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Commentary:

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Abstract

Journalism schools in Vietnam only opened in the early 1990s. Like other media organisations, journalism schools are required to follow strictly the Party’s media instructions and decrees. The shortcomings of journalism education and training in Vietnam are numerous, the most pressing being staff qualifications and teaching approaches in journalism education. Journalism programs continue to attract school leavers each year. However, journalism graduates are not highly regarded by media organisations. Along with senior Party media officials, educators and practitioners, there are also heads of journalism schools and senior media executives who criticise the poor quality of journalism education attendant with teaching methods, the lack of teaching materials and the selection of students into journalism courses. To improve the quality of Vietnam’s journalism education and training, the primary requirement is that the ideological concept of journalism education and training needs to change.
Journalism schools in Vietnam only opened in the early 1990s. Currently, there are three institutions teaching journalism: *Phan Viet Bao Chi va Tuyen Truyen* (Institute of Journalism and Communication, IJC) attached to the Ho Chi Minh National Political Academy; *Khoa Bao Chi* (Department of Journalism) at Hanoi National University; and *Khoa Bao Chi va Van Hoc* (Department of Journalism and Literature) of Ho Chi Minh City University. Derived from the Vietnamese press role as an ideological tool of the Communist Party, the courses rely heavily on subjects from Marxist-Leninist and Ho Chi Minh ideology. Like other media organisations, journalism schools are required to follow strictly the Party’s media instructions and decrees. In 1997, the Party issued an instruction that “media cadres should be trained and educated domestically under the Party’s leadership and the government’s strict management” (Chi Thi 22 TW, 1997). It also directed that private education and training for journalism and publishing be prohibited.

Earlier, there had been a hiccup relating to the management of journalism education. In 1993, the Minister of Education and Training issued its permission to the the Open University in Ho Chi Minh City, the first private institution in Vietnam, to establish a journalism department. After three years of operation, the department was shut down in 1996 without any official explanation. However, Huynh Van Tong, a former head of the department said that, although he never received an official explanation, it was obvious to him that his department was closed down because the media were the Party’s and government’s “monopoly”. Thus, a private institution was not allowed to conduct journalism training (personal interview with Huynh Van Tong, 2001).

Currently, the Journalism Department at Hanoi University, and Journalism and Literature Department in HCM City University conduct undergraduate courses. These journalism departments were established in 1991. Meanwhile, the Institute of Journalism and Communication affiliated to the Ho Chi Minh National Academy has been conducting its undergraduate courses since 1969. It is the only institution recently permitted to run post-graduate courses. As media organisations have become a very “attractive” career, student enrolments in journalism courses have made them one of the most competitive courses in Vietnam. In 1992, for example, the ratio of students in the government plan for the Institute of Journalism and Communication and the number of students sitting for the entrance examination was 1/6. This ratio increased rapidly to 1/21 in the study year 1997-1998 (Ta Ngoc Tan 1999:49) and remained the same in 2003-2004.

The current media landscape in Vietnam has changed rapidly, mainly due to the shift from full government subsidy to being financially self-supporting. This means that the media are not only the Party’s servants, they also need to serve their customers – their audiences and advertisers. Hence, publications have become more diverse in terms of the source and content of information, stories and broadcast programs. However, journalistic training is lagging far behind these new work requirements. These are issues that challenge Vietnamese journalism educators in the light of high demands from media organisations and the market. A case study, in which IJC’s curriculum will be examined, will demonstrate the dilemma of journalism education in Vietnam. This article also aims to help foreign journalism educators and trainers better understand the situation and consider a different approach in developing courses for Vietnamese journalists.
Indigent education and training resources

The shortcomings of journalism education and training in Vietnam are numerous, the most pressing of which is staff qualifications and approach to journalism education. Amongst journalism teachers at IJC and the Journalism Department of the National University in Hanoi are many graduates from political institutions in Russia. Others have graduated from literature courses in Vietnamese institutions. Recently, university journalism graduates are also recruited as lecturers. Most of them do not have practical industry experience in newspaper reporting or broadcasting. Clearly, these journalism lecturers provide students with knowledge that they themselves have learnt in classrooms and with very little practical understanding or professional experience.

However, the bigger dilemma with journalism training is not only the lack of government funding for facilitating the acquisition of technical teaching equipment, research and staff resources, but, more importantly, the lack of common philosophical and theoretical viewpoints on journalism education (Ta Ngoc Tan, 1999:50). Professor Ta Ngoc Tan, director of IJC is aware of the poorly qualified teaching staff and shortcomings in curriculum and teaching materials at journalism schools. However, he believes that the “bottlenecks” of difficulties such as those noted above will be reduced if there is a unity of approach to journalism education among senior managerial levels (personal interview with Ta Ngoc Tan, 2003). According to Tan, it would take at least a 10-year investment in university graduates to produce a supply of well-qualified academics, as they need to work on some research projects and gain journalistic experience before teaching. This approach, Tan claims, would improve the quality of journalism graduates (2003). While Tan’s vision seems achievable, it remains largely neglected.

Journalism schools could immediately ‘improve’ the quality of journalism courses by occasionally inviting experienced journalists, most of whom are senior ideological revolutionary officials, to give lectures. Among them are Huu Tho, Hong Vinh, Tran Cong Man, Phan Quang and Ho Tien Nghi, all members of the Central Committee of the CPV who have held (or hold) top positions in the media. It is an unspoken but recognised convention that journalism schools ignore people who obtained their degrees in journalism and media courses from Western countries. Huynh Van Tong said that he was a victim of this ‘silent’ rule. Huynh is among a very small number of educators who see the shunning of journalism graduates from the West as a “pity” and a “waste” of rich resources. He argues that professional skills are relevant to any kind of press, whether it be Party journalism or Western journalism, and that Vietnamese journalism education could be applied using Western professional skills, while maintaining the Party’s theoretical approach to journalism. In Huynh’s view, the government’s ban on teaching journalism at private institutions is “unnecessary”.

While stressing the importance of providing journalism students with professional skills, Huynh asserts that those who have obtained overseas education and training should be used in teaching journalistic skills. He disputes that the government and the Party need to worry about private journalism courses, because when students were able to get jobs in the media, their stories would be read by several levels of censors before going to print or broadcast, anyway. According to Huynh, many
people who had 30–40 years of journalism teaching and work experience under the Saigon regime are not being used by journalism schools or in the workforce (personal interview with Huynh Van Tong, 2001). There is also a widely circulated rumour that students are not allowed to go to the US for journalism education. It would seem that Party ideologues feel insecure in the face of Western influences on journalism, and worry about an increase of graduates from the West challenging the Party monopoly in the media’s ideological battles.

Obviously, Vietnam is still isolated from world media education. There is very little exchange program between Vietnamese students and academics and overseas journalism institutions. However, in the last few years journalists have been sent to short training courses conducted by foreign journalists both in Vietnam and overseas, or have undertaken media/journalism degrees in Australia and elsewhere. In 1996, IJC initiated an exchange project by inviting lecturers from the Journalism Department of the University of Technology, Sydney (UTS) to Hanoi for a week to give lectures to students, and in return, a couple of lecturers from the Institute paid a visit to UTS. The outcome is believed to have been beneficial regarding “first hand” experience in learning and exchanging ideas, concepts, practice and theory issues related to media education. Recently, the institute has expanded its relations with other institutions in Europe and China. Nevertheless, exposure abroad is still limited due to both financial restrictions and the bureaucracy that the Institute has to face in getting its permission.

The second shortcoming that journalism schools face is the lack of materials. Books and textbooks, which play an important role in journalism education, are insufficient and out of date in all journalism schools in Vietnam. An easy excuse is inadequate budgets, but the main reason behind the shortage, as Tan mentioned earlier, is the Party’s and Government’s attitude toward journalism teaching. As a result, there is little investment in academic research in the country, or buying and translations of books published in Western countries, though some educators are aware of the importance of the use of professional skills textbooks.

A few years ago, the only texts that could be found in journalism school libraries were thin, typed books, written mainly by Party media officials about their own working experience as revolutionary journalists. The current situation of journalism school libraries remains the same, although journalism teaching materials have improved in quality due to the translation and editing of some journalistic skills books. Journalism students are now able to find books related to journalism and professional skills on sale at the government bookstores. Also due to the market economy, books on Party and government instructions, regulations on the media, laws and ethics are more accessible and available. Besides a number of books about Ho Chi Minh and the press, there are also publications on media theory and practice, written by incumbent senior media officials. The Internet is also a rich source of material for aspiring journalists.

It is important, nevertheless, to note that materials related to media theory or media history are accepted, respected and unblemished, when they are written by high-ranking Party officials. Because the press is an instrument of the Party, any theory of the press must recognise the Party’s notions, discourses and concepts. As anticipated, this creates “homogeneous” ideas without diversity or variation in any of the theoretical, media-related material emanating from these writers. However, books
not written by senior members of the Party would hardly be used or referred to as teaching materials. For instance, “Bao Chi Vietnam: tu khoi thuy den 1945” written by a Ph.D graduate from France, Huynh Van Tong, is not used for teaching in Hanoi journalism schools, despite the fact that there is no publication on the history of the Vietnamese media as such.

The third issue, as a result of the above shortcomings, relates to the curriculum. The objectives of journalism courses are primarily to imbue students with the Party’s political attitudes, which include the theoretical writings of Marxist-Leninist and Ho Chi Minh ideology, Party policies and morality. The lack of teaching materials has resulted in media theory, journalism studies and professional practice being non-systematic and non-standardized. It is often up to individual lecturers, having been given a subject, to make up their lecture notes; nor are there prepared readings for students.

This issue also needs to be examined in the light of cultural difference. The profession is perceived differently from that of journalism in the West. For many Vietnamese people, journalism is regarded as literature; for others, the skills required by journalists do not need to be acquired in journalism schools. The idea that “journalism is literature” seems to have derived from a historical concept of the communist press. For many years the Vietnamese media have been the conduit of Party propaganda, which requires journalists to be “fluent”, “rhetorical”, “verbose” and “persuasive” (Huu Tho 1997:35). Questioning the “why, what and how”, factual accuracy and investigative writing skills are regarded as less essential elements, while journalists are required to follow ‘y kien cap tren’ (the above bodies’ instructions). This is why media and journalism studies and academic research are not paid much attention.

At Ho Chi Minh City University, journalism is combined with literature in one department; the literature subjects constitute two-thirds of journalism courses (Huynh Van Tong, personal interview, 2001). Huynh Van Tong states that journalism students are “left out” and “useless” in the workplace after four years studying at university because they are taught “too many subjects which are not related to journalism” (Huynh, personal interview, 2001). He also points out that journalism lecturers are often not graduates from journalism schools, but teachers of Vietnamese Language or Literature. Recruiting teachers from areas alien to journalism results in graduates lacking in professional skills and knowledge. Tong feels frustrated with the educational and media officials who are in power and take decisions based on “a wrong concept” of the profession of journalism. Although Huynh is one of very few people in Vietnam who are highly qualified in Journalism and Media, he has been given only casual teaching of Vietnamese media history.

As noted earlier, the concept that journalism is closely linked with literature is not uncommon in Vietnam. The writer, Ha Minh Duc, has held the positions of head of the Journalism Department of Hanoi National University and Director of the Institute of Vietnamese Literature. As a journalism educator he has published articles drawing similarities between the two professions, and these are used by journalism students as textbooks. He also follows the practice of inviting well-known Vietnamese writers as guest lecturers in journalism courses. It is true that both journalism and literature play a big part in a nation’s culture – they both use language skills, and share similar goals in enriching people’s knowledge by reflecting their society. But they also
have different professional notions and conventions. The notion that “good writing” in literature leads to “good journalism” remains predominant among Vietnamese journalism educators and practitioners.

The following case study highlights the dilemmas I have explored in the above section.

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**Case study: Curriculum of undergraduate journalism course at the institute of journalism and communication**

The Institute of Journalism and Communication is under the auspices of the Ho Chi Minh National Political Academy, which aims to train and educate cadres working in government media organisations, as well as other specialist ideological positions in the government and Party administrative machine. As written in *Chuong Trinh Tong The cac Nganh dao Tao Cu Nhan Khoa Hoc* (A General Curriculum for Undergraduate Courses of Social Sciences), the Institute’s staff must show a “scientific perspective, determined class attitude and keen political knowledge”. The goals of the journalism course are to train and educate students to become journalists and editors who, after graduating from four years of study, are to be equipped with the following characteristics:

General knowledge of Marxist-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh Ideology; knowledge of the Party and the Party’s policy; understanding of social and natural sciences; and some knowledge of foreign languages, using a computer and camera. Political awareness, strong class attitude, deep national consciousness, and attainment of a “brave heart” to forge ahead in the people’s struggle against sabotage, conspiracy, social evils, and to protect the government and Party policy, etc. Based on these objectives and aims for the training and education of graduate journalists, the undergraduate journalism course is designed over eight semesters with two phases.

Phase One is General Background (or Foundation) comprising three semesters in which journalism students are required to learn 22 subjects with a total of 1,395 hours, among them five theoretical subjects, including “Marxist-Leninism”, “Ho Chi Minh Doctrine”, “Scientific Socialism”, “Ho Chi Minh Ideology”, “Political Economy” and “History of the Party”, occupying 315 hours; 300 hours for “Foreign language”; and “Military Education”, occupying 45 hours. Each of the other subjects, such as “World History”, “Vietnamese History”, “Vietnamese Language” or “Sport”, has from 45 to 60 hours.

Phase Two is called “Specialist Profession”, in which students have to learn 21 compulsory general professional subjects; plus 10 specialised professional subjects over four semesters, with a total of 1,815 hours (for print and radio), and 1,845 hours (for television) in classrooms. The final semester is work experience attachment for journalism students. 21 general subjects in the second phase include: “Foreign Language” with another 120 hours; “World Literature” – 75 hours; “Vietnamese Literature” – 75 hours; “Literature Theory” – 30 hours; “Party Building” – 45 hours; “Morality” – 30 hours; “Computer Practice” – 60 hours, etc.

Among 10 specialised professional subjects with 600 hours in classrooms for TV journalism students, they learn, for example, “Television Journalism Theory”
– 45 hours; “Scenario for Film and Television” – 60 hours; “Television Technical Equipment” – 45 hours; “Television Literature” – 45 hours; “Director and Camera Operator’s Skills” – 45 hours; “TV Journalism Skills” – 45 hours; and “Creative Work I”, “Creative Work II”, “Creative Work III”, with 90 hours each.

As can be seen from the above figures, a TV journalism student undertaking full time study lasting four years, spanning five days per week, from 7am to 12pm at a Journalism School, has about 600 hours of their total 3240 hours of studies to learn professional and practical skills. However, due to poor and out-of-date facilities and the lack of reading materials at the school, the student, in fact, gets very little understanding of the profession. The Party journalism teaching formula and poorly qualified teaching staff result in a curriculum in which students have to study many theoretical subjects irrelevant to journalism studies. In addition, the lack of facilities and materials has created poorly trained graduates who do not meet the requirements of the media industry.

Whose responsibility?

Despite the fact that many Vietnamese Marxist-Leninist ideologists still insist that the foremost task in journalism education and training is to make “Marxist-Leninist ideology become the people’s consciousness” (Dao Duy Tung, 1999:156) the problems in journalism education and training are recognised by most people. Along with senior Party media officials, educators and practitioners, there are also heads of journalism schools and senior media executives who criticise the poor quality of journalism education attendant with teaching method, the lack of teaching materials and the selection of students into journalism courses. Ironically, these people are directly in charge of educational and training programs, but while they criticise they behave as if it is not their responsibility.

Huu Tho is also a critic. Tho is critical of journalism graduates’ lack of basic professional knowledge and experience despite spending four years studying at university, and he is fully aware of the fact that they are also not well received in the workplace. He implies that there are many famous journalists, both overseas and in Vietnam who, like himself, have not studied any journalism courses. Tho claims that gaining entry to the profession of journalism is not necessarily through studying journalism at university (personal interview, 2001). Tho’s argument seems to be more relevant to himself. He did not obtain a university degree but he attended a few courses of political studies over the years at the Ho Chi Minh National Political Academy. He was a provincial Party cadre before becoming a well known journalist and editor-in-chief of the Party newspaper “Nhan Dan”; then he was head of ICD, which directly controls all media organisations. His present job is as advisor to the Party General Secretary. As a policy maker and a key media official, he is in a prime position to direct and lead journalism education in Vietnam, and must bear much of the responsibility for its quality.

There is another reason that may explain why there are so many recognised problems, and why no one is taking responsibility to improve the situation. At present, there are at least five organisations which control journalism education and training: the Ideological and Cultural Department of the Party; the Ministry of Education and Training; the Ministry of Culture and Information; the Ho Chi Minh
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National Political Academy; and the Vietnamese Journalists’ Association. However, none of these five bodies has the full authority and power to take responsibility for managing, planning and teaching journalism education programs (Ta Ngoc Tan, 1999:48-50). The Vietnamese saying *(cha chung khong ai khoc)* “everybody’s business is nobody’s business” is particularly apposite in this case – they all pay lip service to the importance of journalism education, and they all criticise its shortcomings, but no one is prepared to take a leadership role in changing the situation. Ta Ngoc Tan claims that “the whole system of journalism education and training is lacking unity of leadership, organisational structure and investment” (1999:61).

The analysis presented above is an attempt to look at the shortcomings in journalism education in Vietnam. The real victims of these shortcomings are the graduates. Although there are almost 600 media organisations throughout Vietnam, from central to provincial media outlets, it is difficult for the few hundred journalism graduates each year to find jobs. As graduates from journalism schools do not have a good reputation, there is intense job competition between graduates of journalism and those graduates who have qualifications and experience in other fields. Meanwhile, the Party has applied a “market economy” mechanism to media organisations. Journalism schools continue to follow “planned education and training” in which around five hundred students are accepted into journalism courses each year. This causes an annual crisis of superfluous journalism graduates, who can only queue for jobs in government media organisations. Jobs for journalism graduates, in particular, are even scarcer because public relations opportunities have not yet been developed in Vietnam.

Pham Huy Hoan, editor in chief of “Lao Dong” newspaper says that to be able to get a job on his newspaper, an applicant needs to obtain not only journalistic skills but a high level of competence in foreign languages and computer skills. Among the 20 successful applicants for reporters’ positions in Lao Dong in 1998-1999, only two were graduates from journalism schools – the rest had majored in engineering or business from other institutions (personal interview with Pham Huy Hoang 2003).

Tran Binh Minh, head of VTV News & Current Affairs, is even more critical of the system of education and training in Vietnam. He claims that “like most graduates from Vietnamese universities, journalism graduates lack general background knowledge on political, economic, cultural and social issues. What they have received in the course is very shallow and out of touch with requirements in the workplace” (personal interview with Tran Binh Minh, 2003). Some practitioners express their pessimism on the future of the Vietnamese press, in which there is a wide gap between old journalists who are retiring and young, inexperienced and unskilled graduates who enter the workforce from journalism schools.

Le Van Nuoi, editor in chief of “The Youth” newspaper in Ho Chi Minh City, points out that due to a lack of knowledge and skills, some young journalists “abuse the profession” by writing stories without going on the road, doing research and checking facts or investigating. They have become “lazy and bureaucratic” in the early stage of their profession (Le Van Nuoi, 1998:200-205).

As previously mentioned, journalism education was a new concept, and journalism courses have only been taught as a university degree since the early 1990s, thus
most of the present senior media executives are not journalism graduates. They have climbed up to senior positions from young cadets self training on the job and following the management career ladder. For example, among those above senior positions: Le Van Nuoi graduated from a literature course from the former Saigon University; while both Pham Huy Hoan and Tran Binh Minh obtained degrees in Engineering from the former socialist countries in Eastern Europe. The non-journalism education background of these media executives have clearly influenced their views on staff recruitment as well as their lack of respect for journalism education. According to them, it is easy to train a graduate from any background on how to write a story than other way around. For example, an economic graduate should be better trained than a journalism graduate to write business news. This argument is not unique for Vietnam, however, it is a big issue which makes Vietnamese journalism educators toss and turn to improve and protect their professional credibility.

Under the pressures of commercialisation, media outlets suffer from a shortage of staff who are professionally trained to do “best seller” stories such as investigations of corruption, or to make interesting programs attractive to their audiences. In the last few years, training on the job has played a crucial role in improving journalistic skills in some newspapers and broadcasters. However, “training on the job” is seen as a “foreign project” rather than an “internal project”, in the sense that media organisations conduct training courses for their staff only when it is a project funded by foreign media or foreign organisations under cultural co-operation between Vietnam and a foreign country. Although the courses are enthusiastically welcomed by the staff, they are rare and often limited to central media organisations. Moreover, both course outlines and the training process are closely scrutinized by special officials from the Interior Ministry, to make sure that Western press values are not being disseminated in Vietnam.

It is widely recognised that training on the job is important and urgently needed. Young staff need to develop practical skills which they do not get in journalism schools. But top managers of media organisations are more involved in everyday meetings and work to ensure that there are no mistakes and that all news items are “precise” with the Party line, rather than focusing on developing training plans. As Tran Binh Minh notes, “It is a loss for the Vietnamese media because no one pays any attention to training and education, neither in the schools nor on the job. Everyone is for himself. No one thinks of the future” (personal interview, 2003).

Furthermore, people trained in Western countries find themselves frustrated, as they are unable to apply what they have learnt because their education or training overseas does not fit into Vietnam’s political and cultural systems. Another reason is that they can be seen as a threat, challenging the positions of managers who have lesser qualifications. A common response to this is that graduates from the West are often employed in marginal positions from which it is difficult for them to apply their new knowledge. Likewise, foreign educators and researchers who work in Vietnam, especially in the media, can be frustrated with the system (Palmos 1995: 20-24).

As Peter Mares, a former Australian Broadcasting Corporation correspondent in Vietnam wrote:

“By describing some of my own experiences during two years in Vietnam, … I will attempt to outline the regulations and practical obstacles that make reporting in
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Vietnam so difficult… I hope this will go some way to explaining the limitations of foreign media coverage of Vietnam and the frustrations of foreign journalists working in the country” (Mares:1998:146).

Conclusion

To improve the quality of Vietnam’s journalism education and training, the primary requirement is that the ideological concept of journalism education and training needs to change. Like other professions, journalism education must be based on professional notions and skills rather than simply the Party politics and ideology.

Unquestionably, Vietnamese society has changed rapidly in the process of modernisation, industrialisation and integration into global economy. As the Vietnamese Party media organisations have shifted from a government-subsidised system to a self-financing one, there are indications that the Vietnamese media have started moving towards commercial values under the influence of Western media. However, any solution that may have a long-term impact on the Vietnamese press can only enhance the quality of the country’s journalism. This will need serious effort from senior officials from the five authoritative bodies cooperating to work out strategies for journalism education. By the same token, a more liberal approach to Party ideology over media control would foster a positive environment in which the media could then exercise its given role as a “watchdog” for the government and the Party, while maintaining the struggle against “negatives”, particularly corruption and smuggling. Only in that way can the Vietnamese press fulfil its responsibility in “seeking the audience’s desires and the public demand” as the Party leaders’ instruct.

Endnotes

1 Phan Vien Bao Chi va Tuyen Truyen in Vietnamese means Institute for Journalism and Propaganda. However, its English name is Institute for Journalism and Communication. Its old name is called Truong Tuyen Giao, in English “Propaganda and Education Institute.

2 Huynh Van Tong is a journalism educator in Ho Chi Minh City. He is an author of the book Bao Chi Vietnam: tu khoi thuy den 1945 (The Vietnamese Press: From inception to 1945), Ho Chi Minh City’s Publisher, 2000. He obtained a doctorate in Journalism from the Sorbonne, Paris and was a head of the Journalism department, Phuong Nam Institute in Saigon before 1975.

3 Including “Cac the loai Ky bao chi” (Types of Press Memoirs), “Nha Bao: Bi Quyet Ky Nang Nghe Nghiep” (Journalists: Secrets for Professional Skills). This book is translated and edited by Nguyen Van Dung and Hoang Anh, from the Institution of Propaganda and Press in 1998. Although it was written in the book cover that the book was based on the professional experience of Western newspapers, the book was written by two Russian authors; however, the Vietnamese authors only acknowledged two Russian names, without any further references.

4 A common perception about journalism advocated by the older generations who often hold senior positions in media organisations

5 The author conducted an interview with Huu Tho in July 2001 in Hanoi. He was then the head of Ideological and Cultural Department of the Communist Party.
For instance, see Ha Minh Duc, ‘Van Hoc va Bao Chi’ (Literature and Press); To Hoai, ‘Tam Su Ve Nghe Van, Nghe Bao’ (Intimate Feelings of Literature and the Press’; Doan thi Dang Huong, ‘Su nghiep Van Hoc va Bao Chi Ho Chi Minh’ (Ho Chi Minh’s Literature and press Work), in Ha Minh Duc, 1997.

Also based on opinions of many media officials as well as academics and practitioners.

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