

## **Active Powers in the American Propaganda Discourse about the Withdrawal from Afghanistan in Al-Hurra Website**

By

**Ali Yas Khudhair**

Aliraqia University, Media college/ Iraq

Email: [aljournalist@yahoo.com](mailto:aljournalist@yahoo.com)

**Sahar Khalifa Salim**

Aliraqia University, Media college/ Iraq

Email: [Sahar\\_khalifa@aliraqia.edu.iq](mailto:Sahar_khalifa@aliraqia.edu.iq)

### **Abstract**

The American propaganda discourse during the research period focused on confirming the validity of the withdrawal decision and mobilizing internal and external support for that decision. It also took advantage of the humanitarian crisis of the Afghan citizens during the withdrawal in order to build a bright image of the American army and to show them as keen on human rights and sympathetic with the plight of the peoples to influence the Arab recipient and his psychology and pushing him to adopt its ideology and sympathize with its policies. As one of the most prominent controllers of the flow of information and communication technology, the United States of America has employed all its media and propaganda capabilities to serve these trends. News websites, whether official or private, were the most prominent tools that were employed in order to pass their propaganda discourse and achieve their desired goals as a result of the growing role of these websites and the increase in their influence on the extent that they became one of the most important sources of information that the public relies on to know the latest developments and events.

**Keywords:** American Propaganda; Afghanistan; Active Powers; media

### **Introduction**

The present study acquires its significance from the novelty of the topic it deals with, which is represented by the American withdrawal from Afghanistan and its importance, which occupied a distinguished position, whether at the level of the interests of the media or the peoples of the region and the world, as well as its attempt to identify the active powers and their roles in the propaganda discourse of the United States regarding this withdrawal and the reality of the propaganda messages of the American actors, active powers, personalities, organizations, states, or governments that take measures or adopt certain directions as their positions are monitored and categorized according to research criteria. The roles attributed to them in the propaganda discourse are revealed during the research period.

The present study seeks to study the active powers in the American propaganda discourse on Al-Hurra website regarding the withdrawal from Afghanistan. The problem statement of the present study revolves around the main question about the active powers in the American propaganda discourse on websites regarding the withdrawal from Afghanistan.

The present study aims to identify the nature and roles of the active powers highlighted by the American propaganda discourse through Al-Hurra website.

The present study adopts the survey method in the analysis to identify the phenomenon under study using the instrument of analysis of the active powers, which is one of the tools of

discourse analysis, through the method of comprehensive inventory of all topics related to the American withdrawal dealt with by Al-Hurra website within the time limits extending from 1/5/2021 to 31/8 /2021, which marks the beginning of the withdrawal of US powers from Afghanistan according to the date set by US President Joseph Biden, and ends with the completion of the withdrawal of the last US soldier from Afghanistan according to the announcement issued by the US Department of Defense. The number of posts on the site reached (548).

### ***First: The dimensions of the American propaganda discourse***

#### ***1. The Concept of Propaganda Discourse***

Propaganda discourse is directed to public opinion to shed light on a specific issue or situation with explanation and clarification. It may be directed towards a particular people to become a mobilizing discourse that aims at mobilizing the masses towards an issue or preaching it. So, the concept of propaganda discourse has received increasing attention by developed countries that are making great efforts In order to market its perceptions and views with the aim of influencing the trends of public opinion and the target audience (Al-Massiri, 2002). It is an effective message with features that can influence the hearts or minds of the public through methods or formulations that achieve the desired goal. Its purpose and essence lie in calling for an opinion or an idea that is compatible with the vision or interest of the speech producer (Difler and Rockitch, 1999; Gopalan, Desai, & Acharjya, 2020).

Propaganda discourse is defined as the process of masking and portraying reality according to a prior awareness of what it should be. It is represented by a system of concepts, perceptions, proposals, and sayings that are characterized by an internal logic that governs them regardless of the nature of the goal of persuasion and behavioral response to what is said. It is performed with certain rituals. It has its legendary characteristics and dimensions (Khalifa, 2014; Hamsal et al., 2021; Ichsan et al., 2020).

It is also defined as a communication message intended for a specific audience whose content is carefully planned to change attitudes, visions, and behaviors in the service of a regime, party, or state against those who contradict them in values, principles, ideas, and beliefs through manipulating emotions and feelings with the intent of creating a state of intellectual tension and emotional charging (Nafl, 2019).

Propaganda discourse appears in many forms, such as a statement, an interview, a comment, a word, a text, a poem, and other forms of communication with the target audience. It is classified into several types:

- 1) Direct propaganda discourse: It is a dialogue discourse in which many metaphorical techniques are dispensed with. It includes simple references to the thing.
- 2) Implicit propaganda discourse: It is a discourse that contradicts direct propaganda discourse. It is characterized by its intuitive ability to refer and generate levels of interpretation to achieve greater goals.
- 3) Gestural propaganda discourse: It does not aim to convey an idea through direct or implicit symbols, but it talks about a specific topic that may be direct from its title, but it suggests other ideas depending on the reference from which the discourse is based, bearing in mind that the addressee may not find this suggestion in any One of the vocabularies of the propaganda discourse.

#### ***2. Theories Explaining Propaganda Discourse***

There are various means of persuasion and influence practiced by propaganda discourse as well as theories that explain these means, the most prominent of which are (Alhamdani,

2012):

- 1) The theory of reflexology or conditional response; Its basic idea is that behavior is a response to a stimulus. So, the success of the discursive actor in controlling the stimulus leads to obtaining the response he seeks, that is, public advertising contributes to providing an environment that pushes the recipient to unconsciously drift towards the behavior he seeks or the desired behavior.
- 2) Psychoanalytic theory; This theory believes that human behavior is an extension of a group of feelings of inferiority and psychological complexes associated with the upbringing of the individual, which increases the individual's feeling of frustration as it increases, making the recipient vulnerable to suggestion or influence, which is what propaganda discourse invests in, especially when it targets minorities or groups that are accompanied by a complex Inadequate in order to transform the feeling of inferiority into a feeling of strength.
- 3) Education and consolidation theory; This theory refuses to accept the possibility of controlling the citizen by controlling the social environment or by manipulating the components of the individual personality. It indicates that in both its awareness and educational aspects, propaganda contributes to strengthening certain positions and makes cultural institutions a center around which propaganda activity is formed. It also increases the area of support by directing it towards friends without paying attention to previous responses or the enemy or non-friend concerned (Aabid, 2014).

### ***3. American propaganda discourse strategies***

The function of contemporary media has evolved and is no longer concerned with transmitting news and information in its narrow sense, especially in developed countries with studied orientations in order to contain other countries that rely heavily on the media in implementing their influential propaganda campaigns by choosing the appropriate circumstances and timings that are consistent with their strategies and interests and to justify the steps being taken, with the aim of influencing and convincing its audience of its right to make decisions, which is what the United States of America proceeds from under the pretext of making the world happier, more comfortable, and organized (Al-Dulaimi, 2014), taking advantage of the changes that have occurred on the international scene to formulate its propaganda discourse against hostile countries, or those that it considers it necessary to interfere in their internal affairs. It includes in that speech different patterns in dealing with events and issues, in a way that contributes to the implementation of its foreign policy and the promotion of its plans and measures against peoples (Al-Dulaimi, 2003).

The American propaganda discourse directed abroad is based on basic principles that indicate that the American presence in any part of the world comes with the aim of achieving security and stability and preserving and protecting world peace. That is a goal that is always consistent with the resolutions of the UN Security Council and the United Nations. As for Arabs, the implications of that discourse are determined by the political positions and interests that the United States seeks in that region. There is a discourse directed to political leaders, another is directed to the Gulf public, and a third is directed to the public that opposes the American presence in the region (Al-Bayyati, 2008). So, the US propaganda discourse focuses in its external orientation on three main categories, namely decision makers, elites, and other sectors of public opinion, taking into account the language and symbols that affect each of them, as well as employing American philosophy by focusing on describing the situation and submitting to de facto provisions without giving the individual an opportunity to adhere to his/her principles, which is reflected in the American media, which focuses on portraying The philosophy of success, control, and dominance through special programs that aim at preparing and mobilizing the American citizen for any foreign battle waged by the United States under

the pretext of protecting its interests (Al-Nassiri, 2000).

The American propaganda discourse also seeks to promote an ideal image of American society and American politics and consolidate that image in the minds of the recipients in order to reach its desired goals, which confirms the reflection and investment of pragmatic philosophy, which is no longer limited to promoting the material lifestyle in capitalist societies, but it has expanded to include all areas of society. The media policies of American propaganda campaigns were based on choosing facts and comments that allow different viewpoints to approach the slogans used by American propaganda to promote some patterns related to democratic freedom and the development of the individual (Al-Samir, 2015), which is represented by a set of supported authoritarian rules through which it depends An ideology through which it can practice its influence in making breakthroughs among the recipients, exploiting the media and the techniques of the information and communication technology revolution to achieve its strategic goals, behind which the United States of America seeks to extend its political, economic, or intellectual dominance over the countries of the world (Al-Qaisi, 2004).

Although the goals of the American propaganda discourse are ideological, including spreading opinions and ideas and influencing people, it uses the same advertising techniques and the media to achieve those goals, whatever its form was (Al-Sharairi, 2010). The American propaganda discourse producer follows a number of strategies to achieve its goals, the most important of which are (Al-Rubaiee, 2016):

- 1) Identifying the culture of the target audience to reach the desired effect. Propaganda discourse may be effective in a society with a certain culture and ineffective in a society with another culture.
- 2) Diagnosing the audience. The relationship between it and the motives is usually a direct relationship in terms of complexity. So, the producer of the American propaganda discourse resorts to addressing the human soul by touching its motives and needs such as freedom, justice, and equality to ensure a wide and different audience in terms of cultural and social structure.
- 3) The extent of knowledge of social groups, the laws of their emergence, and the influences they are subject to in all respects, which affect the production process of propaganda discourse.
- 4) Coordination, integration, and optimum utilization of the available capabilities and means in order to deliver the propaganda discourse.
- 5) The skills of producing ideas to be communicated with symbols help the American propaganda actor to reach the goal by using words that convey meanings and express ideas in a way that gives effectiveness and impact.

#### ***4. Characteristics of American Propaganda Discourse***

With the end of World War II, American policy in the Middle East was on a date with three main pillars that determined its course. The containment of the Soviet Union - at the time - was at the forefront, as well as ensuring the security of the Zionist entity and the permanence of its military superiority, and finally protecting American interests in the region. The pillars changed after the collapse of the Soviet Union in the nineties of the last century so that focus was on supporting and strengthening the principle of American supremacy as a guarantee for the stability of the global system (Al-Jubouri, 2008). Therefore, the American propaganda discourse was based on marketing fear to become a collective psychological obsession by investing in the events of September 11 aftermath. So, marketing would be a strategy and methodology, not only for the sake of demonizing the enemy and imparting the characteristics of evil and aggression to it, but even for the purpose of promoting and portraying its capabilities

to destroy and harm (Al-Yahyawi, 2004).

The most prominent characteristics from which the American propaganda discourse derives its models, and which lead it to its goals are as follows (Al-Bayyati, 2008):

- 1) It is a tactical and strategic discourse in its general objectives as it relies on provoking continuous discussion and focuses on a few points to ensure that they are firmly rooted in the mind.
- 2) It is a psychological discourse in its methods and contents, which aims to occupy the soul and penetrate the mind, taking advantage of the emotions and tendencies of the public. So, it deals with the recipient according to the common matters between him and others.
- 3) It is a media dumping discourse that aims at confusion with the intent of misleading public opinion and developing anxiety among the recipient because gathering propaganda materials at once amid a torrent of intense and various media messages wastes effort and central goal.
- 4) It is a discourse of horror based on a psychological principle that exaggerates events and contributes to intimidating them, exploiting the state of terror and fear in paralyzing the mental and physical abilities of the recipient with the aim of confusing his/her personality and bringing it to the point of collapse.
- 5) It is a multi-purpose discourse that intends to hide the realities of the political situation by manipulating minds and targeting consciousness. It is an example of a new type of propaganda in the era of American dominance over the world.
- 6) It is an inflammatory discourse based on a justifying act according to the foundations of emotional influence by arousing the most primitive emotions of public opinion in order to impede their logical thinking.
- 7) It is the discourse of political balloons, behind which the United States of America wants to get acquainted with the reactions to situations and events and the mechanism for dealing with them.

### ***Second: The Active Powers in The American Propaganda Discourse***

**Table (1)** *The roles attributed to the active powers in the American propaganda discourse at Al-Hurra Website*

Negative roles of active powers		Positive roles of active powers			
%	Frequency	No.	%	Frequency	No.
20.45	36	1	15.70	84	1
16.50	29	2	12.89	69	2
12.50	22	3	12.52	67	3
7.38	13	4	11.60	62	4
6.25	11	5	8.03	43	5
5.11	9	6	6.54	35	6
5.11	9	6	5.04	27	7
4.54	8	7	4.11	22	8
3.98	7	8	3.60	19	9
3.40	6	9	3.20	17	10
3.40	6	9	2.61	14	11
3.40	6	9	2.61	14	11
2.84	5	10	2.24	12	12
2.84	5	11	1.86	10	13
2.30	4	12	1.86	10	13
-	-	-	1.49	8	14
-	-	-	1.12	6	15
-	-	-	1.12	6	15
-	-	-	0.93	5	16
-	-	-	0.93	5	16
% 100	176	Total	% 100	535	Total

Table (1) shows that (Pentagon) category ranked first in the sequence of positive roles

of the active powers with a percentage of (15.70%) as the site cited the statements of the commander of the Central Command in the US Army, General Kenneth McKenzie, who confirmed that (123000) civilians were evacuated from Afghanistan during the 16-day mission of the American forces, adding that the American forces achieved a great achievement by completing the evacuations in record time. Among those who were evacuated from Afghanistan, there were more than (6,000) American civilians (Alhurra, Published news, 2022). The producer of the speech highlighted the great role of the leader of the Ministry of Defense and its officials in the withdrawal process, which was not limited to providing a safe environment that facilitates the withdrawal process but extended to include fighting terrorism by directing strikes against specific terrorist targets and actively contributing to the evacuation of Afghan citizens and contractors with US Forces. However, he attributed negative roles to the ministry, citing statements by a commander of US Forces in Afghanistan, General Scott, in which he warned of the possibility of a civil war in Afghanistan, saying that the security situation is not good at the moment. Civil war is definitely a path that can be imagined if this current path continues. This should be a source of concern for the world (Alhurra, Published news, 2022). This statement is placed in the fifth place among negative roles with a percentage of (6.25%). The withdrawal process was not easy as its repercussions caused the situation in Afghanistan to be turbulent to the point of threatening that there is a possibility of a civil war happening there, which is something that the United States of America bears responsibility for. These negative statements come to pressure the international community to intervene and find a settlement for the situation in Afghanistan.

The (President Joe Biden) category ranked second with a percentage of (12.89%). The website showed statements in which he states that today represents an important milestone as we continue to fulfill our promise to thousands of Afghan citizens who worked alongside American Forces and diplomats in the past twenty years in Afghanistan (Alhurra, Published news, 2022). It is natural that the producer of the speech sought to highlight the positive attitudes and statements of the US President in his official capacity first and for being the author of the decision to withdraw. He used his statements to support the decision to withdraw and confirm its importance, but that did not prevent the producer from attributing negative roles to him that placed him in the eighth place in the table of negative roles with a percentage of (3.98%) after he had warned in a statement that the situation on the ground in Afghanistan remains extremely dangerous, and the risk of terrorist attacks on the airport remains high. He added that US commanders have informed him that an attack is highly likely within the next 24-36 hours (Alhurra, Published news, 2022). Whatever the motives of such statements are, they do not absolve the United States of responsibility for them as they withdraw in this way after 20 years and leave Afghanistan in this way.

The (US State Department) category came in the third place in the scale of positive roles with a percentage of (12.52%). The website quoted US Secretary of State, Anthony Blinken, who stated that while the United States is withdrawing its Forces from Afghanistan, its commitment is clear by remaining Determined to support the peaceful and stable future that Afghans demand and deserve through the use of all diplomatic, economic, and aid means (Alhurra, Published news, 2022). The producer of the speech sought to confirm the commitment of the United States to continue supporting Afghanistan and not to abandon it in order to preserve the reputation and image of the United States of America before the world, which is the same idea that President Joe Biden and American military leaders were keen to confirm. But the producer showed negative roles for this category by a percentage of (5.11%), which placed it in the sixth rank in the table of negative roles. It presented a statement for the Ministry that was also signed by the United Kingdom, Australia, the European Union, Norway,

and other countries around the world in which they affirmed that they are deeply concerned about Afghan women and girls and their rights of education, work, and freedom of movement. They called upon those in positions of power and authority in all Throughout Afghanistan to ensure protection of Afghan women and girls, like all Afghan people, who deserve to live in safety, security, and dignity (Alhurra, Published news, 2022). This is a clear negative indicator of the situation in Afghanistan during and after the withdrawal process for which the United States bears full responsibility.

With a percentage of (11.60%), the (Taliban leaders) category ranked fourth in terms of positive roles as they made many promises that carried messages of reassurance about changing their behavior and improving their image. The producer of the speech cited the statements of their spokesman (Zabih Allah Mujahid) in which he stressed that the country is going through a sensitive stage in its history. The Taliban will work to transform Afghanistan for the better in economic terms, and that, at the end of the war, it will focus on rebuilding the country and investing (Alhurra, Published news, 2022) in order to gain international recognition and legitimacy, which will be employed in the interest of the United States as the owner of the withdrawal agreement and the commitments it included on the movement, which nevertheless ranked third in the table of negative roles with a percentage of (12.50%). The producer stated a news in which Taliban acknowledged that it has recently killed an Afghan policeman, who was famous for his humorous videos that he was publishing on the Internet, after a wave of affection spread across Afghanistan due to the publication of pictures showing him being beaten by insurgents and then his body was exposed (Alhurra, Published news, 2022). The researcher notices that the website did not state the positive roles of the Taliban movement during the first three months of the start of the withdrawal process. That is perhaps due to the US administration's reliance on the Afghan government and its forces to maintain security, but the last month witnessed a clear turn in the nature of the propaganda rhetoric with the continued rapid progress of the Taliban to enter Kabul, which was revealed by the statements of officials On May 6. The producer of the speech conveyed the statements of US Defense Secretary Lloyd Austin, who expressed his hope that the Afghan forces will play the main role in stopping the Taliban attacks, stressing that the United States will continue to provide support to the Afghan forces until after the withdrawal (Alhurra, Published news, 2022). On the twenty-sixth of August, the commander of the US Central Command Kenneth McKenzie said that information cooperation with the Taliban was behind the failure of several attacks on Kabul Airport (Alhurra, Published news, 2022).

The (Afghan leaders) category came in the fifth place in the table of positive roles with a percentage of (8.03%). The producer of the speech transmitted the tweet of the Afghan Ministry of Defense spokesperson about an incident about the withdrawal of US Forces from Bagram base, stating that a spokesman for the Afghan Ministry of Defense wrote on Twitter on Friday that the US and coalition forces have completely withdrawn from the base. Therefore, the Afghan army forces will protect it and use it to fight terrorism (Alhurra, Published news, 2022), but this category ranked first in the rank of negative roles after it obtained a percentage of (20.45%), for example, the website reported that while the former Deputy Defense Minister, General Hilal al-Din Hilal, said they did not have a strategic plan for the phase after the departure of the Americans, the head of the Supreme Council for National Reconciliation in the country, Dr. Abdullah Abdullah, admitted the same thing in a recent meeting. Abdullah said that they were not ready of the decision to withdraw US powers from Afghanistan (Alhurra, Published report, 2022). The researcher notices that the percentage of negative roles for the category of (Afghan leaders) began to escalate with the continuation of the military progress of the Taliban movement and the feeling of Afghan leaders that their role in the serious

situation in the country has ended.

As for the category of (American leaders), it scored (6.54%), placing it in the sixth place in rank of positive roles. The website cited the statements of National Security Adviser Jake Sullivan in which he stressed that the United States is capable of confronting terrorism in Afghanistan, the terrorists there do not have capabilities to plan external attacks, and that Washington is capable of confronting terrorism without a permanent presence on the ground in Afghanistan (Alhurra, Published news, 2022). The producer of the speech was keen to highlight the governmental support for the decision to withdraw without neglecting the opposing voices by stating the Republican Senator, Peter Major who stated that the deadline contributes to chaos and panic at the airport because there are Afghan citizens who think that they have (10) days to get out of this country or that the door will be closed forever (Alhurra, Published news, 2022), in a negative indicator in which this category ranked seventh in the table of negative roles with a percentage of (4.54%).

The category of (Turkish leaders) ranked seventh in the table of positive roles with a percentage of (5.04%). The website cited statements by the Turkish president Rajab Tayyip Erdogan, which came in conjunction with the announcement of the withdrawal of his country's forces from Afghanistan by saying that it is important for Afghanistan to be stable. Turkey will continue Dialogue with all parties in Afghanistan in the context of achieving this goal (Alhurra, Published news, 2022), which is a clear indication of Turkey's position on the withdrawal process as it is a member of NATO, the main partner of the United States of America in Afghanistan. The website attributed negative roles to Turkey with a percentage of (3.40%) according to which Turkey was ranked ninth in the table of negative roles. The local concern in Turkey about the possibility of facing a wave of flight from Afghanistan with the rebel movement taking more control of the country is a priority for the Turkish president (Alhurra, Published news, 2022).

In the eighth place in the table of positive roles, the category of (international organizations) came with a percentage of (4.11%). The website showed the statements of NATO Secretary-General Jens Stoltenberg, in which he stressed that the alliance leaders renewed their commitment to stand by Afghanistan and ensure the continuation of the operation of Kabul Airport, which was run by NATO Forces with the United States (Alhurra, Published news, 2022), but the producer of the propaganda speech quoted that the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Antonio Guterres, warned Tuesday of an imminent humanitarian catastrophe in Afghanistan and urged the countries of the world to provide urgent financial aid in the wake of the departure of the forces As well as the statements of the Executive Director of the UNHCR in Asia and the Pacific, Najeba Wasedavost, in which she explained that the news is very heartbreaking, especially in the past week, with receiving a large number of calls asking for help as people reported execution operations, beating, and suppression of the media and radio stations (Alhurra, Published news, 2022), which made it occupy the second place in the table of negative roles with a percentage of (16.50%) representing almost four times the percentage of its positive roles, which were topped by the United Nations and international organizations In the context of its role, which is in line with its discourses and orientations in crises and wars.

The category of (British leaders) ranked ninth in the ranking of positive roles with a percentage of (3.60%). The producer of the speech cited the statements of British Foreign Secretary Dominic Raab, in which he stressed that Britain works closely with the United States as there are identical views on many issues, such as dealing with Russia and China, facing the Corona pandemic, or even withdrawing from Afghanistan. The priorities in Afghanistan are



shared with the United States, which is to protect British forces until the complete withdrawal in next September (Alhurra, Published news, 2022). Yet, negative roles were attributed to this category by stating that British Defense Secretary Ben Wallace said, in an article for the Mail on Sunday, that no country will be able to evacuate everyone, while the date set by the US administration for the final withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan on August 31 approaches. He added that if the American timetable remains the same. We will not have time to waste in evacuating most of the people who are waiting to be deported (Alhurra, Published news, 2022). This implicitly indicates that Britain gave up its commitments, which placed this category sixth among negative roles with a percentage of (5.11%).

As for the category of (White House), it came tenth in the rank of positive roles with a percentage of (3.20%) as the White House spokeswoman Jen Psaki explained that (6,000) people with American passports have been evacuated from Afghanistan and that US President Joe Biden is sticking to his decision to leave Afghanistan on the specified date. She added that the United States will not have a continuous presence in Afghanistan after Tuesday, August 31, (Alhurra, Published news, 2022), in reference to the deadline set by Biden for the end of the withdrawal process. The producer of the speech highlighted (5) negative roles for this category with a percentage of (2.84%) that placed it in the eleventh rank. The site transmitted the statements of the White House in which it stressed that the next few days of the ongoing deportation process from Afghanistan will be The most dangerous so far, and they warned of attacks that are similar to those that took place Thursday, in which (13) American soldiers and dozens of Afghan civilians were killed (Alhurra, Published news, 2022).

The category of (Russian leaders) came in the eleventh place with a percentage of (2.61%). The producer of the speech highlighted the statements of the Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, who called for a national dialogue that would allow the formation of a representative government, stressing that Russia was basically insisting on a mechanism of this kind to end the Afghan conflict before the Taliban took control of Kabul and most of the country (Alhurra, Published news, 2022). But, the Russian position itself had (6) negative roles with a percentage of (3.40%), which placed it in the ninth place in the table of negative roles. The Newsweek website cited the Russian Foreign Minister, Andrei Rudenko's statement in which he states that the continued deterioration of the situation in Afghanistan poses a direct threat to Central Asia. It also quoted his talk about a secret dialogue that Moscow was conducting with Turkmenistan, located on the borders of Afghanistan, and said that it was a discussion in the field of security, linked to common threats and challenges, which may hint at a role Russia seeks to play in Afghanistan (Alhurra, Published news, 2022).

After obtaining a percentage of (2.61%), the category of (Chinese leaders) ranked eleventh. The website highlighted what was reported by Newsweek quoting the Chinese embassy in the United States as saying that Beijing seeks to void further expansion of the conflict in Afghanistan. The embassy also drew attention to the necessity of "resuming intra-Afghan negotiations to achieve political reconciliation and prevent all forms of terrorist powers from exploiting the situation for growth in Afghanistan and not to allow Afghanistan to become a gathering ground for terrorists again (Alhurra, Published news, 2022). But, the website highlighted (6) negative roles for this category with a percentage of (3.40%) ranking it ninth in the table of negative roles after its authorities described the American withdrawal from Afghanistan as an irresponsible step in the face of the risk of chaos (Alhurra, Published news, 2022).

In the twelfth place in the table of positive roles, the category of (Emirati leaders) came with a percentage of (2.24%). The website reported that the UAE Ministry of Foreign Affairs

announced, on Friday, that, at the request of the United States, the UAE will host Afghan citizens temporarily before they travel to other countries, provided that they leave from Kabul Airport on board of American planes (Alhurra, Published news, 2022), which is a clear positive indicator shown by the producer of the speech of the Emirati compatibility with the position of the United States, so it is natural that the producer of the speech did not attribute any negative role to Emirati officials in the table of arranging negative roles that The category of (French leaders), which in turn ranked thirteenth in the table of positive roles. It is also absent from the negative roles table with a percentage of (1.86%). The website reported the statement of The French Army Minister, Florence Barly, who stated that the priority of France is to evacuate French citizens, Afghan employees who have rendered essential services to France by helping it on a daily basis and make every effort to protect rights defenders, human rights defenders, journalists and artists, all who have adhered to these values that we keep warm about it all over the world (Alhurra, Published news, 2022). These statements are consistent with the ideas contained in the statements of American politicians.

In the same thirteenth rank, the (Ahmed Shah Masood) category came with a percentage of (1.86%), without the website assigning it any negative roles towards the withdrawal process, citing Ahmed Shah Masood's statements during which he called for the formation of a broad-based inclusive government in Kabul that represents all the different ethnic groups in Afghanistan, saying that a totalitarian regime should not be recognized by the international community (Alhurra, Published news, 2022).

As for the category of (the US Embassy in Afghanistan), its negative roles preceded its positive roles. The speech producer attributed positive roles to it with a percentage of only (1.49%), which made it the fourteenth among the positive roles. It only posted on twitter that the Embassy is open and that it will remain open. It also pledged to maintain a strong diplomatic presence in the country in accordance with President Joe Biden's directives (Published news, 2022). It scored a percentage of (7.38%), which made it in the fourth place in the table of negative roles. The producer of the speech highlighted its warnings and calls on American citizens to leave the country, so he stated that the US Embassy in Kabul appealed to all American nationals in Afghanistan to leave, saying that due to the current security conditions and the low number of staff, the ability of the embassy in Kabul to assist American citizens in Afghanistan is very limited (Alhurra, Published news , 2022).

As for the (Qatari leaders) category, it ranked (15) on the scale of positive roles with a percentage of (1.12%) without the speech producer attributing any negative role to it, being keen to highlight its efforts in reconciliation between the Afghan parties, in continuation to their being the original sponsor of the withdrawal agreement between the United States And the Taliban movement, quoting the statements of the Qatari Special Envoy for Combating Terrorism and Mediation in Conflict Resolution, Mutlaq bin Majid Al-Qahtani, in which he explained that his government shared the mediation proposal last week with representatives of the Afghan government and the Taliban movement before the crucial Friday meeting between the US President Joe Biden, the Afghan President Ashraf Ghani, and the President of the Supreme Council for National Reconciliation of the country, Abdullah Abdullah, in the White House (Alhurra, Published news, 2022).

In the same rank in the scale of positive roles (15) and with a percentage of (1.12%), the category of (Indian leaders) came without the producer of the speech also attributing any negative roles to it. He highlighted the Indian Foreign Minister Subramnyam Jay Shankar's statements in which he stated that they agree more than they disagree with the United States that Afghanistan must not become a home of terrorism and violence, indicating that the gains

in Afghanistan on human and women's rights must be preserved (Alhurra, Published news, 2022).

The two categories of (Saudi leaders) and (Iranian leaders) shared the sixteenth and last place in the scale of positive roles with a percentage of (0.93%). The website reported that Iran announced the establishment of temporary refugee camps along the border with Afghanistan in preparation for receiving thousands of civilians who are expected to flee from the fighting and the rule of the Taliban according to The Independent British newspaper (Alhurra, Published news, 2022), which is a positive indicator in dealing with the withdrawal process and its repercussions. The Saudi Foreign Ministry statement stated that Saudi Arabia called on the Taliban and all Afghan parties to preserve Security, stability, lives, and property, affirming its support for the brotherly Afghan people and their choices that they decide themselves without interference from anyone (Alhurra, Published news, 2022).

On the scale of negative roles, the category of (Saudi leaders) ranked tenth with a percentage of (2.84%). The website quoted former Saudi intelligence chief Prince Turki Al-Faisal as saying that when Trump made the deal with The Taliban before he left office, the (Afghan) government was likely to lose its legitimacy. It is difficult to know what prompted the United States to negotiate with them, referring to the Taliban movement (Alhurra, Published news, 2022). The same rank was for the category of (Iranian leaders) with a percentage of (2.30%). The website reported that Iran is very concerned about the situation in neighboring Afghanistan, which has a long common border with it and has been hosting millions of Afghan refugees for years. The Iranian Foreign Ministry said that Zarif regretted the negative results of the continuation of the conflict in Afghanistan and called on both sides to return to the negotiating table (Alhurra, Published news , 2022).

## **Conclusions**

Based on the results of the analytical study on Al-Hurra website, the following conclusions were made:

- 1) The American media system, far from the slogans of professionalism and objectivity that it raises, derives its orientations from the general policy of the United States. The results of the analysis on the site under analysis confirmed that all American media institutions, whatever their orientation or ownership pattern, are subject, even to varying degrees, to the American foreign policy, being one of its tools. So, the American propaganda discourse appeared unified towards defending the decision to withdraw and proving its validity.
- 2) According to the results of the analysis of the active powers on the site, the American propaganda discourse confirmed its pragmatism in dealing with the developments of events since the beginning of the withdrawal process. In conjunction with the progress of the Taliban movement and the proximity of its control over the capital, and its access to power, the focus on the Taliban positions and the commitments of its officials and military leaders increased and began to gain space More than the signatories' interest was matched by a lack of interest in the Afghan government, which had the support of the United States before the start of the withdrawal, and the exact opposite of what was characterized by the propaganda rhetoric with the start of the withdrawal process.
- 3) The results confirmed that the site under analysis gave a wide space to the American active powers, including people and institutions and gave them the largest positive role in the issues of withdrawal through an intense propaganda presence that indicates that

the main objective behind this lies in employing that discourse in favor of consolidating the United States' vision of the overall events and repercussions of the withdrawal process.

- 4) The analytical data showed that the site highlighted the negative roles that were assigned to the Afghan actors as the category of (Afghan leaders) ranked first, while the category of (Taliban leaders) ranked third, which reflects the way the site dealt with Afghan government officials and Taliban officials during that period of time.
- 5) The results showed a clear disregard by the producer of the discourse of the active powers in the neighboring countries of Afghanistan as the Iranian and Indian active powers occupied the penultimate rank in the table of positive roles, while the site completely neglected the Pakistani active powers as a result of the intertwined interests that bind these countries to each other on the one hand, and with Afghanistan on the other hand, which resulted in overlapping and sometimes conflicting positions on the issue of withdrawal that may not serve the goal of the speech producer, which prompted him not to pay enough attention or neglect it.

## References

- Aabid, Z. (2014). *Media Research*, Dar Al Yazouri Scientific for Publishing and Distribution, Amman.
- Al-Bayyati, Y. (2008). *Media uranium, wars of nerves with digital technologies*, The Egyptian Publications Office, Cairo.
- Al-Dulaimi, M. (2003). *American propaganda directed at Iraq*, a master's thesis, Al-Mustansiriya University, Baghdad.
- Al-Dulaimi, N. (2014). *Propaganda discourse, its concept and functions through media*, Dar Al-Nafais for Publishing and Distribution, Amman.
- Al-Hamdani, H. (2012). *Political propaganda between the past and the present*, Dar Osama for Publishing and Distribution, Amman.
- Al-Jubouri, A. (2008). *Trends in Contemporary American Political Discourse*, Journal of Regional Studies, Baghdad.
- Almessiri, A. (2002). *Man, and Civilization*, Dar Al-Hilal for Publishing and Distribution, Cairo.
- Al-Nasiri, S. (2000). *Media and US Foreign Policy*, Gross Press, Beirut.
- Al-Qaisi, M. (2004). *The Influence of Propaganda on building American foreign policy towards the Arabs*, MA thesis, Al-Mustansiriya University, Baghdad.
- Al-Rubaie, I. (2016). *American propaganda discourse about the Middle East*, Ghaida Publishing House, Amman.
- Al-Samer, A. (2015). *International Publicity*, Dar Amjad for Publishing and Distribution, Amman.
- Al-Shrairi, K. (2010). *Culture and Economy*, Refereed Scientific Research, Dar Al-Biruni for Publishing and Distribution, Amman.
- Al-Yahyaoui, Y. (2004). *Papers in Technology, Media and Democracy*, Dar Al-Tali'a, Beirut.
- Devler and Rokich, (1999). *Theories of Communication*, Translated by: Kamal Abdulraouf, National House for Publishing and Distribution, Cairo.
- Gopalan, R., Desai, M., & Acharjya, D. P. (2020). Customer Classification in Indian Retail Sector-A Comparative Analysis of Various Machine Learning Approaches. *International Journal of Operations and Quantitative Management*, 26(1), 1-28. <https://doi.org/10.46970/2020.26.1.1>
- Hamsal, M., Ichsan, M., Utomo, A. R., Fahira, A. A., & Wetik, R. E. (2021). The Relationship Analysis Between Knowledge & Skills, Organizational Drivers, and

- Perceived Success in Implementation of Agile Project Management: Case Study of PT XYZ. *International Journal of Operations and Quantitative Management*, 27(2), 111-126. <https://doi.org/10.46970/2021.27.2.2>
- Ichsan, M., Arasy, B. N., Fadly, M., & Adhani, M. R. N. (2020). Waste Identification and Elimination Using Lean Methods in Receiving Process: A Case Study at PT IPC Container Terminal. *International Journal of Operations and Quantitative Management*, 26(2), 183-193. <https://doi.org/10.46970/2020.26.3.2>
- Khalifa, A. (2014). *Political trends of Islamic discourse in the press*, Dar Amjad for Publishing and Distribution, Amman.
- Nafil, N. (2008). *The Nature of the Relationship Between Propaganda Discourse and Political Discourse*, Journal of the Media Researcher, Issue 4, Baghdad.
- Nafil, N. (2019). *The contents of US President Donald Trump's propaganda speeches regarding current international issues*, Al-Mustansiriya Literature Journal.

## **Bibliography**

- Alhurra. (2022, 6 30). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/IFUbt>
- Alhurra. (2022, 4 22). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/u7cPP>
- Alhurra. (2022, 4 20). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/DPAIP>
- Alhurra. (2022, 4 22). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/zCOLx>
- Alhurra. (2022, 6 30). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/hjGWH>
- Alhurra. (2022, 6 30). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/26Hd6>
- Alhurra. (2022, 6 30). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/KbfbJ>
- Alhurra. (2022, 4 22). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/WIvIu>
- Alhurra. (2022, 6 6). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/BgEjV>
- Alhurra. (2022, 6 7). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/642OT>
- Alhurra. (2022, 6 30). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra News Website: <https://2u.pw/iKSEH>
- Alhurra. (2022, 6 6). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/xk63v>
- Alhurra. (2022, 4 21). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/9X2sM>
- Alhurra. (2022, 6 30). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/iH6qo>
- Alhurra. (2022, 7 1). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/slHSu>
- Alhurra. (2022, 7 1). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/AB7da>
- Alhurra. (2022, 4 21). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/7As0d>
- Alhurra. (2022, 7 1). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/UQcmN>
- Alhurra. (2022, 7 1). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/mTMzp>
- Alhurra. (2022, 5 16). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/zzJN1>
- Alhurra. (2022, 5 16). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/JkTHC>
- Alhurra. (2022, 7 1). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/c9jLB>
- Alhurra. (2022, 4 22). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/Wk5tF>
- Alhurra. (2022, 6 30). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/CD5MN>
- Alhurra. (2022, 6 30). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/TYotW>
- Alhurra. (2022, 6 30). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/NhduA>
- Alhurra. (2022, 7 1). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/YiDbR>
- Alhurra. (2022, 7 1). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/XN6ys>
- Alhurra. (2022, 7 1). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/6G2JF>
- Alhurra. (2022, 7 1). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/RKb3v>

- Alhurra. (2022, 6 30). *Published news*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/SXFmN>
- Alhurra. (2022, 6 30). *Published news* . Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/9ROmC>
- Alhurra. (2022, 6 30). *Published news* . Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/gcPzC>
- Alhurra. (2022, 7 1). *Published news* . Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/bReeX>
- Alhurra. (2022, 4 22). *Published news* . Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/zGej8>
- Alhurra. (2022, 6 30). *Published news* . Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/KOnBE>
- Alhurra. (2022, 6 6). *Published repoet*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Website: <https://2u.pw/ozBhT>
- Alhurra. (2022, 6 6). *Published report*. Retrieved from Al Hurra Websit: <https://2u.pw/ozBhT>