

Vietnamese propaganda reflections from 1945-2000*

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Abstract

Propaganda refers to any technique that attempts to influence the opinions, emotion, or behavior of a group to benefit the sponsor. Propaganda has the purpose to persuade people to believe in something or to do something that we would not normally believe or do.

The Vietnamese propaganda data used in this study are 260 items which reflect the Vietnamese socio-culture from the years 1945-2000. The propaganda can be divided into three time periods as follows:

- 1) 1945-1975: Anti-American War period
- 2) 1975-1986: Before Doi Moi Policy (Reform Policy)
- 3) 1986-present: After Doi Moi Policy (Reform Policy)

Vietnamese propaganda has been created by ordinary people but under the guidance of the Communist Party. The propaganda is composed of both painted pictures and related phrases or sentences.

The main ideas of the propaganda during the Anti American War (1945-1975) were to urge people to fight or support the fighters in defeating the American troops for the unification of the North and the South of Vietnam. President Ho Chi Minh's teachings have been the ideal propaganda for the Vietnamese to follow until nowadays. He is the central force in the fight for independence.

The period just after the war, and prior to Doi Moi is between 1975-1986. The themes propagandized were as follows:

- Unity of the country under the Communist Party.
- Encouragement of agricultural development as feeding pigs, poultry, bees, weaving, growing rice, fruits and vegetables, etc.
- Peace and protection of the country.
- Family planning: 1-2 children in a family.
- Collaboration between Communist Russia and Vietnam.

The period Doi Moi Policy is between 1986-2000 (1986 was the year starting Doi Moi Policy but it was implemented at the end of 1988.), the propaganda emphasized the following:

- Protecting children by vaccinating six diseases: Tuberculosis, Whooping-cough, Leukaemia, Measles, Polio and Tetanus.
- The future power of the country forming from the qualified children.
- The prohibition of growing opium and smoking heroin.
- Collaboration with the world.
- Protecting Vietnamese culture.
- Caring for the elderly.
- Respecting the law.
- Forming a rich, strong and prosperous country with an equal and civilized society.
- The prosperity of Vietnamese Communist Party.

There are three main ideas of propaganda which have been focused in these three periods as follows:

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- 1) Praise Communist Party and President Ho Chi Minh.
- 2) Follow President Ho Chi Minh's teachings.
- 3) Remember and celebrate the big national holidays.

Propaganda refers to any technique that attempts to influence the opinions, emotions, or behavior of a group to benefit the sponsor. Propaganda has the purpose to persuade people to believe in something or to do something that they would not normally believe or do. In this paper, we will consider propaganda as a kind of political discourse which has “power” behind or hidden in it. The Vietnamese propaganda data used in this study are 260 items which reflect the Vietnamese culture and society from the years 1945-2000.

The Vietnamese propaganda used in this study was published in a book named “Cổ động Việt Nam 1945-2000 (Vietnamese propaganda)” by the Department of Local Culture and Information. All the items of propaganda are related to painted pictures which served Vietnamese politics and policy. They were openly displayed in the streets.

In the history of Vietnam, because of the dominance of some overseas powers such as France, Japan and the US, propaganda was used from time to time in order to encourage people to fight for their freedom and independence. During times of peace, the function of propaganda changed sometimes as part of the campaigns.

The purpose of this study is to find out how Vietnamese propaganda reflected the socio-political situations from the year 1945-2000. The syntactic and semantic structures of the propaganda will be presented too.

The 260 items of data are divided by duration and theme as follows:

I. From 1945-1975: anti-American war period

In 1945, Ho Chi Minh declared independence from Japan but this independence was not accepted by the French in Vietnam. As a result, war broke out between Viet Nam and the French in Hai Phong (a harbour city in the North of Viet Nam) and spread to other towns. The Viet Minh, under General Vo Nguyen Giap, who was the Defense Minister, declared war with France and requested the Vietnamese people to join this war for independence and freedom. In 1950, China and Russia recognised the status of the Vietnamese government. After that, other Communist countries followed suit.

In 1949, Mao Tse Toung defeated the Chinese Nationalist Party and was able to establish a Communist government in China, which influenced US policy towards Viet Nam and Asia. The Chinese government marshaled its troops along the Viet Nam border and put pressure on Ho Chi Minh's government to support the Communist expansion in Southeast Asia. Moreover, the Korean War between North and South Korea convinced the US of the threat of expansion of communism throughout Asia. Therefore, US President Truman provided more aid to the French to solve the Indochina problem. The US government accepted the Bao Dai government in the South in the year

1950 whereas the Soviet Union accepted the Ho Chi Minh government in the North. The US government thus came closer to war in Viet Nam.

In the North, Viet Nam fought the French troops for many years. Finally the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu in May 1954. Vietnam was divided into two countries at the 17th parallel and an election was conducted within two years. But the US and Bao Dai government did not accept the Geneva Agreement because they thought that the North got more benefit than the South. But with the election in the South, Ngo Dinh Diem became the President instead of Emperor Bao Dai, and the political development between the North and the South started at the same time but in different directions.

In the North, the Communist regime developed infrastructure and the agricultural sector better than the South.

In the South, Diem welcomed the US, replacing the French who wanted to withdraw from Viet Nam to fight in Algeria. The French in Viet Nam transferred responsibility for military and financial aid in South Vietnam to the US. The government under Diem though was not successful because of his weakness. His government was faced with protests by people which gave a chance to the Viet Minh communists to expand into South Viet Nam. Finally, the Diem government collapsed and he was assassinated.

The Domino Theory of former President Eisenhower suggested that a communist North Viet Nam, would expand its regime into South Viet Nam, Cambodia, Laos and other Southeast Asian countries. But anti-Domino Theory advocates did not believe that the unification of Viet Nam under leader Ho Chi Minh would enlarge the Communist block in Southeast Asia because it was believed he wanted to unite the country peacefully and be friendly with the neighboring countries. By 1950 however, resistance to the Domino Theory gave way to the stronger support for the theory.

The situation under the new leader, General Duong Van Minh, was not stable. The Communists from the North were pressuring the South constantly. The US President Johnson sent more aid including soldiers to Viet Nam which exceeded 536,100 (cited in Sud Jonjoedsin 2001:277). The war spread from Viet Nam to Laos and Cambodia in order to stop the spread of communism until 1969 when conciliation was started in Paris and an agreement finally reached in 1973. However, President Nguyen Van Thieu in the South did not abide by the agreement, so, on the 30 April, 1975, North Vietnamese troops seized control of the South and thus, ended the war by force.

Regarding the propaganda from 1945-1975, their reflections are divided into the following themes, as follows:

1. To fight with the enemy and to protect the nation

There was propaganda urging and encouraging people to fight and destroy the enemy (French army) by praising the heroic performance of

heroine Hai Ba Trung's historic fight for independence from Chinese domination as in examples (1) and (2):

- (1) Giặc phá, ta cứ đi.
 enemy destroy we continue go
 "We keep going despite the destruction."
- (2) Theo bước Hai Bà Trưng, quét sạch giặc thù
 follow step Hai Ba Trung sweep clean enemy
 xâm lược.
 commit aggression
 "Destroy the enemy completely like heroine Hai Ba Trung did."

After independence from France, Viet Nam was still not at peace. The Communist Party propagated the idea that people should develop the country as well as protect the nation, as in (3).

- (3) Vững tay búa, chắc tay cày, không rời
 firm hand hammer firm hand plough not leave
 tay súng.
 hand gun
 "To hold firmly both the hammer and the plough as well as the gun."

There was much propaganda during the Anti-American war which also asked people to fight for the nation and independence of the country. Some of the propaganda falling under this theme clearly reflected one strategy of the Vietnamese fight such as, roads should be protected from bombing or destruction by the US as well as to construct the way for advancing Northern troops to the South, as reflected in the following examples:

- (4) Không lực lượng nào ngăn cản nổi ý chí thống nhất
 not power which hinder connect will unite
 của chúng ta.
 Of us
 "No force can hamper our will."
- (5) Phá áp chiến lược, diệt trực thăng vận.
 destroy strategic hamlet wipe out helicopter
 "Destroy the strategic hamlets, wipe out the helicopters."
- (6) Quyết đánh bại đế quốc Mỹ, bảo vệ Tổ quốc
 determine defeat empire America protect nation
 Việt Nam.
 Viet Nam
 "Determined to defeat the American Imperialist and protect the nation Viet Nam."

- (7) Việt Nam nhất định thắng. Giặc Mỹ nhất định thua.
Viet Nam certain win enemy US certain defeat
“Viet Nam will win for sure. The US will be defeated for sure.”
- (8) Giải phóng miền Nam, bảo vệ miền Bắc, thống nhất
liberate region South protect region North unite
đất nước để thỏa lòng mong ước của người.
country for have one’s hope fulfilled of people.
“Deliberate the South, defend the North, unite the country for
the people’s hope to be fulfilled.”
- (9) Đảm bảo giao thông, mở đường thắng lợi.
protect traffic open road victory
“Protect the traffic and open the road to victory.”
- (10) Giữ vững mạch máu giao thông.
hold firm blood vessel communication
“Keep the communication lines open.”
- (11) Hăng hái lên đường xây dựng và bảo vệ
enthusiastic on way construct and protect
Tổ quốc Việt Nam.
nation Viet Nam
“Be enthusiastic to construct and protect the nation Viet Nam.”

2. To declare the territory of Viet Nam

Vietnamese people have a broad conceptual view of the natural phenomena that form the nation such as non nước [mountain + water] “nation”, non sông [mountain + river] “nation”, etc. In the following propaganda, ‘cloud’ and ‘sky’ above the nation of Viet Nam suggests they belong to the Vietnamese people as part of the declared territory of Viet Nam. Nobody has the right to invade, as in (12).

- (12) Mây của ta, trời ấm của ta.
cloud of us sky warm of us
“The cloud and the sky are ours.”

3. To pass the hope to the younger generation

After winning independence, the younger generation will inherit from their parents the responsibility to rebuild the country and continue the Communist principles successfully, as follows:

- (13) Cha truyền con nối.
father transmit child continue
“Father transmitted to the child.”
- (14) Vinh quang thay thế hệ thanh niên chúng ta.
glorious change generation youth we
“The glory changed to the youth’s generation.”
- (15) Thanh niên sẵn sàng đi xây dựng vùng kinh tế mới.
youth ready go construct area economy new
“The youth are ready to go and build a new economic area.”
- (16) Em là mầm non của Đảng.
Young sib be bud young of Party
“You are a young bud of the Party.”

4. To overcome the natural calamity

Viet Nam is one of the countries in Southeast Asia to be struck by storms many times, each year. There was propaganda encouraging people to overcome these calamities during war time, as in (17)

- (17) Quyết thắng lụt bão.
set one’s mind on victory flood storm
“Determined to overcome the consequences of storms and floods.”

5. To be the good example

There was propaganda encouraging people to fight bravely against the US. At the same time, food production should continue along with good products as an example to others especially to those in South Viet Nam (which was a separate country at that time), as in (18).

- (18) Anh dũng chiến đấu. Gương mẫu sản xuất.
of great fortitude fight exemplary product
“Fight bravely. The production is exemplary.”

6. To unify Viet Nam and encourage people to develop the country

During the year 1975, after the reunification of North and South Viet Nam into the nation called “the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam”, there was propaganda promoting unity of the nation of Viet Nam as well as developing the country prosperously, as follows:

- (19) Bắc Nam một gốc.
North South one origin
“North and South were of the same origin.”

- (20) Nam Bắc một nhà.
South North one house
“South and North Viet Nam were one nation.”
- (21) Chung một ngọn cờ.
share one clf. flag
“Live under the same flag.”
- (22) Việt Nam nhất định thống nhất.
Viet Nam undoubtedly unite
“Viet Nam united undoubtedly.”
- (23) Việt Nam độc lập thống nhất và xã hội chủ nghĩa
Viet Nam independent unify and Socialism
muôn năm.
long live
“The unified and independent Viet Nam forever.”
- (24) Xây dựng Tổ quốc Việt Nam xã hội chủ nghĩa
construct nation Viet Nam Socialism
giàu mạnh.
wealthy and strong
“To rebuild the nation of Viet Nam richer and stronger.”
- (25) Mừng Tổ quốc thống nhất.
congratulate nation unify
“Congratulations on a unified nation.”

7. To praise Communist Party, the Vietnamese heroes and the President Ho Chi Minh

The victory of the Anti-American War was led by the Communist Party and the propaganda often focuses on the importance of the Party, and President Ho Chi Minh including the Vietnamese Heroes who demonstrated their courage to protect their Fatherland, as in (26).

- (26) Đảng quang vinh, dân tộc anh hùng, Bác Hồ vĩ đại.
Party glorious race hero Uncle Ho great
“The Party is glorious. The race of Heroes and Uncle Ho are great.”

8. To be grateful to the President Ho Chi Minh by following his teachings

President Ho Chi Minh was not only a hero of the Vietnamese people who sacrificed in the fight for the independence of Viet Nam from the French,

but he has also been praised by the rest of the world as well. His teachings have been accepted by the Vietnamese and taught from generation to generation in order to remind the young generation to follow his teachings as follows:

- (27) Không có gì quý hơn độc lập tự do.
not have what value than independence freedom
“Nothing is more valuable than independence and freedom.”
- (28) Tiến lên, toàn thắng ắt về ta.
march forward go up win completely surely about us
“Advance, we would win completely.”
- (29) Đời đời nhớ ơn Bác Hồ.
forever and ever remember favour uncle Ho
“Be grateful to President Ho Chi Minh forever.”
- (30) Sống, chiến đấu, lao động và học tập theo gương
live fight work and practice follow model
Bác Hồ vĩ đại.
uncle Ho great
“To live, to fight, to work and to practice according to
President Ho Chi Minh’s model.”
- (31) Bác vẫn cùng chúng cháu hành quân.
uncle still together we operate
“President Ho Chi Minh is still working with us.”
- (32) Tuổi xanh nhịp bước theo chân Bác. Xây dựng
youth speed walk follow feet uncle construct
non sông rộn. tiếng ca.
country bustle extol
“The youth follow the steps of President Ho Chi Minh.”

9. To develop economy

Following independence from French, the Communist government rallied to the people to increase agricultural production as well as construction of infrastructure which was lacking or destroyed during the war. Therefore, the Communist government had to increase productivity and facilities by making propaganda which addressed the poor situation in that period. Meanwhile, some of the propaganda also reflected the socio-cultural background of Viet Nam. There are sub-themes as follows:

9.1 To develop infrastructures

The government improved the infrastructure such as the industrial system, the electricity and the irrigation as follows:

- (33) Tất cả cho công nghiệp hóa, xã hội chủ nghĩa.
all for industrialize Socialism
“Everything is for industrialization and Socialism.”
- (34) Tổ quốc cần điện như cơ thể cần máu.
country need electricity like body need blood
“The country needs electricity like the body needs blood.”
- (35) Hoàn chỉnh thủy nông, lúa vàng đầy đồng.
complete irrigation rice yellow full rice field
“Completing the irrigation system will lead to full rice fields.”

9.2 *To improve and increase agricultural productivities*

After the war, the policy of the President Ho Chi Minh was to increase the trees and forests which became the focus of propaganda. The propaganda reflected Viet Nam as an agricultural country based on cultivation, animal husbandry, poultry, with some light industries. The propaganda emphasized the need for individual items to be improved immediately after the war as follows:

9.2.1 *Cultivations*

- (36) Cải tiến canh tác, đẩy mạnh sản xuất.
improve cultivate push up product
“To improve the agricultural products.”
- (37) Thực hiện di chúc của Hồ Chủ Tịch: Làm nhiều than
practice will of Ho President: do many charcoal
cho Tổ quốc.
for nation
“Practice the will of the President Ho Chi Minh: Grow a lot of trees for the country.”
- (38) Trồng cây ăn quả, tăng nguồn xuất khẩu.
plan tree eat fruit increase source export
“Plant trees for fruits and increase the sources for export.”
- (39) Sản xuất nhiều cao su cho công nghiệp.
produce many rubber for industry
“Produce rubber for industry.”
- (40) Toàn dân trồng rừng và bảo vệ rừng.
all people plant forest and protect forest
“All people plant forests and protect them.”
- (41) Trồng nhiều đậu tương.
plant many soy-beans
“Plant many soy-beans.”

- (42) Trồng nhiều ngô.
plant many corn
“Plant a lot of corn.”
- (43) Trồng nhiều cây ăn quả và cây có dầu.
Plant many tree eat fruit and tree have oil
Phục vụ công nghiệp nhẹ và xuất khẩu.
Serve industry light and export
“Plant trees for fruit and for oil in order to serve the light industry.”
- (44) Cần nhiều hoa quả cho nhân dân, cho xuất khẩu.
need many fruit for population for export
“Need a lot of fruit for the population and for export.”

9.2.2 Poultry

- (45) Phát triển chăn nuôi gà.
develop rear chicken
“Develop poultry farms.”
- (46) Phát triển đàn ong mật.
develop cf. honeybee
“Develop bee keeping.”

9.2.3 Sea food

- (47) Phát triển nuôi tôm, cua nước lợ.
develop feed shrimp crab brackish water
“Raise shrimp and crab in brackish water.”

9.2.4 Animal husbandry

- (48) Chăm sóc tốt đàn lợn tập thể.
take care good cf pig collective
“Take good care of the collective pig farms.”
- (49) Đưa nhanh, mạnh chăn nuôi lên thành ngành chính.
give quick strong rear up become occupation
main
“Take livestock farming seriously to make it the main occupation.”

9.2.5 Natural resource

- (50) Tìm nhiều tài nguyên làm giàu cho Tổ quốc.
look for many resources enrich for country
“Look for many resources to enrich the country.”

9.3 To work double for the Southern Viet Nam liberation and the productivity increasing

Before the Reunification, the Communist government increased productivity in many ways. Propaganda encouraged people to work harder to create more products and to unify with the South as in:

- (51) Ủng hộ cách mạng giải phóng miền Nam, một người
support revolution liberate region South one person
làm việc bằng hai.
work equal two
“To support the liberation of the Southern Viet Nam. One person works for two.”
- (52) Lao động đủ tám giờ, có năng suất.
labour sufficient eight hour have productivity
“Working hard for eight hours is productive.”

10. Praise the northern, central and southern parts of Viet Nam and others:

Propaganda praising Ha Noi in the North, Tay Nguyen in Central and South Viet Nam and the country as a whole, was used during the period of war with the US, as follows:

- (53) Hà Nội vùng đứng lên.
Ha Noi rise rise up
“Rise up Ha Noi!”
- (54) Tây Nguyên muôn đời bất khuất.
Tay Nguyen forever firm
“Tay Nguyen is firm forever.”
- (55) Miền Nam bất khuất.
region South indomitable
“The South of Viet Nam is indomitable.”
- (56) Vùng lên, nhân dân miền Nam anh hùng.
rise up population region South hero
“The Southern Vietnamese population, rise up.”
- (57) Nam bắc cùng cất cao bài ca chiến thắng.
South North together raise high song victory
“The South and the North raise the voice of victory.”
- (58) Nước Việt Nam của người Việt Nam.
Country Viet Nam of people Viet Nam
“Viet Nam is for the Vietnamese people.”

- (59) Dưới ngọn cờ quang vinh của chính phủ lâm thời
 under flag glorious of government temporary
 cộng hoà miền Nam Việt Nam, toàn quân và
 republic Southern Viet Nam all army forces and
 dân đoàn kết tiến lên giành toàn thắng.
 people unite march up win complete victory
 “Under the glorious flag of the temporary republic of South
 Viet Nam, all army forces and people unite and march on for
 complete victory.”

11. To collaborate with neighboring socialist countries

During the Anti-American war, there was only one piece of propaganda which emphasized the collaboration between the neighboring socialist countries: Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam to fight for the victory over the US as in:

- (60) Việt Nam, Cam pu chia, Lào: Đoàn kết, chiến thắng.
 Viet Nam Cambodia Laos unite win
 “Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos united will win against the
 US.”

12. To set up social values

During the war time, the social values focused on unity, protection and construction of the country, peace and independence, victory, discipline in work, and the duty of people, as in the following examples:

- (61) Đoàn kết để kháng chiến.
 unite for victory
 “United for victory.”
- (62) Biến căm thù thành sức mạnh.
 change hatred become strength
 “To turn hatred into strength.”
- (63) Hãy giữ cho đất nước vĩnh viễn xanh tươi.
 let protect for country forever luxurious
 “Protect the country to be comfortable forever.”
- (64) Lao động có kỷ luật, có kỹ thuật.
 labour have discipline have technique
 “Labour with discipline and good technique.”
- (65) Bảo vệ rừng là nghĩa vụ của toàn dân.
 Protect forest be duty of all people
 “Protecting the forest is the duty of all people.”

- (66) Độc lập thống nhất, hòa bình hạnh phúc.
 independent unite peace happy
 “Independence and unity, peace and happiness.”

II. From 1975-1986: Before Doi Moi policy (reform policy)

On the 2nd July 1976, the complete reunification between the North and the South of Viet Nam was achieved. The main authority was from the North but there was some from the South too. The administrative structure was adjusted. 61 provinces were revised down to 35 provinces with renamed southern provinces. Many Southerners emigrated from the country. Although it affected the economy of the country in terms of a brain drain, it might have also reduced the internal political and social conflict. Flexibility was freely applied at the first stage to save lives and for socio-politic unity.

Lack of raw materials for industries remained. Lack of food was an urgent problem as well as energy and fertilizer. Social problems such as joblessness, illiteracy, prostitution, and addiction increased. One of the solutions was to move people from the city to the rural areas for new careers. But implementation was not easy because people did not want to move out.

Another significant campaign was education. Cultural and educational campaigns were always a part of revolution of Viet Nam. Literacy in the south was higher than in the north so it was the main target for this campaign. By 1985, the literacy rate in Viet Nam was higher. Besides, political education was one of the cultural and educational propaganda which focused on new social values, the love and pride of the nation and the realization of unity.

In 1977, there was a great famine in Viet Nam. Since 1979, new processes of reform have been implemented, the Socialist regime and policy were discussed all the time which obstructed and controlled the Socialism. Since 1986, the renovation policy (Doi Moi Policy) which was inspired by the “Gobachev effect”, was the challenge for the leaders of Viet Nam.

According to the propaganda data, the themes are as follows:

1. To develop economy

In 1976, the Fifth Development Plan¹ targeted 5 urgent issues, i.e.

- Agriculture, forests and fisheries
- Industry
- Trade
- Culture and health care
- Well-being of people

¹The Fifth Economic Planning and Development of Viet Nam was from 1976-1980.

The aim of production was to increase both agriculture 10% and industry which emphasized heavy industry. The aim of trade was to expand the amount of foreign trade to 50% by the year 1976.

Due to the lack of capital and technology base, and the effects of natural disaster as well as mistakes in administration, production was low. For economic and security reasons, the government developed a policy to move people to the outskirts which were called “New economic areas”.

The propaganda encouraged people to follow the policy. Under this theme, there are sub-themes as follows:

1.1 To move to the new land

- (67) Vùng đất mới đang gọi ta.
area land new be in progress call us
“The new land is calling us.”

1.2 To increase cultivation products

The government focused on the agricultural policies primarily. The policies focused not only on increasing productivity for consumption in the country but also on exports for income for the country as follows:

- (68) Nông nghiệp là mặt trận hàng đầu.
agriculture be front primary
“Agriculture is the primary front.”
- (69) Dành nhiều điện phục vụ cho nông nghiệp.
reserve many electricity service for agriculture
“Reserve the electricity service for agriculture.”
- (70) Sản xuất nhiều rau quả để phục vụ đời sống và xuất khẩu.
produce many fruits for serve lives and
export
“Produce a lot of fruit for the people and for export.”
- (71) Cà phê, sản phẩm xuất khẩu có giá trị.
coffee product export have value
“Coffee, an export product, is valuable.”
- (72) Nông nghiệp là mặt trận hàng đầu.
agriculture be front primary
“Agriculture is the primary front.”
- (73) Trồng tre chống sóng giữ đê bảo vệ sản xuất.
plant bamboo resist wave protect dam protect product
“Plant bamboo to resist waves for dam and product protection.”

- (74) Bảo đảm lương thực cho toàn xã hội.
guarantee food-stuffs for all society
“Guarantee food for the society.”
- (75) Phấn đấu vượt chỉ tiêu đánh bắt cá.
strive pass norm strike fish
“Strive to surpass fishing norms.”

1.3 To increase the industrial products

Industrial products were the second target in the Economic and Development Plan of Viet Nam after the Anti-American War, as follows:

- (76) Sản xuất nhiều gang cho Tổ quốc.
produce many cast iron for nation
“Produce cast iron for the nation.”
- (77) Khai thác nhiều dầu khí cho Tổ quốc.
discover many oil and gas for nation
“Discover a lot of oil and gas for the nation.”
- (78) Dệt chiếu phát triển nghề phụ.
weave mat develop occupation help
“Making mats should be developed as a 2nd job.”
- (79) Tìm nhiều tài nguyên, làm giàu cho Tổ quốc.
look for many natural resources get rich for nation
“Finding many natural resources will make the country richer.”
- (80) Chế biến thức ăn.
manufacture food
“Manufacture food.”
- (81) Đẩy mạnh sản xuất và nâng cao chất lượng mặt hàng
Push up produce and raise up quality goods
sứ và gốm dân dụng.
porcelain and pottery civil
“Increase, produce and raise the quality of porcelain and pottery.”

2. To praise the nation

In the Post-war period, the propaganda sought prosperity for Viet Nam and some praised the nation’s achievements, as follows:

- (82) Nước bạc cơm vàng.
country silver rice yellow
“Land is as precious as gold.”
- (83) Trật tự, an toàn : Vẻ đẹp mới.
order security beauty new
“The country has order, security which is the new face.”

3. To praise communist party

There were several propaganda pieces praising the Communist Party as follows:

- (84) Đảng chấp cho ta thêm đôi cánh.
Party join for us add pair wing
“The Party has joined two wings (countries) together.”
- (85) Đảng, niềm tự hào của chúng em.
Party clf. proud of us
“The Party is our pride.”
- (86) Dưới lá cờ Đảng quang vinh: quyết chiến, quyết thắng.
under flag Party glorious decisive battle resolve to win
“Under the flag of the glorious Party: Decisive battle and resolve to win”
- (87) Lớn lên dưới lá cờ của Đảng.
grow up under flag of Party
“Grow up under the flag of the Party.”

4. To praise President Ho Chi Minh

President Ho Chi Minh was always the center and symbol of the Vietnamese people. His Teachings were implemented continuously for the development of the country. Moreover, he also expressed his love and care for the children who would be the future of the country. There were several items propaganda praising President Ho Chi Minh during the Post-war period as follows:

- (88) Phát triển nhiều “Vườn quả Bác Hồ”.
develop a lot orchard uncle Ho
“Develop President Ho’s orchards.”
- (89) Ai yêu nhi đồng bằng Bác Hồ Chí Minh.
Who love child as uncle Ho Chi Minh
“Who loves children like Uncle Ho does.”
- Ai yêu Bác Hồ Chí Minh hơn chúng em nhi đồng.
Who love uncle Ho Chi Minh than us child
“Who loves Uncle Ho Chi Minh as children do.”

- (90) Non sông Việt Nam có trở nên vẻ vang hay không.
Country Viet Nam have become glorious or not
Dân tộc Việt Nam có được vẻ vang sánh vai
People Viet Nam have get glory equal
với các cường quốc năm châu hay không.
with pl. power five continent or not
Chính là nhờ một phần lớn ở công học tập
main be request one part big at work study
của các cháu.
of children
“Viet Nam may or may not be glorious, may or may not be
equal to powerful countries in 5 continents. The main thing is
your efforts in study.”
- (91) Giữ gìn sự đoàn kết như giữ gìn con ngươi của mắt mình.
maintain unity like maintain apple of one's eyes
“Maintain unity the apple of your eye.”

5. To protect the nation

The Post-War period, Viet Nam had conflicts with neighboring countries like Cambodia and China. Most propaganda mentioned maintaining the border including protecting the nation as in the following examples:

- (92) Giữ gìn biên giới, bảo vệ Tổ quốc.
maintain border protect nation
“Maintain the border. Protect the nation.”
- (93) Bảo vệ vững chắc biên giới của Tổ quốc.
protect firm border of nation
“Protect well the border of the nation.”

6. To praise the young generation

The Post-War period had only one propaganda piece praising the young generation as in (94):

- (94) Hãy xứng đáng thế hệ thanh niên Việt Nam anh hùng.
let be worthy generation youth Viet Nam hero
“Be worthy of the young generation.”

7. To emphasize the good friendship with Soviet

In the Post-War period, there was propaganda emphasizing good friendship with the Soviets as follows:

- (95) Tình hữu nghị Việt – Xô muôn năm.
feeling friendly Viet-Soviet long live
“Long live the Viet Nam-Soviet friendship.”

8. To establish the duties of people, social values and policies of the government

In the Post-War period, there was a lot of propaganda describing the duties of people, the social values and policies such as to take care of the young generation and keeping a peaceful life, to vote in elections, to have one or two children, and to be grateful, as follows:

- (96) Vì cuộc sống hòa bình.
for clf. life peace
“For a peaceful life”
- (97) Nhân nghĩa thắng hung tàn.
benevolence win brutal
“Charity and justice prevails over brutality.”
- (98) Vì tương lai con em chúng ta.
for future children we
“For our children’s future”
- (99) Đào tạo, chăm lo nhiều
train give one’s mind to improving many
mầm non nghệ thuật.
young generation art
“To train and to take care of the buds of art”
- (100) Tất cả cử tri hăng hái đi bầu cử.
all voter eager go election
“All voters eagerly go to vote.”
- (101) Mỗi gia đình chỉ có một hoặc hai con.
each family only have one or two child
“Each family should have one or two children.”
- (102) Thầy thuốc như mẹ hiền.
physician like mother virtuous
“Physicians were like a kind mother.”
- (103) Giữ gìn tinh hoa dân tộc. Xây dựng văn hóa lành mạnh.
Maintain spirit people construct culture wealthy
“Maintain national spirit. Construct a rich culture.”

III. From 1986-2000: After Doi Moi policy (Reform Policy)

The collapse of the Soviet bloc including the Soviet Union not only caused political and ideological confusion for the Vietnamese leaders, it also affected the Vietnamese economy significantly. The government tried to find new sources of income by changing some foreign policies towards the Socialist and Democratic countries. In 1989, the government implemented the Doi Moi Policy (Reform Policy). They allowed a measure of economic and other freedoms including foreign relations but there was still only one Communist Party. Viet Nam opened up to the world. The government reformed the administration system, and cut redundant jobs. The Party and the government became more democratic. The role of the country's administration changed from serving the Party to serving the government and the Assembly. A new Constitution in 1992 created the position of President and gave more power to the Prime Minister and the National Assembly. Under this new Constitution, the Party still guided policy. The reform policy was implemented by giving freedom and ownership of production to the private sector.

Following the Doi Moi, there was propaganda which can be divided into the following themes:

1. To praise the nation

Praising the nation is always propagated but it was found a few times as follows:

- (104) Việt Nam toàn thắng.
Viet Nam all win
“All Vietnam wins.”
- (105) Dân tộc văn hiến, Đảng anh hùng.
people civilize Party heroic
“A civilized nation, a heroic Party”

2. Praise President Ho Chi Minh, communist party

President Ho Chi Minh remained the hero forever worshipped by Vietnamese. The young generation should take inspiration from his sacrifice for the country. There was propaganda praising the President Ho and the Communist Party as follows:

- (106) Hồ Chí Minh, đẹp nhất tên người.
Ho Chi Minh beautiful the most name human
“Ho Chi Minh is the most beautiful name”
- (107) Hồ Chủ Tịch, vị tổng tư lệnh tối cao.
Ho President general commander supreme
“President Ho Chi Minh-the supreme commander-in-chief”

- (108) Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam, hạt nhân của sự đoàn kết
 Party Communist Viet Nam nucleus of unity
 toàn dân.
 all people
 “Communist Party, a nucleus of all people’s unity”
- (109) Học chăm, làm giỏi là thiết thực. Chào mừng
 study diligent do skillful be practical extend a welcome
 Đại hội lần thứ VIII của Đảng Cộng sản
 General Assembly the 8th of Party Communist
 Việt Nam.
 Viet Nam
 “Study diligently, work skillfully from practice. Welcome the
 VIII General Assembly of the Communist Party.”

3. To develop economy

To develop the economy in a free market is challenging for Viet Nam. There was propaganda after Doi Moi that encouraged people to develop the country to become industrialized and modern, as in:

- (110) Công nghiệp hóa, hiện đại hóa, vì hạnh phúc cho
 industrialize modernize for happy for
 mọi người.
 everybody
 “Industrialize, modernize, for everybody’s happiness”

4. To solve the social problems

After the Doi Moi Policy, there were many social problems which needed to be solved. From the data, social problems emerged following the development of the economy such as drugs, HIV, unknown in previous times as in the following propaganda.

- (111) Hãy cứu vớt những trẻ em tàn tật.
 let save pl. children crippled
 “Save the crippled children.”
- (112) Không trồng cây thuốc phiện.
 not grow tree opium
 “Don’t grow opium bushes.”
- (113) Tuổi trẻ cả nước ngăn chặn hiểm họa ma túy.
 youth all country prevent danger drug
 “Youth all around the country are protected against the
 dangers of drugs.”

- (114) Chống chiến tranh hạt nhân.
anti war nuclear
“Anti nuclear war”
- (115) Phòng chống tệ nạn xã hội.
prevent anti disaster society
“Protect against and combat social evils.”
- (116) Sống thủy chung đề phòng nhiễm HIV.
live constant prevent acquire HIV
“Be faithful to your life partner for HIV protection.”

5. To protect the nation

There was only one item of propaganda for security after the introduction of the Doi Moi Policy. It reflects the stability of the nation with peace, as in:

- (117) Bảo vệ vững chắc thành quả cách mạng.
protect firm become result revolution
“To protect the country well has been the result of the Revolution.”

6. To develop the international relation

The development of foreign relations after Doi Moi Policy did not specify any particular country but focused on the world. There are several pieces of propaganda focusing on good relations with other countries as follows:

- (118) Đoàn kết vì thế giới tốt đẹp.
unite for world fully satisfactory
“Solidarity for a better world”
- (119) Liên Hợp Quốc: Vì một thế giới tốt đẹp hơn.
complex nation for one world fully
satisfactory more
“For a better world”

7. To set up the social values

Social values after Doi Moi have changed from previous times in line with societal changes. There are both concrete and abstract values which are shown in the following examples:

- (120) Ngày mai bắt đầu từ hôm nay.
 Tomorrow start from today
 “Tomorrow starts from today.”
- (121) Bảo vệ, kế thừa, phát triển văn hóa nghệ thuật Việt Nam.
 Protect inherit develop culture art Viet Nam
 “To preserve and to develop Vietnamese culture and art.”
- (122) Dân giàu, nước mạnh.
 people rich country strong
 “People are rich. The country is strong.”
- (123) An toàn giao thông, hạnh phúc mọi nhà.
 safe transportation happy all house
 “Safe transportation. All houses are happy.”
- (124) Hưởng ứng phong trào áo lụa tặng
 Respond warmly trend blouse silk give
 bà.
 elderly woman
 “Offer a silk blouse to the elderly woman.” (=Take care of the elderly people).

8. To celebrate the world day

There is only one item of propaganda mentioning world culture day as in:

- (125) Tích cực hưởng ứng ngày văn hóa thế giới.
 active respond warmly day culture world
 “In response to world culture day.”

IV. Syntactic and semantic structures

The syntactic and semantic structures of the propaganda are analysed as follows:

1. Noun Phrase

NPs are the most frequent found in the Vietnamese propaganda. They are divided semantically into 2 domains: animate and inanimate. According to the data, the first animate NP domain can be classified as animal, hero/ heroine, invader, pronoun and successor/population as in the following examples:

Animate					
Semantics Structure	Animal (Manufacture)	hero/ heroine	Invader	Pronoun	Successor/ Population
NP	gà. ‘chicken’ đàn ong mật. ‘bee swarms’ tôm ‘shrimp’ cua nước lợ ‘crab in the brackish water’ đàn lợn tập thể ‘the collective pig rearing’	Hai Bà Trung ‘Hai Ba Trung’ ² Bác Hồ ‘Uncle Ho’	giặc thù ‘enemy’ xâm lược ‘aggression’	chúng ta ‘we’ em ‘young. sib, I, you’	mầm non của Đảng ‘a young bud of the Party’ dân tộc anh hùng ‘the race of hero’

Chart 1. NP structure categorized by the semantic animate

The most common animate NPs are successor followed by the hero/heroine as the second most common which reflect the first period of the Anti-American War.

The inanimate NPs found in the propaganda data are classified into infrastructure, organization, agriculture or manufacture, industry, ideology, social problem, region and country as in the following examples:

²The Hai Ba Trung Legend refers to the Trung sisters. They were Vietnamese warriors and they are still celebrated heroes. There are statues and shrines throughout Vietnam dedicated to them.

The Chinese first annexed Vietnam in 111B.C. They sent Chinese officials to govern the province in all the top positions. They did however allow the Vietnamese to keep their own system of feudal chiefs at lower levels. These acted as landlords much like the lords in many European countries.

The legend goes that in the year 39 A.D. the Chinese governor of Chiao Chi decided to frighten some of the Vietnamese landlords, by assassinating one of them. The man who was assassinated was the husband of Trung Trac. She was well educated, strong-minded and versed in the military arts. She called upon her sister, Trung Nhi, and together they organized an army with the help of the other lords around them. This was the first major revolt and is still one of the most celebrated in Vietnamese history.

(http://departments.kings.edu/womens_history/htrung.html, 22 October 2007)

Inanimate				
Semantics	Infrastructure	Organisation	Agriculture/ Manufacture	Industry
Structure				
	Đê ‘dam’ thủy nông ‘irrigation’ điện “electricity” nhiều điện phục vụ cho nông nghiệp ‘the electricity service for agriculture’ đường ‘way’ giao thông ‘traffic’ đường ‘road’ mạch máu giao thông ‘communication lines’	Đại hội lần thứ VIII của Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam ‘the VIII General Assembly of the Communist Party’ Đảng, niềm tự hào của chúng em ‘The Party, the pride of us’ lá cờ Đảng quang vinh ‘the flag of the glorious party’ Liên Hợp Quốc ‘the United Nations’	Plant/tree lúa vàng ‘yellow rice’ đồng ‘ricefield’ cây ‘tree’ quả ‘fruit’ nguồn ‘source’ cao su ‘rubber tree’ rừng ‘forest’ Natural resource tài nguyên ‘resources’ nhiều gang cho Tổ quốc ‘the cast iron for the Nation’ nhiều dầu khí cho Tổ quốc. ‘many oil and gas for Nation’ Food lương thực cho toàn xã hội ‘food-stuffs for the Society’ thức ăn ‘food’	sản xuất ‘product’ công nghiệp ‘industry’ kỹ thuật ‘technique’ lao động ‘labour’ năng suất ‘productivity’ công nghiệp nhẹ ‘light industry’ xuất khẩu ‘export’ vùng kinh tế mới ‘new economic zone’

Chart 2. The inanimate NPs

Inanimate				
Semantics Structure	Ideology	Social Problem	Region/ Country	Industry
NP	xã hội chủ nghĩa 'Socialism' ý chí 'will' hòa bình 'peace' hạnh phúc. 'happy' lực lượng 'power' kỷ luật 'discipline' độc lập tự do 'Independence Freedom' di chúc của Hồ Chủ Tịch 'will of President Ho' cách mạng 'revolution'	hiểm họa ma túy 'the danger of drug' những trẻ em tàn tật. 'the crippled children' trật tự, an toàn 'order, security' tệ nạn xã hội 'social evils' nhiễm HIV 'HIV protection'	Regions/Cities Bắc Nam một góc 'North and South, the same origin' miền Nam 'southern region' miền Bắc 'northern region' Tổ quốc 'nation' đất nước 'country' non sông 'country' Tổ quốc Việt Nam 'Viet Nam' Non sông Việt Nam 'Vietnam'	

Chart 2. (Continued) The inanimate NPs

The most frequently used inanimate NPs are agriculture and manufacture. This reflects Viet Nam as an agricultural country. It is necessary to produce more agricultural products for their own population after the severe conditions of war with the US. The region and country sub-domains are the second more common which reflects the reunification of the country including with neighboring allies. The ideology, infrastructure and industry sub-domains are the third most frequently occurring NPs which reflect a strong determination to follow President's Ho Chi Minh Communist ideals. Moreover the infrastructure and industry sub-domains reflect the urgent need for Viet Nam to revitalize its ruined country from years of war.

2. Verb Phrase

The VPs found in the data are classified according to Cook's verb classification (<http://www.ilc.cnr.it/EAGLES96/rep2/node10.html>) into four basic verb types: State, Process, Action and Action-Process verbs as in the following examples:

State	Process	Action	Action-Process
hăng hái 'enthusiastic' đủ 'sufficient' bất khuất 'firm' phấn đấu 'strive' sánh vai 'equal' chăm 'diligent' sống 'live'	đảm bảo 'protect' xây dựng 'construct' trồng 'plant' giải phóng 'liberate' làm giàu 'enrich' phát triển 'develop' khai thác 'discover' tìm 'look for' đẩy mạnh 'push up'	phá 'destroy' diệt 'wipe out' chào mừng 'extend a welcome' làm 'do' bầu cử 'vote' bước 'walk' vùng 'rise' đứng lên 'rise up' vượt 'pass'	theo 'follow' công nghiệp hóa 'industrialize' thống nhất 'unite' đoàn kết 'unite' chăm sóc 'take care' ủng hộ 'support' biến 'change' chăn nuôi 'rear' nuôi 'feed'

Chart 3. Verb phrases

From the above VPs, the Action-Process VPs are the most frequent and the Process VPs are the second which reflect the country's reparation processes.

In the structure of propaganda, verb phrase can occur without subject as in (120) as well as the verb string called “**serial verb construction**” as in (121):

- (120) Ngày mai **bắt đầu** từ hôm nay.
Tomorrow start from today
“Tomorrow started from today.”

- (121) **Bảo vệ, kế thừa, phát triển** văn hóa nghệ thuật Việt Nam.
Protect inherit develop culture art Viet Nam
“To preserve and to develop Vietnamese culture and art.”

3. Prepositional phrase

The prepositional phrase can be one of the structures of the propaganda such as:

- (98) **Vì** tương lai con em chúng ta.
for future children we
“For our children's future”

4. Negation

Negation with the negative word such as **Không** ‘not’ can precede the verb phrase as one of the structures of the propaganda which conveys prohibition as in:

- (112) **Không** trồng cây thuốc phiện.
not grow tree opium
“Don’t grow opium bushes.”

5. Opposite verb phrase

One item of propaganda (during the Anti-American War period (1945-1975)) urging people to fight the enemy and protect the nation, uses opposite verb phrases **thắng** ‘win’ and **thua** ‘defeat’ as in:

- (7) Việt Nam nhất định **thắng**. Giặc Mỹ nhất định **thua**.
Viet Nam certain win enemy US certain defeat
“Viet Nam will win certainly. The US will be defeated certainly.”

6. Sentence

The sentence structure is also found in propaganda as in:

- (68) Nông nghiệp là mặt trận hàng đầu.
agriculture be front primary
“Agriculture is the primary front.”

7. Metaphor

Metaphors are found as semantic constituents such as:

- (10) Giữ vững **mạch máu** **giao thông**.
hold firm blood vessel communication
“Keep the communication lines open.”

(10), in the Anti-American War, the communication lines were very important strategic tools for the Vietnamese troops, therefore they are compared to blood vessels which indicates how vital they were to the war effort.

- (12) **Mây của ta, trời ấm của ta**.
cloud of us sky warm of us
“The cloud and the sky are ours.”

(12), in fact, nobody or any country owns the clouds and the sky in reality. But the clouds and sky can represent the vastness of the nation of Viet Nam which is claimed as the land of the Vietnamese people.

- (16) **Em là mầm non của Đảng**.
Young sib. be bud young of Party
“You are a young bud of the Party.”

(16), **em** ‘younger sibling’ represents the young generation which is described as the young bud of the Communist Party which will pursue the ideals of the Party.

Summary and discussion:

Each event in Vietnamese history inspired the writer to think of related propaganda including paintings. Propaganda not only functions as such, but also reflects the periods of history of Viet Nam including socio-cultural aspects in each distinct period clearly. The chart below shows a comparison of the three periods which share similarities (by the tick mark), as follows:

I From 1945-1975: Anti-American War period	II From 1975-1986: Before Doi Moi Policy (Reform Policy)	III From 1986-2000: After Doi Moi policy (Reform Policy)
1) To fight with the enemy and to protect the nation	✓	✓
2) To declare the territory of Viet Nam	—	—
3) To pass the hope to the young generation	—	—
4) To overcome the natural calamity	—	—
5) To be the good example	—	—
6) To unify Viet Nam and encourage people to develop the country	—	—
7) To praise Communist Party, the Vietnamese heroes and the President Ho Chi Minh	✓	✓
8) To be grateful to the President Ho Chi Minh by following his Teachings	—	—
9) To develop economy 9.1 To develop infrastructures 9.2 To improve and increase the agricultural productivities 9.2.1 Cultivations 9.2.2 Poultry	3) To develop economy 3.1 To move to the new land 3.2 To increase cultivation products 3.3 To increase the industrial products	3) To develop economy

9.2.3 Sea food 9.2.4 Animal husbandry 9.2.6 Natural resource 9.3 To work double for the Southern Viet Nam liberation and the productivity increasing		
10) Praise the Northern, Central and Southern parts of Viet Nam and others:	—	—
11) To collaborate with neighboring socialist countries	—	—
12) To set up social values	4) To set up duties of people, social value and policy of the government	4) To set up the social values
—	5) To praise the nation	
—	6) To praise the young generation	—
—	7) To emphasize the good friendship with Soviet Union	—
—	—	6) To celebrate the world day
—	—	7) To develop the international values

The similarities between the three periods are as follows:

- To fight with the enemy and to protect the nation
- To praise Communist Party, the Vietnamese heroes and President Ho Chi Minh
- To develop the economy but in the first period, the details of productivity were highlighted more than the second period, whereas the main focus of the third period was economic development.
- To set up social values.

The similarities between the second and third period are only to praise the nation.

Differences can be seen from the chart that as history changes, the propaganda in the specific period may change accordingly. The society also influenced the propaganda or campaigns after the introduction of the Doi Moi Policy. We can learn about the development of Vietnamese history through the reflection of propaganda. Propaganda reflects the power of language in society and the attitudes and mentality of people.

The syntactic structures of the propaganda are phrases and sentences. The NP constituents are the most frequently found in the propaganda. They are classified semantically as animate NPs which are divided into animal, hero/heroine, invader, pronoun and successor/population. The inanimate NPs are divided into infrastructure, organization, agriculture or manufacture, industry, ideology, social problem, region and country.

The VPs found in the data are divided into State, Process, Action and Action-Process verbs. The VP preceded by negation including the PPs can be found as types of propaganda structures. Metaphors are found as the semantic constituent of propaganda also.

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