

# LITERACY FOR THE MASSES: THE CONDUCT AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE LITERACY CAMPAIGN IN REVOLUTIONARY VIETNAM

Shaun Kingsley Malarney  
International Christian University, Tokyo

**Abstract:** Northern Vietnam's revolutionary leader Hồ Chí Minh famously commented that the French colonial regime had employed a "keep the people stupid" policy (*chính sách ngu dân*) in order to make the Vietnamese masses easier to rule. One important part of this policy was restricting access to literacy in Vietnamese society to a small percentage of the population. This paper's purpose is to explore the conduct and consequences of the literacy campaign that was launched by Vietnamese revolutionaries in the 1940s and 1950s. As will be shown, authorities employed a number of innovative strategies to teach reading and writing to the masses, while at a broader level, the rapid attainment of almost universal literacy in North Vietnam became an important symbolic marker of Vietnam's transcendence of what revolutionary authorities regarded as the "backwardness" that had characterized colonial society.

**Key words:** Vietnam, revolution, literacy campaigns, cultural symbolism of literacy, colonialism

## INTRODUCTION

According to statistics provided by the General Statistics Office of Vietnam, in 2009 the nation's literacy rate, for individuals aged 15 and over, was an impressive 93.5% (General Statistics Office of Vietnam 2011:23), while in the nation's major cities of Hanoi, Hai Phong, and Ho Chi Minh City, the literacy rate was a shared 97.9% (General Statistics Office of Vietnam 2010). Although these figures make Vietnam one of the most literate nations in contemporary Southeast Asia, they conceal the fact that as late as the mid-1940s, the vast majority of the Vietnamese population was illiterate. Definitive statistics on illiteracy are unavailable, but some scholars have estimated that during the period of French colonization in Vietnam, prior to the Second World War, illiteracy could have been as high as 80-95% of the population (DeFrancis 1977:240). Equally significant, however, was the fact that the small percentage of the population that was literate was composed, almost exclusively, of elite men. In contemporary Vietnam, male literacy remains several percentage points higher, with male literacy at 95.8% and female literacy at 91.4% (General Statistics Office of Vietnam 2011:23). These differences, however, do not diminish the tremendous accomplishments in increasing Vietnam's literacy rate.

This essay's purpose is to examine the conduct and consequences of the campaigns launched by the revolutionary authorities in post-1945 northern Vietnam to bring literacy to the masses. As will be described, revolutionary authorities regarded high rates of illiteracy as a marker of "backwardness" as well as an effective mechanism, employed by the former elite, to disenfranchise and dominate the poor masses. From the official perspective, mass literacy was vital for the nation to overcome its difficulties and create a new and

positive future. To this end, revolutionary authorities organized an obligatory, mass literacy campaign, which included novel instructional materials and pedagogical approaches, that succeeded in raising the literacy rate for 12-50 year olds to an impressive 93.4% by the late 1950s (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:135).

## LITERACY IN PRE-REVOLUTIONARY VIETNAM

When in September 1945 the Vietnamese revolutionaries embarked upon their “Mass Education” campaign (*Bình Dân Học Vụ*) to bring literacy to the people, they had to contend with a complicated historical inheritance regarding Vietnam’s writing systems. The Vietnamese language (*Tiếng Việt*) is classified as a member of the Mon-Khmer branch of the Austro-Asiatic language family. The language has a number of dialects and, according to the *Ethnologue Languages of the World* (2012), has a total speaker population of approximately 65,800,000 in Vietnam (1999 census); and a total for all countries of 68,634,000 worldwide. It is most closely related to Mường, a language spoken in the lowland mountainous regions to the southwest of the Red River delta in northern Vietnam. Both languages are part of the Vietic branch of the Mon-Khmer branch, which includes other languages in Vietnam and Laos. Vietnamese is a tonal language. This distinctive feature creates a challenge for its orthographies. The number of tones varies, ranging from the six tones of the Hanoi dialect, which is regarded as the standard form, to five tones in some southern and central regions.

The region, which is now northern and northern central Vietnam, was occupied by the Chinese for nearly 1000 years until the Vietnamese general Ngô Quyền overthrew the Chinese rulers in 938 AD and established the first independent Vietnamese state. The combination of Vietnam’s proximity to China, the centuries of occupation, and China’s regional status as the pinnacle of culture and civilization, had a significant effect on the writing systems employed in pre-modern Vietnam as classical Chinese became the dominant writing system. For centuries, as Joseph Lo Bianco has noted, “Chinese prevailed for all transactional, legal, scholarly and governmental discourse” (Lo Bianco 2001:164). In using classical Chinese, the Vietnamese employed their own readings of the original Chinese characters. Thus, for example, the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 were read as *nhất, nhì, tam, tứ, ngũ*. This had an interesting consequence in that, while the Vietnamese could voice the readings of their characters, they were largely unable to voice the Chinese readings. Thus, as John DeFrancis observed, the number of Vietnamese who entered the Chinese court and were proficient in Chinese could “be counted on the fingers of one’s hand” (DeFrancis 1977:11; quoted in Lo Bianco 2011:172).

The differences in the readings of the characters represented but one level of a deeper problem as the character readings and grammar of classical Chinese did not match the vernacular language spoken by everyday Vietnamese. In response to this disjuncture, the Vietnamese elite in the thirteenth century began developing a new script, named *Chữ Nôm* (字喃), which employed borrowed and modified classical Chinese characters to represent spoken Vietnamese. The earliest usage of *Nôm* is generally regarded as occurring in 1209. In 1282, however, a Vietnamese official wrote what is considered to be the first literary usage of *Nôm* (Lo Bianco 2001:173). In the following centuries, *Nôm* would go in and out of favor as the official language of administration. Under the Hồ Dynasty (1400-1407) and Tây Sơn Dynasty (1788-1802), *Nôm* was adopted as the language of administration,

though other dynasties, such as the Lê Dynasty (1428-1788) even went so far as to ban it since it was a popular idiom for the expression of political dissent. Despite its varied political fortunes, the greatest achievements for *Nôm* occurred in the literary realm and from the time of its creation, *Nôm* served as the primary script for high literary production, especially poetry. Indeed, Vietnam's greatest poem *The Tale of Kieu* (*Truyện Kiều*) written by the poet Nguyễn Trãi in the early 19th century, was composed in *Nôm*.

Classical Chinese characters and *Nôm* remained the dominant writing systems for Vietnamese until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Despite their existence, both writing systems remained almost exclusively the preserve of the male elite and, with but a few exceptions such as the remarkable female poet Hồ Xuân Hương (1772-1822) who wrote in *Nôm*, the female population remained almost completely illiterate.

While *Nôm* and classical Chinese remained the dominant writing systems in Vietnam for a period of over seven centuries, a third writing system was introduced in the third decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century as a result of the efforts of Portuguese missionaries who had travelled to Vietnam to convert the Vietnamese to Catholicism. Given the difficulties involved in mastering *Nôm* and classical Chinese, the missionaries began developing a Romanized script based upon Portuguese orthography in order to evangelize more efficiently. Following some tentative early efforts, the French Jesuit priest and lexicographer Alexandre de Rhodes, who worked in Vietnam for two decades in different periods from the 1620s to the 1640s, created a standardized version of the script which appeared in his 1651 volume, *Dictionarium Annamiticum Lusitanum et Latinum* (Annamese, Portuguese, and Latin Dictionary). This script, which would undergo further modifications and later come to be known as the "National Language" (*Quốc Ngữ*) in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Lo Bianco 2001:178), was primarily confined to Catholic circles until the advent of the French colonial period in the 1840s. The French colonial government did not want to rely upon *Nôm* or classical Chinese in official administrative affairs. Thus, over time, they gradually eliminated the usage of characters in official documents and adopted *Quốc Ngữ* as the official script for administration. This decision had significant consequences as it neutralized the symbolic and practical implications of the exclusive possession of literacy for the former male elite.

The first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century witnessed a broad array of changes in Vietnamese society, but economic development, urbanization, and the growth of a middle class helped foster the growth of a *Quốc Ngữ*-based print industry. This, combined with the use of *Quốc Ngữ* in education, led to a rapid expansion of its usage in Vietnamese society, such that by the early 1930s, it had completely supplanted both *Nôm* and classical Chinese. Given its ease of learning, compared to the two earlier writing systems, *Quốc Ngữ* also helped advance the spread of literacy in colonial Vietnam, particularly in urban areas.

## **BRINGING LITERACY TO THE MASSES**

Despite the modest gains in literacy in the latter decades of the colonial period, by the early 1940s the vast majority of Vietnamese remained illiterate. The illiteracy problem had started to gain the attention of Vietnamese politicians and intellectuals in the mid-1920s (see also Marr 1977:178ff.). By the early 1930s, more organized efforts to teach literacy were being implemented, such as the approach applied by the Vietnamese Communists to

teach literacy, as well as basic mathematics, in colonial prisons. Encapsulated in the slogan, “He who knows teaches one who knows little, he who knows a lot teaches one who knows a little,” the Communist approach marshaled the knowledge available among them to teach literacy to as many people as possible (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:23).

Soon after the Vietnamese Communists succeeded in seizing power in the 1945 August Revolution, they initiated their first official efforts to eliminate illiteracy. In April of that year, while still engaged in the anti-colonial struggle against the French and Japanese, the Communists had endorsed the elimination of illiteracy as a central policy goal and some modest efforts had subsequently been launched. As they developed their program, the authorities decided to adopt a unique pedagogical approach for teaching Vietnamese that had been created, in the late 1930s, by a popular organization, The Association for the Propagation of *Quốc Ngữ*. The members of this association had concluded that one of the most significant obstacles to expanding literacy in Vietnam was the pool of potential students. Unlike the a primary school setting, populated with young children, the expansion of literacy would involve large numbers of older people who led busy lives and in many cases had little to no experience of study (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:27). To maintain their interest and motivation, the association abandoned traditional methods that had involved requiring students to spell words by sequentially sounding out their letters, indicating the tone, and then stating the whole word. In its place, the new method emphasized the similarities and differences between different letters and the various strokes added to them and this information was presented in poem form. Thus, to distinguish between the letters “I” and “T,” students were taught:

i, t	both are like hooks
i	is short and has a dot
t	is long and has a bar

Variations on the letter “O” were taught as:

o, ô, ơ	
o	is round like the egg of a chicken
ô	wears a hat
ơ	has a whisker

This approach was applied to every letter in the *Quốc Ngữ* alphabet. In addition to its clarity and simplicity, the use of poetic forms, which traditionally was a popular pedagogical method, enhanced the ease of remembering the distinctions between letters. This method continues to be employed in contemporary Vietnam and older Vietnamese who became literate during the revolutionary literacy campaigns still beam with pride as they recite the standardized lines.

## THE LITERACY CAMPAIGN BEGINS IN EARNEST

When describing the revolutionary literacy campaigns in northern Vietnam, it is important to note that the campaigns did not represent one continuous nation-wide process, but instead were profoundly affected by the eight year war fought from December 1946 until May 1954 when the Vietnamese resisted France’s efforts to reassert colonial control. The process is, therefore, best divided into three main periods. The first began in September 1945 when, following the successful August Revolution the previous month, the revolutionary authorities launched the *Bình Dân Học Vụ* (Mass Education) campaign in newly liberated Vietnam. This period concluded with the outbreak of war in December

1946, though it still succeeded in organizing 74,957 classes, in which 95,665 teachers taught 2,520,678 students, the oldest of whom was apparently 92 years old (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:58 and 46). The second period lasted from December 1946 until late 1955. Prior to the war's end in May 1954, literacy classes were organized in what were referred to as "free areas" (*vùng tự do*), which was the contemporary term for areas under control over the Vietnamese Communist resistance or Việt Minh. These classes succeeded in teaching approximately 7.5 million students. Thus, by the end 1954, some 10,000,000 Vietnamese had become literate (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:104). Following the war's end, the campaign modestly expanded nation-wide until the end of 1955. The third period of the literacy campaigns occurred as part of the 1956-1958 Three Year Plan and succeeded in teaching 2,161,362 more students. By the conclusion of this final period, official estimates reported that North Vietnam had achieved a 93.4% literacy for individuals aged 12-50 years old (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:136).

In order to understand the literacy campaigns' success, it is important to explain the social and cultural dynamics of Northern Vietnamese communities during the campaigns' conduct, particularly in rural villages where most of the instruction occurred. In contrast to the previous, somewhat attenuated level of social and political control that the French colonial administration had exercised over rural villages, Vietnamese Communist revolutionaries established a vigorous local administrative structure that was dominated by party members and had a more intrusive presence in local life. This new structure greatly increased the citizenry's contact with the administration and also generated increased social pressures to abide by the new revolutionary policies, though many who lived through the era note that there was a level of genuine enthusiasm to create a new and better society.

As a general principle, the literacy campaigns were organized at the communal level and the classrooms were set up at the village or sub-village level, depending upon community size. Instruction could occur at all times of day, though in many communities classes were conducted at night in order allow the students to work during the day. Beyond, the classroom, however, teachers and other local officials increased the pressure on residents to learn by challenging them in public places to spell words. An example of this practice from Thịnh Liệt commune south of Hanoi, which had a modest unofficial attempt in 1944 and then its official literacy campaign in 1945-46, is an illustrative example:

The 1945 stage also involved more classrooms (one per neighborhood (*xom*) instead of one per village), a course duration of two to three months, more than thirty teachers (including five women), and students of all ages and genders. The first eight months of 1946 represented the peak of Thịnh Liệt's campaign as hundreds of local residents learned rudimentary literacy. Like other North Vietnamese communes, public pressure to participate was very strong. At different spots in the commune, literacy campaign teachers forced passing villagers to spell words. If a villager still could not spell a word after several attempts, they were allowed to pass, but the fear of public humiliation, or a few strong words from the teachers, encouraged many to attend the classes (Malarney 2002:75).

Photographs from Ngô Văn Cát's comprehensive official history of the literacy campaigns, *Chống Nạn Thất Học* (Against the Lack of Education)(Ngô Văn Cát 1980), has several interesting photographs of these practices, such as one photo with a group of approximately

ten market traders, who appear to all be women, clustered on a roadside and looking up at a teacher with a portable blackboard, who is teaching the group to spell the word *qua*, which, perhaps somewhat ironically, is the verb “to pass.” Another rural scene has a buffalo with *Bình Dân Học Vụ* (Mass Education) written in chalk on its side while above it hanging from a tree is a sign that reads, “Our neighborhood is committed to eliminating illiteracy before September 2<sup>nd</sup>,” which is the anniversary of Hồ Chí Minh’s 1945 declaration of Vietnam’s independence (For both images, see Ngô Văn Cát 1980).

The conduct of the literacy campaigns took place during times of political struggle for the Vietnamese government, be it in the war against the French or the struggle to consolidate the revolution, thus authorities also designated participation in the literacy campaigns as a patriotic duty (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:45). One didactic poem stated:

Studying in the Mass Education movement is patriotic!  
Teaching in the Mass Education movement is patriotic!  
Helping in the Mass Education movement is patriotic!  
Killing the enemy of ignorance makes Viet Nam strong!  
Fighting the disaster of illiteracy is like fighting against a foreign invader!  
(Ngô Văn Cát 1980:45)

Beyond the more obvious elements of persuasion, or perhaps coercion, revolutionary authorities also attempted to create an atmosphere in which illiteracy was stigmatized. In some instances, illiteracy was portrayed as a shameful dead end, such as in the following propaganda poem:

If you can read, go to the gate marked “glorious,”  
If you cannot, go to the “gate of the blind.”  
Young girl, strong, pretty, and fresh,  
You can’t read a letter, you creep to the blind gate,  
Dear girl, that gate, what shame  
(Ngô Văn Cát 1980:53)

Another propaganda poem engaged the youth with regard to one of their most pressing social concerns, their marriageability. In one poem a woman lamented the illiteracy of her potential spouse.

You’ve left, but I couldn’t go  
I lay on my back writing a line to a poem  
For I’ve just learned “i, t”  
Marrying a man who can read sends one forward,  
Marrying one who can’t leaves one in debt  
(Ngô Văn Cát 1980:49)

Through these diverse social and cultural pressures, revolutionary authorities attempted to increase the stigma of illiteracy and, for those less than fully motivated, create stimuli to motivate them to study and become literate.

## **THE LITERACY CAMPAIGN AS REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE**

When analyzing Vietnam’s revolutionary literacy campaigns, it is important to recognize that the campaigns engaged several other issues beyond teaching the citizenry to read and write. As the previous poems indicate, one element of the campaigns was to stigmatize illiteracy at the individual level, though this also applied to the national level. For

revolutionary authorities, a high rate of illiteracy, along with other phenomena such as poor public hygiene and the acceptance of what the authorities labeled as “superstitions” (*mê tín dị đoan*), were all considered “backwards” (*lạc hậu*). Revolutionary policies were dedicated to eliminating “backwardness” in Vietnamese society. Thus, at a symbolic level, a high literacy rate represented social progress and development. Hồ Chí Minh had highlighted the importance of literacy for this effort in September 1945 when he commented, “The number of ignorant Vietnamese people compared to number of people in the nation is 95%, meaning that almost all Vietnamese people are illiterate. How can one progress like that?” (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:39).

Revolutionary authorities also regarded literacy as an essential attribute of the newly politically empowered citizenry. One common adjective employed in revolutionary ideology to describe the pre-revolutionary social order was “feudal” (*phong kiến*). This term encompassed a wide variety of features of pre-revolutionary social life, such as patriarchy or arranged marriage, but central in its meaning was the existence of hierarchical relations of domination. Vietnam’s socio-political order had been feudal and officials argued that central to the maintenance of this order was a policy that Hồ Chí Minh described as the “keep the people stupid policy” (*chính sách ngu dân*). By denying the masses knowledge, education, and literacy, the people remained ignorant and easy to rule. (It is interesting to note, in fact, that official documents often used “illiteracy” (*nạn mù chữ*) and “lack of education” (*nạn thất học*) interchangeably.) Through the literacy campaign and later educational efforts, revolutionary officials sought to create an educated population that had the knowledge and skill necessary to create the new society. Here again, Hồ Chí Minh commented in 1945, “Every Vietnamese must know his rights, his obligations, he must have the new knowledge to participate in the construction of the country, and above all he must know how to read, how to write *Quốc Ngữ*” (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:39). At the beginning of the 1956-1958 period of the literacy campaign, Hồ again commented, “The elimination of illiteracy is the first step in raising our cultural level. A higher cultural level for the people will help us strengthen the task of resuscitating the economy, developing democracy. The elevation of the people’s cultural level is an essential task in the construction of a nation that will be peaceful, united, free, democratic and wealthy” (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:123).

When conducting the instruction sessions, teachers were required to include discussions of news and politics, which were obviously to accord with revolutionary policies. On one hand, the inclusion of such content could take the form of the grander forms of propaganda, such as the slogan, “The Mass Education Campaign is a falling bomb, Crashing into the dreams of the invaders” (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:68), but the authorities also recognized the possibilities that the instructional materials had for the transmission of other officially sanctioned knowledge and values. An early illustration of this practice was evident in the name of the third literacy textbook published, “Practical Hygiene” (*Vệ Sinh Thường Thức*) (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:28), that supplemented contemporary official efforts to improve personal and public hygiene. Another early textbook included the following lessons:

Exercise 11: Our People are Free

Exercise 20: We have democracy, let’s have our people lead each other to study, to fight against illiteracy

Exercise 30: The revolution has brought freedom and happiness to our people

Exercise 33: Our country is a democratic republic. Everyone can vote for the National

Assembly. Make an effort to become literate, so you can write on your ballot  
(Ngô Văn Cát 1980:41)

The task of creating a literate population, therefore, was intimately linked with broader revolutionary ideas and values.

## **CONCLUSION: THE LITERACY CAMPAIGN'S CONSEQUENCES**

As previously mentioned, by the late 1950s, North Vietnam had achieved 93.4% literacy for individuals aged 12-50 years old. This was a remarkable achievement given the situation only fifteen years earlier. Difficulties, of course, remained. For example, male-female literacy rates remained unequal and regional variations existed also. According to figures compiled in 1958, the city of Hanoi had a 97.5% literacy rate, while rural Nam Định province to the southeast of Hanoi had a 90.5% literacy rate. Some highland areas remained stubbornly lower, a problem that still remains (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:136). However, according to Ngô Văn Cát's statistics, by the end of the 1950s the literacy campaigns had succeeded in bringing literacy to some twelve million people.

The basic statistics aside, the consequences of the literacy campaigns' are evident in other domains as well. One official summary of the campaigns' consequences, which was attuned to the multipartite nature of the campaigns, stated:

Propagandizing about the resistance, putting the guidelines and policies of the party deeply into the hearts of the people, teaching patriotism and fortitude to fight and win, strengthening the efforts to eliminate the enemy hunger, defeating foreign invaders, implementing all production policies, establishing revolutionary bases, instructing cadres in the countryside after the land reform...at every level of important revolutionary change, the campaign helped to strengthen the revolutionary efforts in every manner, and registered many impressive accomplishments (Ngô Văn Cát 1980:102)

Though seemingly encompassing, the volume failed to acknowledge several other achievements. Perhaps most obviously, the literacy campaigns transformed a nearly completely illiterate female population into an almost completely literate population. One of the Vietnamese revolution's stated goals was the creation of male-female equality. While in this and some other aspects, theory did not completely equal practice, female access to literacy created previously unimaginable opportunities for women; the notion that a daughter should not be taught to read or write was definitively abandoned.

Near universal literacy also created in Vietnamese society a previously nonexistent level of access to written knowledge. As with the case of women, literacy created educational opportunities, which in turn created previously unattainable social opportunities for the formerly illiterate. The previously successful mechanism of denying literacy to many in order to maintain the domination of a literate male elite was thus overturned and opportunity expanded for many. From another interesting perspective, the spread of literacy created other opportunities for social development. One of the striking features of the Vietnamese revolution, particularly as it was carried out from 1954 onward, was the centrality of written texts that were circulated to the multiple levels of administration across the country. These texts detailed the knowledge and practices regarded as central to the issue at hand, be it the elimination of agricultural pests, the construction of two-pit latrines to control parasites, or proper pre- and post-natal care. Though it is impossible



to determine exactly how often these texts were read or their concrete consequences in specific contexts, the spread of literacy and the widespread dissemination of knowledge in official texts arguably did have an impact upon the gains in agricultural productivity and public health that occurred in the post-1954 period.

Finally, from the perspective of the revolutionary authorities, the improvements in the literacy rate had important symbolic implications for the Vietnamese state's efforts to concretely demonstrate how official policies helped the Vietnamese transcend "backwardness" and achieve a "progressive" (*tiến bộ*) and "civilized" (*văn minh*) society. To this day, the Vietnamese government takes tremendous pride in its literacy rate and the casual observer of Vietnam's major cities cannot fail to be struck by the sheer number of publishing houses, newspapers, book stores, and sidewalk newsstands. Literacy is now a skill shared by nearly all Vietnamese and engagements with the written word have become a central and expected part of everyday life.

## REFERENCES

- De FRANCIS, John. (1977). *Colonialism and Language Policy in Vietnam*. New York: Mouton.
- ETHNOLOGUE LANGUAGES OF THE WORLD 2012. Vietnam. Summer Institute of Linguistics. [http://www.ethnologue.com/show\\_map.asp?name=VN](http://www.ethnologue.com/show_map.asp?name=VN)
- GENERAL STATISTICS OFFICE OF VIETNAM. (2010). "Media Release: The 2009 Population and Housing Census." [http://www.gso.gov.vn/default\\_en.aspx?tabid=599&ItemID=9788](http://www.gso.gov.vn/default_en.aspx?tabid=599&ItemID=9788). Accessed July 2, 2012.
- (2011). *Education in Vietnam: An Analysis of Key Indicators*. Hanoi: UNFPA.
- Lo BIANCO, Joseph. (2001). "Viet Nam: *Quoc Ngu*, Colonialism and Language Policy." In Nanette Gottlieb and Peng Chen, eds., *Language Planning and Language Policies: East Asian Perspectives*, pp. 159-206. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon.
- MALARNEY, Shaun Kingsley. (2002). *Culture, Ritual and Revolution in Vietnam*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- MARR, David G. (1977). *Vietnamese Tradition on Trial: 1920-1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- NGÔ VĂN CÁT. (1980). *Chống Nạn Thất Học* (Against the Lack of Education). Hanoi: Nhà Xuất Bản Giáo Dục.