

# **Role of Media in the Politics of Vietnam, 1995-2012**

*Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
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**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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**DECLARATION**

I declare that dissertation entitled "Role of Media in the Politics of Vietnam, 1995-2012" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.


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We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examinations for evaluation.


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**DEDICATED TO MY MOTHER (AAYO)**

**LATE TARA DEVI**

## Preface

Vietnam is a communist state with one party system. Communist Party, the oldest party of Vietnam is the only ruling party in the country. This party emerged during national movements. In 1920s there were many underground communist and non-communist organizations. But the movement gained the momentum when great communist leader Ho Chi Minh involved himself in the national struggle; three different communist units which consequently united as one party and it was known as Indo-China communist party. Established in 1930, Indo-China communist party played leading role in national movement. It was the communist party of Vietnam, which promoted the role of media in course of freedom struggle.

Media is the most important tool of nation building. The contemporary world is closely interconnected due to the information technology therefore it is known as information communication age, most profoundly we can say the Cyber or Networking Age. Media communicate messages through technology to audiences in different parts of a region, country and the world. Developed country has many types of Medias but under-developed countries have not much advance media, but that certainly affects within limitation its political decisions. If we track the time when the Nazi Propaganda was rife; the US government established an Institution of Propaganda research to develop technique to counter German propaganda and to influence public opinion. Thus media generates the propaganda war between the rivals.

After the globalisation some arguments are going to worldwide that the rapid advance of information technology that has led to profound change in political campaigning. This time media has created such confusion among the masses that it has lost its real role.

The press system is creating a great influence in the cultural and social life style of the people. Images, fashions and behaviour shown on television programs and in newspapers are quickly penetrating into social life. The younger generation has become a sensitive group of people who clearly reflect the impact of culture and life style from information transmitted by media.

In recent years, the press has played an increasingly important role in the process of promoting events. Vietnamese press is not only the transmitter of information or the passive reflector of events. Instead, it plays a more active role and directly participates in events as



one of the relevant factors which influence and guide the movement and orientation of events. The nature of such a role has created pressure of public opinion.

Southeast Asia is one of the fastest growing regions in the world both economically and politically. Vietnam is one of the foremost nations in this region in terms of size and military capabilities. However, it remains a communist country, along with its neighbour Laos. So in this context we will observe the socio-political development in Vietnam and will try to find out how media is playing its role in national development.

First time Vietnam took the incentive to promote the economic and political reforms was in 1986. So Vietnam communist party's sixth congress was held in December 1986. It was the political and economic renovation that was called Doi Moi. They introduced a succession of measures at economic reforms. This was the major political decision. Seventh party congress of the communist party of Vietnam was held in 1991. The party confirmed with a second major decision of economic renovation with the direction of a market economy as it was seen as successful economy. Vietnamese Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet pursued further political and economic steps at reform for a new ASEAN centred foreign policy.

The scope of the research encompasses a thorough study of Vietnamese media spanning, a period from the anti-colonial struggle to the contemporary period. It is also an attempt to explain the phenomenon of Vietnamese media being a tool against pervasive corruption during the Doi Moi phase. Through the course of research, this study will analyze the propaganda and the facts that are associated with Vietnamese media and will try to find out similarities with media in other post-transition communist states. The study also aims to shed light upon the influence of liberal media on Vietnamese media and most importantly how de-regulation at a domestic level has affected the media. Lastly, the study will attempt to understand the extent to which the media is now influencing public opinion and choices in Vietnam. The focus of the study is confined to 1995-2012. The year 1995 is important because Vietnam became a member of ASEAN in that year and 2012 is relevant because the ASEAN felt the lack of consensus amongst its partners.

Three hypotheses have been taken into consideration while conducting the research

- Media in Vietnam has been instrumental in integrating the nation during the nationalist movement and anti-colonial struggle.



- As the media affects political perceptions of the people through working in a cultural sphere, it initiates a dual process of affecting public opinion about politics and gets affected by politics in turn.
- Foreign funding in the media sector in Vietnam may lead to a weakening of the censorship regime since foreign funding is associated with liberal democratic values.

The research work has been divided into five chapters. Chapter-1 contains the introduction which deals with the types of Vietnamese media, what is the media, what is Information age and its politics. It also deals with the theoretical prospective of media. Chapter-II focuses with the evolution of media in Vietnam. In this chapter relation between culture and media has been analyzed. Chapter-III concentrates on the media under the Doi Moi period and what was the media politics, as that period the government of Vietnam gives various rights to media. Chapter-IV deals with the global media politics with the special focus on Vietnamese media politics. Finally, chapter-V has the concluding observations.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

*This dissertation owes much to the valuable guidance and constant encouragement of my Guru Ji Prof. Ganganath Jha who patiently supervised it. I would like to express deepest gratitude to him for his constant support and encouragement throughout my research.*

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*I extend my special thanks to Md. Mushtaq and Mr. Dharamraj who gave me immense moral courage in the course of my writing and helped me in correction of my dissertation. I also like to thank Dr. Omprakash Kushwaha and Mrs. Preeti Gupta, Amit Chamariya, Prasoon, Prashant for helping me in my dissertation.*

*My dissertation has been made memorable by my friends Rahul, Versha, Utsha, Amurata, Bunthorn . No amount of thanks can express the warmth of my feelings to all of them for everything.*

*Home is regarded as the primary education institution. I am very much grateful to my parents and family members particularly my late mother Tara Devi. Her words "Nin aka bari kul nu rahickiy aabki aen or imbas sochaa lakkan ki nigan hormar ti baga padhton, ander gi ki aan ma paada ankan, ikal nimbas ghi chithi bralagi hole an ning kakka gaar hede padhta ge kala lakn, hole aalr baa lgiyar ki id to aas ganem rai. Aage nin homrar ti baga padk". every time reminds me and encourages me to work hard in the academic. My family has imparted the root of my academics. My father Sri. Baldeo Oraon my second mother Nirmial Devi and my brothers Rakesh Kachchap, Sampatlal Kachchap, Ayush Kachchap, Deepesh, Ankesh and my lovely sister Pushpa Kumari asks me many type of questions related to my dissertation. My uncle, Mr. Upendra Oraon and aunty Mrs. Sobha Devi have also contributed a lot in my work through their well wishes and prayers.*

*Lastly, I must admit once again that each and every meaningful finding of this thesis of research work is the outcome of the perseverance showed by my supervisor on me. I am responsible for the remaining faults and inadequacies in this work.*

*Arun Kumar Oraon*



# Country Profile

**Country Name:** - Vietnam

**Full Name of Country:** - SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

**Vietnam declares Independence:** - 2 September 1945

**Vietnam Reunification:** - 2 July 1976.

**Capital:** - Hanoi

**Geography:** - Tropical Region

**Population:** - 90.7 million (2014)

**GDP:** - \$ 186.2 billion (2014)

**Area of Land:** - 331,698 km<sup>2</sup>

**Location:** - 21<sup>0</sup>2'N105<sup>0</sup>51'E/ 21.033<sup>0</sup>N 105.850<sup>0</sup> E

**Ideology of the Country:** - Marxist- Leninists and Ho Chi Minh

**Political party:** - Communist Party of Vietnam

**Constitution:** - 1992 (Amended 2001)

**President:** - Truong Tan Sang

**Prime Minister:** - Nguyen Tan Dung

**Deputy Prime Minister:** - Nguyen Xuan Phuc

**Deputy Prime Minister:** - Hoang Trung Hai

**Deputy Prime Minister:** - Vu Van Ninh

**Minister of Information and Communication:** - Nguyen Bac Son

**Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism:** - Hoang Tuan Anh

**Internet Host:** - 189,553 (2012)

**Internet Users:** - 26,784,035

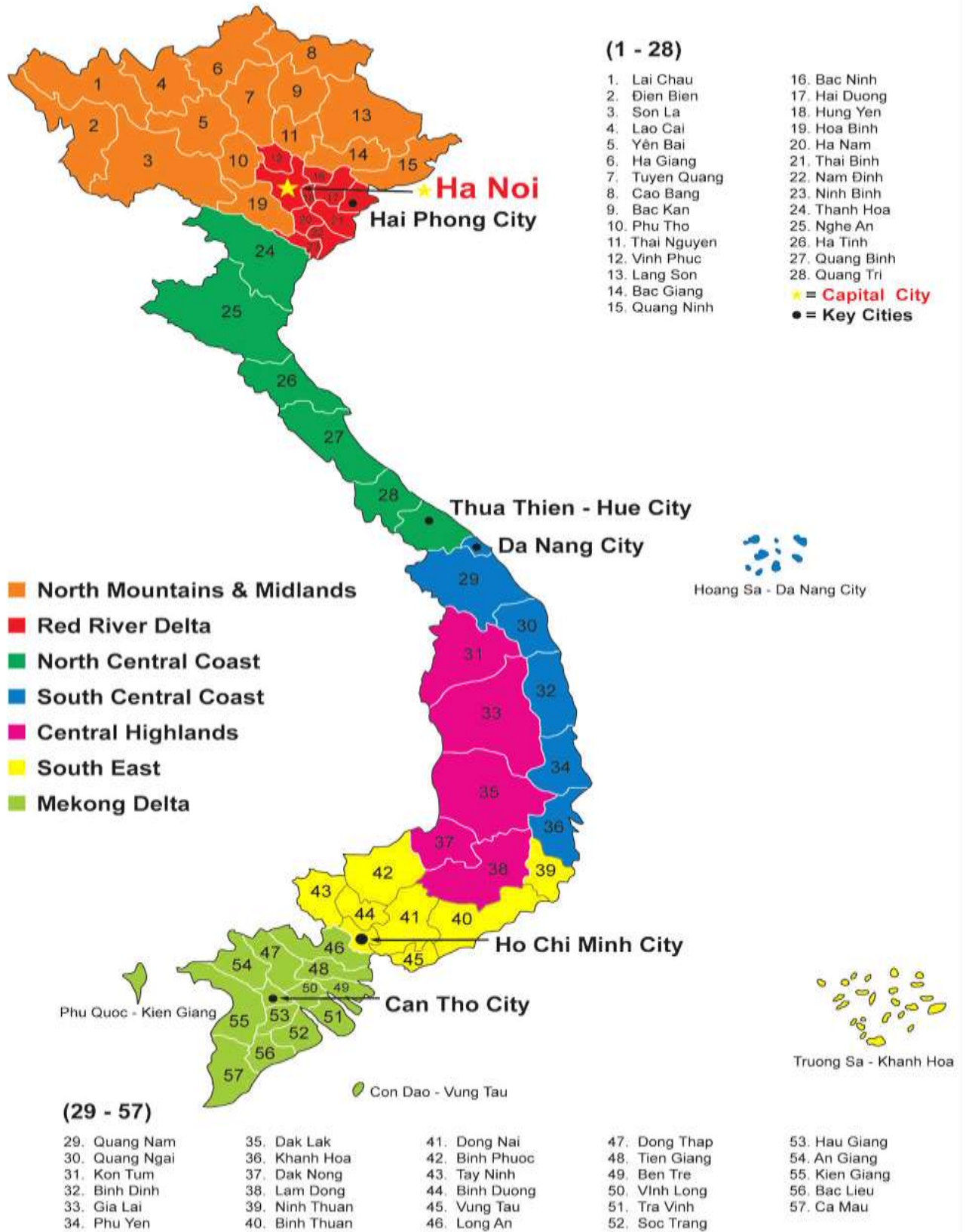


- ❖ **Internet users per 100 inhabitants:** - 30.65.
- ❖ **Broadband Internet subscribers:** - 3,669,321.
- ❖ **Broadband Internet subscribers per 100 inhabitants:** - 4.20 million
- ❖ **Number of personal xDSL Internet access subscribers:** - 2,932,815
- ❖ **Households with Internet access at home per 100 households (estimated):**- 12.84
- ❖ **International Internet bandwidth (bit/s) per Internet user:** - 4,849
- ❖ **Number of registered .vn domain name:** - 180, 870
- ❖ **Number of allocated IP4 addresses:** - 12,605,440
- ❖ **Number of allocated IPv6 addresses (unit/64):**- 46,360,918,016/64
- ❖ **Number of desktop, laptop computers (estimated):** - 5,319,000
- ❖ **Personal computer per 100 inhabitants:** - 6.08
- ❖ **Internet Country Code:** .vn.
- ❖ **Telephones mobile cellular:** - 134. 066 million (2012)
- ❖ **Telephones main lines in Use:** - 10.191 (2012)
- ❖ **Number of household with radio:** - 2,157,664
- ❖ **Number of household with television:** - 18,167,483
- ❖ **Number of household with parabola antenna:** - 3,272,416
- ❖ **Number of household with antenna:** - 12, 565,723.
- ❖ **Number of household with cable TV:** - 2,565,309.
- ❖ **Total number of postal outlets:** - 16,436.
- ❖ **Average radius per postal outlet (km):**- 2.53.
- ❖ **Average number of inhabitants served by a postal outlet (Person):**- 5, 270.

<b>Number of telecom, Internet service providers</b>		
<b>Name of operators</b>	<b>Providers name</b>	<b>Year 2010</b>
<b>Number of fixed telephone service operators</b>	VNPT, EVNTelecom, Viettel, SPT, VTC, FPT, Dong Duong, Hanoi Telecom, CMC TI, Gtel.	10
<b>Number of mobile Communication service operators (2G)</b>	VMS, Gtel Mobile, SPT, EVN Telecom, VNP, Hanoi Telecom.	07
<b>Number of mobile communication service operators (3G)</b>	VMS, 04 licenses: VNP, EVN Telecom Hanoi + Telecom, Viettel.	05
<b>Number of mobile virtual network operator (MVNO)</b>	VTC, Dong Duong Telecom	02
<b>Number of Internet service Providers</b>	Viettel, EVNTelecom, SPT, FPT, VDC (VNPT)	80



# Country Map





## **List of Abbreviation**

ECA	Education and Culture Affairs
WVU	West Virginia University's
APC	All Progressives Congress
RSF	Remote sensing frequency
TNC	Terminal Node Controller
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asia Nation
APEC	Asia –Pacific Economic Co-operation
WTO	World Trade Organization
CC	Central Committee
MCST	Ministry of Culture Sport and Tourism
VTV	Vietnam Television
PMS	Plateaux Montagnards du Sud
ASEM	Europe Asia Summit
MDG	Millennium Development goals
VOV	Voice of Vietnam
SW	Short Wave
MW	Medium Wave
ANTV	An Ninh Television Channels
VTC	Vietnam Television Corporation
NCT	National Communication Technology
ITU	International Telecommunication Union



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# **CHAPTER: I**

## **INTRODUCTION**



## CHAPTER: I

### INTRODUCTION

#### **What is the Media**

Media is the fourth pillar of the democratic State. Besides, executive, legislative and Judiciary, it observes governance of any state and expresses the opinion about the improvement of the state. Today, media is the powerful institution and organization in any democratic system. It affects the public opinion and pressurizes the government in case of omission and commission.

There are many definitions of the media. He stated that the media “We could think of a list: television, film, radio, newspapers and the internet, to name but a few. But a list tells us little about what commonly defines all these media. Perhaps the solution is to define media as technologies that communicate messages to audiences in different parts of region, country or even the world” (Laughey 2007: 1).

The concise Oxford dictionary of politics defining the mass media stated it, “the various agents of mass communication and entertainment: news papers, magazines and other publications, television, radio, the cinema and the internet.”( Mc Lean and Mc Millan 2009: 337). Mass media functions in different ways. It has political relevance, including the collection, organization, and transmission of news and information, the formation of opinion and in more or less open societies, some contribution of public debate.

Medium is a channel of communication. It means people send and receive information. Printed matter is the best example of the medium. On the one hand, People are reading a newspaper or magazine. These are the medium and it communicates something to us in some way. On the other hand, there is an electronic form of communication i.e., television; telephones, film etc.

Usually, people are using Mass Media. It refers to channels of communication that involve transmitting information in some way. This shape and form be large number of people. But, question is how many of large number. It can be qualified as a mass, is something that’s generally left undefined. It may be defined as those things that we know when we see it. Generally mass media is classified as one- to- many communications. It may be one person that is a book author, creators of a television programme or a film director.

They communicate with many people at the same time. It is the way, that is largely impersonal and communicating is one-way. In this sense, they are communicating a message to an audience. But, he doesn't receive simultaneous feedback from that audience. Nowadays people can see live political really and various entertainment programmes in their TV screen. The basic feature of mass communication is of a vehicle. That vehicle is television, receiver and printing. These medium allows message to be sent and received.

Today, we have seen various development and forms of communication. For instance, there is mobile phone and email. It does not fit into transitional definitions, because they have the capacity to be both. We think about the communication. It has two parts, first is called interpersonal communication. It means one person communicate to another person. For example two people standing in front of each other and talking. So, this type of talk called in communicative language one-to-one communication. Second, one is called mass communication. Political leader are delivering his speech on election time. They give the message through radio, television and other forms and thing. It is called the mass communication. It means one-to-many.

My question is how mass communication is used by people and the government. Today government and people are searching online news and online shop, medical facility and education guidance.. It is accessible through email. Those people are exchanging interpersonal message with friends and family. This one message is sent to many thousand and millions of people. Another side, online retailer is sending the message to their customers. Many times, these retailers are sending the message of some special offers and so forth. Another good thing is unrequested mass emailing also comes into email spam.

Today social media is the integral part of youth and computer handling people. This is best news provider of the society, because many people are surfing the social media and write their experience. In 2011, social media came in existence. Today facebook, twitter are the social media. This media provides much space for the user. One the one hand, you can make a group and community. There you can express yourself and give opinion. These types of social media take advertisement and pay for those people. After the globalisation, when social network media came into existence, political parties are campaigning through social media.



Media is a plural of medium. It resources any means of transmitting the information that is called media. There are various forms, devices or systems that make up mass communications considered as a whole. It includes newspapers, magazines, radio stations, television channels and web sites. Ancient time when alphabet had not originated. That time people were transmitting information through oral auditory and pictography. People have developed scripts and facilitated the creation of strong printed text. After this stage, print technology made such texts available to masses of people. When society use the printed texts it became widespread the Gutenberg Galaxy.

### **What are Information Age and its politics?**

Information highway is the unbounded information; it can access each and every people. Post modernist thinker Mark Poster stated that, “If I can speak directly or by electronic mail to a friend in Paris while sitting in California, if I can witness political and cultural events as they occur across the globe without leaving my home, if a database at a remote location contains my profile and informs government agencies which make decisions that affect my life without any knowledge on my part of these events, if I can shop in my home by using my TV or computer, then where am I and who am I? In these circumstances, I cannot consider myself centred in my rational, autonomy subjective or bordered by a defined ego, but I am disrupted, subverted and dispersed across social space” (Fang 1997: 221).

This statement has given emphasis on Information highway related to new media. People have no limit of space. There is no boundary for lane wires. It is the clear indication for whole world that the world is one village. Canadian communication theorist Mc Luhan has stated that as “global Village” (Danesi 2009: 190). This is the base of new media technology. The technological change the way of information. We receive the information and applying the social ground after that society expects radical changes in society. Media and its culture both are co-related to each other. In the present time, these debates are going on how media establish another culture.

Power is the key concept of politics. In digital era, politics devised two perspectives on the bases of political nature. On the one hand, governments are using the Internet to protect, maintain or enhance their political power. On the other hand, the political party use the Internet to carry out some kind of political protest against those with big power and authority. Can we think about the government corporations? It is usual protest by the “Digital have-nots” and “Digital haves”. This protest against the digital condition, but more people will support the “Digital Haves”. Not anyone would consider it otherwise

Today, internet means the exercising of power and maintaining the entrenched position of political rulers. The upper class has digital power and digital rules. This power is based on the economic and political institutions of society. It is directly connected to the information and communication industry. They project the power across the digital political divide as a means to maintain or enhance their own power. In the present time, governments are influenced by the indirect digital rule. The government used the internet in four primary ways.

Every five years we are facing elections. During the election political parties use the Internet to organize their campaigns, and they sell their parties to potential voters. Some major parties, the incumbent governments spend considerable resources on their Internet campaigns. There are very few major political parties in North and west. They do not develop their own web sites.

After winning the elections, parties form the government and employ the internet more efficiently to deliver administrative services. The citizens of the developed countries are exposed to computer and Internet. They know about the access of many government services electronically through the Net. They are applying for birth certificate or driver's license through internet and pay their annual taxes through that channel. They are contacting their members of parliament and congress through Net. We have electronic voting machines to vote in the general elections to members of parliament. These entire medium are going through modernization phase leading to participatory information highway era.

All these matters are connected with the entertainment called Internet. The government use the Internet to project their own image. Today, net is the critical tool in the global fight to stay competitive economically with other countries. It can include diverse activities as hosting global export market services for national companies, sponsoring the digitization of national cultural heritage, and sponsoring the internationalization of their knowledge and information. You can take distance education and training programs marketed to underdeveloped and developing countries.

In some special cases, government has banned the Internet. There are many countries who have banned the Internet on religious, culture and linguistic grounds. These countries obviously intend to constrain the limit of the Internet user. In September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 the Taliban and Afghanistan prohibited its citizens from accessing the Internet on religious ground. The Taliban government condemned the Internet for its obscenity, vulgarity and anti-Islamic content. On the one hand, The Saudi Arabia government using advanced blocking equipment



to carry out its ban of over 200,000 web sites on the grounds. These sites were declared to be pornographic, anti-Islamic and contained criticism of Saudi Arabia the Royal family. On the other hand, Southeast Asian countries Vietnam, Laos have banned the Internet cybercafé. When Vietnamese government seek the critical content of the government, they ban the site and Internet. Some daily newspapers are published through the Internet. E-newspapers covered the provocation and protest against reports which also damage the government Copyright data. When Internet daily newspaper import and export pornographic images and promoting the disturb activities and peace or happiness of the Vietnamese People.

Some scholar assumes that the internet encourages democracy. It is providing the people living under a dictatorship with outside information and ideas. It empowers them to share ideas and to coordinate political action within their countries. In August 1991 there was coup attempted in the Soviet Union. All Progressives Congress (APC) had set up the link by Baltic States on to NordNet in Sweden. It link based on London Green Net were open and shared by the rest of the APC network, allowing information flow from Moscow and Leningrad. Along with the similar lines, it was used both for domestic and international communication during events. There are many difficulty of political censorship. But, the Net is the personal tool for activists and journalists involved in sensitive political topics.

Whenever, we are talking about the freedom of expression. It's made possible via the internet. It poses a serious dilemma for authoritarian regimes as it threatens to undermine their control structures. In authoritarian regimes, there is strong government control on electronic communication. Some communist countries China, Vietnam have strategies to control information that the internet brings to their territory. China's post and Telecommunication Minister announced that by linking to the Internet absolute freedom of Information is not intended. But it remains unclear how China plans to achieve this (Madon 2005: 11).

So, every major historical era is shaped by the communication medium that is most widely used. We know about the era of 1700s to mid 1900. This age was print media, because, print was the chief medium. People gained and exchanged knowledge. The Print age encouraged the individualism, democracy, and the separation of work and leisure among many other things. After this age, electronic age come in social sphere. It replaced the print age in the twentieth century. Electronic age reached to so many people in many parts of the world. This electronic age galvanised the whole world. As a result the use of internet grew and people were empowered to access everything.

The new information technologies are creating various types of national security problems. Every nation has their own notion of sovereignty. The nation cannot dilute its sovereignty on any conditions. So, internationally and domestically, each government has been changing their policies to the availability of new information technologies. At the International level, the majority of state has national sovereignty related problems. The entire problem comes under the combination of developments. These developments are using satellite communication and the linkage of computer. These computers are directly undercutting national jurisdictions. Mostly, developed countries are using the new technology called “remote sensing” (RSF). This technology is scanning a territory with powerful sensors attached to orbiting satellites. It also search objects, routinely maps the globe and saves all sorts of resource information. Even without the government permission, all documents and information can be scanned. Now powerful countries have more information about all developing countries. These processes are technical capable to interpret and take advantage of the data.

These days remote sensing or direct satellite broadcaster are capable to transmit all the messages. The Satellites are received across the world and irrespective of national boundaries. Most important is that all these new developments, electronic trans border data flows now move in great volume across frontiers, silently and invisibly, transferring data. These data are received by the transnational corporation’s of many branches, beside oversight or accountability to national authorities. Eventually measures are adopted to counter, these developments. It’s taken together messages to reach all nations. These conditions are controlled by the nations who have invented it.

There is no world government waiting to assume global responsibility. All these developments also suggest the enhanced power of a few super states who exercise these technical corporations. These inter section of national sovereignty appears to offer still further reinforcement to the world business system etc. The destructive impact of the new technologies on national political organization its give benefit of capitalist enterprise.

But, all show off may be deceptive. Since, anti-imperialist struggles of the twentieth century are too recent to have been writing off from popular consciousness. The real thing was national independence and sovereignty though hardly attained by most countries. There is happing national ceremony and trapping of flags or airlines remain powerful aspirations. All these new technological are threats to national sovereignty can only rally great oppositional force already observable in international negotiations over issues. It has access to the



geostationary orbit, radio frequency allocation of all the data flow, regulation and the right of nations to control the messages into their national space.

Especially American policymakers are not entirely unaware of this policy. Secretary of state indirectly admitted it and George P Shultz stated that “the evolution of communication and information technology and its international significance makes it a foreign policy concern of the first magnitude since the ultimate course of communication and information can affect every dimension of our foreign relations” (Schiller 1984: 100).

America is a domestic equivalent to this dialectic, one with more threatening implications, seeing that these developments are most advanced and therefore most observable of the new information technologies. All these characters are exit in national state. All these instances and impact are contradictory.

Some special understanding is needed for new information technologies which have contributed greatly to the weakening of the public sector profit-making potential through a large number of activities. The states are focusing on some special sectors, such as education, health, welfare and public service functions. This advantage given by the computer and its growth depend on information sector in general. But transformed information into saleable goods encourages many former public service activities. These are contracted out for profit. On the other hand, computerization and sale of information are involved in these developments. But, just the same their contribution to privatization cannot be minimized.

All high-tech economy has weak public sector is balanced by a strong states. It is availing the most up-to-date communication instrumentation to maintain social equilibrium alongside grievous economic deterioration for increasing number of working people. This time market economies are developing. These types of development will be continuous crisis. After this crisis the state is takeaway as much as possible of its welfare function. The state strengthens its coercive capability to handle potentially unruly domestic groupings and perceived international adversaries. Some problems created by the new technologies can only be met with increased government intervention to protect the weaker sections of the population.

This is no time for our government to remove itself from the scene, whether it does so in the name of some ideology or of exhaustion of its moral/material resources, while the contesting parties struggle to work thing out on their own. Short of instituting it's their welfare system (Lecht 1983: 35). The all information technology is the Powerless to

solve the problem of its legion of new ex-employees. It cannot even promise job security to many of its remaining white collar personnel.

The poor country reversed the land issue. Vietnam is also a poor country. The communist countries protect the national patrimony against the “terminal node controller”. (TNC) This terminal greatly expanded powers provided by the new communications capability to bypass national authority. Inasmuch in both examples are different. The communication technology is being employed against human needs and requirement.

Traditional approaches of media studies in international relations have always laid emphasis on the concept of socio-political aspects. Media has ability to achieve information through one country to other country. It is the capacity to influence the behaviour of others to get the outcomes as the public wants the media adopts several ways of influencing the government and public opinion. So, this is more important to know about the media politics. What is the regulating factor of media?

### **Vietnam Society and Government**

Vietnam is a communist country. On April, 1, 2009 Population census suggested that Vietnam has 85,846,997 People (April 2009). Vietnam has one Party rule. Communist Party is the only political party in Vietnam. This party was formed in 1930 to support national movement. In 1920's there were underground activities against French colonial rule. When communist leader Ho Chi Minh joined the national movement, he mobilized them under the platform of the Communist Party. There were originally three different communist units for Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and initial name of the party was Indo-China communist party, which played a leading role in the national movement and anti-colonial struggle.

Vietnam has contiguous territory with Laos and Cambodia, where ethnic Viets are in majority. Vietnam has many ethnic groups. These groups live in various parts of the country. They are mainly Kinh, Tay, Thai, Muong, Khmer, Hoa, Nung, Mong, Dao, Gia Rai, E-De, Ba Na, San Chay, Cham, Co Ho etc and they form the main bulk of the minority ethnic groups.

Vietnam was unified in 1976 and adopted Marxism-Leninism as the guiding principle of the state. Hence, the nationalization and authoritarianism developed in the country. But the situation started changing after 1985 when perestroika and glasnost started in the Soviet Union and Vietnamese leaders too attached importance to reforms in the political system.



Vietnam initiated a liberal policy in 1986 under Doi Moi (Jha 2009: 177). During this period Prime Minister Nguyen Van Linh motivated the journalists and set the new norms for the press by stating that they should not bend their pens in order to please officials. He stated that "If the person is unable to write as they wish they should do research and enhance their Knowledge, till the suitable time comes for free and fair reporting" (Linh 1987). He clearly said that the press should not write opportunistic pieces. His successors also promoted investigative articles and this had helped in the better promoted investigative article and this has helped in the better performance of the government and better image of the media.

Vietnamese media needs to prepare its journalists to deal with new digital technologies and to encourage the growth of a professional and independent press. They need to be accountable for grass-roots democracy. But, this time the US State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) continues to foster mutual understanding between the United States and other countries through international education and training programs. West Virginia University's (WVU's) Perley Issac Reed School of Journalism actively encourages support from the State Department's Public Diplomacy Department to support media training programs in partnership with Vietnam National University's Faculty of Journalism and the Hanoi University of Foreign Studies. The planned WVU Centre for the Study of Emerging Media in Vietnam seeks financial support from the United States Agency for International Development to facilitate the placement of media trainers and academic exchanges (Esper, George and James Borton 2005).

In 1995 when Vietnam became fully fledged member of ASEAN, they concluded various agreements with the World Bank, which ultimately funded program to develop media studies in cooperation with the Ho Chi Minh City University's Social Science and Humanities department. They evolved practical media courses titled "Reporting on Development Issues". "Vietnam is taking steps to ensure the reform of the media and even recently passed a law granting more freedom to the individual editors of publishing companies, enabling that person to make value judgments regarding worthiness and accuracy of news rather than having each article pass through the party's ideological censors," (Esper, George and James Borton 2005) stated Augustine Vinh, a Hanoi-based independent financial consultant to the World Bank. Despite the country's legacy of war, political constraints and poverty, Vietnam's media are slowly helping the nation face up to their challenges in the race of becoming an active global competitor and aspirant to the World Trade Organization (Esper, George and James Borton 2005).

Some recent surveys indicate that Vietnamese press system provided 70 percent of the information needed by the public. In some areas, such as current social-politic events, climate change, weather and disasters, the press plays the absolute dominant role. In some other fields such as sports and entertainment, the press is becoming the major supplier of needed information (Tan 2007).

### **Literature Review**

While analysing the role of media in politics, and how media is influencing the political dynamism in Vietnam, it is necessary to have an understanding of existing writings. Traditional approaches of media studies in international relations have always laid emphasis on the concept of socio-political aspects. Media has ability to achieve information through one country to other country. It is the capacity to influence the behaviour of others to get the outcomes as the public wants the media adopts several ways of influencing the government and public opinion. So, this is more important to know about the media politics. What is the regulating factor of media?

**Vincent Mosco and Andrew Herma** (1981). he stated that media and the private sphere of leisure. The diffusion of mass culture provides a payoff for whatever subjugation the individual must endure in the workplace. The media has proved useful in directing attention to the growing impact of electronic media on economic, political, and social life. Critical challenges have been slow to be addressed primarily because the focus of debate in critical theory has been on the cultural realm.

**Tony Bennett** (1982). In this article he stated that in the nineteenth and twentieth century the press, radio and television the cinema and the record industry have traditional been grouped together under the heading mass media. There are different relationship between media and the state broadcasting institutions. The relationship between industry and audience is quite different. The nature of the media is broader social and political processes and their relationship has implications on one another.

**Mike Wayne** (2001). In his book he stated that the nineteenth century, the fragmentation and specialization of tasks which the bourgeois economy was developing in the factories also penetrated into the world of philosophy and the social sciences. The production line became the emblematic image of a social totality minutely divided and broken down into specialized tasks. This principle was generalized throughout the capitalist

social and cultural structure. After this result there is a peculiar dialectic between fragmentations as the world is broken up into separate fields and domains area economics, law, political science, culture, etc. This is the formal unity of each field and domain develops highly elaborate closed systems. All the parts slot assemble into place within a particular domain. This relation with other domains becomes increasingly opaque and difficult to fathom.

**Hanoi Publications.** (1965). In this book published by the Vietnamese government, where Vietnam was fighting the war against the French and American press was underground and the media faced ups and down. Media was rather rich in content. Sometimes, Vietnamese Media was projected illegal, semi-legal and legal. Media was the sharp weapon for the revolutionary force in the colonial time. It educated the people and organized the masses in the struggle to overthrow the regime of oppression and exploitation. The media played the part of a propagandist, an agitator and an organizer, guiding the people in socialist construction in the North and in the fight to achieve peaceful national reunification.

Vietnamese press serve the major tasks of each stage of the revolution. These reflect as seen by new man activities and reports new deeds. Vietnamese journalists always stand at the forefront of this struggle. These journalists call for international solidarity and support to the struggle for national liberation, democracy, peace and social progress all over the world. Every enterprise, construction site, farming co-operative has its own newspaper and reading group. Per day during the break time workers and peasants in such a group listen to one of their comrades reading aloud a newspaper. That was the new way of life unknown under the former colonial regime. These paper has vast own news network and correspondent among the workers, Peasants and army man.

**Daniel C. Hallin** (1986). In his book he stated that the media and politics both play different roles in the society and state. The watchdog role has always been there. The communist country had a press before it had a government. In the general feeling of the reporters is that people with power defend their power. Media has two major roles as the messenger and the watchdog analogies have this in common with the conservative view of an oppositional media. The oppositional media's argument is that media is an autonomous institution standing apart from the institutions of state power. On the surface Vietnam seems to be the perfect illustration of the separation between media and the state in modern



American politics. There was in fact persistent conflict and ill feeling between the media and the government over Vietnam.

**Graham Spencer** (2005). In his book he stated that during the Vietnam War media has different role. There were different role of journalists. They express their news reporting at the same time they apply to people peace. That news was not to disengage from Vietnam. But, US government manages journalists and makes the favourable news. That was the US government war propaganda.

**James Borton** (2005). In his article he stated that Vietnam has nearly 700 hundred newspapers and periodicals published by more than 400 publishers are all controlled by the communist party. There is no private media. There is party outlet people can purchase newspaper. So, this is easily filtering the information. There is no space for independent news reporting.

**Douglas A. Phillips** (2006). In his book he stated that Vietnamese people have relation between media and politics authority was becoming rationalized in the Weber sense. It was becoming depersonalized and depoliticized in the partisan sense of political and the media were becoming integrated into the process of government. The press was recognized as a sort of fourth branch of government a part of the informal constitution of the political system. It, in turn, accepted the certain standards of responsible behaviour. These standards involved not merely renouncing the right to make partisan criticisms of political authority, but also granting to political authorities certain positive right of access to the news and accepting for the most part of the language, agenda and perspective of the political establishment.

**Vo X. Han** (2008) in his article he explains the Vietnamese press. While we think about the freedom of the press in the conventional or western sense may not apply to Vietnam in 2007, one outstanding yet unexpected phenomenon has been the media explosion since Doi Moi (Renovation), which was proclaimed in 1986. This development trends appear to have continued with a still controlled but vigorous press that has become increasingly assertive and vocal in criticizing government mistakes and shortcomings.

When we see casual observation of life style in Vietnamese large and medium sized cities and the media, including TV show and steadily multiplying popular publications one

can feel a sense of optimism and vitality especially among the urban population. This growth and development activity are in large urban area including work and entertainment.

**George MC Turnan Kahin's** (1959). In his book he, contextualizing to the Vietnamese media, stated that Vietnamese press has not an important role in spreading information or in shaping public opinion. There are Vietnamese language newspapers but these are largely limited to Ho Chi Minh City.

### **Theoretical Perspective of Media**

Traditional approaches of media studies in international relations have always laid emphasis on the concept of socio-political aspects. Media has ability to achieve information through one country to other country. It is the capacity to influence the behaviour of others to get the outcomes as the public wants the media adopts several ways of influencing the government and public opinion. So, this is more important to know about the media politics. What is the regulating factor of media?

Economy is the big factor of growth. International relation for each and every country depends on their economic relation. There are many under-developed countries in the world. The living conditions of these countries are very poor and the GDP is also very low. Due to the globalization, many developing countries are attached to the developed country. The relationship with developed countries corresponds to the increase in the economy. So, media is the part of economic development.

Media economics involves the application of economic theories, concepts and principles to study the macroeconomic and microeconomic aspects of mass media companies and industries. Concomitant with the increasing consolidation and concentration across the media industries, media economics emerged as an important area of study for academicians, policymakers, and industry analysts. Media economics literature encompasses a variety of methodological approaches involving both qualitative and quantitative methods and statistical analysis, as well as studies using financial, historical and policy driven data (Albarran 2004).

Firstly, we can understand the historical development in the field of media economics. The question is how evolve the media economic. That was the time period between 1500 and 1800 we known how media evolved to change the perception of the people. It is eventful the Western Europe. The very first time mercantilism represents the earliest form of economic development which originated in 16<sup>th</sup> century. That time gold and silver was the wealth of nation. When nation lacked mines they could acquire the precious metals via trade and

commerce. It has led to the political intervention in the market. This market is based on tariffs and subsidies elevating commercial interests of the national policy.

The economist Adam Smith wrote a book “The Wealth of Nation” (Smith 1776). He has defined land, labour and capital as the three factors of production and the major contributions to a nation of wealth. He has also defined “political economy” (Smith 1776). Today political economy in media sector is exciting. Media is just like production industry. Many media houses are listed in stock market. They are getting profit in this business. So, this satellite surrounding makes a different situation for media coverage. All media coverage depends on his own profit. Many big International media house came in developing country, and they are serving their interest. Therefore, it must be known as to why media came in these countries and open his production houses.

Vietnam is the communist state. The state focus on Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh’s thought. It’s carrying into effect the programme of national reconstruction in the period of transition of socialism. The Vietnamese people uphold the spirit of self-reliance in building the country. It carries out a foreign policy of independence, sovereignty, peace, friendship and cooperation with all nations. Vietnamese Constitution strictly abides by the win ever greater successes in their effort to renovate, build and defend their motherland. Thus, we must know about the Vietnamese media. Did Vietnamese media flow the Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh ideology?

German Philosopher Karl Marx has written his Article. He identified labour as the source of all production. He rejected the market system that allowed the capitalists the ownership of the factories and necessary machinery. The capitalist exploit the working class and deny them a fair share of the goods produced. He had predicted the fall of capitalism as the disenfranchised labour class would ultimately rebel. His prediction was when labour class be united they would overthrow the capitalists and seize the means of production (Fuchs 2010:18).

Karl Marx stated about the media and communication. He identified that media and communication are the commodity production, commodity circulation, ideology and the importance of alternative media. In his book was “Marx and Engels on the means of Communication”. Mainly, Karl Marx’s works are important for a general sociological and anthropological study. It’s understood of man as being that processes matter, energy and



information in order to transform nature and society. But, Marx emphasis that conceived the relationship of material and intellectual practices as dialectical. These all are based on this general understanding of communication. He specifically discussed about the communication technologies and the role of communication in capitalism.

Today media is industry. It decreases the share of variable and constant capital in order to increase profit rates. Media partly achieved this rationalization and automation of media products. Nowadays the world has unequal market conditions, organization structures, class struggles and different levels of innovation. The global world has rates of the division of labour, rates of surplus value. In this condition, there are different fixed costs, wages and productivity in media corporations. These corporations are related to the higher levels of productivity and sell their commodities at cheaper price than others. We can see this result by higher market shares. After this result, its competing corporations can lose profit and often end up facing economic crisis. This may result in the takeover by another competing corporation. It influences market development and advertising circulation. Presently, commercial media are able to attain many advertising clients or likely to be able to increase their circulation and their advertising effort. In this condition they increase own audience. These media company are more attractive for advertisers.

During the globalisation period, the advance factor is the tendency of capital concentration. The online journalism is a potential rationalization factor. Because, these type of knowledge production, publishing and distribution can be combined in one or a few employee positions. Media content is powerful information goods. Such production cause relatively high initial costs. But one person created these types of goods. It is not a newly produced. It can be easily copied and paste at low cost. In this order media company gain profits by multiple co modification. In this condition, Media Corporation try to overtake corporations that operate in related cultural industries.

Karl Marx argument was that the new transportation and communication technologies enable to reach or build up distant markets. This is the result of globalization of world trade and global expansion of the circulation sphere of capital. Such improvement of the means of transportation and communication brought about by the progress of capitalist production. It reduces the time of circulation of particular quantities of commodities. On the same progress and the opportunities created by the development of transport and communication facilities. It's easy to work for ever in more remote markets a word for the world-market. These types of

mass commodities are transferred to the distant places which grows enormously. Both are absolute and relative. This is the part of social capital. It remains continually for long periods in the stage of commodity-capital, within the time of circulation. In that location, the growth is a simultaneous of that portion of social wealth. It is serving as direct means of production. This is invested means of transportation and communication. It has fixed and circulating capital it required for their operation. All knowledgeable people can say that communication technologies are medium and outcome of world trade.

Second aspect is relationship between media and globalization. Marx stated that “shortening of time and space by means of communication and transport. Capital by its nature drive beyond every spatial barrier. Thus the creation of the physical conditions of exchange of the means of communication and transport the annihilation of space by time becomes an extraordinary necessity for it” (Fuchs 2010: 23).

In this day and age, media established as an origination. It flows by the organizational structure. Many semi-government sectors have wage labourers. Media has also wage labourers groups. These wage labours in media and cultural corporation like journalists, editors, secretaries call centre agents; information brokers software engineers, designers. During the Marx period these posts did not exist. That time this type of profession had been primarily mental activities. They produced immaterial knowledge and service. When media become “Media Capital” its knowledge is a commodity and produced by the knowledge workers. Karl Marx expresses his view that when importance of knowledge work increased it took shape of media capital. This was the consequence of the development of the productive forces. That is an economic interest in the substitution of living labour by technology in order to decrease the investment and reproduction costs of capital and its turnover time. That was the ideal case to increase profit. Today importance’s of technological means of production and knowledge labour have decreased the importance of living labour. Marx stated that the organic composition of capital increases continuously. “The accumulation of capital, though originally appearing as its quantitative extension only, is effected as we have seen under a progressive qualitative change in its composition under a constant increase of its constant at the expense of its variable constituent” ( Fuchs 2010: 29).

Media is a contents business company. It is transported with the help of transmission technologies. This accumulation of capital can be placed in the media sector. Its corresponding provision and transmission technology are institutionalized in most cases.

When, media and telecommunication sectors are liberalized and privatized, this affects transmission technology, which is mostly a profit-oriented corporation. For example many developed and developing countries have commercial TV stations, radio stations, cinemas, online shops, telecommunication corporations, theatres, opera houses, concert houses. Their existence forms capital with realm of the media. It does not produce but it transports and transmits commodities. In this case commodities are not a physical product. But, when we take the transmission services it is payable in most of the case.

Vietnamese believe in Marx's ideology. So, they emphasised on controlled press. Karl Marx expressed his view over controlled press. He stated that the controlled press is a civilized monster that distorts reality. This discussion in this context came from German press (Fuchs 2010: 30).

Every state has their own ideology. State ideology expresses dominant class interests and the attempt to control. It is the ideas of the ruling class. They are created every time by the ruling ideas. That class which is the ruling material force of the society, at the same time its ruling intellectual force. This class is the means of material production. They make a testament and control the means of mental production. Thus, generally speaking the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. So, you can see any government issued, party spokesperson and government official give the statement. This statement will be authentic.

### **Types of Vietnamese Media**

Media is the plural form of medium. This came from culture. Culture came from human behaviour. There are different forms of culture and art. Vietnam culture and art influenced by the China in the north and India in the southwest. Vietnam is tropical nation. Vietnamese people have rich legacy of poetry and dance culture. There is some ethnic minority they have diverse languages and different culture. The conversations are in different languages. There are French, Chinese and English languages speaking people. Language is the most powerful tool of the human communication. So, the natures of Vietnamese are multicultural.

In 1964 North Vietnam had 127 papers including four dailies 25 monthlies and weeklies at the centre level, 45 local newspapers, 49 periodicals and four bulletins of various organizations. Each branch has one economic bulletin and cultural magazine. That time the



number of copies of newspaper and magazines per capital amounted to four (Hanoi Publications 1965).

There was different committee newspaper Nhan Dan (People), Thong Nhat (Reunification), Lao Dong (Labour) have biggest number of copies. But, weekly Hoc Tap (Study) takes this lead. Outsider can read the Vietnam pictorial the Vietnam courier and the Vietnamese Studies. Vietnam News agency is the official information service of Democratic Republic Vietnam.

The establishment of the Vietnam radio “Voice of Vietnam” on 7 September 1945. This broadcast was from Hanoi. During the war time, this shifting of radio headquarter was landmark event. Hanoi had resumed its broadcast after a short time of readjustment from the jungle of Vietbac. There were four other radio stations in Trungbo and Bacbo.

During the 1954 all radio stations merged into one. Voice of Vietnam with weak transmitter of old was replaced by several new ones with a stronger transmitter. This was used by the French colonialists. Everyday programmes telecast for 40 hours on three radio station listened by millions of people at home and abroad ( Hanoi Publications 1965).

Vietnam Radio maintains connection with the 17 radio stations in the world. It is the member of the international Broadcasting Origination. Some other radio setups in Vietnam are in the Vietbac and Northwest autonomous regions. Other socialist countries give the help to setup the megaphone system in all major towns. Whereas, in 1958 these network have been developed by the end of 1964. There were 1,550 networks with 16,010 kilometres of wire. A primarily construction site was state farms and lumbering stations have their relay system. In one-third relay stations of agricultural co-operative sector because peasant can listen to the radio. There was average receiver for 61 people.

The communist country had a press before it had a government. In the general feeling of the reporters is that people with power defend their power. Media has two major roles as the messenger and the watchdog analogies have this in common with the conservative view of an oppositional media. The oppositional media’s argument is that media is an autonomous institution standing apart from the institutions of state power. On the surface Vietnam seems the perfect illustration of the separation between media and the state in modern American politics. There was in fact persistent conflict and ill-feeling between the media and the government over Vietnam.

Vietnam has nearly 700 hundred newspapers and periodicals published by more than 400 publishers are all controlled by the communist party. There is no private media. There is party outlet from where people can purchase newspaper. So, this is easily filtering the information. There is no space for independent news reporting (Esper, George and James Borton 2005).

There was 8 million cell phone and land based phones. The similar situation exists for radio and television communication. There was limited offering. Thus, much of the problem that pertains to the media is imposed by the communist government. They can easily control the information. Just the same time there was 100 radio stations exist and there is only a handful of television Stations. The government controls what can be printed in newspaper and other paper media. Other people can access satellite television news such as CNN and BBC as well as other international programming in upscale hotels. But, Vietnamese people have little or no access to the world through these satellite transmissions. There were 5,000 internet cafes in Vietnam. Government controls restrict internet content and the ability to criticize the government (Douglas 2006: 85).

### **Politics of Vietnamese Media**

Vietnam is governed by the socialist ideology but it is in the process of transformation. Every country wants their economic development. This economic development is not possible without Information. Media is the medium of Information. Vietnam cannot exercise censorship if it wants to develop.

In 1930 communist party of Vietnam started national movement against the French colonial rule under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh. They stated their revolutionary struggle and sacrifices, for freedom resulting in the triumph of the August Revolution. On September 02, 1945 President Ho Chi Minh read the declaration of Independence and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam came into existence. Vietnam history has big legacy for Dien Bien Phu and Ho Chi Minh campaigns. They defeated the two wars of aggression by the colonialists and the imperialists and liberated the country. After this movement they reunified the motherland and brought to completion the people's national democratic revolution. Second time, in July 2, 1976 the National Assembly of Vietnam decided to change the country's name to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and country entered a period of transition to

socialism, strove for national construction and unyieldingly defended its frontiers while fulfilling its international duty.

Socialist Republic of Vietnam made its first constitution in 1946. This constitution was drafted by the National Assembly. In this constitution, legislative authority was vested in the National Assembly. This was the highest institution in the country. In 1959 constitution was explicitly communist in character. It established socialist rule in North Vietnam. This constitution explained the function of the state's executive, legislative and judicial bodies in order to separate powers of the government. But, communist party was not mentioned in the document. In 1980 Constitution came after the unification of Vietnam. When, Vietnam defeated American Imperialist forces and reunification the North and the South Vietnam. That time Vietnam needed to replace old Constitution. Because, Old constitution was heavily influenced by the Soviet Russian Constitution. This constitution strengthened the power of the executive, but it kept the legislature largely the same as under the 1959 Charter. This constitution also gave the Vietnamese Communist Party a central role in determining all the state activities. The 1980 constitution recognized and guaranteed the citizens rights to freedom of speech, the Press, assembly and association.

After end of the cold war and collapse of the Soviet Union, Socialist Republic of Vietnam has written a new constitution in 1992. This constitution has an effort to meet the demands of a more liberal global political and economic landscape. The world is changing very fast. Vietnam had started DOI-MOI and the country needed a political and economic transformation. Past isolation and creating a market oriented economy in order to integrate Vietnam into the new international order. This constitution reduced the power of the Vietnam communist Party. It abolished the party of power control; party cannot take the decision of socio-economic affairs and affirmed a multi sartorial commodity economy in accordance with market mechanisms. This management was the state with socialist orientation. The constitutional text identified three forms of ownership, which are people collective and private in different production and business organizations. The constitution gives the right of foreign investors and ownership rights and protection against nationalization (Constitutional History of Vietnam 2014).

All these development created the new form of political condition. These situations give the large space of media. So, Vietnamese media can access the satellite channels.



Vietnamese press has changed in the past one decade. Though, censorship has altogether not been relaxed the journalists are encouraged to report investigative articles and about wrong-doing of the officials. They keep a watch on bureaucrats and ministers; this development has irked some CPV stalwarts. The government has given directives to the press to reflect not merely the “voice of the party” but also the “voice of the people”. It has permitted the press to expose dark areas of socio-economic life and investigative pieces are given incentives ( Jha 2009: 177).

Vietnamese Prime Minister Nguyen Van Lan changed his tone regarding the press. He stated that they should not bend their pens in order to please officials. He emphasize for the journalist that “if a person is unable to write as they wish they should do research and enhance their knowledge, till the suitable time come for free and fair reporting” (Linh 1987). His clear statement was that the press should not write opportunistic pieces. This type of success also promoted investigative articles. It helps in the better performance of the government and better image of media.

Whole world are transforming for an economic development. But there is another debate going on that is the state has sovereignty question. Thus, International relation based on world economy of regionalization, globalization and transnational flow at large. In this emergence, world affairs maintain a variety of network from the ideological to the criminal or terrorist. This time new political economy of the world has decided on his destiny.

Today, Vietnamese media are in different role. Some private lawyers they interact with local media and increasingly assertive public opinion. Many times, these lawyers are building a public opinion and pressurize the Government. Public opinion is the determining factor of the government. So, Vietnamese media play big role but at some conditions government bans the media.

When, Socialists Republic of Vietnam became a member of ASEAN the country gave emphasis on connectivity. There are happening various types of programme. You can see the past few years, lawyers have been discussing publicly in the mass media, in workshops and presentations. They are discussing about the role of lawyer’s status and right of prosecutor in litigation and particularly in criminal cases. The court without any doubt they radically increased their use of the press to promote understanding of the types of cases that come before courts and the decisions made. Now every court works regularly and they report in several newspapers. All these news published by the national party newspaper. Nhan Dan and Lao Dong, cong a Nhan Dan all these newspapers are policy newspaper and it is the people’s

public security. There is people's army newspaper Quan doi Nhan dan. There is city edition Saigon Giai Phong and Saigon daily. It is the Ho Chi Minh City party paper. Saigon Daily Times was the first news paper of Vietnam dedicated to reporting law and business and appointed legally qualified reports. Whilst is media remains state controlled.

In 2003 the mass media especially newspaper actively called on their readers to provide opinion on the drafts of the new Land Law and Civil Procedure Code. In this period VnExpress organized an opinion forum on bills relating to the organization of people's councils and committees and to the elections of their member. This participation campaigns support by several international organization working on the reform of legislative and representative institutions.

Due to the International media effect in last ten years, many malpractices are exposed in Vietnam Illegal electoral practices have been highlighted. Some confidential documents submitted in the mass media office in 2004 exposed many such practices and public prosecutors and police had apologized for and took the cognizance of it and had misdeeds. In this situation, there were new twisting relations. Vietnamese society has different and growing expectations of the state. During this period media role is more important. As we know, Vietnamese media is fully controlled by the party and state, but media regularly turns up its nose at the state. However, Vietnamese press gives air to the lungs of a society dissatisfied for many years with the state and bureaucratic order. But, the state support accountability in governance and public administration reform. Vietnamese people gradually gained greater confidence in their views and rights. This time individuals have greater tendency than they stated their grievances and complaints in the mass media. They can address directly particular political authority. When wrongs are committed and members argue the matter in the National Assembly it embarrasses government. It has sometimes forced the minister into apology or resignation. This has spear tremors around the country. Specially, these events are reported in the mass media and sometime telecasted live on television.

Vietnam is trying to reform its legal system to transform the society. It has to make rules and regulations in view with the requirement of the International system and WTO terms and conditions. When, country is making effort for speed integration into the global economy and for quality certification, human safety and the environment media reforms are essential. This time WTO also looks after international labour standards. Vietnam has private

and state owned enterprises. There are many problems related with the labour laws. There is trade union issue dominated by communist party members. Trade unions articulated workers rights and interests. Experts are analyzing the reports and they are conversant social media of Vietnam. Manual labourers, low education and unemployed issue are developed in Vietnam. The international market is supporting increased migration and employment in the informal sector. Vietnam will resolve all these problems by restructuring manufacturing, removing structural unemployment and by supporting labour force mobility in due course.

The types of news mass media require are not entirely transparent. WTO standards are yet to be fully implemented. There is still rather high price for better opportunities in international trade. These matter and include access for powerful transnational corporations and their network and influence on local commodity and services market.

The new information age is the most vibrant for Media activity. It is contributing to the new World Information Order. It was argued by developing countries in 1970s and criticized industrialized counterparts on the other issue of transfer of western technologies. Global information conditions change to media outlet. International media policy reflects a mode of media production and its use is still highly adapted to for national needs and interests. The transnational networking of media and markets are too strong and it is spreading in the contemporary world. Vietnam is rapidly emphasising the role of media not only in the socio-economic life of the nation but also in reforming the politics of Vietnam.

**Notes:**

This is 1 April 2009 census data of General statistics office of Vietnam. This department gives monthly statistical information and it is publishing various type of report. This is the 1 April 2009 census data. This census co-related various socio-economic status of Vietnam. This statistics data also reflected Administrative power in Vietnamese people. For detailed see: [http://www.gso.gov.vn/default\\_en.aspx?tabid=491](http://www.gso.gov.vn/default_en.aspx?tabid=491).

Doi Moi is a Vietnamese word. It means reforms. Vietnam is a communist state. The Vietnamese government started a process of deep reforms. The government goal was modernizing the economic system. The government wants this development through the abolition of collectivism in some sectors of the economy and the introduction of a market economy. During this period of the government change, several important reforms have been actuated agriculture, industry and the main services. The reform includes health, financial, trade and media sector also. The government progressively reformed and reshaped to conform to a modern market economy.



In 1988 Prime Minister Nguyen Van Linh gives this statement. Because, that time Vietnam suffered various type of corruption. Many government officials engage in corruption issue. So, media is the best platform. It highlights the issue and searched the corrupted officials.

This is statement given by the James Borton. He wrote an article in Asian times online. He is a freelance journalist. He fined many developments reporting happened in Vietnam. Many news papers conducted survey of Vietnam Agriculture issue.

Remote sensing refers the activates of recording/observing/ perceiving object at far away place. In remote sensing, the sensors are not in direct contact with the object or events being observed. This information needs a physical carrier to travel from the objects/events to the sensors through an intervening medium. The electromagnetic radiation in sensing system is usually an image representing the scene being observed.

TNC is a device used by amateur radio operators to participate in AX.25 packet radio networks. It is similar in function to the packet Assembler/ Disassemblers used on X.25 networks, with the addition of a modem to convert baseband digital signals to audio tones.

This book is based on economics. It was published in 1776, this book original title was “An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of nation. Generally people are referred to by its shortened title “The wealth of Nations. This was the world’s first collected descriptions of what builds nation's wealth and is today a fundamental work in classical economics. This book is a reflection over the economics at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, the book touches upon such broad topic as the division of labor, productivity and free markets.

Indian and Vietnam contest the agriculture system of political economy. It will not require so long an explanation as that which I have thought it necessary to bestow upon the mercantile or commercial system. These systems represent the produce of land as the sole source of the revenue and wealth of every country. Today money, gold and silver is the wealth. Any popular nation money naturally arises from the double function as the instrument of commerce and as the measure of value. It is the consequent instrument of commerce. Human and money has great affair. We always find money and that is obtained. There is no difficulty in making any subsequent purchase. We see the rich man. He is worth a great deal. We see the poor man. He is worth very little money. A frugal man or a man eager to be rich is said to love money. On the other side the careless and generous or profuse man is said to be indifferent about it.

Adam smith stated that I shall examine chiefly what are likely to be the effects of each of them upon the annual produce of its industry. According to, as they tend either to increase or diminish the value of this annual produce they must evidently tend either to increase or diminish the real wealth and revenue of the country.

Manfred Konche used this terminology, Media capital operates in several areas of media and advertising. This group has also strong positions in other business related to the media sector. This group also calibrates with the Audiovisual Production through the multimedia company. This leadership strategy is grounded in a commitment

to develop information, culture and entertainment in Portugal. It has solid reference about the interests and preference of viewers, listeners and shareholders.

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## **CHAPTER: II**

# **EVOLUTION OF MEDIA IN VIETNAM**

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### **Evolution of Media in Vietnam**

Vietnam is a Socialist state situated in Southeast Asia. It has two hinterlands namely Mekong River and Red River. It has mountain backbone and adjacent coastal lowland of Annam. Vietnam covers total area of 331,114 sq km (127,844 sq miles) and lies along the western shore of the South China Sea. Its frontiers with three countries are with People's Republic of China is north, Laos to the west and by Cambodia to the south-west. Vietnam's capital is Hanoi. Two rivers are in the heart of Vietnam. That is Songkoi, this river is rising like the Mekong in south-western China and its delta together and there is series of lesser rivers. The rivers cover total area of 14,500 sq km. It is the less than one half of the great Mekong delta in the south. North Vietnam also includes a much more extensive area of rugged upland. It's mainly situated in the north and west. It's represented as a southward continuation of the Yunnan and adjacent plateaux of south-western China. Its forms an inhospitable and sparsely populated divide, some 900-1,500 m above sea level, between North Vietnam and northern Laos.

April, 2009 census calculated population of Vietnam at 85,846.997 (Vietnam census April 1, 2009). The general statistics office of Vietnam also gives region wise population data, the Northern midlands and mountains region totalled population is 11.053.590 and the Red River delta totalled population is 19.584.287 and North and South central coast totalled population is 18.835.154 and Central Highland totalled population is 5.115.135 and southeast totalled population is 14.067.361 and Mekong River delta totalled population is 17.191.470. When we see gender wise population in Vietnam; female population is higher than male. Vietnamese male population according to 2009 census is 42, 413.43, on the other side female population are 43,433.854. When, we differentiate between rural and urban population, Vietnamese people lives in rural area more than urban area. According to 2009 census rural population in Vietnam totalled 60,410.101 and urban population 25,349.995.

Vietnam is called fatherlands and it has many ethnic groups. These ethnic groups live in together with children of Lac Long Quan- Au Co. Some oral history has been stated that Vietnam is a combination of one hundred sons. All these 100 sons divided into two parts half of them went with the mother up to mountains and half went with the father down to sea. They were together expending the mountains and forests.

That time there was immense plains and Eastern Sea with four waving seasons. This territory connected from peak Lang Cu (North) to Rach Tau Village (South) it's from Truong Son Range (West) to Truong SA Archipelago (East). (Vietnam Government Portal 2014)

Vietnam geography is the mixture of Southeast Asia mainland with Southeast Asia Island. So, this place has different culture in the region. There are three big linguistics families in the Southeast Asia. These linguistics families are living in Southern islands and the Chinese-Tibeto linguistics family. Vietnamese ethnic groups have their own languages. There are eight ethnic groups languages.

Vietnam has rich literature history. It's reached even the most ignorant peasant by word of mouth. Vietnamese people sing a folk song. They retraced in song the history of the nation and the feats of notable sons of the province. That was the Hun dynasty in Vietnam. During this period peoples long night of the hot summer, boatman on the river of perfumes still sing nostalgic song about the emperors Ham Nghi and Duy Tan. Both empires resisted the French rule during the colonial period and were defeated. Today Vietnam has adopted performing play from the Chinese. Despite of these episodes Vietnamese has history and literature.

Vietnamese author comrade Nguyen Trai to whom are also attributed some of the oldest writing to survive in the Vietnamese fiction in Chinese is the vast collection of marvellous legends by another Nguyen Du he lived in the early sixteen century almost three hundred years before the author of Kim Van Kieu.

Vietnamese publish one magazine that was the "Nam Phong". It was the Vietnamese name. When be translate this name that is the "south Wind". This magazine has been dividied into two parts half in Chinese characters and half in Quoc Ngu. It served as a bridge between the older and younger generations. Pham Quynh was the editor of this journal. He gives the best contribution of this journal. Another famous author Neuyen Van Vinh they translate of French classics into Vietnamese.

Vietnamese nationalist leader Hyynh Thuc Khang founded a famous political literary newspaper. That was "Tien-Dan" this is the voice of the people. It influences the thinking of an entire generation of nationalist leader before Second World War. In the same period satiric newspaper Phong Hoa published in Hanoi.

That time Vietnam was French colony. During that period French ruler develop their media in Vietnam. They publish first newspaper in 1861. This was the French official bulletin. Historical development in Vietnam Press appeared in 1942. The Times of Vietnam and former director general of Vietnam Press news agency provides many historical documents. During the French ruler that time E. Bernardez and William Haney was the religious broadcasting in Vietnam. Vietnamese cinema came from Hanoi cartoon Studio. This set up by the minister of Culture on 9 November 1959. This studio provide in 1960 “What the fox Deserves” after this production this studio also at least 260 animated work in 1998.

That time there were several movements going on, which inspired media’s role was most important? Some activist was distributing the pamphlet the people of Vietnam. This pamphlet and people to people communication galvanized the national movement. They made the underground press and published several type of comment against the French colonialism. Indo-China communist party activist was organizing the cultural activity. This cultural activity was the best medium of communicate the people. Media changed the human behavior and activity in Vietnam. Media was more power full they could change all political situations. In favor of Vietnam is liberation. It Changed the political Ideology and public opinion and guided to the government about the individual right and the most important goal of the country.

The Vietnamese official stated that the country has at least 58 distinct national ethnic grouping. They have largely homogeneous ethnically and culturally. Vietnam has one of the world’s highest birth rates. In 1962 Vietnam population was 30.5 million. But, when we see 1996 population data it increase more than 70 million. In this situation therefore half of the national population has been born since the Vietnam War. (Tucker 1999: 3)

This group is explained in eight Parts. First is Việt-Muong Group: Chut, Kinh, Muong, Tho. Second is Tay-Thai Group: Bo Y, Giay, Lao, Lu, Nung, San Chay, Tay, Thai. Third is Mon-Khmer Group: Ba na, Brau, Bru-Van Kieu, Cho-ro, Co, Co-ho, Co-tu, Co-tu, Gie-trieng, Hre, Khang, Khmer, Kho mu, Ma, Mang, M’Nong, O-du, Romam, Ta-oi, Xinh-mun, Xo-dang, Xtieng. Fourth is Mong-Dao Group: Dao, Mong, Pa Then. Fifth is Kadai Group: Co Lao, La Chi, La ha, Pu Peo. Sixth is Austro-Polynesian Group: Cham, Chu-ru, E de, Gia-rai, Ra-glai. Seventh is Chinese Group:



Hoa, Ngai, San Diu. Eight is Tibeto Group: Cong, Ha Nhi, La Hu, Lo Lo, Phu La, Si La (Vietnamese Government Portal 2015).

Vietnam has 54 ethnic groups, biggest ethnic groups is the Viet (Kinh). This group's people account for the 87 percent of the country and other 53 ethnic minority groups. According to the census total population of ethnic groups is 85,846,997. When we see region wise ethnic group population that is Northern Midlands and Mountains population is 11,053,590 and Red River Delta 19,584,287 and North and south central coast 18,835,154 and central highlands 5,115,135 and southeast 14,067,361 and Mekong river delta 17,191,470. The highest concentration of people lives in the Red River delta.

Ethnic identities are closely connected to the home societies. One cannot discuss ethnic identities without reference to a particular local society. In discussing Vietnam ethnic identity, it is important to know the hometown of the person in question. Therefore, the movement towards defining and preserving ethnic identities, promoted by numerous ethnic publications, could be described as central among the localization trends. Thus, ethnic media could be described as a contemporary phenomenon insofar as they are both global and local in their scope of reference (Shiramizu 2000: 273).

Who are 'needy' minorities? It is occasionally explained by more liberal interview conduct. But, sometimes Vietnamese exposes their view in a few state offices in Hanoi. These government offices conducted the interviews with state agents and articulated the opinion of ethnic minority groups. The Vietnamese government has organized with the overarching project of socialist national solidarity. Contemporary, there are many questions coming in the public sphere which is paradoxical. It's insisting on the importance of preserving traditional culture and its diversity. This aims to grow the task of ministry of culture, Sport and Tourism (MCST 2007) and Vietnam television 5 (VTV 5, 2002) ground. It is the perspective of market integrations and modernisation. There is no matter how unstable the 'dynamic laws of the market' it might be in the global world. But, Vietnamese state recently promoted the law.

Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a part of Indo-China (Indo-China 1858). This term used by the Danish Carto-grapher Konrad malte- Brun (Burn 1821). Indo China includes an area, namely Burma, Thailand, Tonkin, Annam, Cochin-China, Laos and Cambodia. It is at a crossroads with India to the west and China to the north. When, we see the location of South China Sea that is an archipelagic extension of Southeast Asia. The French rulers have given the political entity to Indo-China in 19<sup>th</sup> century and included Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam in it. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is the eastern most Portion of Indo-China; it extends east from Laos and Cambodia to the Gulf of Tonkin and South China Sea. It is the crossroads of Asia and it was destined for a stormy history. This country encompasses some 127,300 square miles of territory. When we compare in the context of the United States, Vietnam is approximately one-half the size of the state of Texas. The country coastline is shaped like an “S”. That is 1,200 miles from north to south, it has extremes in climate. The North Vietnam has noticeable winter season and the other hand South Vietnam has warm temperatures. This country varies in depth from as little as 33 miles to as much as 300 miles. In this shape Vietnam is being called “the starving Sea horse”. It has the wide coastline, which is projected as the “balcony on the Pacific” and its exposed seaborne invasion but it has also provided a ready source of food. The geographical characteristic of Vietnam is sea and river based. The country transportation by sea and river encouraged national unity. Vietnamese history is water transportation and it has been faster and easier than over land. Because, when we track back in history many colonial rulers came through water routes.

Vietnam has many mountain chains. All these mountain chains are running principally north to south. Its came from China, The China also provide river valleys that have been used by migratory groups entering Vietnam from the north. It is the most important, because this is the Truong Son Range. It is the highest peak as 10,000 feet near the Chinese border. The Truong Son Range is dropping off to a steep cliff near the sea in central Vietnam. This watershed forms the western boundary with Laos and Cambodia. This is also high ground of the Thai Hill. This area situated in the northwest and another mountainous area in the northeast. The North Vietnam has special midland feature its terraced hills and rounded mountains north of the Red River Delta. On the other side important geographical region is the Southern Mountain Plateau. It’s known as the Plateaux Montagnards du sud (PMS 1950). This type of Central highland is

French and Americans. The Vietnamese vast plateau covers some two-third and whole Vietnam South of the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel. This topographical division rule out geographical unity (Tucker1999: 2).

As per production, the economy of Vietnam is something of a unit. The North area has the bulk of the raw materials and the South boasts most of the food-producing areas. When Vietnam was divided in 1954, it caused economic burden for each half. This situation forced the country to depend on outside economic assistance.

Vietnam had command economy and one-party rule. The citizens are dependent on officials for fulfilment of their needs. This is the basis of official power. The country has departed from the system in the planned economy. In this the socialist regimes responded differently to address socio-economic problems. There has some example that in the past states sought to arrest any person who indulged in significant deviations from the formal institutions of central planning. When Peasants without permission went to market were arrested or shot. Now the state tolerates deviations and sought to co-opt them eventually through various liberalising reforms. The government is supporting development of markets accelerated by state assistance. They provide an increasingly systematic legal infrastructure to institutionalise the market. In the other way of government they give incentive or the stick efforts to reform state-socialist economies could not address the systemic disqualification of actually existing planned economies (Jonathan 2014: 86).

Socialist Republic of Vietnam is facing two types of challenges. First challenge is to integrate country into the free world market and its corollary of religious freedom. In this order the country provide prosperity to its people and to preserve its legitimacy. Second challenge is to deal with the growing influence of religious forces. They are suspects to embody opposition against the absolute power. This power has been exercised since its victory after 30 years of war. Vietnam has two type of policy. First policy is Vietnamese religious issue and the second policy is the Vietnamese Communist Party's approach. This country has historical perspective of religion. The communist party has principled approach by a strong state based on an immutable atheist ideology. In this situation there is different result of a pragmatic approach by a state looking for legitimacy but country has regional and global integration ( Lien 2013: 229).

Today South China Sea is a big dispute of Southeast Asia (ASEAN 2010). It is virtually from the tropic of Cancer to within 9<sup>0</sup>N of the Equator (Demain 2002 : 1005). South China Sea occupied an area of about 648,000 square miles or 15 square kilometres. This is including two major island chains. That is the Parcels and the Spratly (Nguyen 2012: 196). Why important of the South China Sea? The location of South China Sea is very important because it has critical geostrategic location and rich natural resource. It connects to Indian Ocean and Western Pacific. This is the best way majority of energy supplies to Korea, Japan, Taiwan and China. It is considered the breath of life of East Asia economies. Therefore, no one can say who controls the South China Sea. Will it control world economy? The South China Sea has reserves oil and gas with 7 billion barrels and 900 trillion cubic feet respectively. In this factor the South China Sea turned in the battle field of increasing claims and conflicts regional states since 1970s through 1980 and 1990s. On the one side the Paracels are the object of bilateral disputes between the People's Republic of China and Vietnam. All the six countries Brunei, Chinese, Taipei, Malaysia and Philippines and Vietnam have sovereignty claims to the Spratly. These six claimants Brunei has more or less a physical presence in the South China Sea. Among the claimants, Vietnam is the first rank. Its occupying 25 islands and 12 reefs and shoals are currently occupied by the People Republic of China. The Philippines has occupied eight islands. The Malaysia is occupying five islets in the Spratlys. Besides this, Taiwan occupies only one island. This is the Itu-Aba. It is the largest island and the one with the most facilities among the occupied islands.

### **Constitutional development of Vietnamese Media**

Vietnam has adopted first constitution in 1946 than after second constitution came in 1959 and 1980. In 1986 sixth congress of the communist Party of Vietnam has achieved very important initial result. After this achievement the National Assembly has decided to revise the 1980 Constitution in revise the 1980 constitution in response to the requirement of the new situation and tasks.

Third constitution of Vietnam in 1992. It is the latest constitution. Its preamble have that the Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh thought carrying into effect the programme of national construction in the periods of transition to socialism. The all



Vietnamese people vow to unit million as one uphold the sprit the self reliance in the building the country.

In 1992 constitution has 147 article and 12 chapters. This constitution has been described press law and right of Vietnamese people. Chapter three are describe culture, education, science and technology. In this chapter article 32 and 33 give the explanation of the Vietnamese press. Article 32 describe that the literature and art contribute to fostering the personality of and nurturing spiritual nobility and beauty in the Vietnamese man, also this article interpreting that the state promoting the culture, Literary and art. This creation shall favourable conditions for the people's enjoyment of valuable literary and artistic works. It's promoted to creative talent in literature and the art. Article 33 describe that the state shall promote information work as press, radio, television, cinema publication and other means of mass communication. These all activities are strictly banned in the field of culture and information. These all are determined to national interests and destructive of the personality morals and artistic activities. Article 37 describe that the state shall promote the national policy on science and technology and make the policy and law, renovating technology promoting production force. Another Chapter five also describe Fundamental Right and duties of the citizen. Its Article 69 describe that the common people shall enjoy freedom of opinion and speech, freedom of the press the right to the information and the right to assemble form associations and hold demonstrations in accordance with the provisions of the law. Chapter eight related to the government decision making. This chapter article 144(6) describe that the government make regular reports to the people through the mass media on major issues to be settled.

### **Vietnamese Culture and its Political impact:**

The culture is a sense making process. It makes sense not only of the external nature or reality. It is also the social system that is part of social identities and daily activities of the people within that system. People senses are over selves, but social relationship and reality are produced by the same culture processes. Most of the time cultures do not recognize the continuity between making sense of ourselves and a society and making sense of reality or nature. Beside this they draw a clear distinction between nature and culture. They try to use the meaning or categories that appear to them to be inherent in nature itself to make sense of more obviously culture conceptualizations. There are

double contradictory meaning culture differentiate themselves from nature in order to establish their own identity (Fiske 2011: 114-115).

In 1962 Raymond Williams give succinct definition about the culture. He was an academician and novelist and critic. He wrote on political, culture, the mass media and literature are significant contribution of the Marxist critique of culture and the arts.

The Culture is “a particular way of life” that is shared by a community and shaped by values, traditions beliefs, material objects and territory. From this perspective, culture is a complex and dynamic ecology of people, things, world views, rituals, daily activities, and settings. It’s how we talk and dress, the food we eat and how we prepare and consume it, the gods we invent and the ways we worship them, how we divide up to time and space, our sense of humour, how we dance, the way we work and play, how we make love, the values to which we socialize our children, and all the other many details that make up everyday life. Understood this way, “culture is our way of doing things” and it reveals “who we are” as well as “who we are not”. Culture makes available the frames through which we know ourselves and others, providing coherence for culture members while making differences between groups (Lull 2013:130).

Cultures dominate collective consciousness, sub consciousness, memory and social practices. It lead through exists abstractly as a group’s customs, mores, traditions, values and institutionalized ideas. Its takes many abstractions materialize in routine social interaction. It means culture emerges precisely in the dynamic nexus between abstraction and practice. It is deeply rooted between the pervasive and enduring mental structures of deep culture and the less entrenched surfaces of deep culture and the less entrenched surfaces of everyday life.

The origin of Dongson (Dongson 17<sup>th</sup> B.C) Culture was right there in northern Vietnam. The origin date of this culture depends on the definition of the Dongson Culture ( Solheim 1989: 24). When we see its genealogy surely goes back in Vietnam and neighbouring areas into the fourth and fifth millennia B.C. We see another site Yunnan and South China it’s define the Tien Culture true as it is known to this time. The Tien culture and the Dongson Culture are closely related. The Dongson culture was one of the variants culture.

Vietnam and India has long cultural legacy between each other. The culture of Vietnam may be sought again in the credit of its habitant from the earliest time as good sea-man. The Vietnamese seamanship is likely to have brought in older civilizations from India. The boat is an important place in the funeral procession of the Vietnamese. The boats carry the soul (bat-nha) to the mount Meru. The Meru word came from India, this word came in Sanskrit, therefore there is no doubt that the idea and culture came from India (Ghosh 1974: 209). This particular word not only instance of Indian influence on the Vietnamese culture. The Vietnamese folk-lore also mentions their story Au Co's (Cultural Center) giving birth to a sack of flesh containing one hundred eggs. This story mentioned in the Vietnamese chronicles. This similar story striking in *Mahabharata* (Circa 1000 B.C.) that Gandhari's bringing forth a piece of flesh from whose one hundred sons come out.

Vietnam has their Ramayana story. That story stated that the kingdom of the Ten-chariots Dasaratha and other side Ten-heads Dasanana were respectively Ho-ton and Dieu-Nghien. The Queen Bach-ninh *Sita* of Ho-tan was kidnapped by Ten-heads. The king Chung-Tu *Rama* recovered her after destroying the kingdom of his enemy with the help of monkeys. Vietnam has another Puranic tales. This story is based on status of women in the traditional laws of Vietnam. There is remarkable similarity to that available in the work of Manu, Vasistha and Baudhayana of ancient India. According to the Vietnamese Manu epic stated that women her childhood should be under the protection of her father and youth under the husband and old age under the son (Ghosh 1974: 210).

The Vietnamese constitution preamble stated that the country follow Marx, Lenin and Ho Chi Minh ideology. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels stated about the culture that,

“Each new class which puts itself in the place of one ruling before it, is compelled, merely in order to carry through its aim, to represent its interest as the common interest of all the member of society, that the expressed in ideal form: it has to give its ideas the form of universality, and represent them as the only rational, universally valid ones.” The statement taken from Marx and Engels “The German Ideology” it published in 1970 (Malarney 2002 : 52).

The culture values commonly support the interests or superiority of particular individuals or group in society. The Vietnamese revolutionary's task is to destroy or neutralize those cultural elements that reproduced the old order. It replaces them with new ideas and values to create a new order. The Vietnamese communist assumed power in August 1945. It was the lead off upon an ambitious program to create a new socialist culture for Vietnam.

**Art:**

According to Dewey the art is an external and physical object. It is naturally connected with the human experience that produced it. Dewey stated that the "task of art is to restore continuity between the refined and intensified forms of experience that are works of art and the everyday events, doings, and sufferings that are universally recognized to constitute experience" (Michel 2004: 189).

There is no separate history of Vietnamese painting. It cannot be easily found out in the Vietnamese ideas. Vietnamese painters are least familiar with western Painters. Actually, western concepts are incorporated to their works at present. The students are recognising their work in history and culture. The Vietnamese artists are so tightly bound to each other and share different activities with their colleagues. They have some difference between individual style and singular visions among the many painters of a same generation. But village artisans are providing different contribution to the making of a lacquer panel and immixture of a basket and wood cabinet. These artists have collective responsibility, one artist makes carve the wood and person applies the paint and third person give the finishing touches. After the work art would only bear the signature of the village. No anyone knows about the particular "art" which artisans who made it (Taylor 1997: 7).

The father of Nation Ho Chi Minh sent the message to the Artists on the occasion of the 1951 Painting exhibition. He stated that

I regret owing to pressure of work, I cannot visit it; I herewith convey you my fraternal greeting. I take this opportunity of sending for your consideration some view point regarding fine arts. Literature and arts belong to the same front, on which you are fighters. Some of you may think: President Ho Chi Minh tries to turn fine arts into a political matter. Nothing is truer. Literature and arts, like all other activities cannot be taken apart from the economic and political fields, but they must be included in them (Ho Chi Minh 1951: 1).



Generally, people are not known about the Vietnamese painting. Vietnamese painting have gained some international recognition over the past five years with exhibitions in Hong Kong, Singapore and the United States. These all painting still in front of the taking of most art habile in Europe and the United States to name a single Vietnamese Painter. The Vietnam has been overlooked by the international community who do not know about the reflection of its status within Vietnam, mainly in Hanoi. On the other side the visual artists have been admired and given the same importance in society. They are recognized as a writers and musicians for nearly a century. Vietnam has traditional intellectuals. Considering all these assemblage of Vietnamese literature and translations of literary masterpieces are more commonly known to Vietnamese specialists and more widely available to Vietnamese readers outside of Vietnam. There is no art historian until no one has compiled history of Vietnamese painting.

Young writers have been translated into several European languages. During the Asian Studies conference they discuss that the Vietnamese artists are yet to be recognized in the same way. These days' developments of modern art in other Asian countries have also been studied and analyzed widely. The question is that twentieth century art in Vietnam is still relatively unexplored. The Vietnamese art has separate spheres. It evolves independently of one another. An actually Vietnamese person knows the arts are vitally coalescing. The poets are usually painters and they are also composers of short stories. That time the painters are literary editors. The Van Cao was famous painter and writer. He wrote the National Anthem of Vietnam. He was a composer. He composes a poem or paints a canvas at the same time he was an artist, songwriter and poet-painter. Many time he participated in slogan gatherings and poetry readings and popular festivals together with other fellow artists in Hanoi. His focus was to socialize with writers, composers and film makers and theatre actors.

**Performing art:**

Vietnam is a tropical region. It has rich musical culture. Vietnam has three parts that are North, Centre and south. They have their own musical theatre, chamber music, folk music, ceremonial music and chanting. Vietnam has many ethnic minorities. They are including and remnants of the old kingdom of Champa. All these minorities have music quite unlike that of the Vietnamese.

Vietnam has tonal language. The Northern dialect has divided into six tones, four in the centre and five in the South. All the melody may not go downcast on a high-rising tone and nor up wards on a down articulation. Thus the tonal marks have a major influence on vocal music. A ‘hat noi’ form of poem is the most popular in Vietnam. The poem had divided into two parts. First parts come one and two introductory quatrains it’s called mu’o’u, of alternating 6 and 8 syllable lines. The second part comes the hat noi proper. It has 11 lines in a strict form. All these 11 lines are divided 4-4-3 and then further divide 2-2, 2-2, 2-1 (Addiss 1973: 21).

Hat a dao is a ceremonial music and became pure entertainment and is now a kind of vocal chamber music. It is a complex art of sung poetry. This music spread around the Emperor Ly Thai to the girl Dao-thi. She received many awards from the Emperor for her singing. The particular word dao or a dao came to mean girl singer. These annals has been written Ho dynasty early in the fifteenth century. This dynasty has many references of this art. Hat a dao is music of worship and respect of patron-saints of a village and welcome the arrival of officials and the return of soldiers. This music aided seasonal festivities at planting and harvest time. This music was well-defined and regulated art. This music is in existence for several centuries, no one knows who the composer of the first singing troupes was. During the fifteenth century the music required singers, dancers and instrumentalists. Albeit, there were girl singers and male musicians predominated. The ‘hat a dao’ orchestra has seven kinds of instruments. They have two forms of drums and two flutes and two castanets and one was a form of lute.

Vietnam has some special dances forms that is ‘mua den’ dance with two lanterns and second dance forms is ‘danh dong thiep’ dance of the hypnotizer and third forms of dance ‘mua tran hoa’ dance of wooing the tipsy girl and forth forms of dance di day a dance on a rope stretched between two stakes ( Addiss 1973: 20).

Today information is the basic unit of society. But, Vietnamese artist question the Vietnamese government. What, they are free to question his society and writer, activist, politician or journalist? They have both answer yes and no. One artist stated that

“Censorship in Vietnam has complicated boundaries. The most important thing for Vietnam visual artists is to know where to push against bound aries and where hold back. So sneaking is an important skill for the provocative artist in Vietnam. Many of us create artwork with multiple layers of meanings so we can explain it reasonably and differently to

different audiences. It is a dangerous but also exciting game for us” (Samantha 2011: 213).

The Vietnamese government regulated everything. Anyone wants to art exhibition they must apply for an official exhibition permit from the ministry of Culture, sports and Tourism. Mainly, the purpose of board has regulated the exposure of art to the general public according to the state’s wishes and needs.

### **Role of Media during War:**

The 1954 Geneva Conference had decided that Vietnam to be divided temporarily at the 17<sup>th</sup> parallel into two parts. The North Vietnam under communist regime and South Vietnam supported by the United States, the Vietnamese Father of Nation Ho Chi Minh was the leader in North Vietnam and Ngo Dinh Diem was elected President in South Vietnam. South Vietnam President Ngo Dinh Diem had decided that elections were not to be held, because he was afraid that communist Ho Chi Minh would be elected (Brown 2011: 98). In this situation America had supported Diem’s decision. The President Dwight D. Eisenhower dispatched military advisors into South Vietnam. On the other side North Vietnam was backed by the Soviet Union and China. The America wanted to stop the extension of communism.

In 1961 John F. Kennedy came in power and he increased the amount of support being sent. They increased the numbers of military advisors in Vietnam to sixteen thousand. On August 2, 1964, the U.S.S Maddox was fired upon by three North Vietnamese boats. After the two nights later there was another suspected attack in the Gulf of Tonkin. The second attack was more controversial. This attack occurred in irregular waters that set the sonar system (SST) off signalling a possible attack. (Brown 2011: 98) On August 7, 1964, the President Johnson took immediate action and passed the resolution on Gulf of Tonkin. The President Johnson took the decision without the formal declaration of war from congress allowing using military force. After this resolution 3,500 United States Marines were deployed in March 1965 and by the end of the year the number of Marines deployed increased to 200,000 (Brown 2011: 98). The America’s involvement in this Vietnam War had risen dramatically.

During the Vietnam War President Ho Chi Minh issued the statement, he stated that

“You would kill ten of my men and I would kill one of yours. But even at that rate you would be unable to hold on, and in the end I would carry the day” ( Hallin 1986: 159).

Vietnam War was the first true televised war. This was the infancy age of television. There was not a major source of news, but another side Korea had many source of news. This war left the country divided in Vietnam. American President believed that the British government since it made the decision in 1982 to restrict severely television coverage of the Falkland Island campaign (Hallin 1986 : 105). But it was not possible in case of Vietnam. Those people who have argued that the media played a decisive role in the defeat of American aims in Vietnam, they always focus on television as the principal cause. It was the national failure of will. One view was it was the better for them and worse. In this result television turned the American public against the war. This war accepted too widely across the American political divergence. It's come probably as close as anything to being conventional wisdom about a war. These wars still divide the American public.

In mid 1960 the television had become the most important source of news for most of the American public and beyond the world. Perhaps, it was the most powerful single influence on the public. There was some top power of television is a series of surveys. This survey conducted by the Roper Organization for the Television Information office. In 1964 this survey showed newspapers and television was running. There were some numbers of people. They were saying that they got most of news from each medium. This survey result was 58 percent people got the news through television, 56 percent people through newspapers and 26 percent radio and 8 percent magazines (Hallin 1986: 109).

The importance of this war was the singled out televisions of Vietnam. It was seen that the television coverage of war is very different from print coverage. There were many arguments made about the uniqueness of television coverage of Vietnam. But, American can be boiled down without too much loss.

Television is a visual medium that shows the raw horror of war, but print cannot show this. The people were presuming that it is a visual medium. This medium cannot portray violence and suffer very effectively. This medium cannot deal successfully with politics and strategy. So, the result of this war necessarily appears on television as senseless killing. This argument believes that it was the false emergence in Vietnam case.

During the conflict the television purposefully showed negative more than print. In this situation they give different explanations. Occasionally, it's seen that television news is a character of entertainment. American television is basically dramatic medium. Thus, this argument strongly concerned with ratings in a way but it is not necessary for newspaper. Mainly news paper based on circulation and nor does their readership vary from day to day as television viewership.

When, we examine television coverage of Vietnam War, the television reports were far from true that presented the war. The television reports were much influenced by cultural artefact. All these reports were newspaper stories. The television camera sees with human eyes. The report was mainly influenced by political, economic and culture forces just like type writer. The television coverage was overall not negative.

The New York Times coverage was the one sided based on reading of all the paper's coverage from 1960 to 1965. In 1965 Vietnam became an almost daily story. It was the period of nearly seven and half years of coverage. This was impractical to compact with all the coverage. The content analysis based on a sample of television coverage. It based on 8 to 12 network evening news broadcasts selected randomly from each month. There were 779 broadcasts altogether and 56 had some Vietnamese news.

During the Vietnam War we see the various models of journalism. It prevailed due to the political climate in the country as a whole. On the other side there was also considerable changeability within American journalism. In 1966 it was the begging of dramatic contrast between television and the prestige print media in Vietnam coverage. The prestige press mainly focused on objective journalism. The front page story was based on face value and official statement. There were different sources of news some source of administration and some from outside. These sources were used additional and minus.

Vietnam War was the first place there was no military censorship. During the situation there were no means of combination with routine official accreditation of war correspondence. Recently, many laws came in existence that is accreditation, censorship and public technique of modern warfare. All these system developed during First World War. But there were novitiate system of accreditation. It exists before the American Civil War.

After the First World War there were controversy over lack of press access to the front and many correspondents and unaccredited journalist had been arrested. In this



condition they set the pattern. They established right of the press to be granted access to the front on a routine basis was accepted. Despite all these conditions the press submit to censorship by military or political authorities. During the Vietnam War many journalists felt the military was interfering with their ability to report the war. Generally war Information was detruncated. In 1967 the US military release total casualty figure. But journalists kept have their own unofficial figures before this, occasionally they ban on information and restrictions on access to the front. That was generally accessible only by military transportation. It was manifestly constant to safeguard military security. Those journalists how believed in political motivation they spread their report ( Hallin 1986: 128).

During the war television anchor role was ideological. Paramount television reports came from the field. These reports give a glimpse of one very small part of the war. But these glimpses are wider meaning. When anchor show the “big picture” it was the primarily crammed picture. Mainly, it was frequently done in a kind of battlefield roundup. That could put forward and set the context for any film reports. On the other side the bits of news about the war would be compiled, For instance of CBS (CBS, 1927) in October 31, 1967.

News Anchor Walter Cronkite stated that in the war, U.S. and South Vietnamese troops smashed the second Communist attempt in three days to capture the district capital of Loc Ninh, some 72 miles north of Saigon. The allies killed more than 110 VC, boosting the enemy death toll since Sunday to 365. American losses were reported at 4 dead and 11 wounded ( Hallin 1986: 141).

In 1967 Vietnam kicks up war on two different fronts. The North Vietnamese incept and focus huge number of troops in Quang Tri and Thua Thien provinces. On the other side south was the demilitarized zone. It significantly changed the battle pattern. Already the army attentions had been focused on mobile search and destroy operations. All these conditions apply for American troops would sweep through territory controlled by the NLF and North Vietnamese. In April 1967 American army troop turned attention to a series of battles the army outposts were besieged by large numbers of North Vietnamese regulars and setting up bloody fights from fixed position.

Before the Vietnam War television was tempered institution. In 1968 television was establishment itself as a nation and whole world. It was divided over the war that

the media naturally took a far more unbelieve aim toward administration policy then in the early years. On the other issue was existence of legitimate controversy. The administration had no longer expectation to benefit consistently and consensus for journalism. No one can say exactly what elements of the general collapse of consensus most affected the media. But majority opinion was the possession, perhaps that these eventually synchronise and there is no contradiction between the establishment statuses of the news media. They had their other identity as a representative of the public. But, three elements were the most important of television development. It's seen in Washington to declining morale among American troops in the field and the other part was overspread of the antiwar movement into parts of the political mainstream. This entire factor affected the television coverage.

During the Vietnam War we cannot say that the television role was the collapse of consensus and purely passive. There were no ways to measure the impact of television's changing image of war. The television undoubtedly affected public opinion. Its impact was both sides directly through their opinion leaders and other side television images invoked in political debate over the war. The most part of the debate follower rather than leaders. This condition was not a collapse of consensus. It was the well under way that television's coverage began to turn around the whole world. After the Vietnam War Vietnam was an extraordinary manifestation to the restrain power of the routines and ideology of objective journalism. That time much of nation's intelligentsia and militant, passionate mood. Whereas the member of Congress get job in the U.S. embassy in Saigon and business executives they could be seen demonstration in the streets against the national foreign policy. This television coverage was the very indifferent way. It made "advocacy journalism (advocacy Journalism, 20<sup>th</sup> century) no real inroads into network television.

**Political development of Vietnamese state:**

In the course of First World War, In August 1917 the Thai Nguyen Rebellion had broken out in Northern Vietnam and it was quickly trampled. All the same Ho Chi Minh had been establishing a communist movement in Vietnam and in-between Vietnamese dispossession. That time major revolutionary nationalist movement was the Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang or the Vietnamese Nationalist Party. This Party has been

founded in 1927 by Nguyen Thai Hoc on the Chinese Kuomintang model and they advantage some nestling.

During 1920 the Vietnamese peasant, rubber plantations workers, mines workers and French companies were making large profits. In 1929 the world market was slump. That time the decline in the price of rubber and other commodities led to many contract labourers either having their pay cut or losing their jobs. In this situation people were not satisfied and they joined the VNQDD and the number of sympathizers increased.

At the end of the First World War, Ho Chi Minh submitted a petition to the allied leaders at Versailles demanding that Vietnam should achieve the same rights of self determination being accorded to the people of Europe. In 1920 he became a founding member of the French Communist Party (Justin 2008: 33). In 1923 he went to the Soviet Union and lived in Moscow. There he tried to get the support and idea from Soviet government for the purpose of Vietnamese independence. After that he moved to Canton in Southern China. There he established the Revolutionary Youth League of Vietnam. In 1930 this Youth League of Vietnam transformed into the Indochina Communist Party.

During the Second World War in 1939 Ex-Emperor Duy Tan had given an opportunity to join in the French army. In 1942 he rallied to the free French navy serving as a telecommunication officer. In this condition he met with French leader Charles de Gaulle and subsequently was on his way back to meeting when he was killed in a plane crash.

The father of Nation Ho Chi Minh managed to get the Vietnamese Communists to agree to form a broad alliance with other nationalist groups. It was known as the association for the Independence of Vietnam and subsequently as the Viet Minh. In December 1941 while Japan attacked British Malaya, Pearl Harbor and the Philippines (Justin 2008: 38). The oldest bases were Indochina. After this attack Ho Chi Minh decided to cooperate with joint war endeavour and started providing the United States and other associated nations with important military and political input. Ho Chi Minh came back and sought to get the Allies to recognize the Viet Minh as the genuine representative of the Vietnamese People.

The French rulers were repressive of people and Vietnam had a tradition of resistance to external rule. That time there was dialect writings in Vietnamese raising

broad political and social consciousness. (Huong and Gerald W. Fry 2005: 205) The vibrant and influential leader such as Ho Chi Minh came in existence and he provides the basis for Vietnam's declaration of Independence on September 2 1945, the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Vietnam was tense because French would not accept a socialist Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They wanted in its place to return to establish its colonies in the area. French President Truman totally ignored Ho Chi Minh's proposal to cooperate peacefully with the US within a framework of Independence for Vietnam. This condition led to the French War in Vietnam during 1945-1954. When French lost the war at Dien Bien Phu, the war ended (Huong and Gerald W. Fry 2005: 206). In 1954 in the Geneva agreement, Vietnam was divided into two parts North and South Vietnam. Finally, South Vietnam became a client state of the US and Socialist North Vietnam received assistance from the USSR, China and the Eastern Europe. South Vietnam captured by United States was developed as anti-communist bastion. So, U.S. was also open to much greater use of Vietnamese language of instruction and the development of instructional materials in Vietnam. During this period, South Vietnam was a significant movement oriented to promoting social change. Buddhists were socially and politically engaged. These people were primarily committed to providing social service to the poor and ending the war.

During the mid 1960 the debates came in mild tone about Vietnamese nation and nationalism. Various views existed to distrust about the Vietnamese nation and suspicions about its unifying power. There was also moral character enveloping. Although, that time the origins of modern nation and faith was common among social scientists. There were few believers in Vietnamese studies that Vietnam as an ethnic nation existed (Vu 2007: 175). At the same moment, some people adopted an alternative concept that defined the Vietnamese nationality not along the primal-modern dimension. The village level communal identity to be found.

In 1980 second generous phase, these debates have become less polemic and ideological. This was the new traditions to conceptualize the Vietnamese nation that has emerged to challenge the earlier thinking. The reality and power of the Vietnamese nation are no longer thought to deny in a simplistic manner (Vu 2007: 177). Despite the fact that processes by which the nation was created and continued receiving a new assessment. Social Science theory when it applies in Vietnam, the first view of Vietnamese nation is as a modern social construct or culture artefact. Mainly,

Vietnamese nationalism is treated not only as fighting to foreign rule but also as a face for power politics. There is similarity between communism and nationalism discarded.

After the down fall of the Soviet Bloc between 1989 and 1991 led to a major rethinking surrounded by the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam (Justin 2008: 115). The Vietnamese communist party took the decision to implement new economic policy. In this condition the decision of Vietnam to withdraw their troops from Cambodia created an international tension in the region. The main focus of Vietnam was to try to fix peace settlement in Cambodia that will allow the normalization of relations with the world community.

The Vietnamese government has been controlled in three tiers under the central government in Hanoi. Vietnam has 61 provinces, 598 districts as well as 10,500 rural communes, semi urban township or urban wards. Each and every administrative level is represented by people's (Mattner 2004: 122). The Party structure is controlled by the executive branches of government. It is the mirror of Party. During the elections time the government officials have long been a characteristic of this system, declaration 29 has introduced four categories of direct popular contribution in decision making processes at the commune level.

Vietnam's Catholic land Issues is a political issue. Vietnam has approximately six million Catholic communities. In 1954 Church authority estimation that Vietnam's communist rule confiscated the church properties (Thayer 2009: 52). Recently, the resistance has arisen between church and state over land ownership of seizures. This issue raised over one year, 2007 to 2008. The local government and Catholic Church authorities became involved in a dispute over land claimed by Thai Hoa parish. During this period Catholics also laid claim to property used by the former Vatican representative in Hanoi. The local administration discarded these claims. Small mass protests in the form of prayer vigils and other religious ceremonies were held in the country. The senior officials had sent special riot police to detach the protestors and blue-shirted Revolutionary Youth gangs (RYM) were given the go ahead to attack Catholics. All these condition continued for next few decades and local authorities and the Church were unable to reach agreement on a land site for a new church. The Vietnamese deputy head of Commission on Religion stated that the government "has no intention of returning any property or goods to the Catholic Church or any other religious organization" (Thayer 2009: 53).



During the 2006-07 a group with political difference emerged in Vietnam. That group challenged the logical-legal legitimacy of the party state in restricting civil and political freedom. According to this group, freedoms were rights guaranteed by the 1992 constitution and international agreements and covenants the Vietnamese government had signed. In late 2006 to 2008, the states smoothed up the key leaders of the group (Thayer 2009: 55). Immediately, it's tried them in court and sentenced them to detention. The Vietnamese government increased its attack on Political opponents by arresting approximately twenty-six to thirty political dissidents and detaining four well-known bloggers.

**Political impact of Vietnamese society:**

The Vietnam politics has been interplay between state authority and society. The nature of the politics appears to diverge considerably depending on the arena in which it takes place. There are some studies of Vietnamese politics that illustrate the Party state as controlling power and insensitive to popular concerns. They are able to dominate every level of society (Mattner 2004 : 126). These types of view prove that the party has the ability to devise policies. The party promise implementation of its policies in a logical manner. There are more corporatist and they have difference argument. These entire corporatists want incorporation of popular sentiment into policy making processes. All the issue are filtered up to the decision making system by mass organizations. Notwithstanding, there are differences between state and society. The both slanders underline the state's capacity to control society and highlight its ability to mobilize, unlike elements of society towards political purpose select by party leaders. These types of views are shown to symbolize correct picture of formal politics in Vietnam. But, communist Party continue to exercise its dominance despite rapid structural changes.

The local government are accountable for implementing the state policy at the local level. But a political structure is representing one place for the daily interaction between central state and local society. The present preface of government to participatory elements in local governance appears to constitute the central government's attempt to manage these communications through a redesign of local governance structures. When we see government politics of this perspective, which is participatory governance it can be seen as a mechanism through the political centre that is attempting to assert more unobtrusive control over local society by allowing only narrowly restricted space for local level negotiations. The Vietnamese government has

been providing limited local openings of the political system. The government makes local administration more responsive to the desires of local residents. The local people are fascinating popular dissatisfaction into the formal structures of the Party State. There are some feedback mechanisms in place. This accepted unhappiness should be expressed through established political channels. It's provided by the state, and instead of resulting in unrest and even wholesale rejection of the political system.

The participatory government requirements are closely linked with public administration reforms. The government implementation of its policies is addressing exactly those areas of local administration. It has been biggest challenge for the Vietnamese state authority. In this condition they creates weaknesses and room for negotiation and improvement of central control in the first place. In this condition the central government is also correcting the control it exercises over marginal state institutions. The government want to improve the logic way of administrative capacity. In the socialist Republic of Vietnam prima facie, political decisions and fluctuation projects can come with a high price tag. After some brainstorming among local Hanoi people collaborators authority has identified at least five branches of the state machinery related to close watch, crowd control, and security policing. The public security has the right to fine street vendors. The Vietnamese government act regarding Hanoi's the street vendors are enforcing the boggle over the past 25 years (Turner and Laura Schoenberger 2011: 1033).

The socialist Republic of Vietnam is giving the permission of capitalism and Neo-liberal reform. When Vietnamese government come back on the socialist system, it is a helpful system that failed in many countries in the past. Whenever the world receives the economic capitalism, government are more careful because of its impact on other approaches. It is the dangerous and often revolutionary. Undoubtedly, there are some mountainous rural areas of Vietnam in the northern highlands. The people are arguing that alternative economies play big role. But, the upland area people continue to exchange victual and maintain semi survival livelihoods. The people are frequently maintaining a resolute aim to avoid the states stare. The Vietnamese government is implementing a number of reforms and policies. The government policies reduce the resistance of distance between the Vietnam upland and lowland authorities.

There is biggest role of NGOs. Basically, NGOs are developing internet based social networking among different religious groups and upland ethnic minorities. There

is no question of population. The population can influence and defector controls the processes of both decision making and implementation. Although, the mass population has means to define the terms and nature of its participation. So, Hanoi's street vendors are located within a political and economic space. But there are few legal means for regular citizens to influence decision making. But media is strongly controlled by the state. Despite that, Hanoi's municipal government is pushing a specific discourse of modernisation and social control its take revenge to the urban policies, because banish street vendors come from core vending sites. The street vendors are against state directives and it's beyond the individual daily actions.

The relationship between Vietnamese state and citizens both are changing. There is party controlled mass organisation and these structures are still thriving. The communist party regularly fight to operate effectively with both channels of communication between that state and the society. This is the source of valued development activeness. Then again the mass organisations are at the moment quite outdated in context of rapid social change. Who has inclusive the reform era? We cannot categorise the Vietnamese people, as each farmers, workers and intellectuals. All these terminology referred to the 1995 constitution. But, there is some uncertainty that all youth, women and businesspeople feel adequately represented by party regulated groups. All these groups are Youth Union, the women's Union and Vietnamese chamber of commerce and Industry. There is a great expansion of large nongovernmental organisations. It suggests there are

large number of individuals and groups who go down outside Party approved organisational structures (Gainsborough 2010: 481).

Vietnam has strong state controls over Vietnamese people. The state is counting aggressor day by day and its observation by the security machinery is increasing on the people. The state is not leaving much evidence of oppression on the masses but the state oppression is a reality in the country today.

. People have seen and decrease of security equipment its control across the board is incorrect. On hand the state is implementing back its activities in some areas. But people are expending in other areas. The government want to stop the human trafficking, because it is the bumper-to-bumper of global development in this area. On the other side it is against the backdrop of significant international contributor community. They are expanding extraordinarily in current years.

Due to the Vietnamese elite many International donor communities take back their project. In this project Vietnamese government was also involved and supportive of elite power but it is not entirely in central level. The Vietnamese government has better finance management and it is possible to support the extractive capacities of the ministry of Finance. Both ministries have large society and other part of the state. So, it is the clear signal of the Ministry of Finance. The ministry is a junction of donors and Vietnamese elites. Party relations are appears to be very comfortable with the elite groups? On the other side it is the conditions of ever-growing Vietnamese elite to nodes in the global economy through trade and investment and other financial relations.

### **Notes**

It is the data of General statistics office of Vietnam. This department gives monthly statistical information and it is publishing various type of report. This is the 1st April 2009 census data. This census co-related various socio-economic status of Vietnam. This statistics data also reflected Administrative power in Vietnamese people. Link [http://www.gso.gov.vn/default\\_en.aspx?tabid=491](http://www.gso.gov.vn/default_en.aspx?tabid=491).

In 2007 two ministries has been merged. The two ministries was the National Sports Committee and National Administration of Tourism and the committee for Population. This ministry of Family and Children was merged with the cultural departments of the Ministry of Culture and Information to become the new Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism.

The Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Vietnam is the government ministry responsible for state management in the fields of culture, Family, sports and tourism and for the state management of public services in the fields of culture, family, sports and tourism. This ministry is based on the provisions of Vietnamese law. The basic Vietnamese Culture Department of the Ministry is responsible on behalf of the Ministry for guiding the development of basic culture throughout the country. This department seeks to improve cultural standards at community level throughout the country by means of activities in the fields of mass culture, propaganda and advertising. It's also promoting families of culture and villages of culture schemes and preservation and promotion of local traditions and the organization of traditional festivals. For detailed see: <http://culture360.asef.org/organisation/vietnam-ministry-of-culture-sports-tourism/>.

This is a Cable satellite channel. It was introduced on 10th February 2002. This channel serves the ethnic minority communities in Vietnam. This channel has branches as online TV channels that broadcasts the programs related to ethnic minority issues.

A peninsula of Southeast Asia comprising Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Myanmar(Burma), and the mainland territory of Malaysia. This area was influenced in early time by the culture of India and China. On the other had the former French colonial empire in Southeast Asia, including much of the

eastern part of the Indochina peninsula. The French influence extended from roughly 1858 to the fall of Dien Bien Phu in 1954. For detailed see: <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Indochina>.

Conrad Malte-Brun was a geographer. He was born on August 12, 1775. His original name was Malte Conrad Bruun. He was an author and co-author of several geographies and a founder of the first modern geographic society. When, he was exiled from Denmark in 1800 for his verses and pamphlets in support of the French Revolution. He established himself in Malte-Brun as a journalist and geographic writer in Paris. His works include the first six volumes of *Precis de la (geographie universelle)* that was the *Précis* of world geography. He was a founder and the first secretary of the *Societe de Geographie de Paris* in 1821.

The Montagnard community is also known as the Degra. These are the indigenous people of the Central Highlands of Vietnam. The term Montagnard means “Mountain people” in French and is a carryover from the French colonial in Vietnam. In Vietnamese, they are known by the term *ngươi Thuong*. It is the means of highlanders. This term now can also be applied to other minority ethnic groups in Vietnam or *Nguoi dan toc thieu so*. All these are the minority people. Earlier they were referred to pejoratively as the *moi*.

The French government established the Central Highland at the *Pays Montagnard Sud(PMS)* in 1950, under the authority of Vietnamese Emperor Bao Dai, when French ruler became nominal chief of state in 1949 as an alternative to ho Chi Minh’s North Vietnam. In the mid of 1950 the once isolated Degar began experiencing more contact with outsider after the Vietnamese government launched efforts to gain better control of the Central highland. Its assessment was 1954 Geneva Agreement. After this agreement new ethnic minorities from North Vietnam moved into the area. After this movement a result changed. The Dager community felt a need to strengthen some of their social structures and to development a more formal shared identity. When French government withdrew from Vietnam and recognized a Vietnamese government. The Degar political independence was drastically dismissed.

The Montagnards hill tribe people from Vietnam were recruited by the US Special Forces to serve as front-line fighters with the U.S Army during the Vietnam War. After the United States withdrew from Vietnam, the Montagnards were targeted by the communist Vietnam government as traitors and U.S spies.

In 2002 there 900 Montagnards were resettled in North Carolina. This was the last groups brought with them the troubled histories of persecution and few have family or political ties with the established Montagnard communities here. This community’s own resettlement is proving to be much more difficult. For detailed see: <http://cnc.uncg.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/montagnards.pdf>.

During the ASEAN Regional Forum meeting was held in Vietnam capital Hanoi in 2010. The Secretary of state Hillary Rodham Clinton created a stir during the usually law-key gathering. She has declared that “The United states has a national interest in freedom of navigation. Its open access to Asia’s maritime is common and respect for international law in the South China Sea. So, America seeks a collaborative diplomatic process by all claimants for resolving the various territorial disputes without coercion. This



the United States maintained is a potent naval presence in the region since World War II. This incident broke new ground in identifying American interests regarding the South China Sea. The matter is not as straightforward as they initially appear since the US action must be viewed in light of shifting geopolitical trends identified. Link [http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/pdf/SEAPpdf/SA\\_southchinaseadispute.pdf](http://www.lse.ac.uk/IDEAS/pdf/SEAPpdf/SA_southchinaseadispute.pdf).

Nan Yue (NAM VIET) is the genesis of Vietnam. Viet (Yue) means the area of the southern part of the lower reaches of the Changjiang (Yangzi) River, and also refers to the native people or ancient kingdom that flourished in this area during the pre-Qing (1644-1912) period. Nam (Nan) means “south” and thus the term Nam Viet (Nan Yue) means “southern Viet (Yue)”. Nam Yue is the modern Vietnamese notation, Nan Yue the Modern Chinese. In historical studies “Nam Viet (Nan Yue)” is used in this way as either a geographical or a historic concept. For detailed see: [http://books.google.co.in/books?id=OKgraWbb7yoC&pg=PA932&redir\\_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.co.in/books?id=OKgraWbb7yoC&pg=PA932&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false).

During the seventh century B.C., Go-mun gave rise to the Dong-son culture that spread to encompass the Ma valley and neighbouring areas north and south? Dong-son culture was the culmination of the Bronze Age and the opening stage of the Iron Age. During the Pham Huy Thong and Nguyen Duy dynasty this culture had developed. For detailed see: [http://www.google.co.in/books?id=rCl\\_02LnNVIC&pg=PA313&redir\\_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://www.google.co.in/books?id=rCl_02LnNVIC&pg=PA313&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false).

Au Co's is the Vietnamese culture Center. This center provide many types of cultural activates and appreciation to explore the impact of arts and literature in Vietnam. For detailed see: <http://www.brownpapertickets.com/event/1233013>.

Sonar System is an underwater equivalent of radar, exploits acoustic energy for detection, localization, tracking and classification of underwater targets. The design of sonar requires expertise in sensor technology. This system is signal conditioning and processing electronic packaging, materials technology, ocean acoustics and mechanical engineering. For detailed see: [http://www.drdo.gov.in/drdo/pub/techfocus/2013/TF\\_August\\_2013\\_WEB.pdf](http://www.drdo.gov.in/drdo/pub/techfocus/2013/TF_August_2013_WEB.pdf).

CBS is the Columbia Broadcasting System. It established in September 18,1927. Its corporate name is CBS Broadcasting Inc. It is the American commercial broadcast television and radio network. The radio network was the flagship property of CBS Corporation. The network origin in United Independent Broadcasters Inc, it was the collection of 16 radio stations that was purchased by William S. Paley. For detailed see: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/CBS\\_Corporation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/CBS_Corporation).

The term advocacy journalism describes the use of journalism techniques to promote a specific political or social cause. This term has potential meaningful only in opposition to a category of journalism that does not engage in advocacy, so called objective journalism. This journalism has been started second of the twentieth century. For detailed see: <http://www.markfoster.net/sociosphere/aj.html>.

The socialist Republic of Vietnam was Can Lao organization. It's controlled by the Ngo Dinh Nhu. This was semisecret movement and inner party made up to people with family or other personal bonds. On the

other side there was an outer party. This party officially started by Diem. It established in 1954 as a National Revolutionary Movement, “Blue Shirts” and Revolutionary Youth Movement.

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## **CHAPTER: III**

### **MEDIA UNDER DOI MOI PERIOD**

## CHAPTER: III

### **Media under Doi Moi Period**

During the 6<sup>th</sup> National Congress in December 1986, Communist Party of Vietnam takes a significant step of renovation. It held in Ban Dhin Hall in Hanoi 15 to 18 December 1986. The party threw out the central planning model of socialism. They accepted market oriented socialist economy under state guidance. It was the renovation of Vietnamese economy. It's known as a Doi Moi (Beresford 2008: 221). After this announcement of the country's economy, state and society have undergone remarkable transformation. There was one of the most common conditions of economic development. Doi Moi was the best economic development steps of Vietnam.

This congress was quite different from earlier congress. Because, this congress proceeding were attended by 1,129 official delegates and council from thirty five visiting delegations. Western diplomat closely followed this proceeding (Thayer 1987: 13). During the evening sessions, the congress conducted business like fashion. On the other hand, delegates speeches were brief and to the point. On the fourth day of congress, there were seventy nine reports tabled for consideration. Third day of congress was very dramatic. Because, it was announced that top three Vietnamese leaders and 'politburo' members had requested not to stand for re-election. That time Truong Chinh was the Secretary General and other two members Pham Van Dong and Le Duc Tho. Some observers were participating in report and debate section. They had some dispute over policy issue. All those observers calling for the close session while general resolution was adopted. During the congress, special emphasis was given on the political and economical reports.

Secretary General Truong Chinh was tabling the central committee's Political Report. This report was dull and to the point. The political report generally followed the protocol by previous party congresses. But this Party congress did not follow protocol. The political report had been divided into five major sections. The first section of report was situation and tasks, second section was related to the basic guideline of social and economic policy, third section of report foreign policy, fourth section was on the role of mass organizations and the state and last section was devoted to the role of the party. The importance of this report was placed on the basic guidelines for the future and keeps the 40 percent of the report devoted to particular section. Partly extra importance was given to discussing the present situation and tasks compared with previous political reports. At the same time less attention was dedicated to the role of the state, the party and foreign policy issues.



During this period, production had not kept up with the demand and it did not reflect Vietnam's capabilities. On the one hand investment was entrammels and expensive resources had been unrevealing. On the other hand, inflation was running at an all time high commodities and goods. It was not circulating properly because they were blocked up in the system. In this condition, there were huge imbalances in the economy. It was dependent on the supply and demand. Vietnamese people were facing many difficulties for his life. They demonstrated against the anti-socialist tendencies. Due to this, masses lost the confidence in the party and negative attitude affected the leadership.

The Secretary General found out six major causes for this condition. The first assessment was Vietnamese socio-economic condition which was incorrect. Thus, the result was impractical and goals and targets had been set. The second assessment was that the government gave more emphasis to large scale projects and heavy industry, which was not enough to restore the war damaged economy. The third assessment was that the government started the procedure of socialist transformation and it was implemented in too reckless manner, therefore, it damaged the charity of private capitalist enterprises. The fourth assessment was the insufficient progress of the bureaucratic centralised mechanism because it was based on state subsidies and it was based on profit and loss management system. Fifth assessment was of government. There was not any effective solution to the problem of distribution and circulation. The system was based on centrally planned economy and the free market economy. Sixth and final assessment was Vietnamese system based on proletarian dictatorship. The state had practised shortcoming such as violations of state law and regulations. In this situation, there was a lot of corruption. The whole state spread petty "bourgeois ideology". Mainly, higher official were placing the self and family before the state and community.

Due to the three major causes party had fallen down. The Party fell down in ideological bases and other crisis was organization and leadership. When Central committee presented his score card, it reflected many shortcoming of the government. This report stated that there were an errors and shortcomings of economic and organisational activity. On the other side it's based on cadre work. There was another cause in the root. That time, the state machinery and Party and mass organisations were left to rise too huge overlapping and dissemination. In this condition, the party forecast the forthcoming leadership changes.

During this period both political and economic reports drove the idea of renovation. Perhaps Vice-Premier VO Van Kiet was promoted and advocated this concept. During the congress, he

delivered his speech in important Economic Report. The Vice-Premier stated his introduction paragraph. He emphasised on the various field and the new condition of Vietnam. He stated that

“In the economic field, there will be renovation in economic policies and the management system. The economic Report reversed earlier economic priorities which laid stress on the development of heavy industry. We will really consider agriculture the foremost battle front. The primary and main orientation for heavy industry in this stage is to support agriculture and light industry on a proper scale and at an appropriate technical level” (Thayer 1987: 15).

The Vice-premier Kiet’s report was based on three main areas. These areas were production of grain and food products, consumer goods and exports. All these three sectors made the hub of the socio-economic tasks for the five year period in 1986-1990. The government listed the first main instruction and economic purpose to be attained. The first significant objective was set by the Economic Report. That report was based on the production of grain and food products. Thus, it was the need of all the people could be met and reserve stocks built up. So, they set the goal 22-23 million metric tons of grain in paddy. It was comparable to be attained in 1990. The Vietnamese people objective was to mention this aim (Thayer 1987: 15). Thus, people were doing intensive cultivation, multi cropping. In this condition, it was understandable that the exercise of material incentives and end manufactured goods contracts would figure significantly.

The Vietnamese Party officials had given some thought. It was related to the generational and progression and concerning member of the Politburo. During the Fifth Party congress eve in March 1982, the party newspaper Nhan Dan editor spoke that it was the necessity to refurbish the politburo only progressively and gradually. In 1982, six politburo members’ unique move was stepped down. In 1986, the whole time party spokesman made clear to visiting the journalist (Thayer 1987: 16). It was the old example being repeated. Because some top officials would retire. Although untimely death of Secretary General Le Duan’s, it’s created some possible thought by party official. On the other side six full Politburo members retired at the sixth congress. So, three top most senior leaders had been appointed special advisers. Whereas fourth top leader Van Tien Dung achieved own seat on the Central Committee.

The Nhan Dan was a official party daily newspaper. During the 1986, several major editorials carried in Nhan Dan that indicated a space between the two contradictory views. It had been reached and possibly forced proposal to high level decision to smooth the way for the other political business.

All this planning was made in the sixth party congress. During early January and late February, the party's convincing voice through Nhan Dan editorials shifted attention away from economic matters (Stern 1987: 352). The Party focused on bilateral relations between large parts with Indochinese neighbours. The Vietnamese communist party also showed symbolic revolutionary tides and memorable occasions. The party suggested that a temporary ceasefire had been called. But party had their dominion and compelled to discuss their differences within the borderline of the ruling inner circle.

During the early march, Nhan Dan newspaper editorial series focused on the execution of the eight resolutions. When we show the first March editorial series of Nhan Dan newspaper that led was to safeguard the spirit of the resolution. It was a tactical shift towards neglect the centralism of bureaucracy and state subsidies. Second led was the party indicating that there were many locations and establishments. The party had undertaken what was described as only supposed to primary labours to improve organization and management. They wanted to reorganize production and renovate the economic management mechanism. The third led was pointed to original evolution for the reforms. It was dictated to the resolution.

The Nhan Dan editorial view shifted the situation that was related to the socio-economic base. The party was in difficult condition to implementation of the entire resolution including improving price, market in organization and the indolence of the socialist trade sector. The people were not recognizable to manage the problems in circulation and distribution. Because party activist was bad elements, the cadre was influenced by the market that twisted to profit from the situation and to avoid the aftermath of the reformist resolutions.

Whether, on the one hand the party newspaper editorial admit and Politburo, the Secretariat and the office the Chairman of the council of ministers. They had reviewed the past activity and incurred strict self-criticism and apportioned blame to the central government and party organizations. The party leaders were sharing the responsibility with unidentified relevant sectors and localities. This analysis was fundamentally and limited to the legislating bodies. The executive body was a medium of the implementation of reforms. It was including the party control committee. There were not singled out to signifying a victory of rank for the positivist in view of their defence of non-mobilization method. This was the unique channels to recognize the key decision points. In this effort the party applied its eight Plenum reforms.

On the other side party newspaper editorial point out that the politburo was not providing the proper task of implementing the reforms. So, party was responsible of impatience in the area of wage and price reforms. Thus, the politburo was unsuccessful to integrate the expatriation resolutions into big arrangement efforts. The politburo recognizes that they had failed to unite reforms with efforts and manage the market. In this point, both leader Hung and Kiet agreed, but on the other side, hung thought was too favoured ensuring the strong party control.

The newspaper editorial stressed on the requirement for a deliberate transfer of decision making power to economic unit. The newspaper wanted the speediness of the transformation of private industry and commerce sector. When growing the market management, its contrast summarized the attempt of coming together on the Hung-Kiet lines. The remains of the editorials point out the shortcoming of the process of formulate economic projects. The newspapers also discussed about the arbitrary local variations of policy and it was the unauthorized decisions to exceeding devolved power. The party role was supervisory and state administration organs. It underlined the role of party and state scrutiny and control committees. The first promise of communist party was to control the market and avoiding the incompetent price location, advertisement, uncontrolled competitive purchasing and conjecture. The newspaper viewpoint was meant by proper purchasing and selling procedures, reasonable price policies and contracting for strategic goods. In this result, the party turned its notice to the business of location an agenda and enforce a schedule for the provincial and local review of national party policies. This platform gives a condition to discuss about the economic issue in National Congress (Stern 1987: 353).

### **Politics of DOI MOI:**

The main target of Doi Moi was to improve the productivity; they wanted to raise living standards and to control the rapid inflation. During mid 1980 the inflation reached almost 500 percent. The strategy of communist party was to re-establish a multi sector economy motivated by private enterprise under the government supervision. In this situation, the party discovered to increase foreign investment. The communist party of Vietnam wanted to soften the United Nation trade ban that followed the Vietnamese incursion of neighbouring Cambodia in 1978-1979. The government of Vietnam expected that the reform would end the separatism by expanding external trade and commercial relations (Freeman 1996: 178). This was the strong modification of strategy that almost extraordinary among Marxist nations at the time. So, this decision was approved by the Sixth Party Congress in 1986. After this Vietnam became one of the first Soviet Bloc nations and took the capitalist road.

The Communist Party of Vietnam permitted the corporate style due to the social pressure. The government of Vietnam generated its own social institutions and organizations because it used them to move on agenda. The state had large team of legitimacy that groups made during the August revolution and wars for unification. In this condition, the communist party of Vietnam Prima dominated political power. The party was permitting people to participate beside a single Leninist party. Thus, the civil society in Vietnam had developed but this civil society was not strong due to the Vietnamese Communist Party. The state announces the public policy that was state sponsored and state organizations. This policy was not below form the peasantry level.

The Vietnamese people think in a strong state and rich society. In this condition, the state focuses leading capacity of a strong state efficiently to control its economic system. There actual ability of the state was to organize and implement the programmes. It was less than a dominating state.

After the national movement there were many social groups. These social groups made pressures and demands on the state. All these people came from peasants and workers. The Vietnamese communist party argued that they symbolized and served both of these classes. On the other side many number of studies point to that the communist party of Vietnam accommodated obligation that came from outside. Thus, the state launched the scheme in its own organizations. On the other pressures, stem was state organizations. The states articulated his self through the petitions and grassroots movement. The most important feature in everyday politics of Vietnam that people came from norms and rules of authority. It mainly led to manufacture and share of goods and services and other important capital (Barnett 2007: 27).

During the period of late 1970, the many communist leaders of Vietnam started to doubt that the central planning could be made to work. In this phase, the procedure of institutional reform had been started. It was essentially through surrendering of better independence to enterprises. In this effect, this autonomy extended to allowing the arrangement of joint ventures with the foreign investors and a steady process of biased privatisation and small scale non-core business. Thus, the focal point remained on institutional reform. On this base, they presumed that it would promote the neo-classical trained economy. This economy took the international help through agencies. After this condition, the market isolation created sufficient economic growth.

After the unification the major challenge of the Communist party of Vietnam that was management and development of the economy. During the fourth congress in 1976 the communist Party of Vietnam acknowledged that the nation's economy was incoming a stage of transition to



socialism. The government hoped to attain in three phases from 1976 to 2010. The communist Party earlier plan and hope was disappointed as the Second five years plan that was 1976-80. This five years plan could not be achieved and attained major targets. In this result, the fourth party congress confirmed the major task and highest objective of economic development programmes. The government wanted to improve the people's objects and religious life. In this condition, the people's living standard was effected and declined radically between 1976 and 1980. In this impact, wage worker and family's works were affected those people real monthly income turn down an index of 81.8 in 1976 to 57.8 in 1980 (Hiep 2012: 154).

The communist party of Vietnam principally mentioned and legitimated the nationalist struggle. The party never wanted to weaken the strength of eliminate markets and private enterprise entirely. There were various domestic pressures and they wanted to lead the reform process that began in 1979. It shows the continuing turnaround of these socialist objectives in all. Basically, it was the circle of public ownership. The central planning had covered by 1989; in this condition the labour markets had begun bulge (Beresford 2008: 226). The socialist government politics determined to maintain the state activity it dominated the economy's order height. The primary cause for this purpose was very clear. Therefore, the communist Party wished to hold its capability to influence the long term structural changes. But this project had some variations and it's conceiving the practical level. This project was similar to the nation-building of East Asian capitalist states. The state view was as a representative of long term interests of the whole nation. It was relatively short-term and particular interests. Thus, the objectives were articulated in abstract language like this industrialisation and modernisation.

In this purpose to inform, the government maintained and gave support for state enterprises as a central manifesto of the socialist market economy. There were two issues come up. First issue was the central planning state can be conquered suitably to permit successful East Asia style. The second issue was how state can carry state enterprises in a way because that was useful for society. When, Doi Moi came in existence it replaced the old distribution system that was based on labour. It created a new goal that was the civilised and equitable society. This slogan was taken from 7<sup>th</sup> Party Congress "Strong country, rich country, civilised and equitable society" held in 1991 (Beresford 2008: 227). After that the market economy builds a propensity society. This society is more open to discuss the central planning.

The government of Vietnam face socio-economic crisis and political challenges. Thus, communist party of Vietnam accepted the new economic policy during the sixth congress. This policy

constituted the serious economic reforms. It was including and providing the long term development of a multi sector market based economy. The policy renovated the economic arrangement and made stable the socio-economy environment. Mainly, this policy promoted science and technology and accepted an open door policy in relations with foreign partners.

The communist party of Vietnam was yet careful of the socialist ideas. It was the most important source of genuineness. That was fit indication and conation to bring the country into a period of conversion to socialism. Nevertheless, the booming socio-economic act would almost be impossible without Doi Moi. There were many facts of socio-economic failures in the 1976-86 periods. This was a rational choice of communist party. The fact was the government had traditional sources of legitimacy beat. On 1986, the Communist party of Vietnam and nationalist argued the historical mission of protecting the Vietnam's sovereignty. But the Communist party of Vietnam approximately lost own implication during the legitimating process. In this condition the communist party figure was as a guarantor of national independence and unity. Thus, it had nullified the confused leadership fight again on the economic front but it was not a win view. During the 1975 to 1986, Vietnamese leadership was busy into two and more armed conflicts. That was the short border war with China in 1979. The second expensive armed clash was the Khmer Rouge and Cambodia.

In the beginning Cambodia and Khmer Rouge clash produced and boosted the nationalist feeling and support for the Communist Party of Vietnam. But this duration was very short. Because, it was the economic hardship of Vietnamese profession in Cambodia and sufferers in the armed forces, it was the question and unity of the Communist Party of Vietnamese policy. After that former Deputy Foreign Minister Tran Quang Co considered that there were deep relation and long commitment in Cambodian problem. It was one major error of the Vietnamese foreign policy in the 1970 (Hiep 2012: 157). Additionally, when Vietnam raised the issue of engagement with Cambodia the conflict came in surface. In this circumstances, Vietnam suffered from diplomatic separation with Association of Southeast Asia Nation (ASEAN 1967) members. Thus, China and Western country pressurised on Vietnam to withdraw from Cambodia. It damaged the International image of Vietnam government and Communist party of Vietnam. Therefore, the diplomatic separation also delayed the party efforts and revitalized the economy.

During the Asian crisis in 1997, the Vietnamese economy was relatively impressive. Because, it was the complete reform programme known as Doi Moi. In this condition, Vietnam had moved from Soviet style central planning, dilemma and macro-economic volatility in the mid 1980. That time

Vietnam had mixed economy and logically stable prices on the other side the rapid growth came later. During the period of 1990 to 1997, annual GDP growth rate was over the year eight percent. On the one hand, the exports had extended yet closer. All these technology and foreign products, capital investment were playing more important role in the transformation of the economy. This economy was rising in external direction but it had no idea to limit the economy. The political condition is good for economy.

In past few years before, Vietnam and USA relation have been normalized. After this relation Vietnam joined the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1995. On the other side its Vietnam joined the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation in 1998 (APEC 1989) and World Trade Organization in January 11, 2007 (WTO 1995) Vietnam economic development enhanced the international relations and it had been escorted by many social indicators. In this result, poverty was reduced in the first ten years of Doi Moi. Vietnamese people had access to the health facility in every location and percentage of the population had access to safe water and sanitation. Vietnamese primary school education rates had been increasing.

The Vietnam's major difficult area was the development of the State-owned enterprises. This sector can be motivated more than half of industrial output and regarding third of the GDP. Mainly, the state-owned enterprises were reported to function with outdated machinery and equipment. In this result, there were low productivity and quality. There was 25 percent underemployment in 1996. This economy contributed 80 percent budget of state economy (Kokko 1998: 321). The state-owned enterprises were not capable for many sector, so they borrowed the capital from other state enterprises. It took loan from banking sector and other capital sources. That created a multifaceted network of cross-subsidization and gratitude. The government has no reliable data on the aggregate debt of the state owned enterprises sector.

There are some recent views of informal sector, these studies are based on border context and the rural and urban consolidation. This studies analyses the unregulated small enterprises in centrally. They have few planned economies and those sectors were generally regarded by Marxist writers as a characteristic of capitalist not socialist economies. Some former Soviet Union studies based on informal sector activity tended to pressurised their incompetence, criminality and illegality. Due to the economic breakdown, the Soviet Union had been divided in two parts. The newly emerging small enterprise organized crime and gained control in this difference powerfully with what happened in Vietnam. Despite this the study suggested that the Vietnamese informal sector was previously well

prepared at the grassroots level previous to 1986. The Vietnamese government withdrew the restrictions on private enterprise (Freeman1996:180).

During the period of 1999 the communist party of Vietnam had 2.2 additional million members. This population was out of a population of 77.5 million. They were selected leaders and formulating the major policies and they also defended the National Congress of the Party. The communist party of Vietnam organized every five years National Congress of the party to discuss about the economic and political programmes. Two time the central Committee met and talked about directives and problems. This issue came during the National Congress of the Party and its execution of the programme charted.

The communist party members were himself up to date National Congress of the Party of the procedure in the course of study and discussion. These various draft are related to the political and economic report ready for the NCP meeting. The communist party cells select the delegate for the National Congress of the party of every five years. There are 1200 seats as representatives of NCP. Despite this, the general people are out of the process. The some Party National Congress members came in Central Committee (CC) of the party. The Central Committee is the most major component. It has politburo and standing committee members. The politburo member takes direct decisions for the governmental issues. Mainly, the standing committee has five members. It is comprised of the politburo and manages day-to-day associations. The politburo members have no more training and understanding of economic and implementation of the market economy (Dinh 2000: 364).

### **Government Ideology and Vietnamese press:**

There are some jokes over Government and press. Many Vietnamese people stated this joke.

“Why do Vietnamese police travel in threes?

One can read. One can write. The third has to control the intellectuals” (Abuza 2001: 138).

What is the importance of Mass communication and media? The Vietnamese President Ho Chi Minh statement shows its significance. In 1951 during the National Art Exhibition, the Vietnamese President Ho Chi Minh advised all the artists, writers and film-makers. They used their art as a weapon in the struggle for the independence. (Rodenburg 1993), Vietnamese President was very conscious of the power of the film as a mechanism in the propaganda policy. The motion picture can reach the number of the people and it can impact the large number of population. Mainly, North Vietnamese movies were based on the fight against the French and the Americans, but South Vietnamese film was against the

communism. In 1975 American army went back to their country, after this condition the Vietnamese films actually have possibility to increase itself imaginatively.

The Nhan Van-Giai Pham affair was starting the argument for free speech, intellectual freedom and independence of the press. These supporters believed in socialist realism but party manage on the other. The socialist realism argument was to set the Vladimir Lenin, Maxim Gorky and Mao Zedong. These philosophers emphasize in his testimony that literature and art stand above classes (Abuza 2001: 138). The art is separate from and independent of politics. Due to the proletarian revolution, these proletarian literature and art came in existence. On the other side Nhan Van-Giai Pham leaders led the movement and they published their own journal as well as they produced art and literature. These leaders were not carrying and supporting the accuracy of the proletarian revolution. The leaders were observed by the party as toxic weeds a disease on socialist literature and art. These leaders had only purpose to serve the revolution.

During 1986 the Vietnamese visual art has been developed. These Vietnamese arts discovered the goods in the Asian modern art market. But, Vietnam has so many restrictions in freedom of the press and literary expression. The government of Vietnam little changed their press law and policy that should be normal. The main goal of the government was constriction down the intellectuals and keeps them speak freely, forcing them to trust on letters and samizdat Publications<sup>1</sup>. The Vietnamese people are able to snooker the government's control the press. They circumvent through the Internet and anger one government official to criticize the modern communication. But, heartless government controls over the press eject in place. On 1999 survey stated that the press freedom across East and Southeast Asia especially communist state of Vietnam place at the bottom along with Myanmar (Abuza 2001: 132).

The Doi Moi (renovation) writers were directly challenging the theory of "socialist realism". Le Ngoc Tra was qualified in literary theory in the Soviet Union. He stated that the literature was not an indication of reality. But, it was first of all an action of self understanding of writers thought whose literary work could become a land that promoted human emotions and garden where human souls flowered. Vietnamese people developed in separate existence in intellectual society. The Hoang Ngoc Hien was the Soviet Union educated theorist. He gives the criticism of the socialist realism and he frankly stated that

"Socialist realism is a fake conception which has caused a long unhappiness for writers, artists, researchers and leaders. At the beginning it was put forward as a flag whose function was to gather [writers and artists]. However, it became to make it nobler and all purpose. This argument is useless" (Nguyen 2004: 285).



On 1988 the Vietnamese government had been decided to hold back the Doi Moi Movement in literature and art. Nguyen Ngoc was the writer and editor-in-chief of *Van Nghe*. They weekly organized the Vietnamese writers meeting and sacked possible for publishing stories by Nguyen Huy Thiep. On the other hand Vu Kim Hanh journalist and editor general of *Tuoi Tre* newspaper in Ho Chi Minh City. He had removed the publication of an article. That article was based on Ho Chi Minh love affair. While he had been staying in China more than half a century earlier. The government suspended the review of *Song Huong* because it supported the Doi Moi writers.

In this result, the Central committee's of Culture Commission of Vietnam shut down the eight magazines and newspapers. The newspaper editor in chief of *Sai Gon Giai Phong* was fired. Due to the outspoken and critical reporting in his paper, the editor of *Vung Tau Côn Đảo* had been arrested. Another editor was also made to dispossess *Bui Minh Quoc* from Dalat Lang Bien, To Hoa of Sai Gon Giai Phong, To Nhian Vy of the literary review *Cua Viet* and Truong Giang of *Giao Duc va Thoi Dai* the latter for express regret to their readers for not publishing the critical response by Phan Dinh Dieu to an article by le Quang Vinh published first in *Sai Gon Giai Phong* and then in *Nhan Dan* (Nguyen 2004: 286).

Following the termination of the committee of literature and art by the Communist party of Vietnam, its committee head Tran Do, came out to support those people who were asking for a renovation in their locale. Despite being abused by General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh, female novelist Duong Thu Huong published her second novel *Paradise of the Blind*. After this publication, government detained and jailed her for seven months. Later in 1991, she sent the manuscript of her novel to outward publisher without mentioning her name (Nguyen 2004: 286). To suppress the dissent against state, the government authorities arrested a number of writers and poets. Among them, writer Tieu Dao Bao Cu and poet Bui Minh Quoc were positioned under house arrest for two years from September 1997 to 1999.

The socialist realism system was not destroyed and threatened by the dissident writers and critics. But it had been annihilated by free market system which was adopted by Vietnamese Communist Party. It raised the three important facts, which was related to the publication field. In 1975, South Vietnamese culture, for the first time it has become a mass phenomenon. After the publication for a time Duong Thu Huong's novel *Paradise of the Blind* was banned, but when government withdrew the banned, it sold out at least 60,000 copies. When, Nguyen Ngoc's was a editor of *Van Nghe Magazine* that time distribution was more than 120,000 copies. Luu Quang Vu's was a Vietnamese

playwright and poets and he created many plays across the country and fascinated hundreds of thousands of audience. Second fact was the press and publications became an economic resource of the several local governments and government organizations, in this impact they wanted to invest these sector. It was the main ground for the unique enhance of the number of publishers and magazines.

In 1998 Ministry of the Centre report explains that there were licensed only half of the four hundred newspapers in the country, but that year nearly forty percent of the books published illegally. Third fact was that the state gave the endless subsidies for the publishers, but which was no longer get form the state as before, therefore, publishing house necessary do own best to survive and make income. The first priority of the publisher was to publish the best-selling books, and in demand to acquire such probable bestselling books. Thus, the publisher necessitated to co-operate with Private agents, which were skilful in business and they had a big association within the literary circles (Nguyen 2004: 286).

Even as those people show this result of these performances, no one, not even the very traditional, thus, they carry on creating and publishing literature under the enchantment of socialist realism. Consequently, no one wasted their own power to defend socialist realism. In 1990s the arena of literary theory had been very immobile and silence. There had been no question for or against the socialist realism. Whereas, the writers and poets were wonderingly testing their writing on representation, surrealism, *nouveau roman* (New Novel), and real poetry and even postmodernism critics, in these impact theorists were ready to study many non-Marxist theories. The new criticism phenomenology, semiotics, Hermeneutics, Receptive Aesthetics all these were postmodernism. Tuan Ngoc (2004) argues that in 2001, the Vietnamese translation of an anthology of essays written by the Russian formalists, *Art as Device: Theory of Russian Formalism* was published; followed by two anthologies on postmodernism: *postmodern short stories in the world* and *Postmodern Literature in the world, Some Theoretical Issues*.

Cartoon is a message used to be symbolised outlines in the formation of meaning, mainly cartoons emerge to acquire rhetorical possessions. It appealed the spirit and minds of readers. The motto of cartoon is speaking pictures to express exact and influential meanings during the use of common images, descriptions and allusion and to seek to brief. It has been hitherto unobserved feature of the real life beside the mirror of a dream world.

On 1980 Vietnamese print media had been renovated. That time daily newspapers and magazines was using regularly “cartoons and comic strips” ( Thuy, Pham Thu 2003). In this condition the newspaper sharpen their pages with humorous comments on wide range of issues and relevant to the

public concern. The situation was rising market for pictorial mentality and plain to the look of numerous magazines. That was the special edition for the satirical cartoons and comedy. There are some examples “as *Youth Humour* it’s publish by the Youth Union of Ho Chi Minh City, on the other side *Humour* published by the Fine Art Association of Vietnam and *Relaxation* publish by the labour publishing house” ( Thuy, Pham Thu 2003: 98). The Vietnamese daily newspapers were also publishing the cartoon and comic flooring that showed at the bottom of the page one. Mainly, Saturday publication had been devoted and whole contents based on funny illustrations and ironical stanza and modern caricature of customary saying and adage. The dishonest government official were extravagant bureaucrats. There are not only the group of brand in this caricature. Vietnamese people’s voices also assisted and influencing to derision by the cartoonist.

Nobody can condemn them on account of socialist realism. Therefore, in September 20, 2003, the communist party highest body politburo issued the resolution to establish the committee of theorists and critics. These committee goals are to construct the party’s policy of literature and art. Whenever, the government release the resolution and some articles and interview about it the term of socialist realism was never discussed. When, Vietnamese government had been adopted the Doi Moi . It does provide several freedom to choose there topic and content, despite this some subject was avoided.

During the period of 1975 to 1987 Vietnamese had developed new type of subject. The film makers selection was social themes, these film was based on daily life style after the war, but it was the outstanding movies. A Vietnamese movie was also increasing attention of the people and it changed the aspect of cinema. It was the first time in Vietnamese movies applied as a standard for emotional and imaginative appearance. In 1987 the government of Vietnam had supported financially for movies a year. The government principle motives were to encourage the contemporary movies and its build a profits. Because, the motion picture productions should be as reasonable as possible. So, all these factor and arrangement with the nonstop censorship of the content, Vietnamese cinema has no cruelty, Sex and political criticism. Therefore, the modern Vietnamese film goes on board to be retirements. Despite these conditions small groups of Vietnamese film producer are doing at the highest and imaginative stage of the Vietnamese movies. In 1993 the ten Vietnamese films had been selected and shown in diverse cinemas theatre in Netherlands. It was the component of the Vietnam Festival. “It had been organized by the Gate foundation in co-operation and medisch committee Nederland-Vietnam” (Rodenburg 1993). After this shows the Hamburg film festival organizers was very leaven in Vietnamese films. Therefore, In 1994 they theatricals at own festival.

When, Vietnamese film was shifting to the market economy. There had been produced lots of trouble for the film making and distribution. In 1989, those people, who were working in the film industry, were experienced and happy with their profession still while life was tough. Those days' movies creation and circulation was vast. It needed the huge amount of the resources and wealth, thus the government of Vietnam cannot provide huge capital. When, the government of Vietnam was eliminating the funding. It created the difficulty in film production and resources had been organized by unstable change and ambiguity. Thus, production house had obligation to find out the ways to continue to exist and adjust to new conditions. It was the easy way to allure and investment funds from private businessman, but the state had been replaced him and the government came to key resource of financial support for film production and distribution in Vietnam. Despite this private financier were normally engaged only for income and profit. Thus, it is more important for film producer to make a reasonably priced movies and stand the taste of the audience.

The Vietnamese film Producer and observers agreed with the film industry, because during the twentieth century Vietnamese cinema had apparently outgrown in “socialist realism” (Dang Nhat Minh and Pham Thu Thuy 2003). This was the period of content as well as stylistic conference. Due to the genuine confidence Vietnamese movies had been leftovers and extensive of the positive circles in the film industry, because film producer have most significant job to articulate in filmic language the anxiety and the target of ordinary people. All these investigation the effect and development was based on swift economic change on individual as well as social interaction.

In the impact of Doi Moi Vietnamese, state takes decision to strengthen and encourage the harmony in the family. It also focused the household and economic goals and ensuring social and political stability. In 1990s, the state and media opened discourses to describe the women both as feminine and modern consumers. The states also encompass Confucian family values in their attachment to their husbands, children and laws. The state had been unquestionably encouraged in large part of the household. They believed that a greater share of social and economic responsibility. On the other hand official gender dialogue was also connected to the support of state controls over culture production and the media and it included the Social Evils campaign. During that period, the state discourses mostly described women in ideal roles. But the Social Evils campaign gave negative representation of women in its crackdown on prostitution and its attacks on the media. The impact of the commercialization of the media coverage was sensational stories and the sex-driven. Thus Vietnamese government had been censoring the media (Werner 2009: 136).

**General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh and press:**

In October 1987 Vietnamese government had legalized process by the political bureau's in Vietnam and they pass the resolution. This renovation programme focused on three characteristic that was the motivation of the creative writings, second critical analysis and three was theoretical writing. Vietnamese literature had been officially launched by the Nguyen Van Linh statement. During this period, Nguyen Van Linh was communist party chief. Therefore, his meeting was the most important with a group of hundred writers and scholar in Hanoi. In this meeting, he gave the official consent to critical writing. But his criticism was poor literature writing during the war and he also confessed the role of the communist party and blamed them. His personal view was of the party in the past that it made a number of serious irresponsible guidelines and its administration. Thus, it was devaluating the role of creative writing and art in society. It had shackled "writers and artists with obstinacy and formulism" (Nguyen 2004: 280). He stated that writers should inform the truth, even the cruel reality.

The party General Secretary had accepted that the Vietnamese communist party leadership handover the art, literature and culture to some dictatorial and strict authority, these all people were eminent undemocratic. Most important point was he support writers and he stated that the writers didn't "bend their pens" (Nguyen 2004: 226) and disfigure their writings. But, these writings will be explorer in offensive all harmful visual image in society and senior cadres. He also corrected the past condition, therefore he publicized around the writers and artist group that they knew about the united and free from earlier censorships and repression. This message came from top leader of the party. In this effect, the communist party had been instantly liberating all literary publication in Vietnam. This was the opening progress of Doi Moi literature who proceeded from "roughly 1987 until 1990" (Nguyen 2004: 267).

According to Gangnath Jha "premier Nguyen Van Linh had set a new tone of the press" (Jha 2009: 177) so, he stated that the "writers should not bend their pens in order to please official" (Jha 2009: 177). He also stated that those people who were unable to write the creative writing they should study and develop their knowledge. The Vietnamese journalist apprehends appropriate time to appear for free and reasonable reporting. The journalist should not write the self-seeker pieces. They include the journalist and encourage the analytical articles, which has been helped in the good performance of the Vietnamese government and it is also building the Vietnamese media image. Therefore, the government of Vietnam had been given orders to the press to reproduce not just the "voice of party"



(Jha 2009: 177) but it should also reflect “Voice of the people” (Jha 2009: 177). The government of Vietnam has been legalized the press to open those areas which has dark socio-economic condition and government of Vietnam provide the award of analytical writings.

Doi Moi policy suddenly insists for laws to legalize the marketization and socio-economic policy. In this condition, the National Assembly of Vietnam had been taken a new important steps to some improvement such as undisclosed balloting and press reporting. The government of Vietnam executed to build it a more effective body. General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh maintain that the “formalism and bureaucratism” (Abuza 2001: 103) of earlier National legislative body had to be discarded. Thus, they emphasized that the all these government commission could not be as a rubber stamp. This was the actual discussion and question guidelines.

While, the communist part of Vietnam doesn't give any motivation to permit autonomous publication right in 1986, their party was completely against them. Thus, the Vietnamese people want reformation and they also want to take position in journalistic fields as well as socio-economic field. On the other hand, communist party leaders were using a variety of press institution and they advertised own political agenda. It was influencing factional discussion over policy. This was the big trouble for General Secretary. Undoubtedly, they had basic support for media to assist them and execute his new economic reform policy but bureaucracy didn't want to implement the programme. Thus, stickler bureaucracy spite to Nguyen Van Linh and without independent mistake, they were misuse of power and party member was already corrupted, therefore party leaders were unconcern for their masses it was going on a long period.

All conditions were horrific. On October 6, 1987 Nguyen Van Linh advised member of the press that these days when communist party of Vietnam was struggling for power, it can be possible for citizen's encouragement. Due to public alienation it can be possible, it is time to take the ownership of command concerning masses, this time conceit is high, ambition and misappropriation, bureaucracy and totalitarianism in financial and theoretical direction. All these structural value and system was corrupt, thus, it was more important to powerfully disparage and condemn.

After this statement he encourages the “intellectual and journalists” (Abuza 2001:133) in a method that no superior party official since the early 1950s. General Secretary Linh enlisted their supports and scrutiny and publicizing misuse, incompetence, corruption and bureaucratise. It's become a known as the “Unshackling Days” (Abuza 2001:133).

The Vietnamese intellectual and writers was supporting Linh idea and efforts, but these writers and journalist wanted many things in return. When meeting held in October month some writers and artist had been complained in front of the Linh, they stated that the party leadership is “undemocratic, despotic and overbearing in culture matters” (Abuza 2001:133).

They wanted to claw out the civilization from party domination. In this reply General Secretary had confessed and released the some important statement. He stated that “the party leadership regarding culture, art and literature was, as noted by many, undemocratic, authoritarian, high-handed” (Abuza 2001:133). Due to the unfairness and rashness full development was impediment for intellectual’s probability. General Secretary had been raising the question over communist party of Vietnam, because there was customary censorship of all mechanism and urged the artist and writers not to provide to satisfy like this people. Vietnam banned some critical books, in this impact their authors caught some grave problems. But in this situation we should “bend our pens” (Abuza 2001:133). We should make tools for people dainty. Linh give their view that Vietnamese artist who perform this will deny himself of all radical practice.

During the discussion with writers and general secretary, Linh stated that...

“It seems to me that our achievements in literature and art since liberation day have not been great. Am I right? I would be happy to be wrong, but if I am right, please let me know why. Is it because of the restrictions and censorship of the leadership?” (Abuza 2001:134).

After this statement one writer had given bluntly reply. His name was Ho Ngoc and he stated that Art, Culture, and politics undoubtedly separated, it is not only for consideration of the actor, but in association and in the intelligence of the leadership, particularly those leaders who lead arts institute. In party scholar who had twisted particularly sentimentality of the party. On the other hand, Nguyen Khac Vien was continuous in Vietnamese language significant of the *Nhan Van-Giai Pham* affair.

Nguyen Thu Lieu (1988) he stated on their article “*Artistic Freedom in Vietnam*,” this article had been given outlook of Vietnamese government and its press policy. His argument was due to the market centralization, the Vietnamese bureaucracy has damaged the living pattern of daily life in Vietnamese citizen. In this condition, Vietnamese culture has been badly affected. The Vietnamese citizen has been talked to each other “how many kilos of rice to eat each month” (Nguyen 1988). On the other hand, Vietnamese poets have been stated that how many poems to write every month. This time everything was decided by communist party of Vietnam “how to write, how to think” (Nguyen 1988).

This is prohibited for writers to produce and think personally. All these situation have become like equipment, in this condition human beings lose own nature.

Due to Linh and Tran Do's attempt, the Vietnamese Press had enjoyed purposefully extra freedom and it was the opening time for Vietnamese journalists. They were given authority to mark on the unconstructive feature of Vietnamese social order and supremacy. During 1988 Vietnamese journalist had no long time to get authorization for story from the central committee's principles and Culture Commission. While, the major newspaper was "*Sai Gon Phong (Liberated Saigon, Tuoi Tre, Lao Dong, Nhan Dan, and Quan Doi Nhan Dan*" (Abuza 2001: 137). All these dailies published the investigative stories. During this period General Secretary was writing a weekly column in major newspapers in (Ho Chi Minh city) *Sai Gon Giai Phong* and he declaimed the party and government and obedient official which were clutching back the modification agenda. Linh primary goal was to reveal the corruption and little numbers of people were resistant. That time the country had various example, but one explanation show condition of the country "the wife of minister of defence and a politburo member, Van Tien Dung was exposed for using her husband's position to engage in smuggling and as a result Dung was dropped from both positions" (Abuza 2001: 137). Despite this there were many restrictions over the press.

In 1988 the Vietnamese press yet had to challenge with the upper level intervention. On the other hand communist party watchdogs closed selection articles, which promoted the journalists to insist extra autonomy for reporting. Vietnamese Journalist Associations chairman had been complained about the repeated party intervention in media. Thus, the editors of *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* depressingly expressed that the media was only authorized to discuss about the income of concerning policies. It is the alternative tool of the correctness of the plan ourselves.

During the 1990 Vietnamese writers had best option to publish their writing in overseas publication and writer wanted to overspread his writing all over the world. But the communist party of Vietnam had been attempt to repress abroad publication according as "*Que Me and Doan Ket*" greeting such allegiance. Despite this communist party of Vietnam continued counteract and unkindly. As poet Nguyen Chi Thien smuggled their script, which was 400 poems out in the course of British Embassy in Hanoi for publication overseas. After this information he was detained, but after some time he was released. There was more number of Ha Si Phu's piece of writing. On 1995 Duong Thu Huong began to discover a publisher for her novel not including a name, she dishonoured the party's instruction and sent their manuscript to France. This novel was finally published in United States. It is her most recent novel that title is *Memories of a pure spring*.

In August 1997 the National Congress of the press and publishing Houses, Doi Muoi accepted some of Nguyen Van Linh's outlook toward the media. He had highlighted the function of the press. Its assistant scrap corruption, smuggling, bureaucratise and other social evils. Already, this was obvious that a number of coverage would have to be completed in agreement with the party's requirements and happiness and surely it will be fixed under the leadership. During the period of mid-August the politburo had been proclaimed that it was going to be bound and restrained over the press. This time Huu Tho was the head of the Central committee's Ideology and Culture Department. He was determined that the media and publications shall work subsequent the direction of the party and the law of the state. In this order it has been reproduced and conduct citizen view and it does promote the revolutionary feelings. On the other hand, he advises that the press had been too much free thus the party was going to tightly reassert organization above disobedient institution. Thus, the media and publications come under the control of the party and function in the structure of the law. One Politburo's senior ideologue Nguyen Duc Binh came in support and he wrote an editorial in *Nhan Dan* and reproachful the "Westernization and commercialization" (Abuza 2001:143) of Vietnamese media.

### **Role of Bureaucracy during Doi Moi:**

According to Ganganath Jha "The bureaucracy of Vietnamese had over the years turned into an instrument of the Communist Party" (Jha 2009: 157). In this condition, Vietnamese Communist Party operated for the benefit. Because those officials were largely corrupt. Thus, the overall Vietnamese bureaucracy was unpopular. This was disgustingly incompetent and organism overmanned, but a lot of revenue was exhausted on its protection. Dishonesty flourish under by way of describing the name umbrella system. This system was under the high-level authority of the party and it's made mainly lower-level administrator appointments, because they were accountable for preferment and payment enhancement. In this condition, they operated as the supporter of the junior rank government administrator selected by them. When the junior level official worked ineffectually or indulged in dishonest exercise. But the country had no authority to protect them and send to the jail. In this condition, Nguyen Van Linh came in power. They removed the various corrupt officials from the office and lots of official were shown their way out. After the Sixth party congress of the communist Party numerous well-offended leaders and administrator had been instantly discharged. The General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh has renovated the machinery of bureaucratic management more than organization and the economy, because it encourages the competence and growth. He has given the

importance to liability and decency of works. During that period workers were treated like as robots and many employees were accustomed to do in the earlier period.

Due to bureaucratic problem, General Secretary Linh faced various troubles, to execute the improvement programme. Thus, he determined the increase of the role of media and Journalist. In March 28, 1998 he delivers a most important speech in the front of newspaper editors among the socialist community (Abuza 2001:136). He was disclosing that reconstruction is a tendency but it will not be a simple procedure and will engage struggle. When Linh confirmed that the media was the most important instrument to disseminate, thus the communist Party used to publicize the recent policies. In this condition, he stated that media is the tool of renovation, therefore it also should be modernized in its employees as editors and reporters and renovate the work style. It is necessary for member of the press to put citizen demands on party cadres and bureaucrats to execute the reform policy and serve as a supervisory body to halt the disturbing increase in corruption and misuse the power.

General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh wanted to remove corruption under the bureaucracy. He had used the trade unions and media to build the bureaucracy responsive and extra accountable. During that period, there was various numbers of trade unions according to the women's Association, Ho Chi Minh Youth Union, the fatherland front, the federation of trade unions, the National peasants Union this union was previously the groups of Peasants' Union all these union have been stronger support and positive confident to play a dynamic role in the country's policy. It also remains the close watch on the government management and bureaucrats. In 1989, the Vietnamese government had passed many decrees in those regimes. The government of Vietnam had sought and they corrected the situation "for the function of trade union" (Jha 2009: 158).

The Government of Vietnam had been asked to the trade union leaders that organized autonomous bases or thyself so because to be competent to take out work on their own. Due to government leadership tread union was autonomous body. Trade union election had been organized by the union itself without fail than by the Central congress. Vietnamese trade union was free from own extended allegiance to the Communist party. Thus, the present day broadly accepted diverse union. Therefore, it is the moral duty of trade union to protect the possession of own members and to provide as an aureole check on aberrant officials and bring out their acts of "omission and commission" (Jha 2009: 158).

Before knowing about the bureaucracy involvement in corruption, it is helpful to temporarily study the socio-political structure of Vietnamese society. In 1990, they were emergence namely of the movement



beside the government dishonesty and bureaucracy. When Vietnamese government introduced the new economic reforms and this policy was open-door guidelines. During this period the apparition of government corruption overshadowed a great deal of Vietnamese political background. Although the numbers of government official statement on the requirement to account out sugarplum and corruption. Vietnamese government had biggest failure to convince the people that it is seriously around activity. During the 1998, the weekly *Law* journal of Ho Chi Minh City had published survey. This survey was based on “2,000 readers from which it obtained a top ten of crimes or violations,” (Thuy 2003:99). Vietnamese people agree tthat the country today faces serious problems. First problem is corruption and second collection of 26.82 percent of all replies go back to drug habit and prostitution.

The Communist Party of Vietnam and government officials have nonstop maintained this problem. After the sometime they are strong-minded to combat the trouble of corruption and bureaucracy. Some foreign leaders suggested that when country fight against the corruption and social evils. It does symbolize the complex and long term project. It cannot be abolished within short period of time. Former Vietnamese communist Party General Secretary Do Muoi stated that extensive corruption and well-established bureaucracy were affectation of a serious risk to the power and the authority of the ruling party. He also stated that red tape and corruption reason ethical decompose and damage the close association between the party people and state and resist against the corruption and red tape had been incompetent.

Vietnamese government had accepted that the compulsion of administrative redressal began on in its improvement process although the formation of institute of the bureaucracy yet presents problems. There were needless conciliator administrative stages. On other side there bureaucracy had defection of transparency in the judgment making process. They were changing the system without any notice to administrative policy and procedures. In this condition the government had been lacking the understanding between the offices. It was close official and unofficial attachment with the Vietnam Communist Party and concealment. In this situation, whole result was misuse of resources. The Vietnamese government had addressed the divergence of coercion policy issue and reform throughout parliamentary means, but the execution of the laws and resolutions and degrees had been unhurried and most of the cases that was incomplete. This condition came due to the lack of impressively public administration reform and it restructuring the state bureaucracy. Vietnamese bureaucracy had been extending beyond the power and doublet of responsibilities (Stiftung 2012: 28).

Most of the Vietnamese journalist and writers was unaware of the politics. Because the government suppression and controlling state for a long period. When the writers and cartoonist spoke out, they were criticising the authoritarian government and bureaucracy. Most of the Vietnamese writers disagreed with the socialist realism because it became essential for the realists. Thus, the creative writing would be as a weapon for the struggle against the unconstructive elements in the society. Vietnam had two movements going on. The literary debate and corruption was associated with something Vietnamese realism. This movement worked with the pre revolutionary period. This movement's main concern was the authority of critical idea sideways bureaucracy and dictatorial state.

### Notes

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The literally means of Doi Moi is renovation and reconstruction. It is an economic philosophy. Its pronounced “doy moy” as in “me” from Kath and Kim. During the Sixth National Party Congress there is one term that can capture the major themes that word was “Renovation” this words nearly all speeches and major reports highlighted the need to bring about renovation. The congress general resolution adopted on the final day declared the main target of ideological work are to renovate the way of thinking in all fields of activity of the party and state. They want to renovate economic thinking and renovate the party organisational and cadre work and renovate its work style. For detailed see (Thayer, Carlyle A. 1987)

It was the executive body of Russian Communist Party. The political Bureau was first elected in 1919 by the 8<sup>th</sup> Russian Communist Party Congress in March 1919. The Political Bureau short form is Politburo. When Stalin was Party Secretariat, he planned the agenda and provided all documentation for debate and transmitted the decisions of the politburo to the party. But, In 1930 Stalin transformed the politburo into the supreme executive and legislative body of the Communist party and the Soviet government and was entirely in command of its membership decisions and debates. Thus, party congress now not only did not elect the politburo but its own membership was fully controlled by the politburo. The Chairman of the politburo is the General Secretary of the Communist Party. For detailed see: <https://www.marxists.org/glossary/orgs/p/o.htm>.

The ideology is a system of social and political ideas that express in theoretical form of the consciousness of a particular class or social group and it justifies its political interest. There were more and less logically coherent theoretical systems. They had ideologies can manifest themselves in many different forms ranging from history, literature, art, religion and philosophy. Always, ideologies arise directly out of the stir and strife of social conflicts upon the battleground between different social classes.

On the one hand Social contract theory, its came from Marxist-Leninist perspective, it is the form of bourgeois ideology. It is functions to justify liberal democratic political philosophy. It has base on more specifically, liberal democratic capitalism. There are three dimensions to a Marxist-Leninist critique of contract Aryanism. First question is what is the idea and who its came in individual. The idea came in an atomic individual coming into society as a contracting agent is seen as a historical. It's closely related to the second aspect, the abstract individual posited by contract theory is dismissed as a methodological flaw. The third and last is juridical equality postulated by contact theorists is grounded on substantive inequality rooted in bourgeois relations of production. for detailed see: (Ferguson II Stephen C. *Social contract as Bourgeois ideology*) <http://clogic.eserver.org/2007/Ferguson.pdf>.

The Association of Southeast Asia Nation (ASEAN) is a regional organization of Southeast Asia. It establish on August 08, 1967. The member's states of the Association are Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia Lao PDR, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. The ASEAN secretariat based in Jakarta, Indonesia.

The Association of Southeast Asia first article purposed that to maintain and enhance peace, security and stability and further strengthen peace oriented values in the region. First article of the Second part emphases the enhance regional resilience by promoting greater political, security economic and socio-cultural cooperation. For detailed see: <http://www.asean.org/archive/publications/ASEAN-Charter.pdf>.

The Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum was established in 1989. It is a forum for 21 Pacific Rim member economies. Its promotes free trade through the Asia-Pacific region. Australia is the Founding member of APEC. APEC primary purpose is to facilitate economic growth and prosperity in the region. Its vision is to creating a seamless regional economy. APEC pursues these objectives through trade and investment liberalisation, business facilitation and economic and technical cooperation. Vietnam became a APEC member in 1998. For detailed see: <http://dfat.gov.au/international-relations/regional-architecture/apec/Pages/asia-pacific-economic-cooperation-apec.aspx>.

The World Trade Organization is an intergovernmental organization. This Organization deals with the rules of trade between nations at a global or near-global level. The WTO establish in 1 January 1995. This was the Marrakech Agreement, its signed by 123 nations on 15 April 1994. The WTO replaced GATT as an international organization, but the general Agreement still exists as the WTO umbrella treaty for trade in goods. It was the updated as a result of the Uruguay Round negotiations. Trade lawyers distinguish between GATT in 1994. The original agreement which is still the heart of GATT 1994. [https://www.wto.org/english/thewto\\_e/whatis\\_e/tif\\_e/understanding\\_e.pdf](https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/whatis_e/tif_e/understanding_e.pdf).

The Central Committee is the highest authority within the Communist Party. It establish in 1930. The Central Committee member is electing through the party National Congress. Today Vietnamese communist party Central Committee has 175 full members and 25 alternate members and nominally appointed to the politburo of the communist party of Vietnam.

The Nhan Van-Giai Pham affair was a movement of intellectual disagreement in the North Vietnam in the mid 1950. In the Vietnamese community in exile after 1975 the only publish anthology of work by writers living in Vietnam under the communist regime. During the 1990 the hundred flowers movement are still blossoming in Vietnam. This agglomeration comprised works written by those considerations as literary dissentient of the renovation movement in Vietnam. Its formed in 1987. For detailed see: (Nguyen, Tuan Ngoc 2004 p2)

This term use by Nikolai Glazkov in 1953, the freedom and re-established it is up to the editors and publishers to help their nations to get rid of the unpleasant heritage. They were editing and publishing the samizdat literature using printing presses. It was up to the literary historians and bibliographers to describe the samizdat past in their own terms. This literary text value is at last rid of its non-literary, extra-literary function literary texts can be interpreted and evaluated a sich and the printed texts. It can be find their proper place on library shelves.

It used respective of national culture. There were necessary and vital in soviet bloc countries as a result of the chronic absence of freedom of speech. Because there was a absence of unlimited unrestricted uncensored publishing possibilities. On the other explanation is the Soviet Union was one party government and there was no pluralist system. So,

Soviet government considers subsequently leading the general characteristics of samizdat. For details see: [http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/slavic/events/slavic\\_symposium/Machovec\\_paper.pdf](http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/slavic/events/slavic_symposium/Machovec_paper.pdf).

The term Socialist realism used in Soviet Union. This term not used by the Marx nor Engels but Engels in a letter to a British writer, offered what has become his famous definition of realism. He define the Realism to my mind, implies, besides truth of detail, the truthful reproduction of typical characters under typical circumstances. Therefore, when we see most of Marx and Engels comments on literature, this definition is vague enough to have spawned a host of interpretations. When General Secretary of the central committee of the party delivered report in 1948, he defines socialist realism and he quotes from Engel's definition. But it was the clear that his explanation owes much to literary debates in Russia. This term emerged in the early 1930's.

The Vietnamese intellectuals followed debates in the Soviet Union relating to socialist realism by reading accounts in French journal. Its include Humanity and the official newspaper of the French Communist Party, and *Monde*, edited by Henri Barbusse. He was the leading communist intellectual. These journals were reachable in Vietnam. That time popular Front gained control in France 1936-39.

In 1986 the Sixth Party Congress, Vietnam had been launched its version of glasnost, a movement that led to an restrictions on writers. There were important works had published. Which works was unlike the Socialist realism produced earlier challenge to criticize the communist leadership and remembrance readers that the great victory. The Vietnamese people won at a cost of enormous human suffering. These sections listed those works and some other contemporary literature. Thus, it was clear that the party congress leaders highlight the responsibility of the media and the press to boost the spirit of the masses. The leaders also suggested that they could do this by ensuring truthfulness and avoiding simplistic bromide - overcome account. For detailed see: <http://www.yale.edu/seas/bibliography/chapters/chap11.html#renovation>.

Pradise of the Blind is a novel. It's written by the female writer Duong Thu Huong. It published in 1988. This was the first Vietnamese novel publish in English in the United States. Due to the political view this novel was ban.

This novel based on exquisite portrait of three Vietnamese women struggling to survive in a society. There were subservience to man is expected and communist corruption crushes every dream. For Detailed see: [https://books.google.co.in/books/about/Paradise\\_of\\_the\\_Blind.html?id=kY\\_rFyvUO-MC&redir\\_esc=y](https://books.google.co.in/books/about/Paradise_of_the_Blind.html?id=kY_rFyvUO-MC&redir_esc=y).

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## **CHAPTER: IV**

# **MEDIA AND ITS POLITICS IN VIETNAM**

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### **Media and its politics in Vietnam**

In 21<sup>st</sup> Century mass media is our ears and eyes that can be observed all over the world. Today what is happening around the world and which factors are affecting the economic condition, we can all understand only due to media? Due to the media awareness we can see “Arab Uprising, Japanese earthquake and tsunami” (Keith 2011: 71). This is impossible for anybody openly to identify that what is going on in the world as a political opinion. One person cannot be available in all places at a time. Thus, we are dependent on mass media that keep us aware. The media also bring out the truth and create the intelligence about the world for us. Some political leaders have argument that the media desire is something prepared news to fit within their time limit. But this argument is not a new problem.

The main spirit of media is to produce the message of the information that may be true and false in addition to one person. When two people are gossiping in the same place it is not coming under the definition of mass media. But, while one person exchange a few words with two and large number of people it does make mass media.

The argument is how media is impacting the politics?. The politicians immediately appear to shuffle along alternative deal as they pitch from one crisis to the next. The leader’s real ability is not only to win the elections and makes the government. The political leader’s office has coherence to be presently similar to the empty pipes that is poured. The politician gathers the information from their officials and advisers.

In the meantime, when media progressively set position and progress their politics, It is necessary for the politician to attach himself with the media. Because, people would not run a corporation they are running a country with the political leaders gasconaded from one heading to the next. It’s creating various problems for the politicians. Because today media is a new and big agenda setter, media not only inform that citizens what to imagine, but they do notify that what people are think about. Nowadays, the political leaders are finding their supporters, on the other hand they are also finding out where the mass is running and how that can be controlled. . Politicians

used to inform citizens what is necessary to know for them and presently they advise them what they desire to listen. Today we can differentiate between the traditional leadership role and recent method of politicians, while applying “opinion polls and focus groups” (Keith 2011: 73) to decide what their strategy should be. During the election campaigns uncertainties are played rear to the public by politicians as a technique to classify with the voters. Therefore, leadership nowadays appear to be submitted by media personalities.

Nowadays the fundamental problem for the politicians is how to organize public for mass action for the unpopular policies. Today the government is cutting the basic budget meant for the common people. It is the basic question but it is more complicated to express logic of necessity when the concentration of various people is in a different place. Nowadays 24x7 news channels are being launched all over the world. This is bringing the flood of information to the living rooms all over the world. Public suffer overwhelmed by all the information that is related to clash and disasters thus its turn “desensitized to what is happening” (Keith 2011: 75).

Today the difficulty of communication is that sequentially it’s also considered as “freedom of the press, freedom of Information and right to information” (Jones 1981: 20). It also produces economic and social temperament and more and more political issues. This social phenomenon has basic contradiction. After the Second World War whole world is facing the literacy campaigns. In this consequence the public consciousness had been raising and it’s also impacted the national independence. This condition really enlarged number of those people who search for information and that country had ability for message transmitters. This parallel development has been created a movement of centralization which associated to the financial conditions of technical progress. In this consequence the number of communication transmitters comparatively speaking and it has been diminished. During that period those transmitters who had been in working condition they strength and reinforced.

One certain thing is common all over the world that communication had occupied on such overpowering and importance. One the other hand when societies have been given the confidentiality on their media system. In this condition the state does compulsory some level of regulation. It is dominating all kinds of traditions this rang go to the whole political control and its method for encouragement of pluralism. A few

number of government possess it naturally because they think total control over the content of information is must to rule the masses according to their wishes. On the other hand they are justifying by the ideological basics because they believe to particular ideology. Even on entirely factual principles it is uncertain “whether this system can be called realistic” (Jones 1981: 21). All these understanding explain the result of “commercial and political monopolies on information” (Jones 1981: 21). It means the state pursue belief in media because it can never rule with totality without media and that the nonstop soliloquy cannot blowout critical cleverness and sovereign judgement. The mass media are escutcheon by an obtuse monotony who suggests that disbelieve assuredly than confidence. When dissenting views are tacit, during that period media trustiness is suffering. In this condition state come into view and bothered of controversy. That time the state suffers unsure of the description of reality who keep front in fact. The basic difference is the monopoly of restricted media is that exploded by other procedure of communication. They are using another method of news spreading through the word of mouth and unlawful pamphlets are distributed. This process may be essential but they preserve own rationality and coercion nothing else extension to their credibility. In this condition the foreign broadcasters create a road on the monopoly and impose their view on any state inside its frontiers. Some governments whenever secured to the state impose positive regulatory functions. On the other side these states also encourage or permit alternative media. These states are also evolving citizen contribution, group communication, information sources, delegation of information means and public access.

Media within a framework takes place eventually and determined by the Social and political struggles who have antitype the underway social agreement in a given society. The communication structures are systematic in a democratic society. It is the reflection of political decision and principles of the active social system. At a factual level, answers to the political trouble of communication calculate on judgment a balance among the legitimate pre-positive of the state. All people are privileged and have access to information that may be transmitted to different sections of opinion. Due to the political structure these resolution will necessarily differ according to the degree of growth and the dimension and resources of every nation. But neither realistic requirements nor assert of ideology should be entreat to eliminate “freedom of expression form its proper place” (Jones 1981: 21).

Modern communication signification constructs the location of enterprises frequent irrelevant. It permits to move remote areas of many industrial units and an independence choice of locations for separate industries and other rank of performance, such as trade banking and airlines. Nowadays communication system is clutch out of the best prospects of growth in industrial societies and can be distinguished as the centre of the world economy. The common man experience even however he does not manage the urgent part that is played in the “economy by communication and information” (Jones1981: 24). Vietnam War was the first experiment for the future government that require to contract with news media during a time period of armed collision. The successive American governments have been recalled that United States participation in Indochina lasted more than six elections, the Vietnam exclusiveness has become a circumstance beside the end. e the Political dread concerning the news media deputise wars in modality, which are probable to threaten civic sustenance still in present time. Embedded inside the awareness particularly, American governments and America and on the other side the Vietnam nevus is a signal of troubled relations among the media and the foreign policy. It has potency to hyperbolize the deceleration of state reencounter. It’s also seen in political ambit as a key cause. The question is why America failed in Vietnam War and loses the reason. This was the situation that has become a load of the history which epitomise a deceleration of foreign policy.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam becomes first news staging without example. When Vietnam War was being reported was lacking of instantaneity compression of today and these ground reports had “dispatches and taking on average 30 hours and more to reach the networks” (Spencer 2005: 57). On the other view of disagreement was

Flattering a nonstop diversity show, it was comparatively unhooked and produced an account of pressures which politicians were modicum not ready for this condition. During this period their attempt to responsibility to the media, failed because of political regulating addition. This war was decided and explanation of the war schedule at the time. In 1967 American president Lyndon B. Johnson was careful to the media news and especially to TV news. American advisory board was attempting to demonstrate that United States was building the progress of excess gathering. The American government had been satisfying for autonomy in South Vietnam. This time



TV journalist had anticipation assurance to Johnson's policies. It clears them just beginning of conflict but there were problems with the government approach.

During the Vietnam War period, news images of expression gradually cantered and symbols of left-wing confrontation and intransigent youth. This time they were dissembled to less staged delegacy of peace. The media discovered the middle class viewers because they were involving largely to all these news. This input had been impacted and was disbelieve of the government activity rather than commiseration for the anti war case. Such newspapers images also took the government support and affirmation. This movement was not worried actually with peace, but the qualities of communism.

Interestingly, that time news media tendency was habitually the anti-war movement. The Television and news report visuals were very theatrical, thus it were more directly recognized by the people and the secret message did not interpret into a similarly dramatic importance on the level of manifestation and protest. Thus, it was an input characteristic of the movement's political implication. During this period mass size became a key of achievement and the other side stipulation the movement required to view the administration which was raising the potential influence. This movement had tempt rising mass with devalue the scale of protest and prominence to the detrimental "political consequences which representation can have" (Spencer 2005: 67). It also pointed out the political prejudice of the news coverage. This was the politics to see reluctance to the state power in length of a reprimand without fail than civic opposition to strategy and its guidance within the posses of what may be seen as adequate malapropos disconformities. In this period defection of reality reporting of the ascension seemed to both approbate. There was one side public rejection and anxiety about the ambition of the movement and on the other side they disheartened additional contribution in the dissent themselves.

The capability of media reporting immediately salvaged up the growth of political circumstances and proceedings has lifted up the question concerning the ensemble of news on political judgment building and policy construction. Many researchers have been analysing the media reports which has addressed the difficulty with the stress that news reporting can carry to tolerate the politicians. On the other side when political policy can be chasm by the pre-positive of news which developed to

recognize the CNN effect. Today CNN is affecting whole world media reports. These developments were gained from real time reporting. The purpose of news reporting is disagreement with the state views that lead to diplomatic crises. It produced contemplation who confronts foreign policy aims of state.

This type of news reporting is far representing the problems regarding the decision field forces that possess the real-time television news representation can have impact on politics. The researcher argument is that the television news has annoyance value, which the functioning in disagreement to the gingerly, orderly and thinking processes of the policy formation. It can adage the breadth that a little will be completed. But in this condition a bit which may or may not be completed. These requirements are to be careful in the background that describes the name of pseudo-decisions of indignation, which do something in response to the force after immediate coverage. In this condition the range of responses can be something from a UN resolution to transfer a press spokesman out of the country. Albeit, rising aim are in the direction of the understanding that it is the politics without fail which dispose the approaches to disagreements and disasters. This condition arises the confusion because media debates are connected to the probable quite than real property of reporting to policy.

### **Political communication in Vietnamese media**

Question is why political communication is important. Today it is a larger question of the whole world. This question has emphasised the ideological prospective and many other concepts of the particular country. Thus, when we talk about the Vietnam political communication it is too important to discuss about the father of Nation statement over media. During the nation struggle period Vietnamese father of nation Ho Chi Minh stated that

“Journalism cadres are also revolutionary soldiers;  
A pen and a piece of paper are their sharp weapons”  
(Huong 2012: 29).

This statement has various conditional definitions. Because nowadays powerful countries decide the global economy and it's also budding the democratic state of the former second basic system of the civil society and political communication is existent.

This modification happened on international procedure of liberalization (Bansal 2011: 51) and deregulation and by the propaedeutic of new media technologies. It's increasing and running free forces of media commercialization and conglomeration. All these developments are giving the condition to increase a number of hierarchies, thus the general complexion is at the stage of national politics. It's changing the ways that social actors and subject are symbolized in the mass media. Another modality is the political actors' effort to association with one and additional as well as with probable supporters. In this result they develop various types of organizations, for example interest groups, political parties and social movements that has extended and melded in contemporary political processes. In this situation it has affected the politics inside the country as well as outside the country. They have challenged the national broadcasters to combine the information and prepare entertainment layout in observance of ever more indefinable audience shares. They are giving more and more inferior political coverage to the very important of speech and pageant and intensifying the projection of character, the icon in excess of issue and idea. In their own efforts to become accustomed to this media climate, group as well as personality actor are approaching to respond on professional image management method and equipment. It's used by the rivalry and demand to the political negotiation inside the government and party or other movement association. This is becoming more and more mediatised.

When we examine political system in the socialist Republic of Vietnam, we find crucial surveillance of the national politics in the region. There, lots of journalists, academics and politicians are think about the renovation of political communication. It convey not only a worsening in the excellence of public discourse, but also increasing stages of public pessimism and the wearing a way of civic participation. This renovation of the media and its inferences for the excellence of public communication is scarcely unprecedented. The main worry about the commercialization of the media is because before the DOI MOI period there was various rule and regulation over media (Moog and Jeffrey Sluyter –Beltrao 2001: 31). During the renovation period the country expected the new media technology and they gave various rights to the journalists. Indeed, one strong argument is that the renovation gives the Vietnamese people to become an observer in this age of new media. These all process noting a new but it simply symbolizes the continuance of commercialization processes that is puberty of political promotion method.

In the area of forewarn, the community, this major modification has happen since 1990. This is epitomising with “resolution of two of the Nation Assembly standing Committee” (Salomon 2007: 209). The Vietnam National Assembly performance is more transparent and its actions are at this time being significantly and extensively publicized. There is the best example in the country that is related to the “live national broadcasts on Vietnamese television of question time with government ministers since at least 1997” (Salomon 2007: 209). During that period press meeting have also enlarged the Vietnamese media. Nowadays Vietnamese newspapers and television are covering the most of the National Assembly proceedings and debates and daily newspapers are doing front page stories based on the political issues. This is the biggest change in the Vietnamese media. All these modifications have certified the Assembly to become a rank of national seminar. On the other side the discussion board and authorities have been deciding certain debates. Nowadays Vietnamese National Assembly also issues their periodical that is *Nguoi Dai bieu Nhan Dan (The People’s Representatives)* (Salomon 2007: 209). This publication had been started in October 1988 as a bimonthly and it’s significantly effective and more widely read now. On the other side is the specialized review “*Nghien cuu lap phap (Legislative Studies)* established in December 2000(Salomon 2007: 209). It has also working website. This anxiousness is getting better the addition of quantitative and qualitative change on the performance of National Assembly. It’s also impacted the representative bodies and local legislative. It is admiring the democratization of the people’s chamber, mainly with the respectability to the promotion forecast to elections and the country’s external and eternal prospect. , The National Assembly is in commencement and ponders oneself as a precaution foreign policy actor, beside it is careful not to shift in front of or be mentioned as contradictory in several ways “from state foreign affairs institutions and party” (Salomon 2007: 209).

Recently, there have been improvements in the people’s assemblies at the nationwide and the local levels. It’s also deflection slowly toward reforms, in this situation the effort of their members and people representatives are planned to be anyhow modicum responsibility to the Vietnamese citizens. The Vietnamese official system has been carrying on the process. When one candidate is elected on one occasion, he or she must remain in everyday contact with the constituency. The candidate must pay attention and deliver their speech during planned meeting. The

subject of closeness to the citizen and is also one of the obviously fixed selection criteria that proclaimed during the previous elections, because the detachment “between deputies and their constituencies has been the source of frequent and serious complaints” (Salomon 2007: 204). The responsibility is the mainly for those members who are also government ministers for obligation to report on the performance of own ministry and organization. The National Assembly deputies can nowadays also acquire the place during the abundance awaited live broadcast of question time. This condition comes during the every National Assembly session. In this situation Vietnamese media plays a major role in this course.

Nowadays the potency on society state consanguinity is clear. The Vietnamese society has diverse and increasing potential of the state. In this situation the Vietnamese media is playing an important role. When we go to the theoretical base defining the Vietnamese media, it is completely controlled by the state and party, but now the media frequently swinging up “its nose at the state”(Koh 2007: 233). Regularly, Vietnamese media provided “air to the lungs of a society” (Koh 2007: 233) displeased long time with the bureaucratic actors and state. There are some state champions and their responsibility is public administration reform and governance. On the other side Vietnamese presspersons have steadily increased better sureness in their own rights and views.

There is some major point of immanence of the National Assembly. This procedure was ironically but definitely the state engineered. Vietnamese people are accepting the larger tendency to air their own complaints and grievances in the mass media and they want to firsthand awaiting niceties political authority to address them. Therefore, there is a better concentration existent paid to reinforcement laws on arraignment and record the complaints. When incorrect person are addressing the media on the other side “when the National Assembly mortify the government ministers into apology or resignation. This billow can be happening around the country. Vietnamese press is reporting this type of news items sometimes on air.

The government press regularly gives the explanation of these troubles by informing that all WTO beginners have to pay a quite high price. It’s creating and enhancing the chance of International trade. That high cost will comprise access for influential transnational corporations. Its growth has been impacted their pressure on

“local commodity and service markets” (Mazyrin 2007: 98). Some people consider that they will pressurise the Vietnamese government in its economic policy. In 2003 Vietnam Academy of social Science had conducted a survey. It was based on the 160 enterprise exposed the large inconsistency in expectancy with respect to the aftermath of the entrance into WTO. During the survey 99 percent respondents articulated that they are hoping to upgrade in the excellence of goods and services, on the other side 90 percent people hoped the increase of economic growth. Despite that 69 percent people anticipated imbalanced growth and broaden space among the rich and the poor. On the other side 46 percent respondents were fearful of new bankruptcies and 23 percent were worried with the vision of increasing the employment (Mazyrin 2007: 99).

In Vietnam discussion also acquire the place through arrangements. It is destination to having the citizen participation abundantly in the drafting of laws. In 1979 the first discussion law was redrafting of the constitution. These performances have added normally and have been broadly publicized through the media. Nowadays, majority means are used accompanied with discussions carried out by deputies related to the mass organizations, political institutions and on top of the mass media. On 2003 the Vietnamese newspapers vigorously describe to own readers to conferment “on the drafts of the new land law and Civil Procedure Code” (Salomon 2007: 204). During the same period the famous online news service VnExpress prepared of the public opinion seminar on bills relating to the association of committees and people councils and to the selections of their members. This contribution movement are becoming more and more frequent and widespread. In this condition several international organizations have been supporting and functioning on the improvement policy of law-making and representative organizations.

Thus, it is complex to appraisement the concernment of citizen’s view on these draft laws with any accuracy. A lot of information transmitted during civic discussion does not disagree with the bill, but there have been structure in which public discussion did considerably change the original text. In 1995 the Civil Code adopted the produce abundantly with more than hundred articles after public discussion. In July 30, 2003 Tran Quoc Thuan has stated during the interview in *VnExpress*. Building the assessment is still more complex regarding the opportunity of some modifications that were previously planned or below the debate may be credited to public comments. This is



clear that at this time a genuine political filter is in the place, that elevate the issue of the actuality condition and importance of citizen's contribution in these processes.

This anxiousness to make channels for public partaking has led to the possibility of obscuration through official channels. The appeal field of action residual is pulled out and mainly political subjects are out surfaced. But it does survive and posses in certain ambit. It also reflects the fact which state and party and National Assembly are unavoidable to receiving the citizen reactions and requests into briefing. The main purpose of petition methodology is to prearranged and control discussion in public seminar chiefly in the national Assembly hall. These latest room are on contradictory sides on exacting issues, that can begird in discussion which will become civic if they do not reroute into moratorium subjects. Some particular organizations have been created to handle this type of gravamen and denunciations. Therefore the Vietnamese government has been establishing the Department of Public Complaints, that office is situated in the National Assembly. On September 2003 purportedly independent Public Complaints Commission had been passed the "*Ban Dan nguyen* Resolution 370/2003/NQ-UBTVQH 11 of the National Assembly Standing Committee" (Salomon 2007: 205). Thus, it has added the small information that further on the genuine aureole of these course of action. All these growth are directly linked and help exemplify through the corporatist environment of the Vietnamese political system. Thus, Nowadays Vietnam is captivated with the idea of interest groups and lobbies. In especially for the Vietnam sense these are correlated to a traditional political notion which conferment intermediary bodies opposite to individuals and they have significant power. Therefore the Vietnamese citizen can describe the states and party anxiousness to make stronger the National Assembly as a way to communicate the corporatist interests and claim in a depoliticized manner. There is one point where decisions can be contracted consensually in an administrative and managerial way. Thus, in 2002 25 senior business executive had been nominated to the National Assembly and they are epitomize of this process. They are undoubtedly intended to deputise the Voice of attempter. These groups are outside of Assembly and elaboration of its voice is listened through petitions.

**Government reformed press law after ASEAN membership:**

In the present day Vietnam is continuous far away from existent a formidable participant of Japan. But, this time Vietnam has different situation from the complicated

years of the 1980. Nowadays Vietnam has very diverse international image. When Vietnam was announcing their international policy, some countries were standby to association with entire countries of the international community. In 1995 Vietnam regularized its consanguinity with United States of America and China. After this it's became a complete member of the ASEAN. In 2004 Vietnam has hosted the fifth Europe Asia Summit (ASEM 2004) in Hanoi. Vietnam has discovered for late joiners and structures their voices among the new Asian members ASEAM (Mazyrin 2007: 105). This subject is related to the Myanmar because it is constantly a sensitive issue of debate. When we see in the economic term Vietnam is also different form 1980. Nowadays Vietnam is third biggest rice exporter in the world (Mazyrin 2007: 105). In recent years Vietnam has continued it's the maximum developments rates in Southeast Asia. But it is unmoving towards uncertain whether the apparent regional combination with ASEAN and current development will declare Vietnam's takeoff.

After the membership of ASEAN nation Vietnamese media can cooperate importantly to progressive East-West Economic Corridor. It also acknowledged the Trans-Asia Highway. This highway route is from central Vietnam to straightaway Laos and Thailand to Myanmar. The Department of information and communications director of Quang Tri province, Tran Phuong Nam stated that the Vietnamese media can assist to the trans-Asia highway project that will benefit the all ASEAN members' country and this highway turning into an economic corridor therefore it is the attraction of developing country. He also stated that the media could promote this achievement, because this corridor identify as a further investments. Especially this highway route is connecting with the central Vietnam area that is Quang Tri Province which linked with the Lao Bao Border Economic Zone. He has also raised another issue related to the Quang Tri Province. He said that the press could also contribute and makes public news for the new projects which encourage the development of the passageway in Quang Tri Province such as thermal power complex in the province and My Thuy Deep- water Seaport. The press could also help and erase the bottlenecks which hold back the effectuation of negotiation signed between the governments of Laos, Thailand and Vietnam. Those agreements are Cross Border Trade Agreement, Greater Mekong Sub-region. Therefore media should encourage the corridor along with the regional co-operation. In 1998 the economic development programme has been initiated by the ministerial conference that related to the Greater Mekong Sub-region countries in

Manila. This passageway was bringing into the process in December 2006. But the utilization of Asian Highway this thoroughfare will stay ineffective. Because media is not propagating this news effectively. During this seminar international media and local press was there (Asia Pulse News 2010: 1-2).

In 11<sup>th</sup> National congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam preserve to allure attention for foreign media. Chinese media gave the big coverage to 11<sup>th</sup> National congress, therefore Beijing radio, Xinhua News Agency and newspapers have published and telecasted the reports. During the conference Vietnam was highlighting their achievement in 25 years that give effect to the national renovation procedure.

In this occasion the newspapers of Vietnam had been publishing many citizen opinions. People opinions were significant because they are getting live information on the party Congress and considering the renovation procedures. In this impact country got great achievement in the economic system. Vietnamese citizen was hoping that National Congress will provide new leaders who will be capable and morally strong and will cooperate and fulfil the country development.

On the other side, Cuban newspapers Granma daily (newspaper 1965) published photo and news of the National Congress Opening ceremony. This daily also quotes the state president and Party politburo member and ceremonial speech of Nguyen Minh Triet who chaired this event. His remark was very assertive although, the impact and challenges of Asian financial situation and worldwide financial crisis. Despite this Vietnamese people and Party were strong-minded to exert hard work to enlarge the Vietnam keen on an industrialised nation by 2020. On the side the state president Triet emphasis that Marxism and Leninism have root foundation of the renovation procedure in Vietnam. This process had been begging 25 years before.

During the National Congress the Australia daily “The Age” publishes one article on January 13. This article mainly emphasis the country economy and role of the communist party of Vietnam. In this editorial describe the country condition of Vietnam faithful and carefully believe the replica for national financial growth to make Vietnam keen on an industrialised nation by 2020. Although there is need to speed up democratic system in the party. Along with the Australian author Roberto Tofani wrote the article in World politics Review. He explains the renovation process and executes this procedure

in 1986. In this impact the country position was fast economic expansion. During the period of 2010 the country gains 6.7 percent economic growth despite the the worldwide financial crisis. This time Vietnam also achieves something in poverty reducing and country has exercised the hard work to complete the UN's millennium development goals (MDGs).

On the other side Vietnam Culture Institute and president of the Argentina and official staff and several Argentinean citizens have their emotion with Vietnam. Thus, there citizen observe the 11<sup>th</sup> National Party Congress news. Because this event was deciding the future of Vietnam and its enlargement. She stated that before 25 years this renovation procedure shows the ability of Communist party of Vietnam within time frame. That time was appropriate and courageously summing awake historical incident. The country of Vietnam executes the new modification but the government of Vietnam did not want to change their original and fundamental principles. She articulated her faith that the 11<sup>th</sup> National Party Congress would effort to appropriate improvement for Vietnam in the forthcoming decade. Particularly, the country upholds national features and torchbearer young generations to protect their revolutionary belief.

The Communist Party of Russian publishes an article in Pravda (daily 1912) newspaper in the issue of January 14. The party assert that 11<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam take landmark decision on Vietnamese path to socialism. The former TASS reporters Sergey A phoning articulated his optimism that this Congress would open the new door of Vietnamese revolution. It sums up the reality and theory to construct a socialist government. Thus Vietnamese government put forward some definite responsibilities for socio-economic growth in the upcoming years. This task was under the leadership of Communist Party of Vietnam which was experienced, clear vision and vibrant. In this condition the country was certain to become a successful and democratic state.

Nowadays Vietnamese Radio (VOV 1920) external affairs desk necessitate to spotlight on Vietnamese foreign policy issue news item. Therefore the government of Vietnam should provide the news item reflecting the path of nation building. Voice of Vietnam should make bigger its international cooperation and particularly extend its news agencies that collaborate with the foreign countries. In this condition the Radio of Vietnam will get timely news item and that news will be relevant and reliable.

Voice of Vietnam develops their quality and changes the air-time and enlarges their coverage area. Therefore, its own four radio departments are involved in these projects. The voice of Vietnam is radios Channel with frequencies in shortwave and medium wave (SW and MW) band, this radio station relay the particular frequencies that are 7210 kHz, and 690,675,655,648 kHz etc. It broadcasting the domestic contents, current Affairs and news items, VOV2 has also a shortwave and medium wave band, broadcasting the Education related information, Science and culture reports. VOV3 is a FM radio of Vietnam and its 24X7 broadcasting radio channel. This radio has biggest young listeners because this radio develops diverse range of programme which correlated with the young generation styles and testes. Therefore this radio broadcast News, Entertainment and Music. In September 7, 1990 this radio has broadcasted first programme on FM frequency of 102.7 MHz. VOV4 is a medium wave radio channel, this radio has been broadcasting only ethnic minority languages programme. VOV5 is a medium wave radio channel; its broadcasting is in 11 foreign languages. On the other side VOV6 is shortwave and medium wave radio channel which is the International radio channel, its broadcasting in news 12 foreign languages. This radio channel is using the transmitters in Hanoi along with United Kingdom, European and North American relay South Carolina and Furman. These foreign languages are Thai, French, Chinese, English, Russian, German, Japanese, Thai, Vietnamese, Cambodian and Indonesian. As well as the government Vietnamese has developed their TV Channels. (VTV 1970) is a national broadcaster telecasting the news every 30 minutes with the updates and VOVTV is also has TV channels and VTC is a digital TV channel. Currently, Vietnam has various online newspaper services. Most popular online newspapers are VnExpress, Xahoi.com.vn, 24h.com.vn, Vietnam Net along with the some English language online newspapers are Chaobuoisang.net and one state news agency it is Vietnamese news agency. Therefore, printed newspapers, television, online newspaper, radio want to develop themselves as an international broadcaster. These entire broadcasters are demanding the popular content of the international issue and they want to secure the power of its media (BBC monitoring 2009).

In 2012 Vietnamese people army has began its own channel. This channel will be broadcasted countrywide. Mainly this channel will spotlight on national defence activities along with the other people daily life activity. Therefore, the Vietnamese political school below “the minister of National Defence” (BBC Monitoring 2012) has

skilled may journalist to work for the television channels. One year ago, In December 2011 the Public Security Ministry has formally start the An Ninh television channel (ANTV) that air 24X7 and together in Vietnam and in several overseas countries.

After one year the Vietnamese National Defence Ministry had launch online portal. This portal was started at 9 am on 19 December through “the military Science Information Centre of Ministry” (BBC Monitoring 2013). This portal will be reporting about the various organizations, that are training and education, industry, national construction and defence activities, leadership, Defence foreign relations policy, Ministry of National Defence, guidelines, Law and polices of the party and state, Military defence activities of ministries, Vietnamese people’s army establishment and development and localities of people’s army forces.

During this launching ceremony Deputy Chief of the General staff and Lieutenant General Phan Van Giang stated that the first appearance of this English version online reporting portal clearly shows the progress of the military science information. This online portal is asserting that it is the government channels which gives the information of Somerset state organization action of the Defence Ministry. It also encourages the unity between the ministries, units and industries along with the global friends to additional study concerning Vietnam and their people and army. He also proposes its own cadres and reporters that they should give their best to complete allocate everyday jobs in online portal. This is the important encouragements of the journalist and party cadres because many time the party and government of Vietnam had crackdown the press. In this situation when government official announce this type of statement it is very significant to the Vietnamese Journalists.

Nowadays Ministry of Information and Communication has plans to broadcast the Vietnamese news in entire the world. It is the master broadcasting expansion that preparation for Television and radio services by 2020. The Vietnamese Information and communication Ministry intention is to telecast news through satellite to Europe, Asia pacific and North America by 2015 and also entire the world in 2020.

Therefore, the Vietnamese national television channel has been generating up to 20 hours of news coverage par day. On the other side radio channel will run 24 hours per day by 2020? This both channel will air globally qualified production on the



programme. Therefore, its foreign language programme will be telecasted at least 8 hours per day. It will provide to the global communities an upswing understanding. It will also provide information about the socio-economic development, current political situation and culture and way of life.

The radio channel 5 will mainly utilize the all programmes and it will be telecasted in various foreign languages such as French, Chinese, German, Indonesian, Khmer, Arabic, Lao, Vietnamese, Japanese, English, Russian, German, and Spanish. On the other side Vietnamese television channel 5 will also telecast programme in Chinese, Korean, French, German, Russian, Japanese, English, and Spanish and along with the Vietnam Television Corporation (VTC) VTV10 and VTV 4 will telecast programme for Vietnamese and out of the country. Thus, the Vietnamese government has also given confidence to previous television and radio station to create various programmes and provide to global communities and Vietnamese abroad (BBC Monitoring 2012).

This socioeconomic growth policy for the phase 2001-10 ready by Vietnam's government in 2001 fixed on three key and attach to the objectives. These key are "maintaining stability and sovereignty, achieving sustainable, high economic growth rates and achieving sustainable poverty reduction and equity" (Do 2007: 105). The Vietnamese government has identified that economic development is of crucial significance and that among the eldest insecurity is in not following deeper incorporation. In 2006 tenth Vietnamese Communist Party Congress meeting was held. During this period instant question had asked to Vietnamese political leadership was not mainly "what to do" but relatively "how to do it?" (Do 2007: 105) as deeper combination generate novel realism and problems for Vietnam.

In 1996 the *Saigon Daily Times* made its front Page that was devoted to law based reporting and commerce and selected a legally experienced reporter. That time journalist Nguyen Hien Quan was investigating related stories, it was the part-time work for many other Vietnamese journalist. This was the biggest change after the ASEAN membership. Before this Vietnamese media were not covering any big economic reports, because country emphasis their ideology. Many time Vietnamese court uses the method to manipulates the press and vice versa in the court complex. Because, Vietnamese media are remains controlled through the state. Nevertheless, when Vietnamese media also simplistic to observe the press because it is completely regulated

by the state. It is not possible to presuming the agreeable court and media relationship and state decision by the party state. Therefore, some information not included because it is the multifaceted and most probably balance of power. This is the dynamic ordinance which differs according to the subjects at stake.

Vietnam government take one key reform at the stage of the National Assembly has been the fractal and increasingly commencement of electoral procedure since 1992 through the permission of independent candidates. The government widen the preference of deputies and propose candidates to a penetration of the community vote. In 1997 this process has started. The government of Vietnam give the right to nonpartisan candidates which also officially legalized to conduct their own election campaigns. On the other side former candidate are projected by local and central authorities. Despite this they have big majority. This similar structure has slowly accepted “for elections to the People Councils as well” (Salomon 2007: 202). The government official strategy is to permit abundantly non-communists leaders to be elected in National Assembly.

Before the 1997 elections there are no any non communist deputies. The superior “National Assembly official *Vu Mao* stated that 20 percent would be a good number for non Communist deputies in the future. The oftentimes freshen official purpose is to have two candidates extra than the grand total of seats in every electoral domain. This proportion since 1992 has been around 1.5 candidacies per seat.

The catalogue of candidacies is defined beside three rounds of consultation among the diverse social and political groups. This popular discussion organized by the Fatherland Front and all preservation under the similar Front. During this procedure the state management held their encouragement course work on parallel lines and secondary workers advisory and concurrent on enrolment of a co-worker to a senior post. This reports point out that the Party does search the some hearing, albeit this hearing is short-range because Vietnamese people are involved in these gathering thus the communist party cautiously selected this type of meeting. Despite this, candidates are obviously discarded by citizen. It can be dismissed from the chooser catalogue. This rotation related to the public discussion prearranged previous parliamentary elections. Therefore, it cannot be calculated completely insignificant. This government structure that lookup to make validity without what the local authorities and party wishes. In this

consideration as undesirables and those people who “stir thing up”. This process also accustomed to refuse the nominees which are dishonest and too unpopular.

**Official Documents of Vietnamese Press:**

When Vietnam becomes a member of ASEAN it changed various rule and guide line. Therefore, in 1996 country issued some guide lines and modifies media rules. The government of Vietnam issued the regulation “Pursuant to Decree No.67-CP of October 31, 1996” (Ministry of Communication and Information & Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1996: 01). This instruction was given to the organization of Information and Press activities of foreign agencies, foreign Correspondents or Institute in Vietnam. This was the joint circular released through the ministry of culture and information and the ministry of foreign affairs. The circular was giving additional direction on government a number of actual points.

Within the circular clause one or article one provide the right for international media. The government of Vietnam considering and release acquiescence for overseas reporters to come in their country and direct media activities. The government also give the permission to foreign media to open their permanent bureau in Vietnam. Foreign media institution provide the job on Vietnamese citizen for their offices along with it import and export technical kit and publish their journals, magazine, books, newspapers.

According to government guideline the ministry of Foreign Affairs shall assist with the ministry of culture and information. The ministry perpetuation compulsion of information and media performance of the strategically delegacy, consulates and inter-governmental global organizations as specific in clause two, Article one. Within the joint circular Clause two, Article two is the regulation related to the information and media action of overseas delegations on call of Vietnamese leadership of the state invitation. According to the regulation Clause four, Article two define that government and ministry of foreign Affairs will assist each other.

According to the 1996 joint circular Clause four and five, Article two elaborate that the ministry of culture and information shall supervise and issue consent for publication and supply of news bulletins and papers in Vietnamese and different

languages. The ministry dominion in colloquium and press conferences, it also exhibits the information on billboards and dominion of film show and exhibition. The ministry constructed the speeches and piece of writing which will publish in Vietnamese mass media. It also gives the right for different activities which linked to the information and media movement. Those activities are political representation, consulates, domestic and transnational institution in Vietnam, culture, foreign economic, private organizations, consultancy institution and scientific activities. Overseas corporations and enterprise and foreign representation visit in Vietnam and they do media activities.

In 2002 the ministry of culture and information took important decision concerning the media regulation. The regulation is decision No.28/2002/QD-BVHTT of November 21, 2002. This regulation has four chapters, Article15. Each chapter has certain points that explain particular decree. Chapter first argue about the general provisions of government regulation. In this decree ministry provide all activities which allied with bulletins publication and paper and brochures. The ministry of culture keep concern about the press releases, journal publication and broadcast of news report. It also concerns about the electronic screens reporting and overseas agencies that associated along with official person inhesion foreign abstract in Vietnam. According to regulation chapter two has defined that the ministry will issue some rules for the official papers, brochures, contents and shape of news bulletins and report presentation on electronic screens. According to the chapter three ministry of culture will give the permission and guarantee for events and conditions. According to chapter four culture ministries will check the newspapers publication or inspection of report writing. The ministry glamorise the good reports and distribute the award. The ministry will also handle the media violations (The Minister of Culture and Information 2002: 1-7).

In 2009 the ministry of Information and communication based on 1989 press law and 1999 law amended a number of pieces of writing of the press law. During this amendment the ministry took the base of 2001 ordinance on ads, 2002 ordinance on treatment of administrative Violation, 2004 publication law, 2006 law on information technology as well as 2008 decree revise and addition a number of piece of writing of the decree on managing of administrative Violations. In this decree dividied two different ministries. This pursuant is the government's ordinance no.185/2007/ND/-CP of December 25, 2007. In this decree the ministry has power and intuitional

arrangement. They give some task of media and functions according to their rule. Another ordinance is related to the ministry of Information and communication. It is the government's decree no. 187/2007/ND-CP of December 25, 2007. This order is defining the ministerial role and responsibilities thus it gives some special power and intuitional arrangement (Official Gazette issue no.06-07/January 2009: 1-3).

Both ordinances ensure and increase the efficiency of the state administration of promotion on media. It also encourages the online communication system and publications. Therefore, the ministry of Information and communication, Ministry of culture, Sport and Tourism together are regulatory body of licensing and registration. Both ministries are also issuing the planning of ads on press, online communication system or publications rights. Along with the ministry is also managing the violation of guide line therefore it checking up print and electronic media. It examines the code of conduct. Which channel did not follow ministry guide line in this condition department impose the fines on particular channels.

In 2009 the ministry of information and communication amended some laws and provided guideline on the basis of May 25, 2002 decree on telecommunication and post, second the government ordinance no.187/2007/ND-CP of December 25, 2007 assessor the purpose, assignment, power and managerial arrangement of the ministry of information and communication along with third government's decree no. 97/2008/ND-CP of August 28, 2008, on the organization, term and condition to use the internet facility or electronic information on internet. This government decree no. 97/2008/ND-CP of August 28, 2008 providing the some rights for citizens. The decree no 97 Clause 12, Article 3 clearly explain that blogs are used to express individual information for collection. It interchanges the information and contributes with a group of public. At the same time it makes the community of internet users. Blogs are formed on the internet and inventory by their owners (Official Gazette issue no.01-02/January 2009: 1-3).

In 2011 the ministry of Information and communication amended and added various article of press law. In this situation ministry takes pervious basis of the decree that was December 28, 1989 press law, June 12, 1999 law, bases of ordinance no.51/2002/ND-CP of April 26, 2002 and bases of decree no.187/2007/ND-CP of December 25, 2007. Particular ordinance explain that what is the main mission and

purpose of the ministry. It has special authority and organizational arrangement. On the other side the government decree no. 50/2011/ND-CP of June 24, 2011 and decree no. 187/2007/ND-CP of December 25, 2007. All these pursuant take the ministry and build one circular. The circular number is 33/2011/TT-BTTTT of November 1, 2011. This guideline has specific authority to issue the e-newspapers and special websites of e-newspapers licensing. This circular has four chapter and 14 articles. Each chapter elaborate special provision and guideline for the e-newspapers, website and portal, mainly the circular article 5 mentions that e-newspapers license is valid for only ten years from the signing date (The ministry of information and communication 2011: 1-8).

On January 6, 2011 the government of Vietnam issued new regulations. This regulation advocates very strong punishment and penalty. The main backdrops of this regulation is compulsory higher punishment on unfair reporting and purposeful actions to harm journalist's activity. In this verdict the government of Vietnam recovery fine is very high. It is Vietnamese dong 20-30 million and United States \$ 1,025-1,537. This fine imposed on those who damage national security, threaten reporters, take their equipment and documents on reason. According to the 2006 regulation act the government tack actions against him only fines of Vietnamese Dong 3-10 million. According to the new regulation act online newspapers and effective print without permission the fine will be imposed Vietnamese dong 30-40 million but old regulation act has been imposed the fine of Vietnamese dong 20-30 million.

The Vietnamese government imposed the fines for reporter's Vietnamese dong 1-3 million. This punishment will be given to the reporters when they breakdown to quote and source of information, along with when they don't apparently publish the author pennames and names. When reporters publish any news and features without acknowledge the actual address and name of its writers. In this regulation has some special guideline that is that journalist who creates illustrations and headlines not appropriate for content of the information. In this condition the information can create confusion for citizen. The government can impose the fines 3-5 million Vietnamese dong. Reporters will compendious own information without a person's permission. Some special case such as law state or else. In this situation the government can fined to journalist. Any Vietnamese reporters presenting the wrong of information, false



interviews and text of the authorities will be recovered 5-10 million Vietnamese dong. According to the old regulation this fine was Vietnamese dong 03-07 million. Reporters making public the individual information regarding persons involved in unlawful cases without official proof will be fined them Vietnamese dong 10-20 million (BBC Monitoring 2011).

This new government declaration also controlled the quantity of advertisement on television and radio stations. During the entertainment programme and TV serials programme the channel will repeat within the day one advertisement two times, four times and more than ten times. The government will impose the fine among Vietnamese dong 3-5 million. Any commercial Ads will not be telecasted more than five minutes. This regulation is also implemented during the entertainment programme and TV serials programme. When any TV channels break this rule the government will impose same fines between the Vietnamese dong 3-5 million. Therefore, the channels are repeating 18-20 hours a day on advertisement such as medicines for external use, sanitary napkins, condoms and Santorin.

**Prime minister Statement over media:**

In February 16, 2009 Vietnamese Prime Minister gives the approval on the plan of various electronic media that was related to the television, radios broadcast and setup the new transmission. Before this Voice of Vietnam Radio set up an advanced plan for the upcoming decade with the vision of 2020. The government of Vietnam beyond agenda is to set up a hard foundation for the advance of the entire national broadcast System.

The main goal of the Radio of Vietnam is to develop a fast but sustainable speed through recovering its management. The Vietnamese administrations this time get the experiences and educated him from provincial level and international level. Despite this they adjust them to the country's situation and traditions. Therefore, Vietnam has requirements to make stronger relation with the world community. In this impact they modernise himself in the production and broadcasting field and the country uphold its important position in national radio broadcasting. The government of Vietnam will work on their profession quality. Thus, they organized the training system for staff and they also give the prize according to his working style.

Nowadays the Vietnamese national radio stations make bigger television and radio reporting areas together at overseas and home to complete its diplomatic, political, security and defence responsibilities. Because, it's put by the state and party and they provide best quality of programmes for the varied audience. Both medium systematically improve their infrastructure which supply all the television, radio and telecommunication services. This similar technological foundation has some important device. Thus, the people can easily shift from analog to digital transmission. Some special fineness of programme is particularly for ethnic minorities require to be improved themselves. Therefore, the Voice of Vietnam will continue to enlarge its coverage "on the islands and the remote and border areas" (BBC Monitoring 2009). It closely helps with the local radio stations to expand the recording device. Because the public stations and the radio broadcast system work together and help in the production, transmission. Although the government want to expand the signal coverage to make bigger and contemporary broadcasting structure so they train excellence human resources. Currently, Voice of Vietnam is providing the news. This news may be live reporting and all news reports are reliable and objective. The radio of Vietnam is timely broadcasting the news item and successfully complete their responsibility like an Information channel for the society. In this impact the Voice of Vietnam (Radio) content department has been manufacturing new diversified programmes related to the all type of audiences.

During the Asian Information Network annual meeting which had been hosted by Vietnam News Agency. This meeting was organized by the government headquarters and Vietnamese prime minister was the Chief Guest of this meeting. Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung appreciated those entire journalists who give the best report on nation building. In this conference he was very enthusiastic and satisfied for content exchanging. Therefore he gives the wished of Asian Network members because these journalist work together frequently and exchange information. They are also contributing to understand each reporters outperform their new assignment information is appropriate. This time reporter's objective is collecting the precise evidence and most important task is development, peace, cooperation and friendship.

The Chairman of the Asian Information Network Janviroj Pana stated that recently the network has 21 members in 19 countries. All those members have one

slogan that is forever reproduce the objective circumstances of the country. He gives the comment on prime minister Statement because prime minister stated that the economic progress forecast of Vietnam. This time Vietnam stand point is to structure the ASEAN Community. On the other side the country has press freedom and East Sea issue.

During this meeting Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung stated that this time the country is actively working among the ASEAN Community building members, their faith is with combined efforts. This community building process will be finished in end of the 2015. The ASEAN community structure is the beneficial for the country after the result. But it also poses many confronts for Vietnam, particularly to advance competitive capacity. Therefore, nowadays the country is executing the process of synchronization solution it also wants to quick and step by step growth. Thus, the Vietnamese government attention is institutional modification, perfecting the excellence of human resources and assembling the investment capital for development. After this statement he moves to the other issue that was East Sea issue. Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung stated that safety, peace, security, Stability and freedom of direction-finding. South China Sea is not merely an ordinary attention of ASEAN to the world and the region. This time ASEAN's position is extremely apparent in the announcements that stand for the six points in the South China Sea. It needs parties to fulfil with International laws. During the period of 1982 United Nation Convention make law of the sea. It completely executed through the parties. This declaration is the gravely Conduct of Parties. On the other side it substantive recommendation on code of Conduct.

Prime Minister Nguyen Tan Dung changes their tone over right to freedom of the media. He stated that Vietnam execution of civil right and human rights have been approved by the international community. Therefore, in this condition Vietnamese media has rights and to exposes the human right violation and fundamental rights of citizen. Prime Minister said that

“Freedom of the press is a fundamental right of citizenship, freedom of the press is the general trend of the world. Yet freedom of the press must be prescribed by law to ensure freedom of people and organizations. It does not infringe upon the freedom and interests of organizations and individuals adopted a new constitution Vietnam also ensure that the spirit of freedom” (Vietnam.Net 2014: 5).

### **News coverage of various Vietnamese Media**

The radio of Vietnam on January 25 re-examine their work in 2010 and they are planning for the preparation of action in 2011. This meeting is conducting front of the Director General Vu Van Hien and various Channels leaders. When Vietnamese Radio Deputy Director General Dao Duy Hua addressing this meeting, he stated that in 2010 Voice of Vietnam had accomplished its allocated political mission, therefore it set the goal in 100.5 percent. Which distinguish as a radio's success? One year before the State President Nguyen Minh Triet stated that the radio or Vietnam accessible for the second time Ho Chi Minh command.

Despite this radio of Vietnam established own strength and giving political commentary that is determining the public opinion and generating a universal agreement with the society. With organizing the authority of four varieties of media. This times the voice of Vietnam expert in their political task, although the government regularly organize the training programmes that improve their reporter's creativeness. Which improve their information delivery and create a good programme for the listeners?

In 2011 the Voice of Vietnamese Deputy director General Dao Duy Hua stated that the radio of Vietnam spotlight on their rule and plan of the state and party. It should uphold a strict regulation in own broadcasting and limiting error as much as possible. The radio broadcaster gives the guarantee that no political mistake happen. Along with he stated that the radio of Vietnam will carry on the improvement to excellence of programmes "on the Radio image Broadcasting Channel VOVTV, VOV Traffic Channel, VOV News online newspapers and VOV Print Newspaper" (BBC Monitoring 2010: 2). The radio will guarantee 623,697 hours of telecasting the programmes and maintain to broaden their coverage through (VINASAT-1 2008) satellite and open the radio broadcasting on internet. In this impact the broadcaster enlarge their coverage in entire inhabitants for VOV3, VOV2, VOV1 channels in 2011 and 2012; execute the second phase of the plan to enhance the East Sea coverage. These projects take out the national VOV Traffic plan that follows by Prime Minister's direction.

Finally Voice of Vietnamese Director General Vu Van Hien stated that the good results of all channels and it donate to the general success of the Radio. He also stated

that Voice of Vietnamese unit has requirement to make stronger movement and study because father of nation Ho Chi Minh is the ethical example. Therefore Vietnamese citizens keep on and enrich the level of broadcasting to carry radio of Vietnam forward.

**Impact of Direct satellite channel in Vietnamese Society:**

Now direct telecast satellites symbolize the special growth of space communications. Its uses space environment from establishment of the space age. During that period there were some credits because that time space science and technology created two motives for space performance, research and use. Both situations were benefited for mankind. Therefore, in 1967 the international community give the recognition and they consolidated as a Treaty on Outer Space. Which provision develops more than nine years period of time? After this space technology takes new shape at the same time it's enhanced the human knowledge all over the world and various experiment uses for actions on ground. In this result information from orbit and spacecraft which offer a fresh technological tool. In this impact scientists were improving their research and expanding facility needful on Earth. That time "swifter communications (NCT 21<sup>st</sup> Century)" was correct weather forecast technology. On the other side safer navigation begins fresh approach in medical research. Thus, they enlarged atlas and correct mapping style along with several other aim. In the reality space technology is helpful for human being which led to excellent worldwide cooperation. Mainly, it is impacting international activities such as communications.

In 1967 the Treaty on Outer Space make universal rule that would be executed in abundantly elaborate manner by next global agreements. It's constructing upon but not breaking treaty agreement. When space science and technology develop fresh tool due to requirement but it cannot Split the treaty provisions. It was the beliefs which highlights and explain the three treaty book effort out since 1967 (Eilene Galloway1975: 3). Astronauts rescue agreement has happened in 1968. It was the child of the mother system of the Outer Space Treaty's. On the other side treaty article five elaborate that the state shall welcome astronauts as representative of humankind and provide them all potential support. This agreement has details information regarding the return of space object and astronauts. It saves the space agreement and basic guideline.

During the 1972 convention one question began that the international accountability for damage attained by space objects. It also came in agreement aftermath of treaty provisions relating to the accountability of initiation country for space activities. Similarly, the permitted 1974 text of the outline meeting on registration of objects initiation into Outer Space stem (Eilene Galloway 1975: 4). This idea came from United States Secretary General they make the new norms that is registration and notification in 1967 treaty.

When, we show the progress line of these global space harmonies the agreements are reliable and familiar with the treaty. This treaty provides the direction in the course of universal ideology. This gives the comprehensive and more exact method such as believe the some essential in particular conditions. The recent progress points of the space treaties that would be probable to codify every necessity into a logical document. Which ideology would not be contradictory and inside not in agreement?

The space period began while the arrival of tentative earth resources satellites and the sufficiency of direct broadcast satellites. The progress line of the space science and technology was not spiked by conditional perspective of sovereignty. When space agenda had begun there was no any objection sideways the states to over flight of satellites above its territory. That time there was common acceptance which produces the agreement along with space treaty article two providing outer space. In this provision other astronomical bodies and moon is not a topic of national allocation by assert of sovereignty by resources of use or profession and with several other means. There is no actual definition between the sovereign airspace and no sovereign outer space their associations could have become an impregnable barrier of the international harmony. Substitute of this problem is to put sideways and make the feasible foundation of the harmony. There is some useful approach that states are accountable for space activities. If the states space rocket are situated on the ground, outer space and airspace.

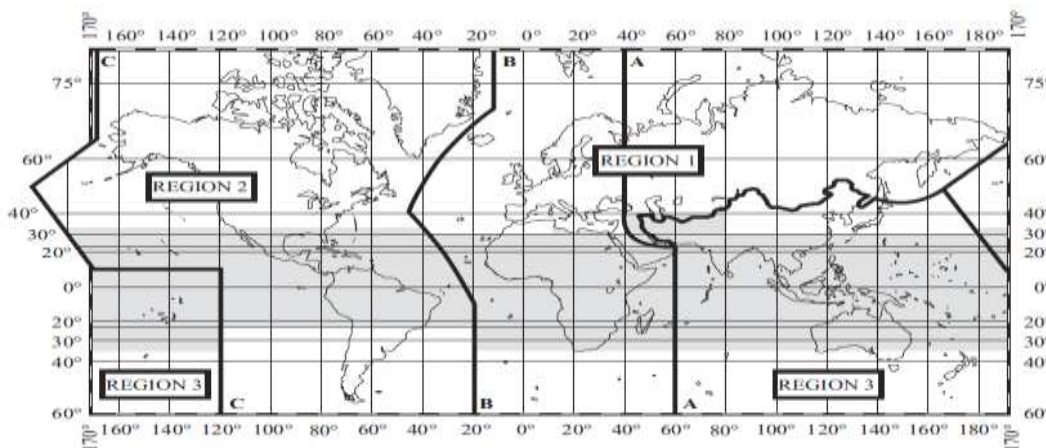
In third world countries they have two different types of satellite broadcast system available. The Indirect satellite telecast system need to domestic allocation system therefore before the telecast pervious broadcasts have been allowable on ground. Because the infrastructural facilities and allocation systems are unavoidably matter of fully government control. Therefore no any illegal broadcaster can be circulated all over the country. On the other side direct satellite broadcasts unleash a slightly more serious



difficulty. These transmitted may be beam moreover at particular community receivers and home receivers. Community receivers are also probable to be topic of government control that would reduce the function of illegal broadcasts.

It is adding to entire these technological restraints. The United Nation Charter already mentions these legal restraints in the outer space agreement. That inducts an arrangement to utilize the propaganda probable. It incite and promote some threat to the peace and different regional transition agreement (Jasentuliyana, Nandasiri 1974: 70). The traditional philosophy of global law is based on historical ground. It was holding on the vision which countries have correct manage capacity inside their individual region. Through the extension this perspective of state dominion may be interpreted as authorize countries completely control telecommunications in excess of their territories.

**Regions and areas divided by ITU (the International Telecommunication Union)**



Source: The National Frequency Allocation Table, contents of the plan (Promulgated together with Decision No. 125/2009/QĐ-TTg dated on October 23, 2009 by the Prime Minister)

Due to the satellite impact Nang Radio and television begins the first station outside of the country and huge numbers of metropolitan cities and employ the satellite services in countrywide and live broadcast in 2012. Nang Radio and television operative two channels, it also supply the link-up and using the Audio Vision Global. Currently four Vietnamese channels have been allotted space on the satellite. These channels are HCM Television and K-Plus, AVG, Vietnam multi Media Corporation. The people of Vietnam can be seen live broadcasting of Nang Radio and Television through mobile TV and IPTV countrywide. On the other side Audio Vision Global which has license to work on satellite and digital television company, therefore it's

beginning 70 channels TV package. Subsequently in July this transmit indication has been lift up by the entire South East Asian region (BBC Monitoring 2012).

Nowadays ministry of information and communication is planning to telecast Vietnamese news throughout the world. It is the master plan of means of communication development for television and radio services by 2020. Under this master plan the ministry motive is to telecast Vietnamese reports via satellite to Europe, North America and Asia pacific by 2015 and all over the world by 2020.

During 2020 Vietnamese national television channels will telecast up to 20 hours of news bulletin every day. On the other side Vietnamese radio channels will air their programme every day 24 hours. In the beginning, these channels will relay global qualified production programme. All these programmes relay eight hours every day and programme will be in foreign languages. This broadcast will provide global communities to a better perceptive of Vietnamese socio-economic development, current political situation and culture and life style domain. The radio channel VOV5 will air their programme in several languages such as Russian, French, Lao, English, Japanese, German, Indonesian, Khmer, German, Korean, Arabic, and Vietnamese. Along with VOV4 will telecast their programme in Chinese, German, Japanese, Russian, French, Spanish and English. On the other audio visual medium channel 10, VTV 4 and Vietnam television Corporation (VTV) will telecast their programme for Vietnamese abroad. The government of Vietnam will also promote other television and radio station to construct the best programme to provide global community and Vietnamese abroad (BBC Monitoring 2012: 1-2).

Yahoo Asia Pacific region senior vice chairperson of Rose Tsou stated that yahoo is preparing a novel expansion scheme used for Vietnam's customers. During the marketing summit conference this announcement has been released. This summit held in Vietnamese capital Hanoi April 8-10, 2011, in this submit there was 150 ads unit and media corporations and some regional press contribute in the occasion (BBC Monitoring 2011: 1-2 ). She stated that now Vietnam's market has big possibility and the company can discontinue and boosting additional performance here. She also appreciated the elevated expansion rate of internet user between the rising markets in Southeast Asia. Therefore, this time yahoo will introduce much up-to-date software which will operate through new technology with aboriginal language. It also provides

OMG services that will give information related to movies, fashion and cosmetics. During the summit yahoo officially began live stand digital newspapers for iPad tablets and Android. It also assured to launch various products in the domestic market in near upcoming years. Such products will be new research tools and search engines. This time Vietnam has approximately 17 million consumers of yahoo every month and yahoo search engines cover 30 percent of research markets (BBC Monitoring 2011: 1-2). In 2006 the search engine began Vietnamese edition of yahoo messenger along with it gives chatting, emailing, blogging and online music surrounded by other services.

**Notes:**

Modification is the law of nature. Not anything in the world is enduring apart from modify. The whole thing is bound to modify in the globe. Banking sector is no exemption to this universal rule. Contemporary period is the time of liberalization and globalization. This trend had in the direction of liberalization worldwide started near the end of 1960. During this period the oil crisis coupled with requires of avoid regulatory limits. It also guides to the growth of euro currencies. All these processes were free markets system. In 1970 the United States dollar was floating and it's noticeable the smash not only with the method of regulated plan but, it also related to the Keynesian ideology which dependent relative on state action for employment particular age groups. (Bansal 2011:51) for detailed see: [file:///D:/My%20phil%20Work/08\\_chapter2.pdf](file:///D:/My%20phil%20Work/08_chapter2.pdf).

In late 1980 Vietnamese trade restructured have been development progressively consisting of the formation and refining an organization of tax assessment of imports and export. In this impact this steady elimination of non-tariff barriers, rampant deregulation of trade command and relaxation of limits on entry to ascension activities. The tariff system has been easy and smooth, tariff rate lowered. These standard weighted tariffs go down from 20 percent in before the time of 1990s to approximately 15 percent in the early 2000s previous the succession to the WTO. "Export duties have been lowered and the number of exports subject to duties has been reduced over time" (Nguyen Tien Dung). For detailed see: [http://www2.gsid.nagoya-u.ac.jp/blog/anda/publications/files/2011/08/7-nguyen\\_tien\\_dunge38080.pdf](http://www2.gsid.nagoya-u.ac.jp/blog/anda/publications/files/2011/08/7-nguyen_tien_dunge38080.pdf).

The genesis of the ASEM procedure lay in a common appreciation in both Asia and Europe. This connection between the two regions essential to be building and shimmering the novel international background of the 1990s and the viewpoint of the latest century. In July 1994 the European Commission had previously published Towards a New strategy for Asia, straining the significance of modernising our connection with Asia. This relationship is sparkly suitably for economic, political and cultural consequence. This Commission announcement of September 2001, permitted by the Europe and Asia: A strategic Framework for Enhanced Partnerships and reassert this objective.

During the November 1994 Singapore and France planned that an EU-Asia summit conference be held, to think how to build a new partnership between the two regions. Forthcoming Singapore proposal the First ASEM summit was held in March 1996 in Bangkok, Thailand, that was the results the establishment of the Asia-Europe Meeting. For detailed see: <http://www.aseminfoboard.org/content/history>.

In October 1965 Cuban Communist Party had established. This reevaluation group had been merging in toppled Batista. Its defeat spirit of government system is the newspaper Granma. This name comes from boat; Fidel Castro had sailed from Mexico to Cuba to warfare Batista. In October 4, 1965 first time Granma's circulated in half of a million-copy issue. After this result two movements had been come together first 26 de Julio's newspaper 'Revolution' and the communist newspaper Hoy. In this situation new official ruling party has been establish.

Subsequently, Granma get hold of a semi-normative position inside the Cuban Press. This paper had been published government and communist party. It was the mouthpiece of communist party and Castro's speeches that earmark the political line. After that previous media have to follow their reports. When Granma newspaper had inaugurate merely little days after the Diario de la Tarde combined with the magazine mella to created Juventud Rebelled organ of the Young Communist league. The El Mundo was the primary truthfully contemporary Cuban newspaper it published in 1901. In 1968 El Mundo burned to ashes, during that period Granma and Juventud Rebelde were the merely daily newspapers absent in the country. On the one side Juventud Rebelde was the stylistic difference being additional young and energetic. On the other side Granma was the extremely severe the political posture. For detailed see: Lugo-ocando, Jairo (2008), *The media in Latin America*, New York: McGraw-Hill Education, P.122.

Pravda is a Russian political newspaper. This paper attached with the Communist Party of Russian Federation. In 1912 this newspaper began publish and it appear such as important daily of the Soviet Union following the October Revolution. This daily was the organ of Central Committee among 1912 and 1991.

In 1997 the Communist Party of the Russian Federation get the newspaper. When communist party acquire this daily they established as major mouthpiece of communist party of Russian. The newspaper is still running in similar head office on Pravda Street in Moscow. That time Pravda was retailing millions of print per day. Now only one thousand copies are selling. For detailed see: White, James D (1974), "The first Pravda and the Russian Marxist tradition", *Soviet Studies*, 26(2): 181-204.

The Voice of Vietnam is a national radio broadcaster. First time in Vietnam radio transmission was established in September 2, 1945. Before this Vietnam first radio station was establish in 1920 that was radio Saigon. Vietnamese were prohibited from their radio receivers because the broadcasting system was under the control of French government. Vietnamese national radio station at the present name is Voice of Vietnam. First time Vietnamese radio had broadcasted from Hanoi after the announcement of Independence. During the war period Radio Hanoi function as a propaganda tool in the North Vietnam region. The Voice of Vietnam begins shortwave broadcasts for the Vietnamese existing overseas in August 1968. In 1955 South Vietnam establish on their network in Saigon. After the reunification both Vietnamese radio stations combined and make a one radio station that is Voice of Vietnam. In 1978 it's become a national radio station. For detailed see: <http://english.mic.gov.vn/Trang/default.aspx>.

In September 1970 Vietnam Television had been established in Hanoi. This TV station has been supported by the Cuba they also give training and technical assistance. Currently Vietnam television is the largest network of the nation. It also broadcasting internationally through satellite and nine FTA channels broadcasts. Vietnam television also operates the DTH satellite service, largest cable network and its also carry the sixteen Vietnamese subscription channels.

On 1991 the government of Vietnam has been given the permission in under the licence to establish and activate satellite dishes and bring in overseas programme in their clubs, hotel, government offices, restaurants and diplomatic originations. Currently, most of urban citizen subscribe the cable network. The main network is VCTV that follow by the Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City Television. Saigon Tourist Cable services (Saigon Tourist Company) is a shared enterprise of VTV. The current Pay TV

supplier is K+ combined undertaking between Vietnam Cable Television and canal+. On 2009 first Direct to Home service has broadcast.

In 1960 first television broadcasts had been set up in Vietnam. This establishment had been formed by the United State which provided two channels one language was English and second was Vietnamese. This TV channel has been telecasted from Saigon. For detailed see: <http://www.vtv.vn/>.

Vinasat-1 is the first Vietnamese communication satellite. In April 18, 2008 it had been placed in orbit. Its launched time was 22:17 by an Ariane 5ECA rocket from the Guiana Space centre in Kourou. It is the national satellite of Vietnam which produced the independent communication programme for Vietnam. The country has other benefits for this satellite that enhancing the national security. It also provides the new economic opportunities of Vietnam. for detailed see: <http://www.n2yo.com/satellite/?s=32767>.

The Swift Communications is the 21st century information supplier. This communication based on groundwork of abruptly and purposeful community newspapers. This broadcaster gives the local news coverage and marketing knowledge with regional, national and international. It arrives and expiation starting our customary support. This times every new communications media existing today and other opportunity of information age. For See detailed: <http://www.swiftcom.com/>.

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## **CONCLUSION**

## CONCLUSION

The finding of result of this research is based on the various literature and official gazette. This research has particular time duration from 1995 to 2012. This time duration is the most important for the Vietnamese political and economic transformation. On the other hand 2012 is also important as it was in this year that Cambodia thought differently on the issue of South China Sea compared to other members of the ASEAN. There is overlapping sovereignty claims over South China Sea where there is potentials of oil and natural gas. Vietnam is a claimant of the Spratlys and it is contented by China. Vietnam is also important for India as India needs more energy resource for development, and Indian PUCL companies ONGC and IGL searching the petroleum and gas in South China Sea and Spratley island areas.

Vietnam is a communist state. The historical development emphasized the Chinese rule over Vietnam for 1000 years. On the other side Champa Empire existed which had family relations with India. The geography of Vietnam is to the advantage of their people. The Vietnam is a tropical region. So, they are producing the rice in different variety. At the same time the country's people livelihood is very poor.

The most important aspect is cultural relations, as culture is the best medium of communication. Therefore, Vietnam's Dongsong culture is very rich and suitable for communication development. Country has its own folk song and folklore which also gives various dimension of communication. For instance during the paddy crop season Vietnamese labours and people sing a folksong. This folk song has different meaning and it also encourages and motivates peasants. The people communicated with each other through folk song hoping the good quality of crop production. The country has their Ramayana which give the different explanation of Vietnamese tradition. This legacy is from ancient time between India and Vietnam.

The country has its own Dance form. These dance form have different meaning which give the message for different lifestyle. It also gives some aesthetic to fight their enemy during war period. The dance forms communicate the people about the life in ancient time. Some dance styles gives explanation for the joyful lifestyle. It is also a part of the communication.

Vietnamese paintings and cartoons are the best tool of the communication medium. Some paintings of Vietnam are very special in whole world such as bamboo paintings and craft paintings. There was no any rule for painter, for instance when one painter start sketch

work second painter goes and fills the colour and third painter gives the finishing. Through these paintings they give the message that the collective work is more important for the citizens. On the other side the cartoon is the unwritten satirical message. Before Doi Moi many cartoonists created political satirical cartoons due to media censorship. That time the country was suffering with the poverty and various diseases. During that period country used to give importance to its ideology. In this condition there was strict media regulation; journalists could not cover the issues independently. Therefore they take the hold in cartoon medium. After that government took some communist style reform policy. This is one of the biggest achievements of Vietnamese cartoon that gives the voice to the voice less people.

Vietnam has faced two wars, first war against the French in the post second world war era. The second against the Americans. Vietnam War was first televised war. During the war, American media was crossing the ethics of journalism. On the other side Vietnamese media gave ground reports of the war. In these reports the country media focus was on American army treatment to the Vietnamese citizen. Vietnamese journalists also encouraged the Vietnamese army and the people. On the other side they were demanding support from overseas countries. The ground reports impacted the world and the result was international community criticized the American army attack. Due to the criticism many countries withdrew their army. It was not only the war of a communist country; it was also the war of ideology and communication. American journalists were motivated through their ideological bases. They believed in capitalist ideology. The aim of western journalists was to cover the report through the American army direction. They were reporting close-up faces of American army and Vietnamese citizen. The television reports were telecasting it before every news bulletin, as they wanted to gain sympathy of the citizens. On the other side behind the mind it was also ideological differences between capitalism and communism that has started at the end of the Second World War. After the Second World War whole world has divided into two parts. The Soviet Union had the communist ideology and other world had followed the capitalist ideology. Therefore, during this war period some overseas countries did not give their comment because these statements correlated with the diplomatic relation and impacted their economic condition.

Vietnamese Communist Party decided to start politics of reforms. It called in Vietnamese language (Doi Moi) renovation. Vietnam in the past was inspired by the Soviet Russia because Vietnamese communist leaders wanted the Socialist style of development. Thus, they wanted to develop the country in their ideological bases. The Vietnamese

constitution preamble also stated that the country would follow the Marx, Lenin and Ho Chi Minh ideology. But under Doi Moi political and economic reforms were undertaken.

When Doi Moi was adopted by the Vietnamese government had changed many policies and leadership of the communist party. After this policy Vietnamese rice production had been on increase. On the other side major heavy industry had been established in Vietnam. This socio- economic policy gave the opportunity to foreign investor to come and invest their capital. This policy also effected the Vietnamese constitution. Therefore Socialist Republic of Vietnam had re-structured their constitution in 1992. The government of Vietnam amended various laws.

During the Doi Moi period, media played biggest role. Because, that time country was suffering from various type of corruption. The General Secretary had no other medium to expose these corrupt officials. Thus he called the media persons and advised them ‘not bend their pen’. When they exposed the corrupt officials and political leaders, it emerged lots of leading lacks. In this situation, government took decision as what can be done and what cannot be done. What is useful for public and what decision would encourage the sentiment of the citizen. This policy gives the new mirror of Vietnamese government. This mirror had long vision, thus in 1995 Vietnam became an ASEAN member, after that also joined the international organizations such as WTO and the country also participated in many organizational meetings.

Due to Doi Moi impact the country amended its constitution and gave various freedom and expression of rights to Vietnamese people. In 1992 constitution has included several rights to express and adopt any modes of communication. The country also provided the rights to private companies to open their media institution and publish their journals. Before this the citizens had no right to publish any piece of writing. The country had many examples of suppression, for instance one novelist was jailed when she send piece of writing overseas to publish the novel. But, her novel came in public sphere that had various aspect of Vietnamese people life. In this novel she mentions Vietnamese women lifestyle and their struggle.

In 1980 Mc Bride commission gives the slogan “Many Voices One World”. This slogan had big message for the developing countries. Because they don’t had any updated technology to collect the information and spread all over the world. Before this international community made outer space treaty in 1967. This treaty provided new communication technologies which enriched the communication world and the satellite technology come into

existence. The satellite technology is the new form of communication. It is more advance for the media purpose. This wave signal cannot protect any countries. The result was that Vietnam sent its satellite in 2008.

After 1990 political environment have changed. The international media was affecting cultural values. Media became big business house that was spreading and propagating the western cultural values. It has developed soap opera culture. So, middle class families of Vietnam were adopting the affluent life style and western pop culture. But, question is why Vietnam culture is losing its essence in every sector of socio-economic life?

Now media is a production house. It does not give only news but also provides many types of motion pictures. Nowadays these big media origination has many types of communication medium. They have many licences such as Radio, television broadcasting and paper and journal publication rights. In this condition one media houses has domination on every field of communication. According to the Gobels when we stated untruth words in hundred times its make one time true. Therefore, the media house makes this type of statements several times in. They are also propagating some special company ads in various times. In this impact the people are very enthusiastic for particular items. It is the impact of media.

Vietnam has transformed various old decrees and regulations. The government gives the e-newspaper publishing and blog writing rights. Due to the economic impact of these decisions, the country establishes itself as a good pro-people and pro-country. Mainly, the country wants to improve its economic system and information technology. Despite this the government has regulated the media and some journalists were also sent to the jails. The court gives three years in prison for false reporting. In 2011 there was a case for false reporting and actions had been taken against them. In this case there were university teachers and bloggers and some French nationals. The government has been punished all these people. The government of Vietnam has issued new regulations for action against the false reporting. According to new regulations the government can impose higher penalties and jail. According to this regulation online newspapers cannot publish their reports without permission. Despite this, we find the grater usage for media freedom in Vietnam as it is an effective means through which democratic aspirations of the people can be addressed.



## APPENDIX-I

### Decision No. 77/2007/QĐ-TTg of May 28, 2007, promulgating the Regulation on Making of statement and Supply of Information to the press.

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OFFICIAL GAZETTE

Issue nos 01-02/June 2007

(Công Báo nos 382-383/June 16, 2007)

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#### THE PRIME MINISTER

**DECISION No. 77/2007/QĐ-TTg OF MAY 28, 2007, PROMULGATING THE REGULATION ON MAKING OF STATEMENTS AND SUPPLY OF INFORMATION TO THE PRESS**

#### **THE PRIME MINISTER**

*Pursuant to the December 25, 2001 Law on Organization of the Government;*

*Pursuant to the December 28, 1989 Press Law and the June 12, 1999 Law Amending and Supplementing a Number of Articles of the Press Law;*

*Pursuant to the Government's Decree No. 51/2002/ND-CP of April 26, 2002, detailing the implementation of the Press Law and the Law Amending and Supplementing a Number of Articles of the Press Law;*

*At the proposal of the Minister of Culture and Information,*

**DECIDES:**

*Article 1.-* To promulgate together with this Decision the Regulation on making of statements and supply of information to the press.

*Article 2.-* This Decision takes effect 15 days after its publication in "CONG BAO."

*Article 3.-* The Ministry of Culture and Information shall assume the prime responsibility for, and coordinate with concerned agencies in, guiding, monitoring and inspecting the implementation of this Regulation.

*Article 4.-* Ministers, heads of ministerial-level agencies, heads of government-attached agencies and presidents of provincial/municipal People's Committees shall implement this Decision.

*Prime Minister*  
**NGUYEN TAN DUNG**

**REGULATION ON MAKING OF  
STATEMENTS AND SUPPLY OF  
INFORMATION TO THE PRESS**

*(Promulgated together with the Prime Minister's  
Decision No. 77/2007/QĐ-TTg of May 28, 2007)*

*Chapter I*

**GENERAL PROVISIONS**

*Article 1.-* Scope and subjects of regulation

This Regulation provides for the regime of making statements and supplying information to the press applicable to ministries, ministerial-level agencies, government-attached agencies and

provincial/municipal People's Committees (below collectively referred to as state administrative agencies) according to the current press law.

*Article 2.-* Persons making statements and supplying information to the press

1. A state administrative agency's person who makes statements and supplies information to the press (below referred to as spokesperson) must be the head of that agency or the person assigned by him/her to make statements or supply information to the press. Full names and positions of spokespersons of state administrative agencies must be publicized in writing to press agencies and state management agencies in charge of the press.

2. When necessary, the state administrative agency's head may authorize a responsible person within his/her agency to make statements, or coordinate with the spokesperson in making statements or supplying information on specific matters to the press.

3. A person assigned by the head of a state administrative agency to make statements and supply information to the press must satisfy the following criteria:

a/ Working as an employee on the official payroll at the state administrative agency;

b/ Having a firm political and ideological stance, good moral qualities, and attitude of honesty and impartiality;

c/ Having deep knowledge about the functions, tasks, powers, organizational structures and management domains of the state administrative agency where he/she works; having certain understanding about the press and grasping the provisions of the press law;

d/ Being capable of analyzing, synthesizing and processing press information and addressing the press.

4. State administrative agencies' individuals who are not tasked to make statements or supply information to the press may not make statements

or supply information to the press on behalf of state administrative agencies; may not disclose investigation secrets or public-duty secrets or supply incorrect or untruthful information to the press.

### *Chapter II*

#### **MAKING OF STATEMENTS AND SUPPLY OF INFORMATION TO THE PRESS**

*Article 3.-* Making statements and supplying information on a regular basis

1. Monthly, the Minister-Director of the Government Office shall assume the prime responsibility for, and coordinate with ministries, ministerial-level agencies, government-attached agencies and provincial/municipal People's Committees in, supplying information on the Government's and Prime Minister's activities, direction and administration to the press by holding press conferences or posting information on the Government's website.

The Government's website promptly and accurately updates information according to current regulations for press agencies nationwide.

2. Ministries, ministerial-level agencies, government-attached agencies and provincial/municipal People's Committees shall periodically supply information on their agencies' operation as well as domains and geographical areas under their management to the press by:

a/ Posting information on their websites every month or at least once every 3 months;

b/ Holding press conferences at least once every six months. The organization of press conferences must comply with current regulations;

c/ Supply information to the press in writing or through weekly press briefings held by the Ministry of Culture and Information in coordination with the Central Party Committee's Propaganda and Education Commission and the Vietnam Journalists Association, when necessary;

d/ Supplying prompt and accurate information

to the Government's website according to current regulations.

*Article 4.-* Making statements and supplying information in emergency and extraordinary cases

Spokespersons shall make statements and supply prompt and accurate information to the press in the following emergency and extraordinary cases:

1. When it is necessary to publish on the press important events or matters which have great impacts in the society and are within their agencies' management scope in order to make timely orientations and warnings for the society, and the Government's and concerned state administrative agencies' viewpoints and solutions regarding those events or matters.

When a case requires prompt opinions of administrative agencies, spokespersons shall take the initiative in making statements or supplying information to the press within two (02) days after the case occurs.

2. When a press agency or state management agency in charge of the press requests statements or information on the events or matters of their agencies or domains under their agencies' management which are mentioned on the press.

3. When there is a ground to believe that a press agency publishes untruthful information in the domains or geographical areas under their agencies' management, which requires that the press agency publish feedback and corrections in accordance with law.

*Article 5.-* Rights and responsibilities of spokespersons

1. Spokespersons can make statements on behalf of state administrative agencies or represent those agencies in making statements or supplying information to the press. Only information supplied by spokespersons is considered official information of state administrative agencies.

Press agencies and journalists are responsible for

truthfully publishing, broadcasting or reporting statements made or information supplied by spokespersons, and at the same time, clearly state full names of spokespersons and names of state administrative agencies of spokespersons.

2. Spokespersons may request concerned units and individuals in their agencies to supply or gather information so as to regularly or extraordinarily make statements or supply information to the press in accordance with Articles 3 and 4 of this Regulation; or to respond to reports, proposals, criticisms, complaints or denunciations of organizations or citizens which are forwarded from press agencies, or published or broadcast in the mass media according to law.

3. Spokespersons may refuse to make statements and supply information to the press on:

a/ Matters pertaining to state secrets; confidential matters under the Party's principles and regulations; matters about which they are not authorized to make statements;

b/ Criminal cases under investigation or not yet tried, except cases in which state administrative agencies or investigative agencies request to publish on the press information helpful to investigation or crime prevention and combat work;

c/ Policies or schemes being elaborated which, as prescribed by law, have not yet been permitted by competent authorities to be published for public comment.

4. Spokespersons are answerable to law for the contents of their statements and information supplied to the press.

Spokespersons other than heads of state administrative agencies are also responsible before those heads for the accuracy and truthfulness of their statements and information supplied to the press.

### *Chapter III*

#### **ORGANIZATION OF IMPLEMENTATION**

*Article 6.-* Based on this Regulation, ministers, heads of ministerial-level agencies and government-

attached agencies, and presidents of provincial/municipal People's Committees shall promulgate specific regulations applicable to their branches and localities.

*Article 7.-* The Minister of Culture and Information shall guide ministries, ministerial-level agencies, government-attached agencies, provincial/municipal People's Committees and press agencies in implementing this Regulation.

*Prime Minister*  
**NGUYEN TAN DUNG**

## APPENDIX-II

### Guiding the implementation of the Regulation on the management of information and press activities of foreign correspondents, foreign agencies and organizations in Vietnam.

THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND  
INFORMATION  
THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIR  
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SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM  
Independence - Freedom - Happiness  
-----

No: 84-TTLB

Hanoi, December 31, 1996

#### JOINT CIRCULAR

#### GUIDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE REGULATION ON THE MANAGEMENT OF INFORMATION AND PRESS ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS, FOREIGN AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS IN VIETNAM

*Pursuant to Decree No.67-CP of October 31,1996 of the Government issuing the Regulation on the Management of information and Press Activities of Foreign Correspondents, Foreign Agencies and Organizations in Vietnam;*

*The Ministry of Culture and Information and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issue the following Circular giving further guidance on a number of concrete points:*

The Ministry of Culture and Information and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam are empowered by the Government to perform the function of managing and issuing permits for foreign press activities in Vietnam according to the following assignment of responsibility:

1. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs shall manage and issue permits for the press activities of permanent foreign correspondents and foreign press offices in Vietnam as stipulated in Clause 1, Article 1, and Clause 1, Article 2, of the Regulation, and those foreign reporters who accompany foreign delegations on visits to Vietnam as stipulated in Clause 4 and Clause 5, Article 2, of the Regulation. These include:

- Considering and issuing permits for foreign correspondents to enter Vietnam to conduct press activities;

- Considering and issuing permits for foreign news agencies and newspapers to open permanent offices in Vietnam;

- Managing and guiding press activities and settling technical requirements for the press activities of permanent foreign correspondents and foreign press offices in Vietnam such as employing Vietnamese to work for their offices, exporting and importing technical equipment and press publications...

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs shall cooperate with the Ministry of Culture and Information in settling the requirements of information and press activities of the diplomatic representations, consulates and inter-governmental international organizations as stipulated in Clause 2, Article 1, and Clause 2, Article 2, of the Regulation, and the information and press activities of foreign delegations on visits to Vietnam at the invitation of the leadership of the State, the Government or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as stipulated in Clause 4, Article 2, of the Regulation.

2. The Ministry of Culture and Information shall manage and issue permits for the publication and distribution of news bulletins and documents in Vietnamese or other languages, the holding of press conferences and seminars, the display of information billboards, holding of film shows, or exhibitions, the making of speeches or publication articles in Vietnam's mass media, and other

activities related to the information and press activities of the diplomatic representations, consulates and inter-governmental international organizations in Vietnam, non-governmental organizations, foreign economic, cultural, scientific and consultancy organizations; foreign companies and enterprises in Vietnam, and the information and press activities of foreign delegations on their visits to Vietnam as stipulated in Clauses 4 and 5, Article 2, of the Regulation.

## **III VIETNAM**

### **A - Foreign correspondents:**

1. Foreign correspondents defined in the Regulation are professional journalists working as correspondents for a news agency or for a spoken, written, video, pictorial or electronic journal, or free-lance journalists wishing to enter Vietnam to conduct press activities such as filming, photographing, collecting data, interviewing, recording, video-recording, or to go to different localities and places to write news, press articles or reportages... on the situation and events taking place on Vietnamese territory.

2. Foreign correspondents who enter Vietnam for other purposes such as touring, visiting or joining their relatives, doing business, conducting professional exchange or technical cooperation, or working for Vietnamese press agencies in Vietnam..., and foreigners who are not correspondents shall not be allowed to conduct press activities in the capacity of foreign correspondents. In special cases, they must apply for and get permission from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

### **B - Foreign correspondents conducting short-term press activities in Vietnam:**

1. Foreign correspondents who want to enter Vietnam (or are invited by Vietnamese State agencies or organizations) to conduct short-term press activities as defined in Article 6 of the Regulation must write clearly in their CV their full name, the date, month and year of their birth, their nationality and passport number, and the mass medium they work for.

If a correspondent carries a visa-exempt passport of a country which has signed an Agreement on Visa Exemption with the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, he/she needs not apply for a visa, but he/she still has to apply for permission to conduct press activities as stipulated above.

If his/her request for conducting press activities is granted, he/she will be issued an entry-exit visa by Vietnam

2. The specialized agency of Vietnam which guides foreign correspondents in entering Vietnam to conduct short-term press activities as mentioned in Article 7 of the Regulation must be an agency approved by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The correspondent concerned must pay all expenses incurred in carrying out his/her program.

### **C - Permanent foreign press offices and correspondents:**

1. A permanent foreign press office is the representative office of a foreign news agency or a written, spoken and video journal which is permitted to be based in Hanoi to conduct press activities in Vietnam.

2. A permanent foreign correspondent in Vietnam is one who officially and regularly works at a permanent foreign press office in Vietnam.



3. Applications for the establishment of permanent press offices in Vietnam stipulated in Article 8 of the Regulation shall be sent to the Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or to Vietnam's diplomatic representations in foreign countries. The head of the news or press agency concerned may empower a responsible person to sign the application. The Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs shall answer within 60 days after receiving the application.

4. The permanent foreign press offices should ensure their regular and continuous operation. If an office has no permanent correspondent for a continuous period of 180 days, the permit for opening the office shall automatically be invalidated.

5. Concerning the replacement or change of the number of correspondents stipulated in Article 10 of the Regulation: if an office wants to replace a correspondent or needs more correspondents for short-term assignments, it has to send an application to the Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs shall consider and settle case by case.

6. The foreign correspondent card mentioned in Article 12 of the Regulation shall be issued in compliance with the duration of time written in his/her entry and exit permit. The permanent correspondent shall be issued multiple entry-exit Vietnam. Within 15 days at the latest before his/her entry-exit visa expires, he/she must apply for extension if he/she continues to work as permanent correspondent in Vietnam. If he/she loses his/her foreign correspondent card, he/she must notify the Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and apply for a new card.

7. While conducting press activities as stipulated in Article 13 of the Regulation, the correspondent must take along his/her foreign correspondent card and the permit for conducting press activities and produce it to the authorities when necessary. When going to places outside Hanoi, he/she must contact the local external relations service before conducting his/her press activities.

The Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs shall consider case by case the requirements of these correspondents for conducting an urgent press activity.

With regard to press activities prompted by on-spot requirement outside what is granted in the permit, the correspondents must comply with the stipulations and guidance of the local authorities.

8. The Foreign Press Center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is the sole agency allowed to introduce and sign contracts for the supply of interpreters and assistants working for the permanent foreign press offices in Vietnam as stipulated in Article 14 of the Regulation. These interpreters and assistants do not have the correspondent status, and therefore, shall not be allowed to conduct press activities as correspondents of the office.

9. A permanent foreign press office which wants to have its own seal for its activities should send its application to the Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs so that the latter may introduce them to the specialized Vietnamese agencies for the completion of the necessary procedures in accordance with Vietnam's law.

D - Foreign correspondents accompanying delegations on official visits to Vietnam at the invitation of the leadership of the Party, the State, or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; foreign correspondents accompanying foreign delegations on their working visits to Vietnam at the invitation of other State agencies of Vietnam:

1. Foreign correspondents accompanying delegations on official visits to Vietnam at the invitation of the leadership of the Party, the State, or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to report on the visits shall be regarded as unofficial members of these delegations. The host organization of Vietnam shall conduct the necessary entry-exit visa procedures and notify the Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to cooperate in managing them during their stay in Vietnam.

2. With regard to those foreign correspondents accompanying foreign delegations on official visits or working visits with other State agencies of Vietnam to report on the visits, the host organization of Vietnam shall have to fill the procedures with the Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the same way as they do for those foreign correspondents entering Vietnam to conduct short-term press activities.

3. They must comply with the guidance of the Foreign Press Center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or the host organization which receives it if they are approved by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

E - Import and export of equipment for the conduct of press activities and of publications by the permanent foreign press offices and foreign correspondents:

1. In addition to the stipulations in Article 18 of the Regulation, a permanent foreign press office which wants to import, install and use audio-video equipment for direct satellite reception must send its request to the Information and Press Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs so that the latter may introduce it to the Ministry of Culture and Information to consider and grant permit.

2. With regard to other products not mentioned in Article 19, the correspondent must go through the import-export procedures at the specialized agencies of Vietnam.

### III- PRESS ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS IN VIETNAM

A- Publication and distribution of news bulletins, documents and other publications:

The publication and distribution of news bulletins and other publications by those agencies mentioned in this Article must comply with the Press Law, the Publication Law and the other current stipulations of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

1. A "foreign representation" which wants to publish and distribute documents, books, newspapers, pictures, news bulletins or bulletin supplements, audio or video tapes, software programs... which carry information and press reports in Vietnamese or other languages must apply for a permit from the Ministry of Culture and Information (the Press Department) and notify the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (the Information and Press Department) thereof. The application must state clearly the aim, contents, name, periodical or not, language, format, printing house, circulation and target readers.

2. A "foreign agency" which wants to publish and distribute documents, books, newspapers, pictures, news bulletins or bulletin supplements, audio or video tapes, software programs... which carry information and press reports in Vietnamese or other languages must apply for a permit from the Ministry of Culture and Information (the Press Department). The application must state clearly the aim, contents, name, periodical or not, format, printing house, circulation and target readers.

The publication and distribution of the above-mentioned documents and publications by the objects mentioned in Clauses 1 and 2 of this Article can be conducted only after receiving a permit from the Ministry of Culture and Information.

#### B - Holding a press conference and inviting Vietnamese citizens:

Holding a press conference means the following:

Foreign agencies, organizations, delegations or individuals invite representatives of Vietnamese press agencies, correspondents or citizens to attend a conference or a get-together to announce, explain or make a statement on a matter within their competence relating to their task and interests.

1. A "foreign representative office" which wants to hold a press conference must notify in writing the Ministry of Culture and Information thereof and informing the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the contents, the time, the venue, the attendance, the sponsor and other relevant details such as displaying documents and exhibits, giving a film show or an artistic performance...

A "foreign representation" which has its offices in other localities outside Hanoi must notify in writing the People

2. A "foreign representation" or a foreigner who wants to hold a press conference in a locality must register in writing with the People

Within 24 hours after receiving the written notice, if the Ministry of Culture and Information or the People's Committee of that province or city directly under the Central Government (the Culture and Information Service) has no objection, the press conference can be regarded as approved.

The Ministry of Culture and Information or the People

3. The press conferences of the foreign delegations officially visiting Vietnam at the invitation of the leadership of the Party, the State, the Government, the National Assembly or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs shall be held according to their plan. The host agency of Vietnam shall have to notify the Ministry of Culture and Information for cooperation in running it.

With regard to the holding of press conferences by those foreign delegations which visit Vietnam at the invitation of other Vietnamese agencies: the host agency of Vietnam shall have to notify in writing the Ministry of Culture and Information or the mandated Culture and Information Service.

#### C - Making speeches or publishing articles in the mass media:

1. A "foreign representation" which wants to have its speech published or broadcast by the newspapers, the Radio and TV of Vietnam must notify in writing the Ministry of Culture and Information (the Press Department) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (the Information and Press Department) and send them the text of the article or the speech at least 48 hours in advance. The notice must state clearly the aim, the contents, the speaker, the writer and the press agency that will publish or broadcast it, and the time for publication or broadcasting. The "foreign representation" which has its speech published by the press or broadcast by the Radio or TV must notify the concerned People

2. A "foreign agency" which wants to have its speech published or broadcast by the press, the Radio or TV of Vietnam must notify in writing the Ministry of Culture and Information (the Press Department) and sending it the text of the article or the speech at least 48 hours in advance. The

notice must state clearly the aim, the contents, the speaker, the writer, the press agency that will publish or broadcast it, and the time for publication or broadcasting. A "foreign agency" which wants to have its speech published or broadcast by the local press, Radio or TV must notify the concerned People

D - Displaying information billboards in front of the office:

1. A "foreign representation" which wants to put up information billboards before its office must apply for a permit from the Ministry of Culture and Information and notifying the Ministry of Foreign Affairs thereof. The application must state clearly the aim, contents, format and the place where the board will be installed.

In case a "foreign representation" has offices in other localities outside Hanoi, it must notify in writing the concerned People?

2. The "foreign agencies" mentioned in Clause 2, Article 23, of the Regulation which want to place their information billboards or put up their office signs in front of their offices must apply for a permit from the concerned People's Committee of the province or city directly under the Central Government (the Culture and Information Service).

The application must state clearly the aim, contents, dimensions of the board or office sign and the place where it will be installed or put up.

The applicant can install its information billboard or put up its office sign only after receiving a permit from the Ministry of Culture and Information or the People's Committee of the province or city directly under the Central Government as prescribed.

Any change in the permit must be approved by the agency that has issued the permit.

E - Film shows, exhibitions, seminars and other activities related to information and press activities:

1. A "foreign representation" which wants to organize a film show, exhibition, seminar or other activities related to information and press activities and to invite Vietnamese citizens to such events must apply for a permit from the Ministry of Culture and Information and notify the Ministry of Foreign Affairs thereof. The notice must state clearly the contents, the venue, the time set for the event, and the guests invited.

In case a "foreign representation" has offices in other localities outside Hanoi, it must notify in writing the People

2. Those "foreign agencies" mentioned in Clause 2, Article 24, of the Regulation which want to organize film shows, exhibitions, seminars and other activities relating to information and press activities and to invite Vietnamese citizens to the event must apply for a permit from the People

The application must state clearly the aim, contents, venue, the time, and the guests invited.

Such activities can be organized only after receiving the approval of the Ministry of Culture and Information or the People

The Ministry of Culture and Information and the People's Committees of the provinces and cities directly under the Central Government can refuse or cancel all or part of the contents if they

detect any sign of violation of the Press Law, Decree No.133-HDBT of April 20, 1992, Decree No.67-CP of October 31, 1996 and this Circular.

#### **IV - ORGANIZATION OF IMPLEMENTATION**

1. The Ministry of Culture and Information and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs shall have to popularize this Circular to all those it may concern while cooperating with the concerned agencies at both central and local levels to manage the conduct of such activities and handle any violations.
2. All those who are concerned shall have to fully implement the guidance provided in this Circular. Any violation shall be subject to sanctions according to the current stipulations of Vietnamese law depending on its seriousness.
3. This Circular takes effect from the date of its signing. All documents issued earlier by the Ministry of Culture and Information and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which are contrary to this Circular are now annulled.

**THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND  
INFORMATION VICE MINISTER**

**THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIR VICE  
MINISTER**

**Luu Tran Tieu**

**Vu Khoan**

## Appendix-III

**Joint Circular No. 85/2008/TTLT-BVHTTDL-BTTTT of December 18, 2008, guiding the licensing and Registration and placement of advertisements on the Press, Online communication networks and publications, and the inspection, examination, and handling of violations.**

6

OFFICIAL GAZETTE

Issue nos 01-02/January 2009  
(Công Báo nos 01-02/January 1, 2009)

**Joint Circular No. 85/2008/TTLT-BVHTTDL-BTTTT of December 18, 2008, guiding the licensing and registration and placement of advertisements on the press, online communication networks and publications, and the inspection, examination, and handling of violations**

*Pursuant to the 1989 Press Law and the 1999 Law Amending and Supplementing a Number of Articles of the Press Law;*

*Pursuant to the 2004 Publication Law;*

*Pursuant to the 2006 Law on Information Technology;*

*Pursuant to the 2001 Ordinance on Advertising;*

*Pursuant to the 2002 Ordinance on Handling of Administrative Violations and the 2008 Ordinance Amending and Supplementing a Number of Articles of the Ordinance on Handling of Administrative Violations;*

*Pursuant to the Government's Decree No. 185/2007/ND-CP of December 25, 2007, defining*

VIỆT NAM CỘNG HÒA



*the functions, tasks, powers and organizational structure of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism;*

*Pursuant to the Government's Decree No. 187/2007/ND-CP of December 25, 2007, defining the functions, tasks, powers and organizational structure of the Ministry of Information and Communication,*

*To ensure and raise the effectiveness of the state management of advertising activities on the press, online communication networks and publications; the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism and the Ministry of Information and Communication jointly guide the licensing, registration and placement of advertisements on the press, online communication networks and publications, and the inspection, examination, and handling of violations as follows:*

#### Section I

#### GENERAL PROVISIONS

1. This Circular guides the licensing of advertising on the press; registration of advertising on online communication networks; and advertising on publications, and the inspection, examination, and handling of violations.

2. This Circular is applicable to:

2.1. Vietnamese and foreign agencies, organizations and individuals engaged in advertising activities on the press, online communication networks and publications in Vietnam (below referred to as organizations and individuals);

2.2. Concerned agencies and units under the

Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism;

2.3. Concerned agencies and units under the Ministry of Information and Communication;

2.4. Provincial-level Culture, Sports and Tourism Services;

2.5. Provincial-level Information and Communication Services.

3. Responsibilities and coordination:

3.1. The Ministry of Information and Communication shall:

a/ License advertising activities on the press; organize the registration of advertising activities on online communication networks and manage advertising activities on publications;

b/ Assume the prime responsibility for, and coordinate with the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism in, inspecting and examining the lawfulness of advertising activities on the press, online communication networks and publications;

c/ Administratively handle violations of the law on advertising activities on the press, online communication networks and publications according to law.

3.2. The Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism shall:

a/ Direct and guide provincial-level Culture, Sports and Tourism Services in coordinating with provincial-level Information and Communication Services in managing advertising activities on the press, online communication networks and publications;

b/ Coordinate with the Ministry of Information and Communication in inspecting

and examining the lawfulness of advertising activities on the press, online communication networks and publications.

3.3. Provincial-level Information and Communication Services shall:

a/ Perform the state management of advertising activities on the press, online communication networks and publications in their provinces or cities;

b/ Assume the prime responsibility for, and coordinate with provincial-level Culture, Sports and Tourism Services in, inspecting and examining the lawfulness of advertising activities on the press, online communication networks and publications in their provinces or cities;

c/ Administratively handle violations of the law on advertising activities on the press, online communication networks and publications committed by organizations and individuals in their provinces or cities according to law.

3.4. Provincial-level Culture, Sports and Tourism Services shall coordinate with provincial-level Information and Communication Services in performing the state management of advertising activities on the press, online communication networks and publications in their provinces or cities.

## Section II

### LICENSING OF ADVERTISING ON THE PRESS; REGISTRATION OF ADVERTISING ON ONLINE COMMUNICATION NETWORKS AND ADVERTISING ON PUBLICATIONS

#### 1. Licensing of advertising on the press

##### 1.1. Licensing procedures:

a/ A press agency wishing to publish an advertisement supplement, or broadcast a radio or television advertisement channel or program shall apply for a permit. The application dossier shall be submitted to the Press Department (the Ministry of Information and Communication), for an advertisement supplement of a newspaper or magazine; or the Department of Radio and Television Broadcast and E-Information Management (the Ministry of Information and Communication), for a radio or television advertisement channel or program. Such a dossier comprises:

- An application for a permit for an advertisement supplement or channel or program (made according to the form in Appendix 1 to this Circular, *not printed herein*);
- Opinions of the managing agency (if any);
- A (notarized or authenticated) copy of the press operation license.

b/ Within thirty (30) working days from the date of receiving a complete and valid dossier, the Press Department or the Department of Radio and Television Broadcast and E-Information Management shall grant a press agency a permit (according to the form in Appendix 2 to this Circular, *not printed herein*) for an advertisement supplement or channel or program. In case of refusal, it shall issue a reply clearly stating the reason.

##### 1.2. Modification and supplementation of a permit:

a/ A press agency wishing to modify the contents of a permit for an advertisement supplement or channel or program shall submit

an application dossier to the competent licensing agency under Point 1.1, Clause I, Section II of this Circular. Such a dossier comprises:

- An application for permit modification or supplementation (made according to the form in Appendix 1 to this Circular, *not printed herein*);
- A (notarized or authenticated) copy of the effective permit.

b/ Within fifteen (15) working days from the date of receiving a complete and valid dossier, the Press Department or the Department of Radio and Television Broadcast and E-Information Management shall grant a press agency a modified or supplemented permit (according to the form in Appendix 3 to this Circular, *not printed herein*). In case of refusal, it shall issue a reply clearly stating the reason.

1.3. Within seven (07) working days from the date of granting a permit for an advertisement supplement or channel or program or a modified or supplemented permit, the Press Department or the Department of Radio and Television Broadcast and E-Information Management under the Ministry of Information and Communication shall send a copy of this permit to the Grassroots Culture Department (the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism) and the Information and Communication Service and Culture, Sports and Tourism Service of the province or city where the press agency is headquartered for coordinated management.

2. Registration of advertising on online communication networks

2.1. Registration dossiers and procedures

a/ Before advertising on an online communication network, an organization or individual shall

submit an advertisement registration dossier to the Department of Radio and Television Broadcast and E-Information Management (the Ministry of Information and Communication). Such a dossier comprises:

- A written advertisement registration (made according to the form in Appendix 4 to this Circular, *not printed herein*);
- A disc or similar object containing the advertisement product (2 pieces).

b/ After receiving a complete and valid dossier, the Department of Radio and Television Broadcast and E-Information Management shall issue a receipt slip (according to the form in Appendix 5 to this Circular, *not printed herein*). After five (05) working days from the date of issuing a receipt slip, if the Department of Radio and Television Broadcast and E-Information Management makes no written request to modify or supplement advertised contents, an organization or individual may advertise according to the registered contents. When modifications or supplements are required, an organization or individual may only advertise after modifying or supplementing advertised contents as requested by the Department.

2.2. An organization or individual wishing to supplement or modify the contents of a registered advertisement shall make registration again in accordance with the order, procedures and requirements under Point 2.1, Clause 2, Section II of this Circular.

2.3. Within three (03) working days from the date an organization or individual is permitted to place advertisements according to the registered contents, the Department of Radio and Television Broadcast and E-Information Management shall

send a copy of the slip to acknowledge the receipt of a registration dossier for advertising on an online communication network to the Grassroots Culture Department (the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism), the Culture, Sports and Tourism Service and Information and Communication Service of the province or city where the registering organization or individual is headquartered for coordinated management.

3. Advertising on publications and printed products other than publications:

3.1. Advertising on publications complies with the Publication Law and its guiding documents;

3.2. Advertisements for goods and service trading activities on catalogs, leaflets, brochures and other printed products other than publications must specify the name and address of the advertiser, the number of printed copies and the place of printing.

3.3. An advertisement on a video tape or disc; or a cassette or audio disc (other than publications of publishing houses) is subject to approval of the agency competent to license the distribution of the program on such tape, cassette or disc; the advertising time must not exceed 5% of the program length.

### Section III

#### INSPECTION, EXAMINATION, AND HANDLING OF VIOLATIONS OF REGULATIONS ON ADVERTISING ON THE PRESS, ONLINE COMMUNICATION NETWORKS AND PUBLICATIONS

##### 1. Inspection and examination

1.1. The Inspectorate of the Ministry of Information and Communication shall assume the prime responsibility for, and coordinate with the Inspectorate of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism; and the Inspectorates of provincial-level Information and Communication Services shall assume the prime responsibility for, and coordinate with the Inspectorates of provincial-level Culture, Sports and Tourism Services in, working out annual programs and plans to inspect and examine advertising activities on the press, online communication networks and publications and implementing these programs and plans.

1.2. In case of extraordinary inspection or examination outside the programs and plans specified at Point 1.1, Clause 1, Section III of this Circular, the Inspectorate of the Ministry of Information and Communication or a provincial-level Information and Communication Service shall notify in writing the Inspectorate of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism or a provincial-level Culture, Sports and Tourism Service of such inspection or examination for coordinated implementation.

1.3. The Inspectorate of the Ministry of Information and Communication or a provincial-level Information and Communication Service shall assume the prime responsibility for preparing and completing legal procedures for each inspection or examination;

1.4. After an inspection or examination, the inspection or examination delegation shall report and submit inspection or examination conclusions to the leaderships of the two ministries.

##### 2. Handling of violations



2.1. The Inspectorates of the Ministry of Information and Communication and provincial-level Information and Communication Services shall administratively handle violations of regulations on advertising activities on the press, online communication networks and publications according to law.

2.2. When detecting an act of violating regulations on advertising activities on the press, online communication networks and publications, the Inspectorate of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism or a provincial-level Culture, Sports and Tourism Service shall notify the Inspectorate of the Ministry of Information and Communication or a provincial-level Information and Communication Service thereof for consideration and handling according to its competence.

2.3. The Inspectorate of the Ministry of Information and Communication or a provincial-level Information and Communication Service shall send decisions on handling of administrative violations to the Inspectorate of the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism or a provincial-level Culture, Sports and Tourism Service.

#### Section IV

#### ORGANIZATION OF IMPLEMENTATION

1. The Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism and the Ministry of Information and Communication shall direct, guide and examine their concerned units in strictly complying with this Circular.

2. Agencies and units under the two ministries and provincial-level Information and Communication Services and Culture, Sports and Tourism Services, organizations and individuals shall promptly report problems arising in the course of implementation of this Circular to the two ministries for consideration and settlement.

3. This Circular takes effect 15 days after its publication in "CONG BAO."

4. The following provisions are annulled:

- Clause 2, Section III of, and Appendix 1 to, the Culture and Information Ministry's Circular No. 43/2003/TT-BVHTT of July 16, 2003, guiding the implementation of the Government's Decree No. 24/2003/ND-CP of March 13, 2003, detailing the Ordinance on Advertising;

- Clauses 3 and 7 of the Culture and Information Ministry's Circular No. 79/2005/TT-BVHTT of December 8, 2005, amending and supplementing a number of provisions of the Culture and Information Ministry's Circular No. 43/2003/TT-BVHTT of July 16, 2003, guiding the implementation of the Government's Decree No. 24/2003/ND-CP of March 13, 2003, detailing the Ordinance on Advertising.

*For the Minister of  
Information and Communication*  
Vice Minister  
DO QUY DOAN

*For the Minister of  
Culture, Sports and Tourism*  
Vice Minister  
HUYNH VINH AI

## Appendix-IV

Pursuant to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam 1992 which has been amended and supplemented by a number of articles under Resolution No. 51/2001/QH10

*This translation is only for reference - 1*

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

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No.: 19/2012/QH13

SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM  
Independence - Freedom – Happiness

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Ha Noi, November 20, 2012

### PUBLISHING LAW

*Pursuant to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam 1992 which has been amended and supplemented by a number of articles under Resolution No.51/2001/QH10;*

*The National Assembly hereby promulgates the Publishing Law*

#### Chapter 1

#### GENERAL PROVISIONS

##### Article 1. Scope of adjustment

This law provides for the publishing organization and activities; rights and obligations of agencies, organizations and individuals involved in publishing activities.

Publishing activities, including the fields of publishing, printing and release of publications.

##### Article 2. Subject of application

This law applies to agencies, organizations, individuals and foreign organizations operating in Vietnam, foreign individuals residing in Vietnam related to publishing activities.

##### Article 3. Location, purpose of publishing activities

Publishing activities in the field of culture and ideology in order to disseminate and introduce knowledge in the fields of social life, national cultural values and cultural essence of humanity, to meet the needs of people's spiritual life, to raise the people's intellect and moral development and good lifestyle of Vietnamese people, to expand cultural exchanges with other countries, socio-economic development and fight against all thoughts and behavior detrimental to the national interests and contribute to the construction and defense of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

##### Article 4. Explanation of terms

In this Law, the terms below are construed as follows:

1. Publishing is the organization and development of manuscript to be edited into templates for printing and release directly through the electronic media.
2. Printing is the use of printing equipment to create publications from the template.
3. Release is the adoption of one or more forms of buying, selling, allocation, donation, leasing, lending, export, import, fair and exhibition to bring publications to users.
4. Publication is a work and documents on politics, economics, culture, society, education and training, science, technology, literature, art which are published through publisher or agency, organization is issued publishing license in different languages, images, sounds, and are expressed in the following forms:
  - a) Printed books
  - b) Braille books;
  - c) Paintings, photographs, maps, posters, flyers and leaflets
  - d) Types of calendar;
  - e) Audio and video recording with the content for substitution of book or illustration for books



5. Manuscript is handwritten, typed copy or created by electronic media of a work, document for publishing.
6. Editing is the review and improvement of the content and form of the manuscript for publication.
7. Non-business document is a publication is not intended to buy, sell
8. Electronic publishing is the organization and development of manuscript to be edited into templates and use of electronic media to create electronic publications.
9. Electronic publication the one specified at Points a, c, d, e, Clause 4 of this Article shall be formatted digitally and read, listened and viewed by electronic media.
10. Electronic media as media operating based on electrical, electronic, digital, magnetic, optical and wireless transmission technology or similar technology specified in Clause 10, Article 4 of the Law on electronic transaction.
11. Method of publication and release of electronic publication is the publishing and release of publications on the electronic media.
12. Legal deposit is the submission of publication for storage, comparison, examination and appraisal.

**Article 5. Ensure the right of dissemination of work and protection of copyright and related rights**

1. The State shall ensure the right of dissemination of work in the form of publications through the publisher and protection of copyright and related rights.
2. The State shall not censor works before publication.
3. No agency, organization or individual is allowed to abuse the right to disseminate works to damage the interests of the State, the legitimate rights and interests of agencies, organizations and individuals.

**Article 6. State management on publishing activities**

1. State management content on publishing activities includes:
  - a) Developing and organizing the implementation of strategy, planning, policy of publishing activity development; issuing under the competence the legal normative documents regarding publishing activities and copyright in the publishing activities;
  - b) Organizing the reading, examination and appraisal of legal deposit publications;
  - c) Issuing and revoking types of license in publishing activities;
  - d) Scientific research and technological application in publishing activities; training and fostering profession on publishing activities;
  - e) International cooperation in publishing activities;
  - f) Inspecting, investigating and settling complaints and denunciations and handling of violations of the law in publishing activities;
  - g) Implementing regulation on information, report, statistic, and the emulation and commendation in publishing activities; selecting and giving awards for publications of high value.
2. Government shall perform the unified state management of publishing activities nationwide;

The Ministry of Information and Communications is responsible before the Government for the implementation of state management on publishing activities.

The ministries, ministerial-level agencies shall coordinate with the Ministry of Information and Communications to perform the State management on the publishing activities within its authority.

People's Committees of centrally-affiliated provinces and cities (hereinafter referred to as provincial-level People's Committees) shall perform the State management on the publishing activities at locality.

**Article 7. State policy for publishing activities**

1. The State has strategy, development planning of network of publishers, printing and establishment of publication release, support of training of human resources; tax incentives prescribed by law for the publishing activities, policies to attract social resources involved in publishing activities.

2. State policy for the publishing field:

a) Supporting investment fund for the construction and modernization of material facilities, application and transfer of advanced technology and technique to publishers to serve the tasks, subjects and areas as specified at Point b of this Clause;

b) Placing an order to have manuscripts and publish works and materials to serve the task of politics, security, national defense, external information and serve people in ethnic minority areas, the areas with socio-economic conditions of particular difficulty, the remote, mountainous, border and island area, the youngster, children, the blind and other critical tasks;

c) Buying manuscript for valuable works but the publishing time is not appropriate or restrictions of subject of use; supporting to buy copyrights for domestic and foreign works which have value for social, cultural and economic development;

d) Favouring loan interest in accordance with the law.

3. State policy for the field of printing of publication:

a) Supporting fund for the construction investment and modernization of infrastructure, application and transfer of advanced technology and technique to printing facilities in service of tasks of politics, security, national defense, external information and printing facilities in remote, mountainous, border and island areas;

b) Favouring land lease rent for workshop building and loan interest rates for the printing facilities in service of the politics, security, national defense, external information and printing facilities in remote, mountainous, border and island areas.

4. State policy in the field of publishing of publication:

a) Priority is given to the investment in land fund and expenditure to build infrastructure for the system of establishment of publication release in the areas with socio-economic conditions of particular difficulty, the remote, mountainous, border and island areas,

b) Supporting freight charges of publications in service of tasks, subjects and areas specified at Point b, Clause 2 of this Article;

c) Supporting fund for organization, operation and promotion of Vietnamese culture and people through publication, organization of exhibitions, fairs of publications in the country and abroad;

d) Favouring land lease and house rent under state ownership, loan interest rate for establishment of publication release.

5. State policy for the publishing and release of electronic publications:

a) Supporting fund for the construction investment, modernization of infrastructure and application advanced technology and technique for publishing electronic publications;

b) Developing the specification data information system of electronic publications in order to create favorable conditions for searching, accessing, managing and archiving electronic publications.

6. The Government shall detail this Article in accordance with each stage of development of publishing activities.

**Article 8. Establishment of representative office in Vietnam of foreign publishers and publication release organizations**

1. Foreign publishers and publication release organizations (including enterprise and organization established abroad with multidisciplinary and multi-sector operation including publishing and publication release) are allowed to establish representative office in Vietnam after the Ministry of Information and communication issue license.

2. The Government shall specify the conditions for the establishment and operation contents and procedures for the issuance, renewal, re-issuance and extension of establishment license of representative office in Vietnam of foreign publishers and publication release organizations

**Article 9. Complaints and denunciations in publishing activities**

The complaints and denunciations in publishing activities shall comply with the provisions of law on complaints and denunciations.

**Article 10. Contents and behaviors prohibited in publishing activities**

1. Seriously prohibiting the publishing, printing and release of publications with the following contents:

- a) Conducting propaganda against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and destroying the unity of the whole nation;
- b) Conducting propaganda and incitement war of aggression, causing hatred between nations and peoples; conducting incitement of violence; spreading reactionary ideology, obscence and depraved lifestyle, criminal acts, social evils, superstition and destruction of habits and customs;
- c) Disclosing the state secrets, personal secrets and other secrets prescribed by law;
- e) Distorting historical truth, denying revolutionary achievements; offending nation, well-known persons, national heroes; failing to express or properly express sovereignty; slandering and insulting the reputation of the agency, organization and dignity of the individual.

2. It is strictly forbidden to perform the following acts:

- a) Publishing without registration and publishing decision or publishing license;
- b) Changing, distorting the content of the manuscripts which have been signed for approval by or non-business document manuscript with the seal of the publishing licensing agencies;
- c) Illicit and false printing, illegal re-printing of publications
- d) Releasing publications without legitimate origin or failing to submit copyright deposit
- e) Publishing, printing and releasing publications which have been suspended from release, recovering, confiscating, banning from circulation, destroying or illegally importing publications;
- f) Other prohibited acts as prescribed by law.

**Article 11. Handling violation in publishing activities**

1. Organizations having violations of the provisions of this Law and other provisions of the relevant law, depending on the nature and seriousness of their violations, shall be administratively sanctioned, if causing damage, they must pay compensation as prescribed by law.

2. Organizations having violations of the provisions of this Law and other provisions of the relevant law, depending on the nature and seriousness of their violations, shall be administratively sanctioned or prosecuted criminal liability, if causing damage, they must pay compensation as prescribed by law.

3. Publications with violations shall be suspended from release with definite time and depending on the nature and seriousness of the violation, correction must be performed and then released or recovered, confiscated, banned from released or destroyed.

4. Electronic publications in violation shall be removed from the electronic media and depending on the nature and seriousness of their violations shall be handled under the provisions of clause 3 of this Article.

5. Organizations and individuals committing acts of infringement of intellectual property rights in the publishing activities shall be handled as prescribed by the law on intellectual property.

6. State management agencies on publishing activities must take responsibility for their decisions. In case of wrong decisions causing damage, they shall pay compensation as prescribed by law.

## **Chapter 2.**

### **PUBLISHING FIELD**

#### **Article 12. Subject establishing publisher and types of publisher organization**

1. The following agencies and organizations are allowed to establish publisher (hereinafter referred to as the publisher line agency):

a) State agencies, political organizations, socio-political organizations at the central and provincial levels;

b) Public non-business units in the central, the socio-political and vocational organization in the central directly create works and academic and scientific materials.

2. Publishers are organized and operating in the form of public non-business units or enterprises with the conditioned business owned by the State.

#### **Article 13. Conditions for establishment of publisher**

The establishment of publisher must meet the following conditions:

1. Having principles, purposes, functions, duties, objects to services and publications are in conformity with the functions and duties of the line agencies;

2. Having qualified persons specified in Article 17 of this Law for appointment of General Director (Director), editor in chief and have at least five full-time editors;

3. Having headquarters, financial resources and other necessary conditions to ensure the activities of the publisher as prescribed by the Government;

4. Being consistent with the planning of publisher network development which has been approved by the competent authority.

#### **Article 14. Issuance and revocation of establishment license and suspension of the publisher's activities.**

1. The line agency of publisher shall prepare dossier to request the licensing of publisher establishment and send it to the Ministry of Information and Communications.

The dossier includes:

a) Application for issuance of license of publisher establishment;

b) Scheme for publisher establishment and papers evidencing all the conditions specified in Article 13 of this Law.

2. Within 30 days from the date of receipt of complete dossier, the Ministry of Information and Communication shall issue license of publisher establishment. If not licensing, there must be written reply clearly stating the reasons.

3. After being issued license of publisher establishment, the line agency shall make a decision on establishing publisher and prepare other necessary conditions for activities of the publisher.

4. The publisher shall be suspended from operation with definite time in the following cases:

- a) After establishment and during operation, the line agency and publisher do not meet the conditions specified in clauses 1, 2 and 3, Article 13 of this Law;
  - b) The publisher does not properly implement the contents specified in the license of publisher establishment
  - c) The publisher violates the provisions of the law on publishing and is handled for administrative violations at the level of activity suspension.
5. The license of publisher establishment shall be revoked in the following cases:
- a) The time limit of suspension is over without remedy for the cause leading to the suspension.
  - b) Within 06 months from the date of issuance of the license of publisher establishment but the line agency does not make a decision on the publisher establishment;
  - c) Within consecutive 12 months without any publication for legal deposit from the publisher.
  - d) Failing to meet the conditions specified in Article 13 of this Law and causing serious consequences
  - e) Seriously violating other provisions of law.
6. When the license of publisher establishment is revoked in the cases specified at Points a, c, d and e, Clause 5 of this Article, the line agency of publisher shall make the dissolution of the publisher in accordance with the law.

**Article 15. Issuance and renewal of license of publisher establishment**

1. Within 30 days from there is one of the following changes, the line agency of publisher shall request the Ministry of Information and Communication to issue and renew license of publisher establishment:
- a) Change of line agency, name of line agency of publisher name of publisher;
  - b) Change of type of organization of publisher;
  - c) Change of the principles, purposes, subjects to services and major publications of the publisher.
2. Dossier to request issuance and renewal of license of publisher establishment
- a) Application for issuance and renewal of license;
  - b) License of publisher establishment issued.
3. Within 15 days from the date of receipt of complete dossier, the Ministry of Information and Communications shall issue and renew license. In case of non-renewal of license, there must be written reply clearly stating the reasons.
4. In case of change of headquarters, the publisher shall send a written notice to the Ministry of Information and Communications within 07 working days after the change.

**Article 16. Duties and power of the lince agency of publisher**

- 1. Satisfying the conditions specified in Article 13 of this Law.
- 2. Appointing, dismiss, removing leadership positions of publisher specified in Article 17 of this Law after obtaining the written approval of the Ministry of Information and Communications.
- 3. Orienting annual publishing plan of the publisher.
- 4. Directing the implementation of the principles, purposes and operation direction of the publisher; monitoring publisher to comply with the license of publisher establishment.
- 5. Inspecting and examining the activities of the publisher under authority.
- 6. Taking responsibility for violations of the laws of the publisher in publishing activities under its duties and powers.

**Article 17. Standards of positions of General Director (Director) and Chief Editor of publisher.**

1. Standards for General Director (Director):

- a) Being Vietnamese citizens residing in Vietnam, having good political and moral quality.
- b) Having University level or higher;
- c) Having at least 03 years performing work of editing, management of publishing or press, management at the line agency of publisher;
- d) Other standards as prescribed by law.

2. Standards for Chief Editor of the publisher:

- a) Having certificate of editing practice;
- b) Having at least 03 years of working as editor at the publisher or press agency;
- c) Other standards as prescribed by law.

3. For publishers organized and operating in the form of enterprises carrying on conditioned business owned by the State and having title as Chairman of the member board or Chairman of the company, the Chairman of the member board or Chairman of the company shall at the same time as General Director (Director) of the publisher.

**Article 18. Duties and powers of the General Director (Director) and Chief Editor of publisher**

1. The General Director (Director) of publisher has the following duties and powers as follows:

- a) Directing operations of publisher in accordance with purposes, functions and duties specified in the license and decision on publisher establishment;
- b) Developing the mechanism of organization and human resources of the publisher;
- c) Organizing the implementation of the publishing registration with the Ministry of Information and Communications as prescribed in Article 22 of this Law;
- d) Organizing the assessment of works and materials specified in Article 24 of this Law and other works and materials at the request of the State management agencies on publishing activities;
- e) Signing publishing association contract specified at Point b, Clause 3, Article 23 of this Law before signing the publishing decision;
- f) Signing for approval of manuscripts prior to printing;
- g) Signing publishing decision for each publication in line with certificate of publishing registration, including the printing of increased number;
- h) Signing decision on publication release;
- i) Valuating and adjustment of retail prices of publications in accordance with law;
- k) Organizing the keeping of manuscript editing and related documents of each publication as prescribed by law;
- j) Performing the repair, suspension from release, revocation or destruction of publications at the request of competent state agencies;
- m) Implementing the report at the request of the State management agencies on publishing activities;
- n) Making sure not to disclose and miss the content of publishing works and materials prior to release affecting the rights of the author, the copyright owner;
- o) Managing assets and material facilities of the publisher;
- p) Taking responsibility before the law, the line agency for the publications and all activities of the publisher.

2. The Chief Editor of publisher has the following duties and powers:



- a) Helping General Director (Director) to direct the organization of manuscript;
- b) Editing manuscript;
- c) Reading and signing for approval of each manuscript for submission to the General Director (Director) of the publisher to sign the publishing decision.
- d) Do not disclose and miss the content of publishing works and materials prior to release affecting the rights of the author, the copyright owner;
- e) Taking responsibility before the law, the General Director (Director) of the publisher for the content of publications of the publisher.

**Article 19. Standards, duties and powers of editor**

1. Standards of editor:

- a) Being Vietnamese citizens residing in Vietnam, having good political and moral quality.
- b) Having University level or higher;
- c) Completing a fostering course of legal knowledge on publishing and editing professional as prescribed by the Minister of Information and Communications;
- d) Having Certificate of editing practice issued by the Minister of Information and Communications;

2. The editor has the following duties and powers:

- a) Editing manuscripts;
- b) Having the right to refuse the editing of works and materials whose contents have signs of violation specified in Clause 1, Article 10 of this Law and shall report to the General Director (Director) and Chief editor in writing;
- c) Having name in the publications edited by himself/herself;
- d) Participating in periodic training of legal knowledge on publishing and editing profession held by the State management agencies on publishing activities;
- e) Do not disclose and miss the content of publishing works and materials prior to release affecting the rights of the author, the copyright owner;
- e) Taking responsibility before the Chief Editor of the publisher and before law for the contents of publications edited by himself/herself;

**Article 20. Issuance, revocation and re-issuance of certificate of editing practice**

1. Dossier to request issuance of certificate of editing practice includes:

- a) Application for issuance of certificate of editing practice under the prescribed form;
- b) Curriculum vitae under the prescribed form
- c) Certified copy of degree;
- d) Certificate of completion of fostering course of legal knowledge on publishing and editing professional issued by the Ministry of Information and Communications.

2. Within 15 days from the date of receipt of complete dossier, the Ministry of Information and Communications shall issue the Certificate of editing practice; In the absence of issuance, there must be written reply clearly stating the reasons.

3. Certificate of editing practice is revoked in the following cases:

- a) Editor whose publications are edited are banned from circulation, revoked, confiscated or destroyed;
- b) Editor who has edited two publications in 01 year or publications in 02 consecutive years with content violations required correction to be released;

- c) Editor has been sentenced by a legally effective judgement of the court.
- 4. Editor whose certificate of editing practice has been revoked shall be considered for re-issuance, except for the case the editor is sentenced by a legally effective judgement of the court for serious and particularly serious crimes and infringement of national security.
- 5. Certificate of editing practice shall be re-issued in case of loss or damaged.

**Article 21. Copyright in the field of publishing**

The publishing of works and materials reprinting of publication shall only be made after obtaining the written approval of the author, copyright owner as prescribed by law.

**Article 22. Publishing registration of publishing and certification of publishing registration**

- 1. Before publishing works and materials or re-publication, the publisher shall register the publishing with the Ministry of Information and Communications under prescribed form. The registration content must be consistent with the principles and purposes, functions and tasks of the publisher.
- 2. Within 07 working days from the date of receipt of the publishing registration of the publisher, the Ministry of Information and Communications shall confirm the publishing registration in writing. In the absence of confirmation, there must be a written reply clearly stating the reasons.
- 3. The written confirmation of the publishing registration is the ground for the publisher to make a decision on publishing until the end of December 31 of the registration confirmation year.

**Article 23. Association in publishing activities**

- 1. Publishers are associated with the following organizations and individuals (collectively referred to as associated partner) in order to publish for each publication:
  - a) Author and copyright owner;
  - b) Publisher, publication printing and release establishment;
  - c) Other organizations with legal entity.
- 2. Form of association of the publisher with associated partner includes:
  - a) Using manuscripts;
  - b) Preliminarily editing manuscripts;
  - c) Printing publications;
  - d) Releasing publications.
- 3. The association is only made only with the following conditions:
  - a) There is a written consent of the author, the copyright owner under the provisions of the law on intellectual property rights for works and materials of associated publishing;
  - b) There is publishing association contract between publishers and associated partners. The association contract must have the basic contents as prescribed by the Minister of Information and Communications
  - c) In case of preliminary editing association of manuscript, in addition to the conditions specified at Points a and b of this Clause, the associated partner must have editors.
- 4. For works and materials with the content on political theory, history, religion, national sovereignty, memoir, the publisher is not allowed for preliminary associated editing of manuscript.
- 5. Responsibilities of the General Director (Director) of the publisher in associated publishing:
  - a) Making a decision on partnership, form of association and commitment of association contract to each publication. In case of association for publishing many publications with the same associated partner, it is likely to make a commitment in a contract in which clearly expressing form of association to each publication;

- b) Complying with publishing association contract; ensuring that the contents of associated publications to be consistent with the principles, purposes, functions and tasks of the publishers;
- c) Organizing complete editing of work and material manuscripts which have been preliminarily edited;
- d) Taking responsibility before law for activities of publishing association and associated publications;
- e) Revoking publishing decision when the associated partner breaches associated contract;
- e) Performing duties and powers as prescribed in Clause 1, Article 18 of this Law.

6. Responsibility of the Chief Editor of publisher in publishing association:

- a) Helping General Director (Director) of publisher to completely edit manuscripts of works and materials which are preliminarily edited by associated partner, read and approve the works and materials of associated publishing
- b) Performing duties and powers as prescribed in Clause 2, Article 18 of this Law.

7. Responsibility of the associated partner:

- a) Properly complying with publishing association contract;
- b) Properly complying with content of manuscripts which have been signed for approval by the General Director (Director) for printing or release on electronic media.
- c) Specifying name and address on publications as prescribed at Point b, Clause 1 and Point b, Clause 2, Article 27 of this Law;
- d) Nộp xuất bản phẩm liên kết để nhà xuất bản nộp lưu chiểu Submitting associated publications for the publisher to deposit copyright;
- e) Spending on release of associated publications after the General Director (Director) has signed the publishing decision;
- f) Performing the correction, suspension from release, recovery or destruction of publications at the request of the competent state agencies;
- g) Taking responsibility before law for the publishing association activities and associated publications;

**Article 24. Content of works and materials to be assessed before re-printing.**

The following works and materials whose contents have violating signs of provisions of Clause 1, Article 10 of this Law, the publisher must assess them before registering publishing for re-printing.

1. The works and materials were published before August Revolution of 1945; the works and materials were published from 1945 to 1954 in the temporarily occupied areas;
2. The works and materials were published from 1954 to April 30, 1975 in South Vietnam not licensed by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam
3. The works and materials are published abroad.

**Article 25. Issuing non-commercial publishing license**

1. The publishing of non-commercial materials not made through publisher must be issued publishing license of non-commercial materials by the following state management agencies on the publishing activities:

- a) The Ministry of Information and Communications shall issue publishing license of non-commercial materials of agencies and organizations in the central and foreign organizations;
- b) Provincial-level People's Committee shall issue publishing license of non-commercial materials of the other agencies and organizations with legal status, branches, representative offices at localities of the central agencies and organizations.

2. The non-commercial materials must be consistent with the functions and duties of the agencies and organizations requesting issuance of publishing license.
3. The Government specifies list of non-commercial materials which shall be issued publishing license.
4. The agencies and organizations requesting the issuance of publishing license of non-commercial materials shall prepare dossier and send it to the State management agencies on the publishing activities specified in clause 1 of this Article and make payment of fee of material content assessment for licensing. The dossier includes:
  - a) Application for licensing;
  - b) Three copies of material manuscript. In case the materials are in foreign language, there must be a Vietnamese translation attached. For materials to be electronically published, the entire content must be saved into digital device.
  - c) Certified copy of license of operation issued by the competent State management agencies of Vietnam for foreign organizations.
5. Within 15 days from the date of receipt of complete dossier, the State management agencies on publishing activities specified in Clause 1 of this Article shall issue the publishing license, seal on three copies of material manuscript and keep one copy and return two copies to the organization requesting the licensing. In case of licensing failure, there must be a written reply clearly stating the reasons.
6. Organizations or agencies issued publishing license of non-commercial materials shall:
  - a) Comply with the issued license;
  - b) Ensure the contents of publishing materials are in accordance with the material manuscripts which are licensed;
  - c) Specify information on publications in accordance with Article 27 of this Law;
  - d) Submit legal deposit and to National Library of Vietnam as prescribed in Article 28 of this Law.
  - e) Implement the correction, suspension from release, revocation or destruction of publishing materials upon requirement of the competent State authorities;
  - f) Take responsibility before law for the published materials.

**Article 26. Publishing works and materials of foreign organizations or individuals in Vietnam.**

1. The publishing of works and materials of foreign organizations or individuals for business in Vietnam must be implemented by the Vietnamese publishers.
2. The publishing of non-commercial works and materials of foreign organizations or individuals in Vietnam is not implemented via Vietnamese publisher shall comply with provisions of Article 25 of this Law.

**Article 27. Information specified on publications**

1. On publications in the form of books, there must be the following information:
  - a) Name of book, author or compiler and editor (if any), full name of translator (for translated books), transcriber (if the book is transcribed from Nom language); name of publisher or the agency or organization which are issued publishing license;
  - b) Name and address of the organization, full name of individual of publishing association (if any); full name of reviser (if any); year of publication, the ordinal number of the series. For translated book, there must include original name. If translated from a language other than the original language, the original language must be specified;
  - c) Name and title of General Director (Director) responsible for publishing; full name and title of Chief Editor responsible for the content; full name of editor; frame and size of book, publishing registration

confirmation number, publishing decision number of the Director General (director) of the publisher or publishing license number of state management agencies on publishing activities; full name of presenter and illustrator, technical editor, printing corrector, printing number; name and address of the printing establishment, time of copyright deposit; International Standard Book Number (ISBN);

d) For commercial books, specify retail prices. For books ordered by the State specify "Book ordered by the State". For non-commercial books, specify "Not for sale".

2. On publications which are not books, the following information must be specified:

a) Name of publication, publisher or organization or agency which are allowed for publishing.

b) Name and address of the organization or individual name associated published (if any); confirm registration publishing, publishing of the decision of the Director General (Director) publisher or publishing license number of the State management agencies on publishing activities, printing number, name and address of the printing establishment.

c) For commercial publications, specify retail price; for publications ordered by the State, specify "Publication ordered by the State"; for non-commercial publications, specify "Not for sale".

3. Information specified in Clause 1 of this Article must be written on the front book cover and no further information required; information specified at Point c, Clause 1 of this Article must be written on the same page; the information specified in Clause 1 of this Article must be written on the fourth book cover.

4. The General Director (Director) of the publisher shall make decision on places for information record specified at Point b, Clause 1 on the publication, unless otherwise specified in Clause 6 of this Article.

5. For electronic publications, in addition to all the information specified in Clause 1 and 2 of this Article, there must also be information on management of electronic publication as prescribed by the Minister of Information and Communications.

6. In case the 1<sup>st</sup> book cover has image of the national flag, national emblem, registration of Vietnamese map, portrait of leader and head of the Party and the State, the name of author, compiler, chief editor, full name of translator and transcriber on the background of that image or portrait.

**Article 28. Submitting legal deposit publication and submitting publication to National Library of Vietnam**

1. All publications must be deposited their copyrights with the State management agencies on publishing activities at least 10 days before release. The legal deposit of publications shall comply with the following provisions:

a) Publishers or agencies, organizations which are issued the publishing license by the Ministry of Information and Communications must submit three copies to the Ministry of Information and Communications. In case the printing number is less than three hundred copies, two copies shall be submitted;

b) Agencies, organizations which are issued the publishing license by the provincial-level People's Committee shall submit two copies to the provincial People's Committee and one copy to the Ministry of Information and Communications; In case the printing number is less than three hundred copies, one copy shall be submitted to the provincial-level People's Committee and one copy to the Ministry of Information and Communications;

c) For publications reprinted without correction and supplementation, one copy shall be submitted to the Ministry of Information and Communications. In case of correction and supplementation, the provisions at Points a and b of this Clause shall apply;

d) Publications with content of State secret as prescribed by law only submit delaration of copyright deposit;

e) The Minister of Information and Communications shall specify procedures for submitting legal deposit publications.

2. Within 45 days from the date of publications are released, the publishers, agencies and organizations with publishing permission must submit three copies to the National Library. In case the printing number is less than three hundred copies, two copies shall be submitted.

**Article 29. Reading and examination of legal deposit publications and competence to handle violations of publications**

1. The Ministry of Information and Communications shall organize the reading and examination of legal deposit publications and make decision on the handling of violating publication under the provisions of this Law and other provisions of the relevant law.

2. Provincial-level People's Committee shall organize the reading and examination of legal deposit publications and make decision on the handling of violating publication under the provisions of this Law and other provisions of the relevant law for the publications whose publishing licenses are issued by them.

3. The Minister of Information and Communications shall assume the prime responsibility and coordinate with the Minister of Finance to develop regulation on remuneration for the reader and checker, appraiser of legal deposit publications.

**Article 30. Advertising on publications**

1. No permission for advertising on administrative map.

2. Advertising on bloc calendar shall comply with the following regulations:

a) Area for advertising does not exceed 20% of area of each calendar page; the advertising content and images must match the Vietnamese fine traditions and the other provisions of the law on advertising;

b) No permission for advertising on calendar pages printing National holidays and large anniversaries of the country.

3. The advertising on publications not specified in Clause 1 and 2 of this Article shall comply with regulations of law on advertising.

**Chapter 3.**

**PUBLICATION PRINTING FIELD**

**Article 31. Activities of publication printing establishments**

1. Printing establishments are only allowed for printing of publications after having been issued license of publication printing.

2. Printing establishments are only allowed for receiving the printing as prescribed in Article 33 of this Law.

**Article 32. Issuance, renewal, re-issuance and revocation of license of publication printing operation**

1. Conditions for issuing license of publication printing operation include:

a) The head of the printing establishment must be Vietnamese citizens residing in Vietnam; having profession of publication printing management and meeting other criteria as prescribed by law;

b) Having production ground and equipment to perform one or more stages of print-out, printing and processing and post-printing of publication;

c) Ensuring conditions for security, order, environmental hygiene as prescribed by the law;

d) Being consistent with the planning of publication printing establishment network development.

2. Dossier to request license of publication printing operation:

a) Application for issuing license of of publication printing operation under prescribed form;



- b) Certified copy of one of the business registration certificate, business registration certificate, investment certificate or decision on printing establishment;
  - c) Papers evidencing the possession of production ground and equipment to carry out one of the stages of print-out, printing and processing and post-printing of publication;
  - d) Resume of the head of the printing establishment under prescribed form;
  - e) Certified copy of diploma granted by the printing training specialized establishment or Certificate of publication printing operation management profession granted by the Ministry of Information and Communications;
  - f) Certified copy of the certificate of eligibility for security and public order and environmental hygiene issued by competent state agencies.
3. Competence to issue license of publication publishing operation:
- a) The Ministry of Information and Communications shall issue license to printing establishments of the agencies and organizations at the central level;
  - b) Provincial-level People's Committee shall issue license to the local printing establishments.
4. Within 15 days from the date of receiving complete and valid dossier, the State management agencies on publishing activities specified in Clause 3 of this Article shall issue license of publication publishing operation. In the absence of issuance of license, there must be written reply stating the reason.
5. License of publication publishing operation shall be re-issued on case of loss or damage.
6. Within 15 days from the date when the printing establishment has one of the changes of name, address, branch establishment, division or merger, the printing establishment must make procedures for renewal of license of publication publishing operation.
7. Within 15 days from the date of the change of the head, the printing establishment shall notify in writing to the agency issuing license of publication publishing operation and enclose dossier as specified at points d and e, Clause 2 of this Article.
8. The license of publication publishing operation shall be revoked in the following cases:
- a) The publication printing establishment does not satisfy conditions specified at Points a, b and c, Clause 1 of this Article in the operation process.
  - b) The printing establishment has changes specified in Clause 6 of this Article without making procedures for change of license.
9. The Minister of Information and Communications shall specify the procedures for issuance, renewal, re-issuance and revocation of license of printing, certificate of publication printing operation management profession.

**Article 33. Conditions for receiving of publication printing**

1. The receiving of publication printing shall be implemented in accordance with the following provisions:
- a) For publications made through the publisher, there must be publishing decision (the original) and the manuscript signed for approval of the General Director (Director) of the publisher;
  - b) For non-commercial materials of Vietnamese organizations and agencies and foreign organizations not done through the publisher, there must be publishing license (the original) and the stamped manuscript of the licensing agency specified in Article 25 of this Law;
  - c) For publications printed for foreign countries, there must be a printing license and publication templates for printing with the seal of the licensing agencies provided for in Article 34 of this Law.

2. The publication printing must be made into contract in accordance with the law between the printing establishment with the publisher or agency or organization which is issued the license of non-commercial material publishing.

3. The number of publications printed must be shown in the contract and in accordance with the publishing decision or publishing license of non-commercial materials.

**Article 34. Printing publications for foreign organizations or individuals**

1. The printing establishment with license of publication printing operation specified in Article 32 of this Law shall be allowed for printing publications for foreign organizations or individuals;

The publication printing for foreign organizations or individuals must be licensed by the Ministry of Information and Communications or the provincial-level People's Committees.

2. The content of publications printed for foreign countries must not violate the provisions of Clause 1, Article 10 of this Law.

3. Dossier to request issuance of license includes:

a) Application for issuance of printing license for foreign organizations or individuals is under prescribed form;

b) Two sample copies of publication for printing;

c) Certified copy of license of publication printing operation;

d) Certified copy of contract of publication printing for foreign organizations or individuals. In case the contract is in foreign language, the Vietnamese translation version must be enclosed.

e) A copy of valid passport of the person ordering the printing or power of attorney, identity card of the authorized person ordering the printing.

4. Within 10 days from the date of receiving complete and valid dossier, the Ministry of Information and Communications or the provincial-level People's Committees shall issue license and stamp the two sample copies and return one copy to the printing establishment. In the absence of issuance of license, there must be a written reply clearly stating the reasons.

5. Director of printing establishment shall take responsibility before law for the printing of publications. Organizations and individuals ordering the printing shall responsibility for the copyright for publications to be ordered with the printing.

6. Publications printed for foreign organizations and individuals must be exported 100%. In case released and used in Vietnam, the procedures for publication import prescribed by this Law.

**Article 35. Responsibility of the head of publication printing establishment**

1. Implementing the provisions of Articles 31, 32, 33 and clauses 1, 2, 4 and 5 of Article 34 of this Law; storing and managing dossier of publication printing receiving as prescribed by the Minister of Information and Communications.

2. Making report on publication printing activities of printing establishment on the requirement of the State management agencies on publishing activities.

3. Participating in training courses of publication printing operation management profession held by State management agencies on publishing activities.

4. Upon detection of publications with content violations specified in Clause 1, Article 10 of this Law, the printing establishment must stop printing and report to the competent state management agencies, at the same time notify the publisher, agencies, organizations and individuals which order the printing.

5. Taking responsibility before law for the publication printing activities of the printing establishment.

**Chapter 4.**

## **PUBLICATION RELEASE FIELD**

### **Article 36. Activities of publication release**

1. The establishment of publication release includes enterprise, public non-business units and household of publications (hereafter referred to as releasing establishment)

Publishers are allowed for setting up establishment of publication release.

2. The releasing establishments are enterprises, public non-business units must register operation register with state management agencies on publishing activities as prescribed in Clause 1, Article 37 of this Law.

3. Operating conditions for releasing establishments which are enterprises, public non-business units;

a) The head of releasing establishment must reside in Vietnam, having diploma or certificate of professional knowledge on the publication release issued by the establishment of training and fostering of specialized publication release;

b) Having one of the following certificates: business registration certificate, business registration certificate or decision on establishment of public non-business unit in accordance with the law;

c) Having business location of publication;

4. Operating conditions for releasing establishment as business household:

a) Householder must permanently reside in Vietnam;

b) Having business registration certificate;

c) Having business location of publications.

### **Article 37. Registration of publication releasing operation.**

1. Before operation, the releasing establishment as enterprise, public non-business unit must register the publication releasing operation with the State management agencies on the publishing activities in accordance with the following provisions:

a) The releasing establishment has its headquarters and branches in two centrally-affiliated provinces and cities or more and register operation with the Ministry of Information and Communications;

b) The releasing establishment has its headquarters and branches in the same one centrally-affiliated province and city and register operation with the provincial-level People's Committee.

2. The Minister of Information and Communications shall regulate procedures and dossier for registration of publication releasing operation.

### **Article 38. Issuance license of publication import business operation**

1. Domestic and foreign organizations and individuals are allowed to import publications into Vietnam in accordance with Vietnamese law and international agreements in which the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a member.

2. Establishment with the publication import business operation (hereafter referred to as importer of publications establishment) must have license of publication import business operation issued by the Ministry of Information and Communications;

3. Conditions for issuance of license of publication import business operation

a) Having one of the business registration certificates, business registration certificate, investment certificate under the provisions of law;

b) The head of importer of publications must permanently reside in Vietnam and have diploma issued by establishment of specialized training or certificate of knowledge fostering of publication releasing profession issued by the Ministry of Information and Communications;

c) Having staff capable of evaluating the book content in case of business of imported books.

4. Dossier to request the issuance of license of publication import business operation includes:

- a) Application for issuance of license of publication import business operation;
- b) Certified copy of one of the types of paper specified at Point a, clause 3 of this Article;
- c) The curriculum vitae of the head of the importer of publications together with certified copy of diplomas or certificates prescribed at Point b, Clause 3 of this Article;
- d) List of assessment staff of book content in case of business of imported books

5. Within 30 days from the date of receipt of dossier for license, the Ministry of Information and Communications shall issue license of publication import business operation. In the absence of issuance of license, there must be written reply clearly stating the reasons.

6. The Government stipulates in detail this Article.

**Article 39. Registration of publication import for business**

1. The publication import for business shall be done by the importer of publications.

2. Before importing, the importer of publications shall prepare dossier of import registration and send it to the Ministry of Information and Communications and pay the fee as prescribed by law. The Minister of Information and Communications shall detail the dossier for registration of publication import.

3. Within 15 days from the date of receipt of dossier for registration of publication import, the Ministry of Information and Communications shall confirm the registration in writing. In the absence of registration confirmation, there must be written reply clearly stating the reasons.

4. Where there is a change of information in the dossier for registration of publication import, the importer of publications must have written report on the content of the changed information, and register new information (if any) with the Ministry of Information and Communications to confirm additional registration.

5. The written confirmation of registration of the Ministry of Information and Communications is a legal foundation for the importer of publications to make importing procedures with the customs authorities and is valid until completion of the importing procedures.

6. In case of detection of contents of imported publications with violating signs of Vietnamese law, the Ministry of Information and Communications has the right to refuse confirmation of registration for publication import or request assessment of content of those publications before the confirmation of importing registration.

**Article 40. Responsibility of the head of establishment of publication release**

1. Implementing the provisions of Articles 36, 37, 38 and 39 of this Law in the course of operation.

2. Complying with the license of publication import operation, certificate of publication import registration; complying with the contents of publication release registration.

3. Making report on the operation of the release establishment and publication import establishment at the request of the State management agencies on publishing activities.

4. Not being allowed for storing and releasing publications with contents specified in Clause 1, Article 10 of this Law, publications having no receipts and documents showing the legal origin or suspended from release, revoked, confiscated, banned from circulation or destroyed; Not being allowed for carrying on business of non-commercial publications, publications printed for foreign countries.

5. Stopping the release and import of publications and making report to the competent state agencies in case of detection of publications with contents specified in Clause 1, Article 10 of this Law.

6. For importer of publications, the head shall organize assessment of content of imported publications before release and take responsibility before law for imported publications.

7. Participating in courses of training on legal knowledge of publication held by State management agencies on publishing activities.

8. Taking responsibility before law for activities of publication release establishment and importer of publications

**Article 41. Issuing license of non-commercial publications import**

1. The import of non-commercial publications of Vietnamese agencies, organizations and individuals and foreign organizations operating in Vietnam, foreign individuals residing in Vietnam must be issued import license, , except where provided for in Article 42 of this Law and shall pay a fee as prescribed by law.

2. Before importing non-commercial, agencies, organizations and individuals must prepare dossier to request issuance of import license under prescribed form as follows:

a) Agencies and organizations at the central level, the Hanoi-based foreign organizations based shall send dossiers to the Ministry of Information and Communications or the Hanoi People's Committee;

b) Agencies and other organizations and Vietnamese individuals and foreign individuals shall send their dossiers to the provincial-level People's Committee where they have headquarters or where there is border gate through which publications are imported.

3. Dossier to request issuance of license of non-commercial publications import includes:

a) Application for issuance of license under prescribed form.

b) List of imported publications under prescribed form.

4. Within 15 days from the date of receipt of complete dossier, the competent state management agencies shall issue license. In the absence of issuance of license, there must be written reply clearly stating the reasons.

5. In case of detection of imported publications with violating signs of Vietnamese law, the state management agencies on publishing activities have the right to refuse to issue import license or require agencies and organizations and individuals applying for import license to provide a copy of publication for organizing assessment of content as the basis for the decision on issuance of import license.

6. The assessment of publication content with violating signs of Vietnamese law for making a decision on issuance of non-business import license shall be carried out as follows:

a) The import licensing agency shall establish the assessment board for each publication within 15 days from the date of receipt of imported publications for assessment. The board includes qualified experts for assessment;

b) The assessment time for each publication shall not exceed 09 working days from the date the assessment board is established;

c) Result of assessment must be made in writing specifying the content of publication with or without violation of the provisions of this Law and other provisions of the relevant law.

7. The Minister of Information and Communications details the assessment of imported publications, coordinates with the Minister of Finance to prescribe the expenditure of content assessment of imported publications.

**Article 42. Cases where import of non-commercial publications without request of license issuance**

1. Agencies, organizations and individuals who shall not request issuance of license of non-commercial publications but only make procedures prescribed by customs law in the case of import of the following publications:

a) Materials for workshops, international conferences in Vietnam which are licensed by the Vietnamese competent agencies for organization;

- b) Publication is the property of agency, organization, family and individual for private use.
- c) Publication in the luggage of person upon entry used for personal needs;
- d) Publications donated to agencies, organizations and individuals by mail, delivery service at value not exceeding the exemption standard under the provisions of law.

2. The import of publications of agencies, organizations and individuals enjoying diplomatic privileges and immunities shall comply with the provisions of the customs law, the law on privileges and immunities for diplomatic representative agencies, foreign consular agencies and representative offices of international organizations in Vietnam and international agreements in which Vietnam is a member.

3. Publications specified at Points a and b, Clause 1 of this Article, must be re-exported after use. In case transferred to other agencies, organizations and individuals in Vietnam, the agencies, organizations and individuals receiving shall make import procedures as prescribed in Article 41 of this Law.

Publications specified at Points c and d, Clause 1 of this Article if having value exceeding the standard of tax exemption shall be made procedures for issuance of import license as provided for in Article 41 of this Law.

Publications specified in Clause 1 of this Article shall not be traded in any form.

4. Agencies, organizations and individuals must take responsibility before law for publications they import.

5. Publications with content in violation of Clause 1, Article 10 of this Law shall not be brought into Vietnam in any form.

#### **Article 43. Export of publications**

Publications were published and circulated legally in Vietnam are exported to foreign countries.

#### **Article 44. Publication exhibitions and fairs**

1. The organization of publication exhibitions and fairs in Vietnam of Vietnamese and foreign agencies, organizations and individuals must be licensed by the state management agencies on publishing activities.

2. Competence to issue license for organization of publication exhibitions and fairs.

a) The Ministry of Information and Communications shall issue license to the agencies and organizations at the central level, the foreign agencies, organizations and individuals;

b) Provincial-level People's Committees shall issue license to the agencies, organizations and individuals with their headquarters at locality, branches, representative offices and units of agencies, organizations at central level located at locality.

3. Dossier to request issuance of license of organization of publication exhibitions and fairs includes:

a) Application for issuance of license clearly stating purposes, time, locations and name of units participating in exhibition and fair.

b) List of publications for exhibition and fair as under the prescribed form.

4. Within 10 working days from the date of receipt of complete dossier, the competent authority specified in Clause 2 of this Article shall issued license for organization of publication exhibitions and fairs. In the absence of issuance of license, there must be a written reply clearly stating the reasons.

5. Agencies, organizations and individuals that are issued license to organize exhibitions, fairs and publications shall:

a) Comply with the contents specified in the license.



- b) Examine and assess the publication content before exhibition, introduction, and release at exhibitions and fairs;
  - c) Do not introduce into exhibitions, fairs the publications with contents specified in Clause 1, Article 10 of this Law; publications were suspended from release, revoked, confiscated, banned from circulation, destroyed or publications without receipts, documents showing legal origin;
  - d) Take responsibility before law for the publication content introduced into exhibitions and fairs and activities of exhibitions and fairs of publications.
6. State management agencies on publishing activities may refuse to issue license for organization of publication exhibitions and fairs or request organizations and individuals requesting issuance of license to take the following publications out of the list of publications:
- a) Publications for exhibitions and fairs with violating signs of provisions in Article 10 of this Law.
  - b) Publications for exhibitions and fairs without legal origin;
  - c) Publications were suspended from release, revoked, confiscated, banned from circulation and destroyed.

#### **Chapter 5.**

### **PUBLISHING AND RELEASE OF ELECTRONIC PUBLICATIONS**

#### **Article 45. Conditions for publishing and release of electronic publications**

1. The electronic publishing shall be done by the publisher, organization or agency, having license of non-commercial material publishing and must comply with the provisions of this Law.

The publisher shall perform electronic publishing upon meeting the following conditions:

- a) Having capacity of equipment, technology and technical personnel to operate and manage the process of electronic publishing;
- b) Having technical measures in accordance with the provisions of state management agencies to prevent duplication and illegal interference in the content of publications;
- c) Having Vietnamese internet domain as prescribed by the law to carry out electronic publishing on the Internet;
- d) Having registered electronic publishing activities with the state management agencies on electronic publishing activities.

2. Agencies, organizations and individuals performing the release of electronic publishing must meet the following conditions:

- a) Having capacity of equipment, technology and technical personnel to operate and manage the process of release of electronic publications;
- b) Having technical measures in accordance with the provisions of state management agencies to prevent duplication, illegal interference in the content of publications;
- c) Having Vietnamese internet domain as prescribed by the law to carry out electronic release of electronic publications on the Internet;
- d) Having registered activities of electronic publication release with the state management agencies on publishing activities.

#### **Article 46. Method to perform publishing and release of electronic publications.**

1. Works and materials published for the first time by the method of electronic publishing through publisher or must be issued publishing license by the state management agencies on publishing as provided for in Article 25 of this Law.

2. Publications were published, printed and released legally shall be released on electronic media.

3. The publication and release of electronic publications specified in clause 1 and 2 of this Article shall be made only after obtaining the written approval of the author, the copyright owner under the provisions of law on intellectual property rights.

4. The transformation of electronic publications to printed publications for dissemination to multiple recipients must comply with the provisions of this Law and the law on intellectual property.

**Article 47. Technique and technology for publishing and release of electronic publications**

Agencies, organizations and individuals publishing and releasing electronic publications shall:

1. Comply with technical regulations and technical guidance of the State management agency for electronic publications;

2. Comply with the provisions of the law on telecommunications, information technology, e-commerce, e-transactions and other provisions of the relevant law.

**Article 48. Submitting legal deposit of electronic publication and to National Library of Vietnam.**

1. Publishers and organizations issued license of non-commercial material publishing shall submit legal deposit of electronic publications to the State management agencies on publishing activities as stipulated in Article 28 of this Law and submit electronic publications to National Library of Vietnam.

2. State management agencies on publishing only use electronic publications legally deposited deposited in service of their management.

3. National Library of Vietnam shall archive and only use electronic publications in service of readers at the National Library of Vietnam as prescribed by law.

**Article 49. Advertising on electronic publications**

The advertising on electronic publications shall comply with the following provisions:

1. Do not advertise in the content or disrupt content of electronic publications in any form;

2. Implementing the provisions of the law on advertising and other provisions of the relevant law.

**Article 50. Responsibility of agencies, organizations and individuals publishing and releasing electronic publications**

1. Publisher, General Director (Director), editor, Chief Editor of the publisher are responsible for:

a) Implementing the provisions of Articles 18, 29, 22, 22, 23, 24, 27, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49 and 52 of this Law;

b) Ensuring the contents of electronic publications to be released in accordance with the contents of electronic publications legally deposited;

c) Implementing technical measures to prevent interference in the content of publications or to remove illegal publications at the request of competent state agencies;

d) Stopping the release of publications at the request of the State management agencies on publishing activities;

e) Examining and monitoring associated publications

2. Associated partner of publishing shall:

a) Implement the provisions of Articles 23, 45, 46, 47 and 49 of this Law;

b) Comply with the contents of the manuscripts which have been signed for approval by the General Director (Director) of publisher;

c) Implement technical measures to prevent interference in the content of publications or to remove illegal publications at the request of competent state agencies;

d) Stop the release of publications at the request of the State management agencies on publishing activities.

3. Agencies, organizations, or individuals releasing publications shall:

a) Comply with the provisions of Article 46 of this Law and Points b, c and d, Clause 2 of this Article;

b) Comply with the written approval of the author and the copyright owner;

c) Take responsibility before law for the release of electronic publications.

4. Agencies and organizations which are issued license of non-commercial materials shall:

a) Comply with the provisions of Clause 6, Article 25 of this Law;

b) Implement technical measures to prevent possible interference in the content of publications or remove publication with violations at the request of competent state agencies.

5. Enterprises providing intermediary services on the Internet environment and telecom network in Vietnam shall:

a) Implement the provisions at Points c and d, Clause 2 of this Article;

b) Implement the provisions of the law on intellectual property or request agencies, organizations and individuals using services must comply with the regulations on intellectual property rights upon release of electronic publications.

#### **Article 51. Import of electronic publications**

Establishment of release and import of electronic publications for business or dissemination must be issue license by the state management agencies on publishing activities under the provisions of this Law and other provisions of the relevant law.

#### **Article 52. Detailed regulation on publishing and release of electronic publications**

The Government stipulates in detail the activities of publishing and release of electronic publications to suit each stage of technological development.

### **Chapter 6.**

#### **IMPLEMENTATION PROVISIONS**

#### **Article 53. Effect**

This Law takes effect from July 1, 2013 and supersedes the Publishing Law No. 30/2004/QH11 amended and supplemented by a number of articles of Law No. 12/2008/QH12.

#### **Article 54. Detailed regulation and implementation guidance**

Government, the competent authority shall detail and guide the implementation of Articles and Clauses stated in the Law.

This Law was passed by the 8<sup>th</sup> National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam 4<sup>th</sup> session on November 20, 2012.

**CHAIRMAN OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

**Nguyen Sinh Hung**

## Appendix-V

### Workers Vanguard Newspaper Article

# Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam

John Sharpe

## Part I

*[Editors' Note: This article is little more than a sketch of the history of Vietnamese Trotskyism. Only a brief account of the movement and sporadic issues of its newspapers are available to us at this time. Nevertheless, the facts that are known serve to underline doubly the historic importance of the struggle for the Marxist program of permanent revolution, the struggle to resolve what Leon Trotsky referred to as the "crisis of revolutionary leadership." The price of Stalinist betrayals is measured not only by their deliberate murder of hundreds of Trotskyist militants in the aftermath of the September 1945 massacre (which the latter helped lead and the former helped defeat), but also by the subsequent deaths of more than two million Vietnamese workers and peasants in their heroic battle against French and U.S. imperialism. Most of these could have been avoided if the Stalinists, and in the first instance Ho Chi Minh, had not been able to sell out the struggle of crucial periods with their policies of appeasement of the bourgeoisie.]*

As was the case throughout the world, the Trotskyist movement in Vietnam was forged in the struggle against the errors and betrayals of the Stalinists. However, unlike most other areas, the Vietnamese supporters of the Fourth International succeeded in achieving a mass base during the late 1930's. In fact, both of the competing groups claiming to be Trotskyist were publishing daily newspapers before or just after World War II.

Nevertheless, both groups, the centrist La Lutte group led by Ta Thu Thau, and the more leftist International Communist League (the October group) led by Ho Hui Tuong, were paralyzed by French repression and ultimately decapitated by the Stalinists. These defeats were in part the result of certain erroneous policies, notably a tendency toward perpetual united fronts with the Stalinists and a failure to draw a sharp line against popular fronts. We honor the memory of these martyrs and their determined battle against French colonialism and against reformism in the workers movement, but we must also learn from their mistakes.

### Formation of the Indochinese Communist Party

The history of the Vietnamese Stalinist movement is inseparably bound up with the life of Nguyen Ai Quoc (later known as Ho Chi Minh), its founder and principal leader.

He emerged as one of the leaders of the Communist International in the Far East after his journey to Moscow in 1923 as the delegate of the French CP to the "Peasant International" and his participation in the Fifth Congress of the Comintern, where he delivered a report on the colonial question. An important factor in his development was the fact that he became involved in the Comintern only after it had already begun to degenerate seriously under the Stalin-Zinoviev leadership. The "Peasant International," for example, was one of Zinoviev's more dubious maneuvers, designed to seduce populist peasant leaders such as the Croatian Radich into support for Russia. Not only was it a phantom organization from the beginning, but it was necessarily based on Stalin's policies of the "democratic dictatorship of the peasantry and proletariat." For Marxists, who seek to organize the workers' international, there could be no question of building a peasants' international, that is, of organizing another class.

Nguyen Ai Quoc also participated in the "Intercolonial Union," which included several

left bourgeois nationalists from the Middle East, hardly a model of communist organization. Thus it is not surprising that when he reached Canton in 1925 as an associate of Borodin (chief Comintern representative in China at the time) he set up not a communist party, but instead a socialist-oriented nationalist grouping, the Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth Association (Viet Nam Cach Meuh Thanh Nien Hoi, or Thanh Nien for short).

This was the kind of "Marxism" which Nguyen Ai Quoc learned from Stalin, who at the time was instructing the Chinese Communist Party to liquidate itself into Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, turning over membership lists and even arms to these "anti-imperialists." Shortly after Stalin made him an honorary member of the Communist International, Chiang turned on his Communist allies and butchered thousands of militant workers in Shanghai in April 1927.

Despite this graphic object lesson in the consequences of opportunist policies (as a result of which he had to leave first Canton

and then later Hankow also), Nguyen Ai Quoc refused to learn. Thus for the first several years the Thanh Nien concentrated on consummating a fusion (which never came off) with the strictly bourgeois Revolutionary Party of New Vietnam (the Tan Viet). At the first congress of the Thanh Nien in May 1929, his supporters on the presiding committee obstinately opposed the formation of an explicitly communist party. A minority, small (3 out of 17 delegates) but influential (it was the entire delegation from the interior), walked out of the congress and set up the Indochinese Communist Party (Don Duong Cong San Dang), sharply condemning the Thanh Nien leadership as petty-bourgeois nationalists.<sup>1</sup>

The new party experienced immediate success, appearing to the masses as the more revolutionary of the two, so in August the Thanh Nien switched gears and set up the Vietnamese Communist Party (Annam Cong



In a report to the French Colonial Council in October 1937, the Governor of Cochinchina wrote: "The political character of these strikes is even more apparent than with those at the beginning of the year. Long and careful preparation, breaking out suddenly, tendentious articles in the newspapers LA LUTTE and LE MILITANT, creation of strike funds, support coming from workers of other companies with the purpose of demonstrating working class solidarity...."

—from "Action Program," LA LUTTE, No. 213, 14 April 1939

1. Fight against war preparations, break the blockade which is strangling the Chinese revolution and favoring Japanese imperialism through mass action, through boycotting Japanese merchandise.
  2. For direct action to force promulgation of social legislation in Indochina: a 40-hour law, collective bargaining, control over hiring and firing, sliding scale of wages.
  3. Against the fascists, form action committees in factories, the civil service and the army to throw out fascist personnel and have them fired.
  4. Against the Stalinists who preach "voluntary" submission! Popularize the slogan: "Unconditional National Independence."
  5. Build real alliances of workers, peasants and the middle classes in action committees, in factories, in neighborhoods, among peasants and soldiers to prepare for the workers and peasants government, to expropriate the capitalists and feudals and to assure the well-being, peace and freedom for all workers—in factories, offices, fields, commerce and the army.
- Down with the Fascists, Capitalists and Feudalists!  
Down with the Stalinist Leaders, Lackeys of Imperialism!  
Long Live a May 1st Dedicated to Class Struggle!  
Long Live the Fourth International!

San Dang). This was in part the result of Stalin's "left turn" internationally (the so-called "Third Period"), as the Comintern had refused membership to the Thanh Nien, called for the formation of a unified CP and criticized the program of the Nguyen Ai Quoc faction. The unified party, also called the Indochinese Communist Party, was formed in October 1930 and affiliated to the Third International the following April.

The first Communist efforts were directed at spearheading a desperate peasants' revolt centering on central Vietnam during 1930-31. In the Annamese provinces of Ha Tinh and Nghe-An the ICP broke up the large estates and set up peasant "soviets" on the order of the border-region soviets set up by Mao in southeastern China during the period 1927-29. Like the latter, however, they were brutally liquidated by the government forces.

In contrast to its adventurist policies in the countryside, the CP tactics in the cities were restricted to "democratic" demands and "peaceful" demonstrations, thus leaving the masses unprepared for the bloody repression by the French colonial regime. Mercenary soldiers machine-gunned the defenseless masses, as the Foreign Legion terrorized the Annam peasant districts which had risen in revolt. The repression cost the lives of some 10,000 workers and peasants, with another 50,000 deported to the prisons at Poulo Condor. In June 1931 the Central Committee of the ICP was arrested in Saigon.

#### Formation of the Trotskyist Groups

It was in these circumstances that the two principal groups claiming to support Trotskyism were formed, the Nhom Thang Muoi (October) group and the La Lutte (Struggle) group. The International Communist League, usually called the October group after the name of its newspaper, *Thang Muoi*, was led by Ho Huu Tuong and founded in 1931. Due to the fact that it was illegal to publish left newspapers in Vietnamese, this group led a clandestine existence from 1931 to 1936 when the popular front led to a slight liberalization. It went over to a weekly legal French paper, *Le Militant*, in 1937, which, however, was prosecuted and then banned. They reverted to a semi-legal paper before beginning publication of what was probably the first daily Trotskyist paper in the world (Gerry Healy, please note), the *Tu Song* (Spark), in 1939. Due to its clandestine existence, its more leftist positions and the fact that its material was published mainly in Vietnamese, little is known about Ho Huu Tuong's group. What is known is that it opposed the united front between the Stalinists and the Thau group which lasted from 1933 to 1937.

The other group was centered around the person of Ta Thu Thau, a student returned from Paris who had been active in the Left Opposition in France. Its leadership had been arrested in August 1932 during the White Terror and tried in May 1933. However, some of the comrades were liberated in early 1933 and formed a united front with the Stalinists in Saigon led by Tran Van Giau in order to present working-class candidates in the May 1933 elections to the Saigon city council. Their official joint newspaper was called *La Lutte* (Struggle).

The coalition had an enormous electoral success. On the first ballot (of two rounds, as in France), the candidate of *La Lutte* with the least votes still received more votes than the leading bourgeois candidate. On the second

ballot, two working-class candidates were elected, the Stalinist Nguyen Van Tao and the Trotskyist Tran Van Trach. The coalition continued its existence and joint newspaper until 1937. The united front was limited to the legal activities, while the illegal organizations of both groups operated separately.

It is unclear whether this united front was simply a no-content pact, or involved joint propaganda around a lowest common denom-

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French tanks unloading in Haiphong, July 1939. In this period, Stalinist members of the Saigon city council voted for special military "defense" taxes.

inator program. If it were the latter, this would certainly represent an opportunist retreat from one of the basic principles of Leninism, the need for the independent organization of the vanguard. A common program obliterates the line between Bolshevism and centrism. In any case, by its very nature, a joint newspaper and an ongoing united front could only lead to political confusion in the minds of the masses and the cadre themselves. Why was there a division between Trotskyists and Stalinists if the two could work together for years, the workers would ask? Moreover, for a period at the beginning of the French popular front, the Stalinists monopolized the newspaper and thereby effectively suppressed the objections to this class-collaboration by the Ta Thu Thau group.

The Thang Muoi group of Ho Huu Tho, however, was opposed to any collaboration with the Stalinists and restricted itself to underground work in this period. To oppose limited joint actions directed against the bourgeoisie and the colonial regime, for instance common demonstrations or in certain circumstances a no-content agreement in elections, is to attempt to raise a Chinese wall between the revolutionaries and the workers in reformist or centrist organizations and to weaken the proletariat in its battle against the common class enemy. The united front tactic is a permissible "compromise" where it is possible to draw a class line. But things were quite different during the popular front.

#### The Popular Front

With the formation of the Radical-Socialist-Communist popular front in 1935, the Stalinists made a sharp turn to the right, forming their

own Indochinese popular front. They allied themselves not only with the Vietnamese section of the SFIO (Socialists), but with bourgeois nationalists such as Nguyen Pham Long and Bui Quang Chien, whom the joint Stalinist-Trotskyist *La Lutte* had bitterly denounced a few years earlier. Not content to form an alliance with the "progressive" comprador bourgeoisie, the ICP went even further and, according to the Stalinist historian Le Thanh

Khoi, "broadened" the popular front to include monarchist parties.<sup>1</sup>

Under Stalinist editorship, *La Lutte* greeted the appointment of the socialist Maurice Moutet as Colonial Minister of the popular front Blum government. A few short weeks after this welcome, Moutet telegraphed officials in Saigon (September 1936): "You will maintain public order by all legitimate and legal means, even by the prosecution of those who attempt to make trouble if this should prove necessary. . . . French order must reign in Indochina as elsewhere."<sup>2</sup> The Stalinist members of the Saigon city council went so far as to actually vote for military special taxes for "French national defense."<sup>3</sup> Clearly, such taxes could only be used directly against the Vietnamese peasants and workers, as indeed they were soon afterwards.

As the French historian Devillers put it, "in these conditions the break with the Trotskyists became inevitable." By allowing Tran Van Giau and the Stalinists control of the paper, the Ta Thu Thau group was able to continue the united front through the April 1937 elections, in which one Trotskyist (Thau) and two Stalinists (Nguyen Van Tao and Duong Bach Mai) were elected to Saigon city council on the joint ticket.

But in June 1937, the Trotskyists around Thau took editorial control of *La Lutte*, which assumed a distinctly different posture, fomenting strikes and mass protests, along with *Le Militant*, the legal paper of the Ho Huu Tuong group.

Thau launched the new line with an editorial entitled "The Popular Front of Treason," which got him two years in jail as a reward from the authorities.

During this time the Stalinists were concentrating their efforts on building an alliance with bourgeois constitutionalists, the "Indochinese Congress." Breaking out of the limited electoral campaigns (the eligible voters included only about 40,000 or roughly 1% of the adult population), the Trotskyists, in contrast, utilized the limited freedoms introduced by the Blum government to push mass agitation in strike movements, campaigns against the repression and in favor of the right to unionization, the *hétéro soir* of the colonialists. The Trotskyists also set up "action committees" of labor and peasant organizations, as did the Stalinists. Due to their success, especially in the Saigon area, these committees were rapidly banned and brutally repressed by the French governor. In the rural areas, *La Lutte* initiated agitation around the demand of "Land

continued on page 9

—from Ho Chi Minh, "The Party's Line in the Period of the Democratic Front," July 1939

1. For the time being, the Party cannot put forth too high a demand (national independence, parliament, etc.). To do so is to enter the Japanese fascists' scheme. It should only claim for democratic rights. . . .
2. To reach this goal, the Party must strive to organize a broad Democratic National Front. This Front does not embrace only Indochinese people but also progressive French residing in Indochina, not only toiling people but also the national bourgeoisie.
3. The Party must assume a wise, flexible attitude with the bourgeoisie, strive to draw it into the Front, win over the elements that can be won over and neutralize those which can be neutralized. We must by all means avoid leaving them outside the Front, lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy of the revolution and increase the strength of the reactionaries.
4. There cannot be any alliance with or any concession to the Trotskyist group. We must do everything possible to lay bare their faces as henchmen of the fascists and annihilate them politically. . . .



# Which Program for Auto Workers? Business Unionism vs. Class Struggle

Faced with a deteriorating competitive position internationally, the auto companies have been attempting to boost their profit margins through productivity drives combining fantastic speedup, long overtime hours and increased layoffs, further aided by the capitalist government's wage-freezing policies. Recent statements by various UAW officers, pledging "reasonable" bargaining and urging voluntary wage-price restraints for the upcoming contract, have the clear purpose of shackling auto workers to the companies' steamroller profit drive.

## Woodcock's Bargaining Program: Don't Tie Me Down

The Collective Bargaining Program, passed with only scattered opposition at the 22-23 March Detroit Bargaining Convention, pleads with management to agree with a "harmony clause" which defines the supposed identity of interests shared by the companies and the union. Despite its 43-page length, the program fails to include any hard bargaining proposals, leaving Woodcock and friends plenty of room to maneuver and sell out, as the bargaining proceeds.

On speedup, the program vaguely pledges to seek "further protection" in line with the UAW's "historic opposition to any attempt to speedup." This "historic opposition" is a complete fabrication since the UAW bureaucracy has consistently over the years allowed the companies total control over line speed, layoffs and working conditions, in exchange for a few cents an hour wage increase.

On overtime, the bureaucrats make a concession to the ranks by declaring that "what workers really want is that overtime be voluntary and not compulsory"—but then leave the backdoor open by emphasizing increased overtime rates, thus suggesting a settlement in which overtime would just cost the companies a bit more.

On wages, the program does not reject the UAW's traditional acceptance of company policies of tying wages to productivity increases plus cost of living raises, and simply suggests that current arithmetic in determining these factors may need "adjustment." Nowhere in this program does the Woodcock regime oppose the government's wage freeze (still in effect, even though price controls have been abolished), much less call for a struggle to break the controls. How could they, with Woodcock himself on the advisory board (and now the parallel board on National Industrial Peace, a polite phrase for strikebreaking and union-busting)?

On working conditions, which are so rapidly deteriorating, the program contains not one single demand, but instead vaguely calls for "management and the union to embark on a joint, cooperative endeavor in which they seek out and mutually implement the ways and means to achieve this next step in the democratization of the workplace—creating job satisfaction for the individual worker, to enhance the quality of work life and give it deeper meaning and significance."

The whole program of the bureaucrats is summed up neatly in their own words that "we will not go to the bargaining table in 1973 looking for a fight." This sweet talk for the companies means a sure sellout for auto workers.

## Class Struggle vs. Sellout

While UAW leaders prepare their cozy deals with the companies, auto-workers must face the rapidly deteriorating working conditions in the plants, the murderous speedup and compulsory overtime, the galloping inflation and the threat of unemployment in the recession already being predicted for the

coming fall. No cozy deals for the ranks! For the mass of the working class the only alternative to the sellout policies of the labor bureaucracy is a program of revolutionary struggle.

The conditions in the auto shops spontaneously throw up a number of demands as an instinctive reaction of self-defense. These include, for instance, strikes against the wage freeze, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, voluntary overtime, rapid settlement of grievances, lowering the line speed and including it in the contract and international strike action by autoworkers. In different combinations, such demands constitute the program of practically every opposition group in the UAW.

It is the duty of every class-conscious militant to resolutely lead the fight against the capitalists in strikes called on the basis of even such limited class demands. But as communists we must also explain that these demands are by themselves insufficient. Even with speeded-up grievance procedures, for instance, the ultimate power still remains with the company, which means constant harassment by foremen, attempts to increase the speed of production, arbitrary firings, etc. The situation urgently calls for raising the demand of workers control of production and the formation of factory committees to fight for this demand. Even "30 for 40" is only a concrete application of the demand for no layoffs, a sliding scale of wages and hours to provide work for all. Since the capitalists will naturally claim bankruptcy when faced with such demands, it is necessary to call for opening the books and for expropriation of the auto companies without compensation. Clearly such far-reaching demands cannot be won simply by militant plant struggles, and thus it is imperative to take the fight to the political level, by calling for a workers party based on the trade unions and for a workers government to implement such a program. All of these transitional demands start from the immediate conditions facing the workers in the shops, but point to the inescapable conclusion that to change the present dehumanizing conditions it is necessary to change the whole system under which we live. While supporting struggles around even the most minimal class demands, it is the duty of communists to widen the struggle, to raise transitional demands which lead to the achievement of the real answer to workers exploitation—socialist revolution. A trade-union program limited to simple trade-union demands, in contrast, is necessarily a reformist program, a program which in this epoch can only lead to defeat for the class.

The response of the American left to the crushing defeat planned for auto workers by the Big 3 and the UAW tops is virtually uniform. From the Stalinist CP, to the Maoists, to the social-democratic International Socialists, to the pseudo-Trotskyist Workers League there exists a remarkable consensus: Now is "not the time" for resolutely advancing a program of revolutionary transitional demands designed to break the auto ranks from their treacherous misleaders and prepare them for battle against both their employers and the capitalist state; rather, it is time to string together a hodge-podge of reformist demands restricted firmly within the framework of capitalism. This logic prepares virtually every left organization for capitulation to one or another wing of the trade-union bureaucracy or its would-be, look-alike replacements.

The trade-union work of any working-class tendency is a revealing index of its real character: Not only is it here that self-avowed revolutionary organizations present their face directly to the organized working class, but also it is

here that the day-to-day pressures toward accommodation and reformism are greatest. Particularly at contract time, pressures mount enormously "to fight for something we can win now." Most of the American left has predictably caved in to these pressures in the current UAW-Big 3 bargaining maneuvers.

## United National Caucus

The only visible national grouping inside the UAW aspiring to "dissident" status, the United National Caucus (UNC), proved itself to be completely impotent in the face of Woodcock's laundry list of ambiguous proposals. UNC co-chairman Pete Kelly spoke from the convention floor noting the "many good things in the bargaining resolution" but expressing skepticism that they would be won. He proceeded to key in on the blatantly class-collaboratorist "harmony clause." In effect, Kelly attempted to shame the leaders and delegates into opposing this clause, hinting how difficult it would be to defend it before the ranks, while ignoring the fact that it precisely defined the existing relationship between bureaucracy and company.

Edith Fox was the only other prominent UNC member to speak on the floor. She gave the typical "trade-union militant" speech, predicting a sellout in the bargaining process and calling for "workers control" over conditions. But an examination of what the UNC means by "workers control" is just one illustration of how radical phraseology receives reformist content in the mouths of opportunist.

Writing in 1931, Trotsky explained the revolutionary content of this demand:

"Workers control through factory councils is conceivable only on the basis of sharp class struggle, not collaboration. But this really means dual power in the enterprises, in the trusts, in all branches of industry, in the whole economy."  
—The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany

The UNC transforms "workers control" from a demand linked inextricably to the call for expropriation of industry and the construction of a workers government into a formal contractual reform, to be negotiated and enforced as if it were a pension proposal!

Thus both Kelly and Fox continued the UNC's apolitical brand of "militant trade unionism." Even the call for a congress of labor to build a labor party (albeit a proposal with no programmatic content aside from the UNC's reformist platform), passed at the UNC's February Production Workers' Conference, was not mentioned at the UAW Bargaining Convention. Just as at the 1972 UAW Convention, when the UNC submerged its "politics" (the call for a labor party and nominal opposition to the Vietnam war) in favor of a bloc with other caucuses to push for referendum election of International officers, the UNC again demonstrated its gross opportunism.

## International Socialists Support Aspiring Bureaucrats

The left social-democratic International Socialists (IS) is the most important "left" cover for the UNC. Having accomplished a turn from New Left middle-class radicalism, the IS is now the foremost bearer of "radical work-erism," a more proletarian-tinted version of its previous opportunist politics. Based on the belief that repeated struggle around shop-floor issues will lead the working class to socialist consciousness while simultaneously assuring its organization a "working-class character," the IS's theories comprise a contemporary re-creation of the revisionist theories of spontaneity, economism and trade-union

reformism that the Marxist movement has continually been forced to struggle against.

Indeed, to discuss the UNC's reformist program is to describe the IS's, for the IS raises no independent positions and limits its public differences with the UNC to tactful advice and polite criticism. Thus, *Workers' Power* No. 75 (30 March-12 April), reporting on the UAW Bargaining Convention, noted the UNC's "excellent alternative program of contract demands" but sighed that the UNC leadership was "unprepared" and without a "clear strategy for a fight against Woodcock."

## Communist Party and Progressive Labor

The Communist Party's approach to the UAW is characterized by a cringing cowardliness even surpassing the UNC and IS. Concerned lest it appear a counterposed leadership, the CP's repertoire of events in the UAW varies from slight criticism of Woodcock to glowing reports of his latest proposals to this or that Congressional Committee, masterfully transforming "objective reporting" into tact approval.

The CP's specific program for the upcoming contract was outlined in the 13 February *Daily World*. The only real points of note were the call for a permanent production workers council and the call for an end to overtime with 30 hours work for 40 hours pay.

The proposal for a permanent production workers council (also supported by the UNC and IS) is clearly meaningless without a struggle for an alternative UAW leadership based on a revolutionary program. The discovery of the "30 for 40" demand is relatively new for the CP. But with the incredible speedup and overtime in the auto plants, and with rising unemployment, the CP was forced to include this demand in its grab-bag, but only at the expense of robbing it of its essential revolutionary thrust, and turning it into a presumably "winable" reform.

This course is perfectly in line with the CP's "anti monopoly coalition" strategy: a strategy based on pressuring the liberal wing of the ruling class for a more peaceful, "kind," domesticated imperialism. The CP's recent "left turn" away from overt support to the Democratic Party is only a tactical ploy designed to increase its own role in managing a more "liberal" capitalist order. Its work in the trade unions continues to serve its real appetites: blocs with liberal bureaucrats and capitalists for the preservation of "peacefully coexisting" international capitalism.

The Progressive Labor Party (PL), caught in a period of organizational disintegration and rapid rightward retreat, has also latched onto "30 for 40" as a cure-all for the working class. The 22 March *Challenge* lists a multitude of issues confronting the auto workers on the eve of the Detroit Bargaining Convention (layoffs, speedup, inflation, working conditions, etc.) and proudly proclaims: "the answer to ALL these problems? UAW members in Workers Action Movement had one—Thirty Hours Work for Forty Hours Pay."

Like the CP, PL for years opposed the call for "30 for 40" as "Trotskyite" and "utopian." But seeking a single-issue gimmick to arouse its demoralized and confused members, who have been leaving PL in droves, it has now decided that this demand is really only a reform demand—the best reform demand. PL continually stresses that "30 for 40" is "possible" under capitalism, that some unions already have a shorter work week and that the capitalists could still make plenty of profits. Consequently, PL's supporters in the unions say they are for "32 for 40" or "36 for

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40" as well; there is no real difference to them.

### Workers League Defends Simple Trade Unionism

In contrast to the previously mentioned groups, the Workers League sports a facade of Trotskyism but only as a cover for its consistently opportunist appetites. Thus the WL calls for a labor party, but proposes that it be built by the present trade-union bureaucracy! Likewise it calls for a Marxist opposition in the unions, while at the same time proclaiming that the key issue is a 20% wage increase.

Earlier this year the WL set up the "Trade Union Alliance for a Labor Party" as a vehicle to coordinate its relatively sparse trade-union work. By its name the TUALP brings to mind the ill-fated "Trade Unionists for a Labor Party," set up by the WL in 1967. At that time, these "Trotskyists" vigorously opposed adopting motions (offered by the Spartacist League) which would give a revolutionary programmatic content to the call for a labor party. (The WL explicitly refused to include in the program any mention of opposition to racial oppression or the imperialist Vietnam war.)

True to form, at the February TUALP conference a program was adopted for a "National Auto Caucus" which contains not one single demand going beyond simple trade unionism. Some "Marxist opposition" this, which finds it impossible to mention international working-class solidarity, opposition to racial and sexual discrimination, workers control of production, expropriation of the auto industry without compensation—omitting even the call for a labor party and a workers government! Instead they concentrate on issues such as "30 and out," increased vacations and a 20 percent wage increase (*Bulletin*, 26 March 1973).

In the same issue, the *Bulletin* publishes an "Open Letter to the United National Caucus" by Rudy Sulenta, a supporter of TUALP. Introducing the letter, it writes that "A very important step was taken to build a national caucus in the UAW with a campaign for a 20 percent increase in pay." Sulenta makes it even more explicit, declaring that "contrary to what Woodcock says, the central issue in the upcoming contract is the fight over wage increases.... It is the fight for a 20 percent wage increase.... that the political fight is raised." Sulenta rightly accuses the UNC leadership of reducing the struggle to simple trade union policies and ignoring its own demand for a labor party. But then that is precisely what the TUALP auto caucus program does as well!

In short the WL has capitulated to the pressures for a "here and now" program of contract demands, separated from any kind of revolutionary perspective. Moreover, it plays directly into the bureaucracy's hands by proclaiming the wage struggle the "central issue" of the 1973 contract. For years the UAW tops have sold out on working conditions and local grievances in exchange for some limited wage gains.

Well aware of the opportunist implications of the TUALP auto caucus program, and feeling rather unprotected on its left flank, the *Bulletin* took the unusual step of actually replying to an article in the last issue of *Workers Vanguard* on the auto negotiations. According to the WL's front page editorial: "Spartacist says essentially the following about the struggle in auto. Wages, line speed, job security, grievances and the right to strike are all trade union demands. But Marxists, at least according to Spartacist, are for revolution as opposed to winning these 'reformist' demands. Spartacist therefore concludes that the basic demand that must be made is: 'Communism'." Wohlforth is a past master at polemic by non-quotation, a method which permits him the liberty of freely distorting his opponents' arguments out of all recognition. Let us see what the WV article actually said:

"One is struck by an amazing similarity between these programs [of the CP, IS and WL], which share a number of elements: higher wages, shorter hours, the right to strike, a range of minor reforms and the complete absence of anything that would qualitatively distinguish them from old-fashioned, 'pure-and-simple' reformist trade unionism.

"Nowhere do any of these groups pose the necessity for a struggle for power.... Instead, the long-range goal is always separated from, and subordinate to, the immediate economic demands of the next set of contract negotiations.... Certainly it is essential for revolutionists to participate in the everyday struggles of the workers over wages, hours and working conditions in order to ensure the closest contact between the class and the party.... This does not mean, however, that we attempt to win leadership as simple trade unionists.... We aspire to lead the class as communists, which will often necessarily entail counterposing the historic world-wide interests of the proletariat to its immediate consciousness."

Where in this do you read the Spartacist League opposes winning reform demands, Brother Wohlforth? You can indeed read that we oppose merely raising contract reform demands in separation from the overall revolutionary program. You can read in our press that the SL, together with Trotsky, believes that the transitional program is the program for struggle in the unions, not bits and pieces of the program, or simple trade union reform demands. And it is this which grates on the WL, for it is precisely trade-union reformism which is the methodology of the TUALP auto caucus program and this *Bulletin* editorial.

### Wohlforth Repudiates Transitional Program

The *Bulletin* article goes on to dot the "i's" and cross the "t's" of its opportunism, declaring that "the point is that trade union questions are becoming revolutionary issues.... But the fact is that the fundamental contradiction within capitalism, suppressed for an entire historical period through wild inflation [!], is radically transforming the relations between classes.... That is why simple trade union

demands are so profoundly revolutionary today."

This nonsense clearly reveals the objectivism which lies at the heart of Wohlforth's "dialectics." In this anti-Marxist view, the objective factors completely dominate social struggles and the struggle for the revolutionary program is therefore irrelevant. Earlier, the transitional program was, for Wohlforth, inapplicable because the fundamental contradiction of capitalism was "suppressed for an entire historical period" (shades of Mandel's "neocapitalism"?). And today it has become superfluous; now even simple trade union demands are revolutionary. Thus the WL now formalizes its repudiation of the transitional program.

The WL's logic is that the final "crisis" of capitalism (whose imminent arrival the WL has been heralding since 1962 or so) is now so grave that consistent reformist struggle—e.g., for wage increases—becomes inherently revolutionary. This exactly parallels the petty-bourgeois line of the SWP that "consistent nationalism" (or "consistent feminism," for that matter) is socialism. The purpose of the WL's endless crisis-mongering is to justify an openly reformist program. The WL reasons that trade-union bureaucrats can be forced into building a labor party and aspiring bureaucrats can be supported because they will inevitably be forced to fight for the interests of the working class. This was precisely the logic of Pabloism, the post-war revisionism which shattered the Fourth International: that Stalinists and social-democrats could be forced to lead the proletarian revolution under the pressure of the "objective situation."

Certainly it is true that reform struggles have revolutionary implications. The link is this: In the epoch of declining capitalism (imperialism) it is not possible to win systematic reforms which qualitatively improve the conditions of the working class without destroying the capitalist system itself. Therefore, in fighting for reform demands it is absolutely essential that revolutionaries concretely link these struggles to the fight for socialism. To fight simply for trade-union demands, as the WL does, leaves the class unprepared for the battle necessary to win them, and implies a utopia in which auto workers will have "30 for 40," \$650/month pensions after 30 years, 20 percent wage increases and the like—without smashing capitalism. Transitional demands begin with the concrete needs of the class (for instance, a struggle against the killing overtime, unemployment, inflation and dangerous working conditions), and formulate an alternative which directly leads to an attack on the system itself (sliding scale of wages and hours, workers control of production), linking this explicitly to the struggle for power (workers party and workers government). But to the "Marxists" of the Workers League, the struggle for this program is "abstract propaganda" as opposed to their own, very concrete agitation—for a few more crumbs.

Wohlforth's "theories" were answered some 70 years ago by Lenin in *What Is to Be Done?*:

"The economic struggle merely 'imposes' the workers to realize the government's attitude towards the working class. Consequently, however much we may try to 'lend the economic struggle itself a political character,' we shall never be able to develop the political consciousness of the workers (to the level of social-democratic political consciousness) by keeping within the framework of the economic struggle, for that framework is too narrow."

It is not enough to simply have the largest list of demands at contract time, nor to ask for the "most" in the collective bargaining relationship. It is necessary to transcend the strictly economic relation of capitalist to worker to lead to the understanding of the nature of the capitalist order as a whole, and the need for the independent mobilization of the working class to destroy it. This is the approach of the Spartacist League, the Marxist approach, to work in the trade unions. ■

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## ...Vietnam

to the Poor Peasants," a clear class program as opposed to the "broad national union" being pushed by the Stalinists.

In the 1939 elections to the Colonial Council of Cochinchina, the La Lutte group capitalized on this agitational work and managed to win a resounding victory, with more than 80% of the votes going to their candidates. The masses, faced with the choice between support for French colonialism by the Stalinists and a credible Trotskyist opposition fighting on a working-class program, overwhelmingly chose the latter. In consequence, shortly thereafter, the Indochinese Communist Party in Cochinchina (southern Vietnam) split, the official party being headed by Daong Bach Mai and the dissidents regrouping around Nguyen Van Tao.

The polemics between the two competing groups supporting the Fourth International became increasingly sharp during this period. The Ta Thu Thau group, the official section of the FI, accused the Ho Huu Thung group of "inventing" its opposition to the united front with the Stalinists years after it was first formed, which is almost certainly not true. However, Thau also condemned them for advocating a joint La Lutte and Stalinist ticket in the 1939 elections. At a time when the ICP was openly backing French imperialism and participating in a popular front (the Indochinese Congress), support for their ticket, however critical, was certainly a serious error. These were the same "communists" who were voting for "defense taxes" in the Saigon municipal council while the government was using the money to ship in tanks for use against Vietnamese workers and peasants.

On the other hand, while the Thang Muoi group did not score the electoral successes of La Lutte, it did manage to bring out its newspaper for some years in Vietnamese before the latter attempted this step and managed to put out a daily newspaper (*Tin Sang*, or *Spark*) during 1939.

While both groups made important errors during this period, and La Lutte appears to have had an overall moderate approach of a centrist character, both vigorously opposed French colonialism and stood sharply contrasted to the Stalinists during the crucial period. Their attraction of a mass base is a tribute to the Trotskyist politics of permanent revolution, even in a muted form.

However, the bourgeoisie regained the upper hand and from October 1939 to January 1940 managed to wipe out the entire legal organizations of both the Communist Party and the Trotskyists. The ICP survived this repression better than did the Trotskyist groups, partly because the latter were more of an immediate threat to the French in the south, partly because the CP cadre were able to retreat to China where (after a period in Kuomintang jails) they eventually received Chinese and U.S. aid and partly because the Stalinists had begun retreating to clandestinity as early as 1936.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

### Spartacist Local Directory

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Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO..... (716) 881-3064  
Box 412, Station C  
Buffalo, NY 14209

CHICAGO..... (312) 548-2934  
Box 6471, Main P.O.,  
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND..... (216) 696-4943  
Cleveland IV Committee  
Box 2492  
Cleveland, OH 44112

DETROIT..... (313) 862-4920  
Box 563A, General P.O.,  
Detroit, MI 48232

LOS ANGELES..... (213) 467-6855  
Box 38053, Wilcox Sta.,  
Los Angeles, CA 90038

MILWAUKEE  
Box 5144, Harbor Sta.,  
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NEW ORLEANS..... (504) 866-8384  
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