

論文の英文要旨

Title	Propaganda for People's Mobilization by the Vietnam Labor Party during the Vietnam War -A theoretical study of propaganda messages of photographs in <i>Nhan Dan</i> , the Party's official newspaper-
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1. Problematics:

In the aftermath of the Anti-French War (War of Resistance against France), the Labor Party underwent internal conflicts, shifting from a focus on national solidarity to a new emphasis on the class system. Such a change was triggered by the war and became one of the main issues that would affect the people's trust in the Party and thus an important focus of the Party's publicity efforts. In such a context, propaganda maneuvers came to be of particular importance during the Vietnam War. Moreover, in light of the fact that the tradition of nationalism had hitherto been regarded as a driving force for garnering support for previous wars, the question arises of how mobilization of the people were conducted for the new purpose of the construction of socialism which emerged during this war. This thesis deals with such propaganda for mobilization used by the Party during the Vietnam War..

2. Interpreting Photographs from the *NhanDan* as Source Material

Since much of literature related to propaganda in Vietnam remain unclassified, one must rely on analysis based on the limited propaganda messages that have become public. Due to the poor quality of the media arising from problems in distribution as well as the low "literacy rate" of the masses, propaganda efforts at the time needed to meet the following basic requirements: 1.Easy Comprehension. 2. Brevity 3. High Level of Distribution. In addition, based on previous research which showed the influential role of visual media during the war within the United States, this thesis discusses the Party's propaganda for mobilization from the perspective of "message theory" by focusing on photographs as a significant visual medium which also appeared to have the power of "documentation" as "factual images." Specifically, I will be analyzing the photographs which appeared in *Nhan Dan* which was a major distribution route of photographs at that time.

3. A New Periodization of "The Vietnam War" in Reading the Photographs

In this thesis, I will trace the periodization of "The Vietnam War" as seen on the newspaper's front pages

which contain the most topical news of the time. A slight gap was found between what has since become the widely accepted periodization of the war and the periodization according to the newspaper photographs. First of all, the official announcement of the war was made at the Third Assembly of the 11th Session of the Party's Central Committee in March 1965; However, *Nhan Dan* began to introduce photographs related to the war on its front pages as early as February 1965 announcing the start of the War. Also, while the first bombings of North Vietnam continued until 1968, the major photographs that appeared in *Nhan Dan* in 1968 focused on the victories in the Tet Offensive and the Khe Sanh Battle, giving the impression that the first bombings of North Vietnam had already ended in 1967. It was as early as May 1971 when the newspaper began to emphasize Vietnam's "power" against the Easter Offensive of March 1972 to mobilize people in preparation. Also, while the cease-fire agreement was concluded on January 8, 1973, it was as late as January 25, 1973 when the people were first informed of the war's end when a photo appeared in *Nhan Dan* of the foreign minister heading to the meeting to sign the agreement. Such a gap can be interpreted as revealing an effective propaganda campaign which targets fundamental human disposition such as information seeker and problem resolver, constancy, and group member consciousness. Consequently, the periodization of "The Vietnam War" according to propaganda based on the photographs of the *Nhan Dan* was from February 1965 to January 1973, revealing a discrepancy from what has subsequently become the official periodization.

4. The "Affluence" of Socialism

"Affluence" was a major motivating factor in the call for participation in the construction of socialism. However, while before the war, such messages of socialist "affluence" was emphasized through images of abundant supply of food, during the war, such "affluence" was constructed through images of "development" and "plenitude" in a wide variety of sectors such as education, medical services and industrialization.

In addition, since the Party could not immediately deliver such development results during the war, it made a "promise" toward the future "development" of Vietnam by emphasizing the development in other socialist nations. In other words, in calling for the new construction of socialism in Vietnam, the Party offered a "promise" to realize "affluence" in the future by highlighting images of "universal" socialism based on affluent images of other socialist nations.

Another difference in propaganda from the prewar to the war period was that before the war, "affluence" was depicted as a pre-given result of socialism, whereas during the war period, a new emphasis was seen in promoting a "master's consciousness," which focused on the "obligation" of individual "efforts" in order to attain one's "right" to such "affluence."

5. War for Justice and War for Victory

Participation in the war was called for by emphasizing the war as a war for justice, the obligation to

participate as a human being, and the promise of certain victory. First, the Party depicted the enemy as a "villain" by showing images of massacres of innocent people, and in order to demonstrate the enemy's "injustice," they publicized the worldwide opposition to the war, including that of the American people themselves. Moreover, the Party called for participation in the war by relying on symbolic images such as that of the "child," "mother" and "wife," invoking associations of victims of the war with immediate family members. Such representations can be seen as propaganda aiming to maneuver the public's fear from uncertainty and its desire for safety and protection from such perceived dangers.

In addition, the public was strategically exposed only to images of the "victory" of North Vietnam juxtaposed to the "defeat" of the United States, and in contrast to the image of North Vietnam as a weak "underdog" prevalent in the international media, the domestic image was that of a "powerful and great country."

6. Woman and Child as Symbols

Another important aspect of propaganda appealed to the people during the war was a call for faith in the Party. This thesis discusses how the people's faith in the Party was aroused through the media's depiction of the people themselves as well as the representation of the Party and their mutual relationship. The focus in particular will be on the "typical" symbols such as that of women and children.

First, images of women in scenes depicting the "affluence" of socialism, such as in harvest time, in education and in medical services, represented not only a "good harvest" but also symbolized the socialist "liberation" of the people from oppression. Images emphasized the "liberation" by socialism through women enjoying their rights as humans in contrast to their doubly oppressed roles under the rubrics of class and gender, which had relegated them to the lowest "class" of people in the past. Also images of woman and children often depicted as victims of the war accentuated the enemy's inhumane cruelty since such images were associated with "weaknesses" and the "family." However, "feeble" women were also depicted as brave "warriors" to emphasize women's real inner "strength." Such depictions of women figures not only represented women as women, but were also larger symbols representing Vietnam people as a whole, and often played the role of depicting an ideal figure as a Vietnamese. This can also be seen in that women were used as primary symbols to represent the relationship between the military and people.

The use of women as symbols in wars is not uncommon. In the past, however, women's roles were relegated to that of a "supporting role," following the traditional gender role in society. When depicted as "warriors," they were represented as masculine women; however, women actively engaged in fighting were also evoked during the Vietnam War in addition to their "supporting role," although these images were few in number.

Such difference may be symptomatic of socialism which emphasized gender equality as one of its main principles, but as aforementioned, such representations of women can also be seen as symbols of the Vietnamese people as a whole, and the ideal image of the Vietnamese nation.

7. Ho Chi Minh as a Symbol

The most prevalent symbols that represented the Party were Ho Chi Minh and the military, as symbols of "protection." "Intimacy" between the Party and people was emphasized by describing a family-like relationship between Ho Chi Minh or the military and the people. However, Ho Chi Minh who was depicted as "Uncle Ho" was described after his death as a "good leader" who brought "benefit" to his people as a socialist revolutionary. As a result, socialism and the Party were considered "beneficent" givers to the people. The Party that had been trying to gain faith from people through "intimacy" sought the faith of the people as a benefit giver after Ho Chi Minh's death by calling people's attention to his "past achievement."

8. Absent Images

Another point to be noted about propaganda during the Vietnam War was the strategic absence of events which might adversely affect the faith in the Party. Such 'absent images' included those of "defeated" Vietnam, economic and material assistance from other nations, China's Cultural Revolution which started in 1965, China-Soviet clash over Zhenbao Island in 1969, and U.S. President Nixon's visit to China in February 1972, as well as information which would give adverse effects on propaganda such as photos clearly reflecting class strife during the land reform. Considering the significance of this absence of information, the success of the Party in mobilizing the people for war despite the attitude changes within the Party was a result not only through positive images of "affluence" and the "justice" of war, but also through the creation of yet another "reality" through "hidden information." As a result, the Party was able to build up trust in the Party among the people through tactics of "othering" the United States as an "enemy."

"Othering" of the enemy, censorship of information, and setting up binary oppositions between "right" and "wrong" are commonly seen in war propaganda. The purpose of pointing out that such phenomena existed during the Vietnam War which was depicted as a "war of justice" is not merely to accuse the Vietnamese Communist Party of "lying" like the rest. The point is rather to focus on the negative effects of war, the condition that is created in which "everyone cannot but lie" and then "justify" these lies as "inevitable" during wartime.

In other words, the point is not whether the purpose for war is "right" or "wrong," but that as long as there are human sacrifices that inevitably result from such wars, such wars and wartime information control cannot simply be "justified" as "inevitable." What is more important than simply arguing the "right" and "wrong" of war and of its "inevitability" is the question of whether people can justifiably be called on to sacrifice their lives for wars in which they are censored from information to determine such "right" from "wrong."