leeuwen as excluding human agency, which allow the newspapers to delete the agent (2008, 66). To illustrate this it can be used a sentence *The window was broken*, which emphasizes the state of the window but excludes human activity.

To summarize section 2.3, language of media is characterized by use of specific grammatical processes (specific syntactical structures) and specific approach when choosing words. Newspaper discourse uses figurative language and selected words in order to create a particular perspective. Another tool used in newspapers is rhetoric which helps them to achieve certain image that a particular article should evoke and forging desirable view that the newspapers want imply in the public. Each newspaper has its unique style and unique way of representing events, people and places that they refer to which emerges from the attitudes of the institution. However these means are subordinate to broader frame of journalistic style.

From general point of view, newspaper discourse can be regarded as what is represented and how. Using critical discourse analysis, the reader can conclude that the representation of reality in newspapers is two-folded. There is explicit representation, i.e. direct display of social events and happening and the implicit representation of ideologies, politics and social conditions.

### 3 WAR DISCOURSE

For the purpose of linguistic analysis of Vietnam War representation in newspapers, there is a need to describe a specific way of portraying war in newspapers. The discourse of war is closely connected with spreading the voice of powerful persons since media are the number one tool to inform public about the political agenda and reasons for war. As Vuorinen claims, “the media plays a crucial role in the mobilization of the masses” (2012, 6).

#### 3.1 War Propaganda

The state of being involved in war affects the whole country and has an impact on many aspects of society. In democratic countries, the government serves as the voice of public, thus the involvement in war and its scope is indirectly affected by the view of public. Therefore it is understandable that government and political parties, in effort to achieve their goals, need the support and approval of their action by general public.

Haridakis states that “mass communication is used by governments to support the war effort” (2009, 1). Moreover, Hodges and Nilep point out that war is simply politics by other means (2007, 12). The politicians are doing their best to influence people, promote their views and try to implement them into public.

As Richardson claims, in most cases, the aim of war propaganda is to convince general public that there is a need for war (2007, 187). It is designed to create a public opinion that in a certain situation, such behavior and military tactics scheduled by the government are required (in case of Vietnam War fear of communism and anticommunist mood spread in American society).

As Richardson states, one of the propagandist techniques when introducing the involvement of a country in war is reducing possibilities to “either/or” position. It backgrounds other options than going to war and the public opinion that war is inevitable is achieved (2007, 179).

Moreover, Richardson points out that the newspapers “aim to use journalism to promote their version of the war” and states that since all the news reported should come from reliable authoritative sources, in case of war, these sources are military and government organizations (2007, 200).

The description of war conflict in media is usually done in radically polarized way, good versus evil. This means that it does not allow any position in between. As Hodges and

Nilep state, the War relies on discourse by means of communication within the group to divide interests and dehumanize the Other as a prelude to violence (2007, 12). People can either take a stand of supporting the war or the opposing stand which supposes sympathizing with the enemy (e.g. allowing spread of communism). When this stand is brought to an extreme, there are two choices which include the action and complete inaction.

### **3.2 The Ideological Square**

One of the common tools for media discourse is the ideological square of “us versus them” as war propaganda always aims to evoke nationalistic feelings and support for the goals of “us” while inducing antipathy and fear of the enemy as Hodges explains (2013, 60). The use of ideological square is described by Van Dijk as “polarization between in-groups and out-groups”, which emphasizes strengths and positives of the party understood as “Us”, e.g. by using metaphors or hyperboles, and at the same time highlights weaknesses and negatives of “Them”. It also mitigates their good sides and our bad sides (2008, 192). In war discourse, the polarization affects all other linguistic means. The impact of using the ideological square is, as Richardson concludes that when people are represented in a bad way by choosing words with negative connotations and are dehumanized, it is easier to act badly, inhumanely upon them and still maintain the position of the good ones – a sense of moral superiority (2007, 210).

### **3.3 Representation of participants**

Discourse of war representation employs specific procedures when representing the participants of war. The participants may concern countries, groups, mostly soldiers and troops or particular persons. Machin presents these processes as following: firstly it should be taken into account whether participants are present in the article or whether they remain anonymous or backgrounded as members of a crowd. The process of deletion, when participants or social actors are not included, has the purpose of making them seen by public as unimportant (2007, 81).

Another process when referring to participants concerns distinction between individualization and collectivization. As stated by Machin, war discourse rather uses collectivization which is characterized by use of mass nouns and reference to groups of people (e.g. soldiers, G.I.s, Reds, allies and Viet Cong). It is used when referring to our

soldiers as well as to the enemy. In case of “us”, the participants are shown as a team, members are homogenized by performing the same action or striking the same poses (2007, 81). Machin claims that our soldiers or allies are mainly collectivized in order to present them as respectable defenders by using honorable terms and to stress the fact that they all have the same goal of protecting the country or promoting certain political goal. Their aim is not a goal of individual but of social and political change. On the other hand, in case of enemies, collectivization is done in order to show that they do not matter as individuals. They are linguistically referred to as groups, named according to a specific characteristic of such group that evokes feelings of fear and antipathy and highlight their bad features. They are often represented as faceless terrorists or power spreading all-pervasive threat, threatening freedom and good values (such as Reds, communists and Islamists) (Machin 2007, 96-97).

## 4 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Vietnam War was unique for several reasons. The goal as well as the outcome of the war did not include the expansion of the state (Saldin 2011, 232). Its purpose was mainly political, referred to by Woods (2003, 15) as “extending the area of freedom”. The second aspect of such uniqueness is the fact that during its progress and gradual escalation of the American involvement, the war became highly opposed by the public. Among U.S. public the Vietnam War was considered to be a controversial topic. As Tucker (2011, xxxi) claims, “no US war evoked so many protests and debates as this one”.

This chapter firstly focuses on the political background of the Vietnam War since one of the goals of this thesis is to examine the influence of the conservative and liberal ideology on the representation in the press. It explains briefly the political stances of the two major political streams. Secondly, this chapter brings the reasons for focusing on California newspapers and provides background information about newspapers used for the analysis. Finally, it introduces the events, whose representation will be analyzed and which played a key role in changing public opinion and contributed to bringing the war towards an end.

### 4.1 Political background

The two major parties, Republicans and Democrats in the United States had different opinions about the war. As Saldin states, the Republicans took the stance of supporting the war, while the Democrats were promoting anti-war ideology. However he argues that, concerning the Vietnam War issue, there was a conflict within the Democratic Party during 1968 (2001, 211).

#### 4.1.1 Democratic policy

Tucker argues that the Democratic Party was sharply divided during 1968 (2011). As was mentioned before, democratic candidates McCarthy and Kennedy were strongly against the war while Hubert Humprey took the supporting view. Although in general there was a gradual tendency towards anti-war policy and ideology. Saldin (2011, 223) points out the New Politics formed within the Democratic party, influenced by students activists called New Left. Through their opposition to the war, encouraged by change in the public opinion, the peace supporting members gradually gained control over the party. Saldin



concludes that “Democratic ideology was significantly changed in enduring manner by Vietnam War” (2011, 223).

#### 4.1.2 Republican view of the War

As Woods claims, the republican philosophy is to participate in world affairs with the purpose of preserving political democracy (2003, 46). Therefore as Woods explains the republican stance towards the war was supportive from the beginning (Woods 2003, 237). However, as the war proceeded and the number of losses got higher, even the conservative Republicans have changed their attitudes. As Saldin argues (2011, 226), Vietnam War was more a burden to Republicans as it was putting the party into the position of war supporters, as opposed to peaceful Democrats despite republicans’ efforts to find a solution. In 1969 when Richard Nixon was elected a president, although his policy did not aim to an immediate end of the war, the involvement of America was reduced by Nixon Doctrine. Moreover, as Rid states, during the era of Nixon’s presidency, the republican policy pointed to Vietnamization, leaving most of the military activity to Vietnamese leaders (2007, 54).

## 4.2 The Late Sixties

The years of 1968 and 1969 were significant in terms of the events on the battlefield as well as in terms of happening back home in United States. As for the happening at the battlefield, the “Tet Offensive was a public relations disaster for American military involvement” (Wollenberg, 2004, 18). Although the attacks of Vietnam forces were repelled, the attack itself and its scale in terms of casualties demonstrated the scope of war and the fact that the war was not going to end in near future. Moreover, 1968 is considered to be the peak of American involvement regarding amount of soldiers in Vietnam (source).

In 1969 amount of public outrage reached the summit and the scale of antiwar movements increased. As Hagopian (2009, 28) states, “by November 1969 the majority of the public had shifted from *hawks* to *doves*”. Wollenberg argues that during the first three years of American participation in the war, the conservatives maintained supportive stance concerning the war in the country. However, by 1968 the broad public mood was changing (2008, 18).

To sum it up, the late sixties can be seen as a turning point in the issue of the Vietnam War affecting the broad sphere of the United States such as politics, military sphere and public opinion, having massive effect on further development of the war.

### **4.3 California – The Golden State**

There are various reasons for this thesis interest in the state of California. The first one is the political split between liberal and conservative ideology and so called “hawk versus dove” issue, which was intense in California (Eymann, 2004, 8). During sixties lot of people moved to California in order to work in military industry and brought with them conservative ideology of desire for prosperity, spreading democracy and stopping communism after World War II (Eymann 2004, 8).

Antiwar protests happening in California during the sixties also belong to the reasons for choosing Californian newspapers. Eymann reveals that the universities and focus on education put California into the position of center of young culture of the era and therefore it became the center of students’ activism (2004, 15).

Moreover, California has been chosen due to its geographical position in the western edge of the United States. For soldiers going to Vietnam California was the last connection with home and the first point they reached when coming back. According to Wollenberg, the Oakland Army Base was the place from where the soldiers were shipping to Vietnam (2008, 144). The location also caused that California became home for refugees from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia (Eymann 2004, 10). Thus California turned into a place of mixing opinions, experiences and attitudes towards the Vietnam War.

### **4.4 Events that helped to end the War**

#### **4.4.1 Tet Offensive**

Saldin (2011, 191) argues that the Tet Offensive in 1968 “undermined the Johnsons administration’s claim of success”. The attacks on the US embassy in Khe Sanh which was supposed to be the most secure city in Vietnam, were unexpected by US forces as they happened during the celebration of Tet New Year’s Eve. Even though American soldiers managed to repel the attacks, this event did not mean any progress of US forces, only defense. Moreover, Schmitz claims that repelling the Tet Offensive was a victory only in sense of military targets but loss in terms of the casualties (2005, xv).

As Tucker states, the North Vietnam military failure was presented in America as a success for Americans and intended to promote American good position in the War. However, the actual effect of the representation of the Tet offensive was according to Tucker “demonstrating the strength of communists and long procedure for war”. The

intensity of fighting has shocked the American public and caused disillusionment among people, who turned against the war (2011, xliv).

It can be said that this event succeeded can be considered to be a turning point in public opinion in the USA about the war.

#### 4.4.2 Anti-war protests

During the years of 1968 and 1969 people started to protest widely against the Vietnam War. Hagopian claims that Nixon's policy of promoting the war caused the increase of vocal oppositions to the War (2009, 28).

California became a center of these movements. During sixties, in times of prosperity, young people from all over the country were coming to California for education (Eymann 2004, 9). Not only because of ambitions of receiving degree and finding good job, but as Wollenberg argues, also because in time of increasing American involvement in Vietnam War, male students were aware that going to college can save them from participating in draft and fighting in Vietnam (2008, 144).

These young citizens of California, who later became either soldiers fighting in Vietnam or major force of the antiwar movements were according to Eymann "raised on patriotism, promise of technology and fear of communism and the bomb" which brought about ambitions for better future. These hopes may have been the reason for such revolution (2004, 9).

The demonstrations spread from universities to the streets by 1969 and the activism included its own institutions and media. People changed by the experience in Vietnam and the experience of members of families of soldiers affected by the issue. The veteran movements joined the activists. The Vietnam War was connecting various participants of the protest movement in the sixties (Wollenberg 2008, 144).

#### 4.5 Selected newspapers

Two newspapers have been selected as the source of data: democratic the *San Mateo Times* and conservative *Lodi News-Sentinel*. The representation in newspapers is determined by their background. The owners and their connection to politics as well as their attitudes affect the representation. The information about the selected newspapers used as source of analyzed articles come from their websites so it is important to take into

account that this information may be biased and not completely objective as the purpose of the websites is to promote the newspapers and help them to sell.

#### **4.5.1 *San Mateo Times***

The *San Mateo Times* was daily newspaper published in San Mateo County in California originally owned by Amphlett Publishing according to the Library of Congress website.

The county of San Mateo was, as Leip states on the U.S. Election Atlas website, democratically targeted, voting for Democrat Humphrey in 1968 presidential election.

#### **4.5.2 *Lodi News-Sentinel***

The broadsheet daily newspaper *Lodi News-Sentinel* writes on its webpage that the newspaper is independent and locally owned since its establishment in 1881. However, the reviews of the newspaper on the website say that there is natural conservative bias. In the newspaper, Fred Weybret is stated to be the editor and publisher during 1968-1969.

According to Leip, the city of Lodi was conservatively targeted in 1968 and 1969, voting in 1968 election for President Nixon. Consequently, since Richardson claims that the newspapers usually serve to readers and form their views accordingly (2007, 77-79), it can be assumed that during these years, *Lodi News-Sentinel* was leaning to conservative policy.

## **II. ANALYSIS**

## 5 NEWSPAPER ARTICLES ANALYSIS

The goal of the practical part is to analyze the representation of the Tet Offensive and anti-war protests in two Californian newspapers. These events were selected for the reason that they played an important role in bringing the Vietnam War towards an end. The sources of the articles are *Lodi News-Sentinel*, a republican newspaper and liberal press the *San Mateo Times*. The analysis compares the representation in the two newspapers, searching for the common features and the differences. The thesis analyses front page articles which get the attention of the reader immediately and focuses on the first part of the articles since according to Vaughn the most important information is written at the beginning of the article. The so called “inverted pyramid” (assigning prominence to certain information and stating it on the first line of the article) is as Vaughn claims the most effective means when presenting an even in newspapers (2008, 223 - 224). This thesis examines how the Tet Offensive and anti-war protests were portrayed and what was the image of the war presented by the newspapers.

### 5.1 Representation of the Tet Offensive

The Tet Offensive was from the beginning portrayed as military failure of North Vietnam and as a success of Americans and allies in both newspapers. From the beginning, the representation was providing hope for America that they would succeed in the war. However as the fighting escalated and the numbers of casualties increased, the representation in the newspapers changed. As Tucker claims, Tet Offensive was the “decisive turning point of the Vietnam War” (2011, 1102). The endurance and strength of the enemy has proven. Therefore the hope for near end of the War in the military way was undermined and the public sought for another way to end the War.

In the analysis of the representation of the Tet Offensive, this thesis focuses on how the representation changed comparing one article from each newspaper published on February 1 immediately after the event and one article from each newspaper published later with hindsight of four days on February 5. Firstly, the analytical part examines the portrayal of American success, then the use of reference terms to participants and casualties and finally how the representation changed on February 5.

### 5.1.1 American success portrayal

The representation of Tet Offensive aimed to promote the event as American success. Immediately after the Tet Offensive on February 1, the *San Mateo Times* provided the information about the event in the article with the headline: *Allies Break Up Red Attacks on Saigon*. Focusing on the headline itself, it can be examined that it emphasizes the success of allies. The event represented is communists attack on Saigon. However, the headline puts allies into a position of agent, which implies power. The message of the headline can be evaluated as positive, evoking sense of allies' good position in the War, and implying the success suggesting that the Americans along with allies have a chance to win. In describing the event, the press portrays allies as non-aggressive.

The emphasis is put on the fact that the enemy has launched an aggressive action which the allies managed to repel, but it backgrounds the fact that they killed a lot of people and thus are violators as well. The article then comments on the event briefly: *"Allied counterattacks supported by tanks and airpower reduced Saigon infiltrators to small harassing bands"*. In combination with the word *allies*, the *San Mateo Times* use the word *counterattack* which, similarly as in the headline, suggests that the allies are not aggressors. Their military action is portrayed as response to the attack of the enemy. Such representation demonstrates the use of the ideological square in terms of backgrounding violent action of allies and at the same time highlighting negatives of enemies. The verb *reduced* used in the sentence where the allies are again in the position of agent can be described as a mitigating device which helps to cover the fact that allied soldiers killed many of the enemies. It is a euphemism for the word 'kill' in this situation.

The same day the conservative newspaper *Lodi News-Sentinel* writes *Viet Attack Kills 323 Americans*. From the headline mentioning the number of American casualties, the reader can understand that the offensive was of a big scale. The term *attack* suggests the offensive action of the enemy and by using the verb *kill* the press supports the atmosphere of a massacre. However, there is used depersonalization as the agents of the killing are not the Vietnamese but the inanimate term *attack*. It may be said that the newspaper aims to shock the readers by using striking terms and wants them to pay the attention to the event. Moreover, by referring to killed soldiers as *Americans*, the newspaper aims to evoke a feeling of concern and nationalism. Also Americans are in the role of a patient, in contrast to the democratic newspaper, so they are portrayed as victims and rather powerless. It might evoke empathy and feeling the need to protect America.

However the sub headline that follows, *Heavy Toll In Return* portrays the event as a success for allies. It implies that the Vietnamese attacked massively, but our soldiers managed to repel it and pay them back. In the sub headline the tool of depersonalization is used again by the newspaper as there are no participants mentioned. It can be said that in the sub headline the newspaper aims to emphasize the aggressive attack and the success of repelling while it drags the attention away from the emotions connected with people dying in Vietnam.

Further in the article *Lodi News-Sentinel* states that *Allied forces inflicted some of the heaviest casualties of the war by breaking the back of the communist offensive*. The effect of the American response to the communist attack is said to be stronger in terms of defeated soldiers, therefore it can be regarded as winning the battle. The newspaper put emphasis on the success despite the fact that the event cost many lives, whether US or communist. The term *casualties* is a euphemism mitigating the fact of aggressive action of allies. Moreover from the broader point of view, the fact that US soldiers killed a lot of communists does not affect the overall outcome of the war which is backgrounded in the article.

The presence of real people in the event is hidden in both newspapers in order to suppress emotions of the reader concerning the soldiers and keep the focus on the success. In the *San Mateo Times* the allies' counterattack is described as *supported by tanks and airpower*, which shows the scale of battle and tries to provide more details in order to help people imagine the situation. However, there are used words describing technologies and machinery by which the newspaper backgrounds the persons involved in the battle. These machines need to be controlled by persons, who are not mentioned. The newspaper thus keeps attention of a reader at the military success and prevents evoking images of young men suffering at war.

Conservative newspaper *Lodi News-Sentinel* reports the event as the *Communist offensive that swept into the heart of Saigon*. The verb *swept* suggesting a swift movement is not commonly used when referring to people. This proves the use of dehumanization of the agent of the action. Similarly to the liberal newspaper the *Lodi News-Sentinel* backgrounds the involvement of real people. In the sentence *scattered fighting continued* there are no people mentioned in combination with fighting.



### 5.1.2 Influencing perception through reference to participants

As for the reference to the participants of the event, in the *San Mateo Times* the headline (*Allies Break Up Red Attack on Saigon*) includes reference to both sides. By using the term *allies* in order to refer to South Vietnam soldiers and officers, newspapers aim to evoke positive connotation and sense of reliability, implying that the United States can count on them. Furthermore, the term *allies* suggests that their success in the operation is also success of the United States.

The representation of “us” changes in *Lodi News-Sentinel*. First, the newspaper uses the term *allied forces* when it mentions that the allies managed to repel the attack. The term *forces* suggests power and ability to fight. However when the number of allies killed are mentioned (*More than 2 000 allied troops were killed or wounded during the offensive*), it uses the term *troops* which is neutral in terms of assigning power and does not suggest any action of fight in order to evoke compassion. The term *forces* is used again when describing the allies’ military action that is planned after the attack. Concerning the change of referring terms, it can be said that the newspaper manipulates the reader’s view of the participants according to the situation.

In case of referring to the enemy, unlike the positive portrayal of allies as reliable, the *San Mateo Times* refers to the enemy in the headline by disrespectful term *Red* which is a symbol of Communism but at the same time color associated with aggression. Further in the article the attackers are mentioned again, this time as *Saigon infiltrators* evoking negative connotations, more specifically, the image of people forcing their way in a particular place, i.e. intruders that do not belong to mentioned area. Then they are referred to as *small harassing bands*, where *small* implies that the enemies are not as strong as they were when they started the attack, but still aggressive (*harassing*).

The *Lodi News-Sentinel* used for reference to the enemy in the headline shortened term *Viet* as a reference to the Vietnamese soldiers. The difference between the two newspapers is that the liberal press uses term expressing the ideology of the enemy, while the republican press uses term describing the nationality of the enemy. In both newspapers it may be observed that they use shortened terms and nicknames to refer to the enemy. This may be seen as degrading, with the newspapers showing their disrespect since they do not put effort into writing the full term.

### 5.1.3 Reference to casualties

Both articles mention the number of victims of the war event. In the *San Mateo Times*, a part of the article with the statement *Casualty Rise* is dedicated to the topic. The statement implies that the event was a big scale in terms of casualties, which increase, and this attitude is supported by writing that *the number of killed and wounded climbed steadily on both sides as the war raged on in its bloodiest stage to date*. The liberal newspaper emphasizes the fact that there are many victims of the war. It also uses the word ‘bloodiest’, foregrounding violence and having negative connotations, which might imply a rather negative attitude to the war. Moreover, when reporting the numbers of casualties confirmed it expresses its attitude by writing that these numbers are *not including thousands of civilians killed and harmed* and thus stresses that the war harms not only the soldiers but also the innocent people.

*Lodi News-Sentinel* comments on the situation with casualties: *Casualty figures are expected to climb as allied forces conduct mopping up operations and find more bodies*. By the term *figures* the newspaper suppresses the emotions as it evokes association of numbers, not human victims. The casualties are dehumanized.

In both newspapers there can be observed a difference between referring to casualties of “us” and “them”. The *San Mateo Times* uses the term *losses* for allied and U.S. casualties and describes them as numbers of *dead* and *wounded*. On the other hand in case of the enemy casualties it writes that *allied forces reported killing 6 821 Viet Cong and North Vietnamese and capturing 1 362*. In *Lodi News-Sentinel* there is a visible difference in use of verbs. Allied losses are reported as *more than 2, 000 allied troops were killed*. There is no agent of killing to suppress the feeling of the enemy’s success. However, the verb *kill* with negative connotation is used which suggests that ‘we’ were harmed by somebody. On the contrary the enemy’s casualties are represented as *nearly 5 000 communists died and nearly 2 000 were captured*. The verb *died* does not require any agent which backgrounds allies as the cause of the dead. Similarly in the verb *were captured* the agent is hidden. Such representation demonstrates the use of ideological square and the newspaper use of different referring terms in order to portray enemies’ casualties as our victory and our casualties as the losses.

The comparison of representation in liberal and conservative press may be seen as following. Both liberal and conservative newspapers refer to the event as *Communist*

*offensive*, which shows the enemy in the position of aggressors and initiators of violence. The attention is kept on the military success of allies in terms of repelling the attack supported by the numbers of casualties. However, it may be observed that the liberal press aims to emphasize that the numbers of casualties are climbing and aims to portrayal of the war as bloodshed taking too many victims.

#### 5.1.4 The change in representation of the Tet Offensive

In order to demonstrate the change in representation of the Tet Offensive, the articles published five days after the Offensive started were selected.

As the fight in Saigon continued, the attitude towards the situation and the representation in the *San Mateo Times* and *Lodi News-Sentinel* changed. In the article of February 5 from the *San Mateo Times* with the headline *Marines in stubborn battle for Hue*, it can be noticed that the newspaper expresses doubt about near end of the fighting. The phrase *stubborn battle* is a personification which ascribes human characteristic of not willing to retreat to the battle. The headline does not aim to emphasize supreme position of either side as the word battle includes both sides equally. In the sub headline *Reds overrun small Saigon police station* the newspapers expresses the power of the enemy by putting it into agent position and using the verb *overrun* which suggests supremacy in the battle.

Another change in representation which can be perceived in this article is in reference to American soldiers. The article refers to the U.S. soldiers as *US marines fighting behind tanks and under helicopters*. The representation changed from the backgrounding of persons to referring to them by using term *U.S. marines*. This representation helps the American audience to identify with the soldiers and this term evokes nationalistic feeling. Nonetheless, mentioning persons in the article with the aim of readers' identification with them also makes reader to contemplate about the real persons in war and their struggle in war, which led to public dissent for the War.

*Lodi News-Sentinel* writes in the headline: *Red Raid May Signal Full Attack*. The word *Raid* suggests aggressive attack, however the newspaper keeps the distance from the prediction by using modality in the verb *may signal*. By the phrase *full attack* the press emphasizes the wide scale of possible upcoming attack. The whole headline carries an atmosphere of threat of another offensive. Moreover, the press uses alliteration, repetition of sounds, in the combination of words *Red Raid* in order to attract the reader and achieve

the emotional effect. Further in the article the conservative press writes that *North Vietnamese troops broke through barbed wire defenses and battled U.S. Marines*. By the verb *break through* the press emphasizes the violent action using a verb suggesting forcing the way by destroying the defenses. The enemy is in the position of agent and portrayed as aggressors. The press then states that this event *could be the start of the biggest Communist offensive of the War* which again expresses the threat of more attacks and large scale fighting and refers to the event as *unprecedented Red Offensive throughout Vietnam* which shows that the fighting has hit the whole country and portrays the event as unexpected and shocking. The consequences of the fight are described in the article. It says that *Communists troops destroyed a bridge that allies used for carrying men and supplies* putting the enemy into the position of destroyers, harming the effort of allies. There is a contrast of good action of allies and harm of the communists by which the newspaper spreads the ideology of communist threat.

The example articles demonstrate that as the offensive continued, the newspapers were less optimistic about the war. They imply that the war is not ended yet even though it was represented as a success at the beginning and that the battles are still continuing as well as the number of casualties are rising. Also, importantly, it is not allies any more who are portrayed as successful in the fight and as the agents, but rather the enemy – especially in the conservative newspaper. This might have influenced the opinion of the public against the war.

To sum up the Tet Offensive representation in both newspapers, it may be said that the headlines usually include nationalities of participants or political or military agenda that is characteristic for them. The use of ideological square can be observed when referring to participants. Moreover the use of transitivity (whether the participants are in position of agent or patient) suggests who is seen as dominant party or as a victim. Another tool used is foregrounding and backgrounding of facts or persons' responsibilities.

When focusing on processes present in the headline of war reports, characteristic is the use of clear and short verbs designed to convey the information and strike the reader emotionally. Newspapers use verbs evoking sense of aggressiveness and violence when referring to the enemy and usually verbs of progressive action evoking positive feelings when speaking about the U.S. nation or allies.

The common features in both newspapers can be observed when representing the Tet offensive immediately after it happened. In case of the Tet Offensive both newspapers

promote the goal of the government - to maintain the American involvement in the war. This is demonstrated by the fact that both newspapers from the beginning portray the event as American success despite high number of casualties on both sides – the enemy and allies as well as Americans. The press achieved desirable image of the Tet Offensive by means of reference to participants (negative or positive referring terms) and assigning power roles, power relations. It implies that the possibility to win the war exists. Both newspapers emphasize the attack as of the big scale

The audience is manipulated by the newspaper in both cases in terms that the newspapers promote the ideology that there the war is necessary. They portray the communists as initiators of the attacks and as aggressors, which implies an idea of Communists threat and evokes a feeling that there is a need for war. There is obvious use of the ideological square in terms of portraying the enemy as bad and on the other hand mitigating the violent action of allies and American soldiers and portraying them as good ones. This can be seen as a tool of American propaganda in media. Moreover both newspapers use depersonalization in the representation on February 1 as they mitigate the fact that the people are dying there (in order to promote the war as good and not evoke the public outrage), they emphasize the goal and backgrounds the price in terms of human deaths.

Moreover, in both newspapers there is use of ideological square in portrayal of the casualties. However there is a difference in liberal that they refer to killed civilians and probably aim to show that the war has huge consequences. Conservative press adopts dehumanization of casualties, which results in suppression of emotions.

The change in the representation may be described as the shift from American success to threat of more attacks and communists persistence. Both newspapers express doubt about near end of the war and imply that there will be more fighting. They no longer put emphasis on our success but imply the power of the enemy and emphasize its aggression. The enemy is placed in position of the agent. Especially in republican press the emphasis is put on the Communists threat, probably in order to strengthen the feeling that there is need for war even if there are so big casualties.

In case of liberal press the change is visible in terms of the portrayal of U.S. soldier who are no longer dehumanized but on the contrary referred to by human terms, which may make the reader identify with them and realize that too many people are dying there. It can be said that liberal press at the beginning follows the ideology of the government but then it

implies the liberal ideology of bringing the war towards an end. Streissguth's view is that those who supported the War believed that the media is manipulating the people against the War by means of reporting the good effort negatively (2007, 82).

## 5.2 Anti-war protests representation

The fall of 1969 was a period of the widest protests against Vietnam War in America. The biggest marches, so-called Moratoriums took place in 15 October and 15 November (Tucker 2011, 773-774).

Lot of attention was paid to the representation of the anti-war protests. The reason was as Hallin claims the fact that the Moratorium fit the media's two criteria for a "good" protest: it involved many political persons as well as it brought in common "nonpolitical" people in America (1986, 198).

The thesis analyzes four articles from liberal press as there were more articles dedicated to the events of the protests in the *San Mateo Times* and three articles from the conservative press *Lodi News-Sentinel*.

First, the articles published before the march, on October 13 and 14, are analyzed for the reason of examining the expectations and the attitude towards the protests. Then the thesis analyzes articles from the day when the march took place on October 15. Finally it focuses on the representation of another wide scale protest taking place in Washington on November 15 comparing the representation in conservative and liberal press from that day.

### 5.2.1 Representation before the march

On October 14, one day before the demonstration the *San Mateo Times* published an article with the headline *Millions In U.S to Join Moratorium*. The emphasis is put on the scale of the planned event. By using the verb *join* the press emphasizes that more people promote the anti-war attitude and the number is growing.

In the article, the liberal press mentions the stance of the president Nixon. It states that *Millions of Americans on campuses and in cities across the nation will take part in the Wednesday's moratorium on the Vietnam War despite -or because of- President Nixon's reiteration that he will not be moved by it*. The press uses the word *reiteration*, which suggests that the President emphasizes his attitude repeatedly. The expression "because of" also implies that the protesters are protesting against Nixon and his attitude and policy towards the war. Another reference to the President in the article is *there will be no change "merely because of a public demonstration"* by which the newspaper again emphasizes

that the president is not willing to change his attitude. It can be observed further in the article that in the reference to the president the newspaper use personal name *Nixon* instead of referring to him as the President, which may imply that the newspaper have slightly disrespectful attitude towards the President. Moreover, the newspaper refer to the republican policy by quoting the president in the statement *He said that government's policies reflect "our own best judgment" on how to achieve peace*. It implies that the president is confident with his policy. Such use of reference to the President can be interpreted in two ways, depending on the readers' attitude. The reference to the President and his negative attitude to the protests can either have an effect of discouraging the support of the protests in terms of following the figure of authority, or it can be said that the press implies that the moratorium is a challenge for the protesters to change his mind. It seems that the newspaper aims to portray the president as an enemy of the protestors and the people supporting the end of the war by stressing his opposite view. Moreover the newspaper shows its disrespect towards the President. The *San Mateo Times'* reference to the president and his statement *"there is nothing new we can learn from demonstrations"* presented in the press one day before the demonstration may be seen as an aim to encourage the people to make the demonstration unique.

On October 13 the conservative press *Lodi News-Sentinel* wrote about the upcoming march with the headline *Delta College, UOP to Participate In Wednesday's Demonstrations*. It refers to American universities and implies that the young educated people are supporting the anti-war attitude. In the article it is obvious that the march is expected to be broad as the newspaper refers to it as *massive and broadly-based anti-war protest*. However by using the term *protest* rather than referring to it as 'march', the newspaper evokes slightly negative connotation as protests are usually understood as event including noise and violence.

The press shows the planned event as non-radical and the participation of the universities as moderate by statement that *Delta college will provide for both sides to be heard* and writes that the event is organized in order *to inform the body students on the war*. Also it states that *college students, public officials and various civic and private groups are supporting the Vietnam Moratorium day* which expresses the wide scale of the demonstration in terms of not only places but also different social groups. The positive portrayal is supported by the statement that *the antiwar demonstration's stated goal is – no business as usual Wednesday – pause and reflect on Vietnam War and the hopes for peace,*

which again promotes the non-violent atmosphere of the demonstration. It can be said that the paper portrays the upcoming march in a positive way.

Both newspapers portray the upcoming event in a positive way. However, a difference between the ideologies of the newspapers can be perceived. In liberal press, the focus is put more on the fact that the President is unwilling to change his attitude towards the War than on the happening during the event. Therefore it can be said that the press aims to encourage people to change his mind by the means of the demonstration and to encourage the participation in the event. Streissguth claims that for President Nixon, media represented a problem as Nixon complained about negative portrayal of his policies; Vietnam War in particular (2007, 54). However, the reference to the President may also have an opposite influence on the reader in terms that he may want to follow the attitude of the figure of authority and it might have a discouraging effect. The liberal press does not include any information about the ideology or attitude of the participants towards the government, it only states that a lot of people will join the demonstration. On the other hand, the conservative press only provides information about the event and its participants and keeps the distance from expressing their ideology and their attitude towards the government attitude towards the War.

### 5.2.2 The march on October 15

On the day of the march, October 15, the representation of the demonstration in the *San Mateo Times* is aiming to portray the event in a positive manner. The headline says: *Anti-War Protests mount Across U.S.* This implies that the anti-war mood has spread all over the country. The sub-headline continues *More speeches than violence in Moratorium* showing that the aim of the protest is to inform, to spread the idea and to make people think about the issue of war rather than portraying it as a series of rages and fighting against the government and the “silent majority”.

When reporting on the violence during the event, unlike the conservative press the *San Mateo Times* refers to it as *Few early reports of violence or disruptions* admitting that there were some cases of violence but stating that there were few of them.

On the contrary, the conservative press *Lodi News-Sentinel* published an article with the headline: *Troops, Police Prepare for Mass Demonstrations*. The headline suggests that the upcoming protest is going to be of massive scale and there will be a need of protectors, the police. Unlike the representation before the day of the demonstration, the newspaper



presents the event in negative way. The atmosphere of threatening violence is supported by statement that *supporters and critics of Wednesday Vietnam Moratorium joined Tuesday in warning against violence in the nation-wide round of rallies and protests against the war*. Moreover, by referring to *supporters and critics* this sentence also implies that the opinion of U.S. citizens is divided and there are two counter poles concerning this issue.

The newspaper expresses the fear of losing control of a movement of such a big scale and the fear of turning the event into violent action by writing that *fears and precautions triggered one movement of troops*.

In the article *Lodi News-Sentinel* refers to the participants of the movement by the term *youthful protesters* which, compared to the representation from the previous article, mentions only one group of the participants. Moreover, the term suggests irresponsible behavior associated with young people. The reference to officers that participated in reported event is done by respectful terms: *150 army troops "precautionary measure" against any marches by antiwar demonstrators and New York City police*.

### 5.2.3 Moratorium on November 15

The second large scale march of the anti-war movement took place in November 15 in Washington. The liberal press *San Mateo Times* reports the march in an article with the headline: *150 000 Join March In Washington*. The number in the headline suggests wide extent of the march and also implies that more people are joining the movement, which is similar to the headline from October 14. The sub-headline says *Folk-Rock and Speeches at the Monument* which, unlike conservative press's representation, does not suggest any form of violence or aggression but rather emphasizes the speeches and music and gives it the image of a peaceful movement. The newspaper refers to the protesters *as a vast throng of young Americans chanting "Peace now"*. The combination *vast throng* evokes a notion of a mass of people, *young Americans* suggests innocence and that they are part of the nation, not a minority within the nation. The verb used is *marched down* which again portrays the event as peaceful and also suggests a motion.

The scale of the march is stressed in the *San Mateo Times*. It refers to the event as *the largest antiwar demonstration in the nation's history*. Moreover this reference implies that this was a unique event in the history, which supports the idea that the movement is part of the American nation. In reference to the participants, the newspaper uses mass nouns. It states that during the march *the crowd flowed down the wide "avenue of presidents" and*

*massed on the ground of the Monument for a rally and folk-rock concert.* Such use of mass nouns emphasizes the fact that it included huge amount of people, who joined to support the movement. It backgrounds the individuals and foregrounds the fact that people unified and created a mass promoting certain ideology. The unification of people is supported by the use of verbs such as *flowed* suggesting a calm movement of a big crowd and *massed* which again implies the large group of people assembling for one reason. Further in the article the *San Mateo Times* refers to the protesters as the *Peace Marchers* which again emphasizes the goal of settling peace and the non-violent activity. Then the newspaper states that the march climaxed the three day nationwide demonstration in support of complete withdrawal of the U.S. forces from Vietnam by which the press emphasizes the goal of such demonstration as the goal of liberal thinking people.

That day the *San Mateo Times* published more articles about the protests. One of them informs about the march in San Francisco: *Rain Threat As 10 000 march in SF*. From the headline it is obvious that the newspaper sympathizes with the protesters. The article says that *the marchers were somber and quiet as they started a seven-mile walk across the city*, which again shows the aim of the press to portray the protesters in a positive way. It also mentions participation of the police; however it says only that a police officer estimated the amount of people to be 10,000. It is visible that the newspaper puts a lot of attention on the protests and by reporting the march in San Francisco, it aims to bring it closer to the readers in California. It writes about the preparation of the protests and describes it as *long hours of work by the demonstrations organizers*, which shows them as responsible with a clear goal.

The same day the republican press *Lodi News-Sentinel* published an article with the headline *Peace March Explosion* referring to the event that had happened the previous day (November 14). The newspaper aims to shock the audience. The word *explosion* suggests an unexpected event of destructive consequences, which in combination with the phrase *Peace March* implies an atmosphere of an event intended to be peaceful which has gone out of control. The sub-headline then continues: *Guardsmen Called After Violence in Washington*. There is no agent, the emphasis is put on the fact that the guardsmen were not present but needed to be called as the situation caused by violent action of people involved in the Peace March required protectors.

The conservative newspaper *Lodi News-Sentinel* uses an example of violent event that happened during the marches and aims to generalize the antiwar protests as aggressive

violent actions that need to be stopped. The article elaborates on the headline and says that *The Peace March on Washington exploded into violence Friday night (November 14) when a street clash between police and antiwar extremists triggered window smashing and looting...and brought national guardsmen to the scene.* As this information is stated at the beginning of the article, the reader perceives it as the most important information and it can be said that the event selected by the newspaper casts a bad light on the march where half million people participated. It portrays the protesters as extremists, as a radical group forcing their ideas aggressively. The verbs *smashing* and *looting* evoke destructive action.

Another negative portrayal appears when the newspaper refers to the protesters as a group of *defiant militant antiwar protesters*. The press uses contrast of forceful adjectives and the collocation *antiwar protesters* probably in order to mock them and to emphasize the fact that even though they want to stop violence, they perform violence themselves, and therefore their attitude is not acceptable. When describing the action that caused the police intervention, there is stated that the protesters *sought to force their way into the South Vietnam embassy*, which again portrays them as violators.

The event is portrayed in the atmosphere of a fight. The newspaper refers to the incident as a *melee*. The atmosphere is even strengthened by description of the place affected by the incident. The street where the incident happened is described as *filled with tear gas fumes and weeping demonstrators* which evokes an image after a battle or a disaster. Then it continues by saying that *Sidewalks were littered with debris from broken store fronts*. Therefore it can be said that the protesters are portrayed in the article in a negative way as a destructive force.

When referring to the police in the article, *Lodi News-Sentinel* uses general terms for officers that fought with the extremists. The term *police* suggests authority and protection which implies that the action of the protesters was the rebellion against authority and against the nation. By saying that the action *brought national guardsmen to the scene*, the press again implies that due to the behavior of the protesters it was necessary to involve the officers in the incident, where the collocation *national guardsmen* evokes a feeling of the U.S. nation in confrontation with the protesting minority. To express the action of the policemen the newspaper uses the verb *retaliated* by which they imply that it was a response to the negative behavior of protesters.

It can be observed that in conservative newspaper the representation of the overall event taking place in the whole United States is not mentioned at all and instead the focus is on an incident from a day before.

To sum it up, it can be seen that on the same day, the two newspapers have chosen to represent a different event concerning the antiwar movement. Liberal press writes about the march itself and promotes it as a peaceful event of an enormous scale and expression of people's attitudes, emphasizing that the antiwar mood is spreading and more people are against the idea of war and want to stop it. Moreover, it seems that the liberal press is promoting the movements and by their representation they aim to encourage the people to join the movement. It is visible in the liberal press that more attention is focused on the protests (there are two more articles about the movement in November 15 issue). In contrast, the republican press reports the event that puts a bad light on the protests. *Lodi News-Sentinel* selected news about the previous day's violent incident rather than writing about the march that happened that day, by which it portrays the protests as violent and the whole idea of antiwar movement is represented as a radical minority performance of offensive actions, forcing their opinions to the rest of the country. It seems that the republican press aims to discourage people to join the movement and emphasizes the newspaper's attitude as sympathizing with the U.S. nation and the silent majority. By evaluating the representation in both newspapers it may be concluded that both newspapers promote their political ideologies when portraying the events concerning anti-war protests.

## CONCLUSION

Newspapers have the power to manipulate the readers perception of reality with the help of language used. By analyzing and comparing the representation in California newspapers, this thesis examined how were the key events that led to an end of the Vietnam War portrayed in newspapers and what was the image of the war conveyed by the help of language used.

In case of the Tet Offensive, the event was portrayed as an American success at the beginning and the image of possible victory was presented to the readers in both liberal and conservative newspapers. However the representation changed as the attacks continued and the newspapers provided the doubt about the near end of the War. In conservative press, the focus was put on the threat of communism in order to maintain the feeling of the need for war against communism. On the other hand, the liberal press targeted the readers' emotions and stressed the fact that the numbers of casualties are too high.

The representation of anti-war protests was positive at the beginning in both newspapers. However, as the protests were growing and spreading throughout America the newspapers demonstrated the conservative and liberal attitude in their representation. The conservative press expressed that they do not sympathize with the protests and perceive the protesters as the enemy of the nation. They portrayed the protests as violent actions. In contrary, the liberal press aimed to portray the event in a positive way emphasizing that the movement is spreading and encouraged people to join the movement. However, there was ambiguous ideology in the liberal press in terms of reference to the negative attitude of the President, which may have been interpreted as discouraging since the authority does not approve this or it may have had an effect of prompting the people to change the President's ideology concerning the War.

The representations of Tet Offensive probably helped to arouse the public dissent for the War. It enabled the people to perceive that the consequences of the War and that the price in humans' lives America was paying for the political goal is too high. The representation of the anti-war protests in the liberal newspaper may have helped the people to realize that they have the power to change the situation and helped to expand the movement from California to the whole United States. As Wiest (2002, 1) claims, "the societal tension was so high that the US slowly backed out of the war when they felt that they cannot longer win".

This thesis demonstrates the importance of newspapers representation of social events. It can be said that the newspapers played a role in ending the War by the way how they reported the War, especially the liberal press by a positive portrayal of the protests and emphasizing the fact that the real people fought and were dying in the battles of the War, which allowed the people to think about the situation. According to Spencer, the so-called ‘Vietnam Syndrome’ refers to a situation where “political fear about the news media representing wars in ways which are likely to jeopardize public support is ever present” (2005, 55). Moreover, the difference between the representations in different newspapers may have caused that the people reflected on the information spread by the newspapers. Due to receiving the information in the time of War, when the media are the only possible source of information, and thinking about the way of representing the event, people were able to change something in society.

This thesis proves the importance of critical thinking about the information provided to people and the possibility of discovering the ideology behind the information with the use of linguistic analysis.

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## APPENDICES

P I      The first appendix.

P II     The second appendix.

**APPENDIX P I: APPENDIX TITLE**