

CIÊNCIAS SOCIALMENTE APLICÁVEIS E HUMANIDADES:

SABERES, PRÁTICAS E HORIZONTES DE INVESTIGAÇÃO

JESÚS RIVAS GUTIÉRREZ
(ORGANIZADOR)

VOL IV



**EDITORA
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PRÓLOGO

El Volumen IV de la colección ***Ciencias Socialmente Aplicables y Humanidades: Saberes, Prácticas y Horizontes de Investigación*** amplía el diálogo político e interdisciplinario al reunir estudios que exploran las relaciones entre economía, cultura, sociedad, territorio y dinámicas contemporáneas, ofreciendo una visión plural y crítica de las transformaciones sociales en distintos momentos y contextos.

El primer eje, política, economía y seguridad internacional, presenta varios análisis orientados a las relaciones geopolíticas, los procesos de integración regional y las estrategias para enfrentar fenómenos complejos, como el crimen organizado y conflictos territoriales. Los trabajos evidencian las tensiones y reconfiguraciones del escenario internacional contemporáneo, destacando la importancia de la inteligencia estratégica y la cooperación entre naciones.

En el eje cultura, arte y comunicación, los estudios abordan manifestaciones culturales y artísticas en sus múltiples expresiones, desde fiestas populares y producciones musicales hasta análisis de la cultura visual y de los medios de comunicación. Las investigaciones destacan el papel del arte y la comunicación en la construcción de identidades, en la circulación de discursos y en la formación de imaginarios sociales, articulando tradición y contemporaneidad en diversos contextos culturales y nutricionales.

El tercer eje, turismo, territorio y patrimonio, reúne investigaciones que exploran la relación entre cultura, identidad y desarrollo territorial, con énfasis en prácticas turísticas y gastronómicas. Los trabajos ponen de relieve el potencial del turismo como motor de valorización cultural y económica, evidenciando la importancia de enfoques sostenibles y sensoriales en la promoción de los territorios.

Por último, el eje salud, sociedad y derechos contemporáneos presenta reflexiones sobre cuestiones sociales urgentes, como el derecho a condiciones dignas de vida, las dinámicas de la salud mental y las experiencias de grupos históricamente marginados. Las contribuciones evidencian las intersecciones entre salud, trabajo, desigualdad y derechos, proponiendo lecturas críticas y contextualizadas de la realidad social.

Al reunir estos diferentes ejes, el Volumen IV reafirma el compromiso con un enfoque interdisciplinario y sensible a las múltiples dimensiones de la experiencia humana. La obra invita al lector a reflexionar sobre los desafíos contemporáneos desde diversas perspectivas, contribuyendo al fortalecimiento del pensamiento crítico y a la construcción de horizontes de investigación cada vez más amplios.

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THE VISUAL REGIME OF REVOLUTIONARY PRINT: TYPOGRAPHY AND THE FORMATION OF VIETNAM'S PUBLIC SPHERE (LATE 19TH CENTURY–1954)

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ABSTRACT: This article argues that Vietnamese revolutionary journalism from the late 19th century to 1954 used typography and page design not merely as aesthetic choices but as essential tools in shaping revolutionary discourse. It moves beyond seeing newspapers only as vehicles of ideology to analyze how typographic conventions, grid systems, and spatial organization constituted a 'visual regime of revolutionary print,' actively structuring political perception. The article focuses on newspapers such as *Gia Định Báo*, *Le Paria*, *Thanh Niên*, *Cứu Quốc*, *Vệ Quốc Quân*, *Quân đội Nhân dân*, and *Nhân Dân*, tracing their evolution from single-column to multi-column grids, from decorative illustrations to hierarchical image–text layouts, and from inconsistent to regularized page structures. The book contends that these design strategies organized reading habits, promoted collective discipline, and shaped

ideological authority. The central argument is that Vietnamese revolutionary typography was formed through the synthesis of European modernist grid rationality and Soviet publishing models. By presenting revolutionary newspapers as a 'typographic public sphere,' the study emphasizes the decisive role of visual design in building modern political consciousness and offers comparative perspectives on print and visual culture in East Asia and the Global South.

KEYWORDS: revolutionary typography; visual regime; typographic public sphere; grid systems; Vietnamese revolutionary journalism.

1. INTRODUCTION

Studies of Vietnamese revolutionary journalism have focused on its role in ideological transmission, political mobilization, and anti-colonial struggle. Less attention, however, has been paid to the visual and material forms that made revolutionary discourse legible, readable, and collectively experienced. The hierarchical organization of *Quốc ngữ typography*,¹ along with grid structures, spacing, margins, and conventions for text and image placement,² was not merely

¹ Nguyễn Thành. (2005). *Báo chí cách mạng Việt Nam 1925–1945* (pp. 212–218). Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia.

² Duiker, W. J. (2000). *Ho Chi Minh: A Life* (pp. 381–389). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

technical or decorative. It functioned as a visual institution, shaping political perception and collective affect. Existing scholarship has often seen these typographic and spatial regimes as secondary or merely ornamental. They are not always recognized as being constitutive of revolutionary communication.³

This article reconceptualizes Vietnamese revolutionary newspapers from the late 19th century to 1954 as a “visual regime of print.” In this regime, power, discipline, and affect were materially encoded through typography and spatial design.⁴ Drawing on the concept of the visual regime from visual culture studies, these newspapers are examined not as neutral repositories of text, but as active fields of visual practice. Through grids, typographic hierarchies, and image–text relationships, they helped shape the revolutionary public sphere. They did not merely reflect on it.

The shift from the single-column layouts of clandestine *Guangzhou*-period newspapers – such as *Thanh Niên* (Youth) and *Búa Liềm* (Hammer and Sickle) – to the multi-column grids, standardized headline hierarchies, and socialist-realist photographic arrangements of anti-French resistance titles marked more than a stylistic change. These titles include *Cứu Quốc* (Save the Nation), *Vệ Quốc Quân* (National Defense Army), *Sự Thật* (Truth), and *Nhân Dân* (The People). The shift constituted a fundamental reconfiguration of political visibility.⁵

This study presents a comparative analysis of visual communication strategies. These include grid systems, typographic hierarchies, and photographic layouts in major revolutionary newspapers, with a focus on emblematic Lunar New Year editions.⁷ These special editions vividly convey revolutionary sentiment and political hierarchies. They show how typography and layout structured collective experience and reinforced emotional and ideological messages.

Ultimately, this article conceptualizes Vietnamese revolutionary journalism as a typographic public sphere. It was shaped not only by party organization and textual discourse but also by the institutionalization of visual discipline – a system of grids, typefaces, images, and controlled whitespace. Revolutionary print was not merely written and distributed. It was typeset, visually organized, and performatively structured as a political system. By placing revolutionary newspapers at the intersection of typographic history, visual culture, and political media studies, this study highlights their role in shaping modern political consciousness and public sphere practices.

³ Nguyễn Văn Hải. (1987). *Hồi ký làm báo Cứu Quốc* (pp. 56–63). Hà Nội: Nxb Sự Thật.

⁴ Tố Hữu. (1949). Đọc báo tết của chiến sĩ (pp. 3–4). *Vệ Quốc Quân* Xuân issue.

⁵ Nguyễn Văn Khánh. (2010). *Lịch sử báo Nhân Dân* (pp. 27–34). Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia.

2. REVIEW OF PREVIOUS STUDIES

2.1. STUDIES IN REVOLUTIONARY AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

Previous scholarship on Vietnamese revolutionary history has developed along three major lines. First, theoretical studies on *Hồ Chí Minh* (Nguyễn Ái Quốc, 1890–1969) and the formation of Vietnamese communism—exemplified by the works of *Duiker*⁶, *Quinn-Judge*⁷, *Marr*⁸, and *Nguyễn Khắc Viện*⁹—have established *Đường Kách Mệnh*¹⁰ as a colonial translation of Leninism. These studies see it as the ideological foundation of the Vietnamese Communist Party. They analyze in detail the relationship between national liberation and socialism, the theory of the vanguard party, and the formation of an internationalist orientation.¹¹

In particular, Quinn-Judge situates the Comintern network and publishing activities during the *Guangzhou* period within the broader field of international communism, demonstrating that Vietnamese revolutionary theory emerged through transnational political and organizational circuits.¹² Second, within Vietnam, historians of revolutionary journalism such as *Nguyễn Thành*, *Đỗ Quang Hưng*, and *Trần Hữu Quang* have reconstructed the institutional genealogy of the press from *Thanh Niên* (1925) to the August Revolution, interpreting newspapers through Lenin's concept of the press as a “collective propagandist, agitator, and organizer,” and documenting the roles of clandestine papers, prison publications, legal and semi-legal organs, *Viet Minh* periodicals, and military newspapers in mass mobilization and state formation.¹³

Third, studies of colonial print and visual culture, drawing on theories by Anderson, Chartier, Eisenstein, and *Marr*, have examined the spread of *Quốc ngữ*, print capitalism, modern reading practices, and the emergence of a public sphere. These studies look at newspapers such as *Gia Định Báo*, *Phụ Nữ Tân Văn*, *Phong Hóa*, and *Ngày Nay*. Yet across these bodies of scholarship, typographic form and page design—encompassing printing technologies, layout systems, column structures, type hierarchies, illustrations,

⁶ William J. Duiker. (2000). *Ho Chi Minh: A Life* (pp. 168–175). New York: Hyperion.

⁷ Sophie Quinn-Judge, *Ho Chi Minh: The Missing Years, 1919–1941* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

⁸ David G. Marr, *Vietnamese Anticolonialism, 1885–1925* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); idem, *Vietnamese Tradition on Trial, 1920–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981).

⁹ Nguyễn Khắc Viện, *Việt Nam: Une longue histoire* (Paris: Éditions Sociales, 1987); Vietnamese edition. (1990). *Việt Nam – Một thiên lịch sử Hà Nội*: Nhà xuất bản Thế Giới.

¹⁰ Hồ Chí Minh (Nguyễn Ái Quốc), *Đường Kách Mệnh [The Revolutionary Path]* (Quảng Châu: Việt Nam Thanh Niên Cách Mệnh Đồng Chí Hội, 1927); reprinted in *Hồ Chí Minh Toàn Tập [The Complete Works of Ho Chi Minh]*, vol. 2 (Hà Nội: Nhà xuất bản Chính trị Quốc gia, Sự Thật, 2011), pp. 259–318.

¹¹ Marr, D. G. (1981). *Vietnamese Tradition on Trial, 1920–1945* (pp. 102–118). University of California Press.

¹² Eisenstein, E. L. (1979). *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change (Vol. 1, pp. 42–59)*. Cambridge University Press.

¹³ Lenin, V. I. (1902/1961). What Is to Be Done? (pp. 384–390). Progress Publishers.

and visual effects of censorship – have remained largely marginal. They are often treated as secondary to ideological content and institutional function.¹⁴

Typography has thus been understood mainly as formal decoration or technical support. It is rarely seen as a regime through which political authority, discipline, and revolutionary consciousness were materially organized and made perceptible.¹⁵

2.2. POSITIONING OF THE PRESENT STUDY

This article aims to bridge these three traditions and address their shared blind spots in three key areas.

First, it analyzes *Đường Kách Mệnh* (The Revolutionary Path), *Thanh Niên* (Youth), *Búa Liềm* (Hammer and Sickle), and *Quân đội Nhân dân* (People's Army Newspaper) as separate entities belonging respectively to intellectual history, journalism history, or visual culture studies, but as components of a unified political communication system built upon shared printing infrastructures and typographic conventions.¹⁶

Second, it reconceptualizes revolutionary journalism not only as a vehicle for ideological content, but as a political typographic apparatus. It examines how layout structures, type systems, column organization, line spacing, illustrations, traces of censorship, and clandestine circulation materially shaped the formation and transmission of revolutionary discourse.¹⁷

Third, this study does not treat socialist visual culture solely as a history of propaganda images. Instead, it traces how colonial printing standards were appropriated and transformed during the revolutionary period into an institutionalized national visual order. This approach situates Vietnamese revolutionary typography within the broader comparative history of global print culture and political media.¹⁸

¹⁴ Marr (1981), Anderson (2006), Chartier (1991), Eisenstein (1979)

¹⁵ Marr (1971); Warner (2002)

¹⁶ Quinn-Judge, S. (2002). *Ho Chi Minh: The missing years, 1919–1941* (pp. 112–138). University of California Press.

¹⁷ Anderson (2006); Eisenstein (1979)

¹⁸ Marr (1971); Warner (2002)

Figure 1: Gia Định Báo (2. 1866), the first French-sponsored Quốc Ngữ paper; Gia Định Báo (24. 10. 1871); Gia Định Báo (25. 11 1893). Source: by Vietnam Studies Group.

Figure 2: Nông Cổ Mín Đàm (1883). Source: by Gallica.

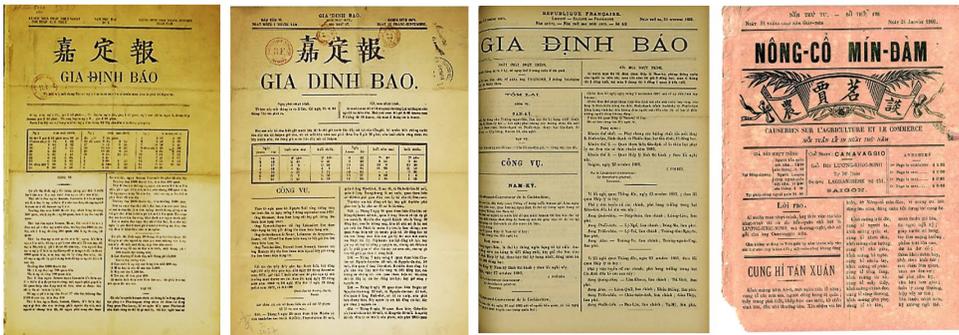


Figure 3: Lục Tinh Tân Văn newspaper (1907; No. 223, No. 243, No. 320). Although the title was Sino-Vietnamese, the newspaper was one of the first non-Catholic papers to use the Latin Quốc ngữ script. Source: by Wikimedia.

Figure 4: Nữ Giới Chung (1918). Source: by Gallica.



3. COLONIAL PRINTING INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN TYPOGRAPHY (1865–1930S)

3.1. THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN TYPOGRAPHY

The pivotal moment in the development of modern typography in Vietnam can be traced to the founding of *Gia Định Báo* in Saigon in 1865 by the Cochinchina colonial administration. Established as an official government gazette, the newspaper was initially directed by *Ernest Potteaux* (1829–1907). However, with the subsequent appointment of *Trương Vĩnh Ký* (1837–1898) as editor-in-chief, *Gia Định Báo* expanded its role beyond merely disseminating administrative decrees to embrace an educational and enlightenment-oriented mission. Most significantly, it was the first regularly issued periodical printed in *Quốc ngữ*, the Romanized Vietnamese script, thereby marking the earliest instance of the transition from the traditional Sino graphic system to a modern alphabetic writing system being materially realized through print media.

Although the primary purpose of *Gia Định Báo* was to transmit official announcements and legal regulations, its page layout already incorporated fundamental elements of modern typographic organization, such as a hierarchical distinction between headlines and body text, regulated line spacing, and clear paragraph articulation. At this stage, typography was not yet a subject of aesthetic experimentation; rather, it functioned as a technical tool for the repetitive reproduction of text and the visual guidance of the reader's gaze. In this sense, early modern Vietnamese typography initially emerged as a system of visual discipline and legibility, establishing the foundational conditions for standardized reading practices.

3.2. NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE PUBLISHING AND THE FOUNDATIONS OF EARLY SOCIALIST TYPOGRAPHY

Following the publication of *Gia Định Báo*, the French colonial authorities gradually permitted a limited number of privately operated newspapers in Cochinchina under a licensing and censorship regime. Notable examples include *Phan Yên Báo* (The Anti-Speech Gazette), edited and published by *Diệp Văn Cương* in 1868; the weekly *Nam Kỳ Nhựt Trình* (Southern Region Daily), founded in 1883; *Nông Cổ Mìn Đàm* (Discussions on Agriculture and Commerce, Past and Present), first issued on 1 August 1901; *Lục Tỉnh Tân Văn* (Six Provinces News), edited from 1907 by *Trần Chánh Chiếu* (1868–1919); and *Nữ Giới Chung* (The Bell of the Women's World), launched on 1 February 1918 with *Lê Đức* as publisher and *Sương Nguyệt Anh* (1864–1921), the first female journalist in Vietnam, as editor-in-chief.

Despite operating under strict licensing and censorship, these newspapers played a key role in expanding the modern public sphere and promoting *Quốc ngữ*-based print culture. From the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, their rapid growth in Hanoi and Saigon transformed printing from an auxiliary tool of colonial administration into a central medium of social communication. Typographically, the increasing use of bold headlines, standardized columns, and regularized line spacing improved legibility, developments driven primarily by the practical demands of mass production and censorship. The stabilization of these layout conventions laid the technical and institutional groundwork for the later formation of grid systems, typographic hierarchies, and visually organized political discourse in the revolutionary press of the socialist era.

3.3. ESTABLISHING TYPOGRAPHIC HIERARCHY, GRID SYSTEMS, AND LINE SPACING

In the early twentieth century, Vietnamese newspapers and magazines moved away from the irregular line arrangements of manuscript culture toward the regularized page composition and visual hierarchy of modern print.¹⁹ This shift was not merely formal but reflected a transformation of the visual order closely linked to the cognitive structures of a print-based public sphere. With the widespread adoption of column systems, text was organized within standardized rectangular frames, and hierarchies of headlines, subheadings, and body text were articulated through variations in type size, weight, letter spacing, and line spacing.²⁰ The newspaper page thus evolved from a simple aggregation of texts into a visual apparatus that guided the eye's movement and structured sequential reading.²¹

The emergence of the grid was central to this order. Page layouts were divided into modular units defined by margins, within which headlines, columns, images, and advertisements were arranged in repeatable patterns. Such modular composition increased printing efficiency while providing readers with a stable visual rhythm. At the same time, the regulation of line spacing became a crucial technical and cognitive norm. Because the tonal diacritics of *Quốc ngữ* extend above and below the letter body, generous leading was required to prevent collisions and ensure legibility.²² From the 1900s onward, newspapers and textbooks therefore adopted relatively wide line spacing, illustrating how the phonological structure of Vietnamese directly shaped typographic standards.²³

4. HỒ CHÍ MINH'S *LE PARIA* AND INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY TYPOGRAPHY

4.1. THE FRENCH-LANGUAGE REVOLUTIONARY PRESS AND THE COMINTERN PUBLISHING NETWORK

Founded in Paris in 1922, the French-language newspaper *Le Paria* (“The Pariah”), in which *Hồ Chí Minh* actively participated as editor and contributor, was the first truly international revolutionary periodical associated with the Vietnamese revolutionary movement. It marked the moment when Vietnamese revolutionary typography entered

¹⁹ Eisenstein, E. L. (1979). *The printing press as an agent of change: Communications and cultural transformations in early-modern Europe* (pp. 52–60, 321–327). Cambridge University Press.

²⁰ Barnard, M. (2005). *Graphic design as communication* (pp. 65–72). Routledge.

²¹ Burke, P. (2000). *A social history of knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot* (pp. 94–101). Polity Press.

²² Nguyễn, Đ. Đ. (1998). *Chữ quốc ngữ và quá trình hình thành văn hóa in ấn Việt Nam* (pp. 73–79). Nhà xuất bản Trẻ.

²³ Nguyễn, V. T. (1972). *Lịch sử báo chí Việt Nam* (pp. 58–63). Nam Sơn.

the global socialist print network.²⁴ Supported by the *French Communist Party* and the *Comintern*, the paper served as an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist organ that united, in *French*, the voices of revolutionaries from *Algeria, Madagascar, West Africa, Indochina*, and other colonial regions, thereby creating a transnational public sphere for the colonized.²⁵

The typographic design of *Le Paria* adhered to the disciplined columnar organization and hierarchical headline structure characteristic of the French leftist press, while strategically employing bold type and agitational illustrations to enhance the visual expression of political urgency and struggle.²⁶ In this respect, it aligned with the functionalist typographic principles established in publications of the Third International, which aimed to present revolutionary theory as a “manual” through clear legibility, logical hierarchy, and consistent grid structures.²⁷

Typically composed in one- or two-column layouts, the pages of *Le Paria* featured bold sans-serif or standard Roman headlines at the top of articles, while the body text was set in highly readable serif typefaces. This approach made the hierarchy of information and the structure of the argument visually explicit.²⁸ Rather than serving a merely decorative role, the layout operated as an instrumental design mechanism that enabled communal reading, dialogic exchange, and performative oral circulation within communities of colonial laborers, students, and political exiles.²⁹

4.2. POLITICAL TYPOGRAPHY IN PRACTICE: DECONSTRUCTING THE LEGITIMACY OF COLONIAL AUTHORITY

From 1922 to 1926, President *Ho Chi Minh* published at least 38 editorials and 5 political cartoons in *Le Paria*, transforming the newspaper into a crucial platform for internationalist critical discourse directed at the colonial populace.³⁰ His editorials referenced specific administrative cases, statistics, and legal provisions from *French colonies* such as *Algeria, Tunisia, Madagascar, and Indochina*, exposing the structural violence of imperialist domination while simultaneously developing a theoretical framework that united the French working class and the oppressed colonial peoples as a single historical subject.³¹

²⁴ Bảo tàng Hồ Chí Minh. (2010). *Danh mục bài viết của Nguyễn Ái Quốc trên Le Paria* (pp. 14–19). Hồ Chí Minh Museum.

²⁵ Bảo tàng Hồ Chí Minh. (2010). *Thư mục báo Le Paria 1922–1926* (pp. 3–7). Hồ Chí Minh Museum.

²⁶ Goscha, C. (2016). *Vietnam: A new history* (pp. 79–84). Basic Books.

²⁷ *Le Paria*. (1922, April 1). *Le Paria* (No. 1, p. 1).

²⁸ Nguyễn Ái Quốc. (1926). *Le procès de la colonisation française* (Introduction, pp. V–X). Paris.

²⁹ *Rapports de diffusion du journal Le Paria, 1922–1924*. (1924). Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds colonial (pp. 12–18).

³⁰ Ho Chi Minh Museum. (2010). *Catalogue of articles and political cartoons by Nguyen Ai Quoc in Le Paria (1922–1926)* (pp. 14–19). Ho Chi Minh Museum.

³¹ *Le Paria*. (1922–1923). *Le Paria* (Nos. 1–15), articles signed by Nguyen Ai Quoc. Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Notably, articles published between 1922 and 1924—such as “*Colonialism in Indochina* (Le Colonialisme en Indochine),” “*The Crimes of French Capitalism* (Les Crimes du capitalisme français),” and “*Colonial Justice* (La Justice coloniale)” —detailed tax collection, forced labor, and racial discrimination point by point. By juxtaposing legal texts and administrative statistics, these writings analyzed how the violence of colonial rule was concealed through the language of “*legitimacy*.” The narrative style of these editorials employed a modern, argumentative journalistic structure that persuaded readers not through emotional agitation but through citations, figures, and comparative tables. This approach later became the structural prototype for “*Le Procès de la colonisation française*” (The Trial of French Colonization, 1926).³²

According to original copies of *Le Paria* seized by the French police and related investigation records, these editorials and cartoons were classified as “propaganda that incites rebellion among colonial natives and undermines the moral authority of the French Republic,” making them subjects of intense surveillance.³³ This confirms that *Ho Chi Minh’s* writings and drawings went beyond mere ideological expression; through the fusion of print and imagery, they constituted a political typographic practice aimed at deconstructing the legitimacy of colonial rule.

4.3. ILLUSTRATIONS, VISUAL IMAGERY, AND THE GRAPHIC POLITICS OF REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA

The illustrations and visual imagery in *Le Paria* operated not as mere ornamentation but as integral rhetorical instruments that crystallized and intensified the political arguments articulated in the text.³⁴ This strategy sought to render revolutionary ideology immediately intelligible while orchestrating affective responses across an international readership marked by heterogeneous levels of literacy and linguistic competence.³⁵

The recurring imagery in the newspaper featured imperialist soldiers, colonized peoples bound in chains, united workers and peasants, red flags, and broken shackles, visually articulating the binary oppositions of oppression and liberation, as well as

³² *Le Paria*. (1922, October). *Le Paria* (No. 10, pp. 1–2). Bibliothèque nationale de France; *Le Paria*. (1923, June). *Le Paria* (No. 18, pp. 2–3). Bibliothèque nationale de France; *Le Paria*. (1922–1925). *Le Paria* (Nos. 7, 12, 20, 25, 31), political caricatures. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Colonial Collection.

³³ Archives nationales de France. (1923). *Le Paria – Colonial propaganda* (Series F7, police report, fols. 47–53). Archives Nationales.

³⁴ Eisenstein, E. L. (1979). *The printing press as an agent of change* (pp. 318–330). Cambridge University Press.

³⁵ Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined communities* (Rev. ed., pp. 44–55). Verso.

exploitation and struggle, clearly and compellingly.³⁶ This pictorial vocabulary, informed by the symbolic traditions of Russian revolutionary posters and French left-wing illustration, constituted a common visual grammar through which internationalist ideology was visually encoded.³⁷

Formally, the use of heavy contour lines, reductive forms, stark chiaroscuro, and a restricted chromatic range – predominantly black-and-white with occasional red accents – produced sharply legible silhouettes that could be apprehended at a glance, thereby ensuring the instantaneous transmission of meaning. Alongside text-based argumentation, this approach was a fundamental principle of propaganda graphics, designed to engage readers' perception through visual impact and emotional resonance.

This graphic strategy was later adopted in the visual language of newspapers, posters, leaflets, and manuals during the Vietnamese revolutionary period. From *Thanh Niên* (Youth), *Đường Kách Mệnh* (The Revolutionary Path), and *Búa Liềm* (Hammer and Sickle) to anti-Japanese and anti-French propaganda posters and wall newspapers, bold headlines, simple compositions, symbolic figure representations, and color schemes dominated by stark black-and-white or red contrasts all reflect the influence of international revolutionary visual culture, including *Le Paria*. This demonstrates that Vietnamese revolutionary typography and graphic design were not isolated national products but were developed within the broader context of international socialist visual politics, mediated by the Comintern.³⁸

Figure 5: The revolutionary newspaper *Le Paria*, which pursued the mission of human liberation, was founded and published by Hồ Chí Minh and his comrades and issued a total of 38 issues between April 1922 and April 1926. Source: by National Museum of Vietnamese History, Hanoi.

Figure 6: “*Đường Kách Mệnh*” (1927), *The Path of Revolution*. Designated National Treasure No. 9 (2012). Source: by National Museum of Vietnamese History, Hanoi.



³⁶ Mitchell, W. J. T. (2005). *What do pictures want? The lives and loves of images* (pp. 161–168). University of Chicago Press.

³⁷ Quinn-Judge, S. (2002). *Ho Chi Minh: The missing years, 1919–1941* (pp. 147–153). University of California Press.

³⁸ Lenin, V. I. (1902/1977). *What is to be done?* (Collected Works, Vol. 5, pp. 384–392). Progress Publishers.

Figure 7: The inaugural issue of Thanh Niên (“Youth”), a mimeographed underground and exile newspaper founded on June 21, 1925, in Guangzhou, China, as the official organ of the Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth League, the precursor of the Communist Party of Vietnam. Source: by National Museum of Vietnamese History, Hanoi.

Figure 8: In 1929, Búa Liềm (“Hammer and Sickle”) was launched as the official newspaper of the Indochinese Communist Party, calling for the unity of oppressed peoples around the world. Source: by National Museum of Vietnamese History, Hanoi.

Figure 9: Selected newspapers founded during the period 1925–1945. Source: by National Museum of Vietnamese History, Hanoi.



5. TYPOGRAPHIC NORMS AND VISUAL REGIMES OF THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTIONARY PRESS

5.1. THE FORMATION AND INTELLECTUAL POSITION OF THE PATH OF REVOLUTION

Designated National Treasure No. 9 in 2012, *Đường Kách Mệnh* (1927), translated as *The Path of Revolution*, is a compilation of political training lectures delivered by *Hồ Chí Minh* to cadres of the Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth League in Guangzhou between 1925 and 1926. It is widely regarded as the first systematic text to articulate the theoretical and organizational foundations of the Vietnamese communist movement.³⁹ The work represents the earliest comprehensive effort to translate and rearticulate Comintern directives and Leninist revolutionary theory within the concrete conditions of colonial Vietnam, and it occupies a pivotal position in the intellectual genealogy that led to the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam in 1930.⁴⁰

In the opening of the book, *Hồ Chí Minh* explicitly states its pedagogical and political purpose:

“This book aims to make our compatriots clearly understand why a revolution is necessary, why revolution is not the affair of a few but of the entire people, what the experiences of world revolutions teach us, who are our friends and who are our enemies, and how a revolution must be carried out.”⁴¹

This declaration frames revolution not as an abstract moral ideal but as a problem of organization, discipline, and collective practice. It directly reflects the Leninist conception of the party as a vanguard that educates, trains, and politically organizes the masses.⁴²

³⁹ Hồ Chí Minh. (2012). *Đường Kách Mệnh* (pp. 5–9, 33–41). Hà Nội: Nhà Xuất Bản Chính trị Quốc gia.

⁴⁰ Duiker, W. J. (2000). *Ho Chi Minh: A life* (pp. 152–159). New York, NY: Hyperion.

⁴¹ Hồ Chí Minh, *Đường Kách Mệnh*, p. 9.

⁴² Lenin, V. I. (1902). *What is to be done?* (pp. 22–30). Moscow: Progress Publishers; Lenin, V. I. (1900). *The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement*. Moscow: Progress Publishers.

The Path of Revolution reconstructs the history of modern revolutions – *the American Revolution (1776), the French Revolution (1789), the Russian Revolution (1917)*, and the formation of the First, Second, and Third Internationals – through a comparative lens grounded in class structure and international politics.⁴³ This comparative framework is not a neutral historical survey; instead, it is deployed to expose the limitations of bourgeois-democratic revolutions and to demonstrate the historical necessity of proletarian revolution.⁴⁴ Through this procedure, *Hồ Chí Minh* situates the Vietnamese national liberation struggle within the universal logic of world revolution, conceptualizing it as an integral component of the international proletarian movement.⁴⁵

5.2. THE VISUAL SYSTEM AND GRID OF REVOLUTIONARY NEWSPAPERS: TYPOGRAPHIC ORDER AND THE SPATIAL ORGANIZATION OF POLITICS

The visual system of Vietnamese revolutionary newspapers – particularly the lineage extending from *Thanh Niên* (Youth), *Búa Liềm* (Hammer and Sickle), *Cờ Đỏ* (Red Flag), and *Cứu Quốc* (National Salvation) to *Nhân Dân* (The People) and *Quân đội Nhân dân* (People's Army) – functioned not merely as a product of editorial technique but as a political apparatus that spatially organized revolutionary ideology.⁴⁶ Through the disciplined use of grids and line spacing, these newspapers strictly regulated the hierarchy between text and image, headline and body, symbol and article, thereby directing the reader's gaze and visually inscribing the primacy of political meanings.⁴⁷

During the early period of exile in Guangzhou, the mimeographed and letterpress newspapers *Thanh Niên* (Youth) and *Búa Liềm* (Hammer and Sickle) employed a single-column layout with a large masthead centered at the top and programmatic editorials directly beneath it, creating a vertically stratified hierarchy. This arrangement spatially represented the discursive order of “party line → ideological interpretation → guidelines for mass action.” The grid thus functioned not as a neutral compositional framework but as a visual structuring of political authority. Bold masthead lettering established a symbolic center, while the dense leading and tight letter spacing of the body text visually conveyed collective discipline and theoretical rigor.⁴⁸

In the 1930s, during a period of combined underground and semi-legal activity, newspapers such as *Cờ Đỏ* (Red Flag), *Tranh Đấu* (Struggle), and *Dân Chúng* (The Masses)

⁴³ Hồ Chí Minh, *Đường Kách Mệnh*, pp. 33–41.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 38–40.

⁴⁵ Quinn-Judge, S. (2002). *Ho Chi Minh: The missing years* (pp. 213–218). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

⁴⁶ Pierre Brocheux. (2007). *Ho Chi Minh: A Biography* (pp. 130-140). Cambridge University Press.

⁴⁷ David G. Marr. (1971). *Vietnamese Anticolonialism 1885–1925* (pp. 295–320). Berkeley: University of California Press.

⁴⁸ Trần Văn Giàu. (1997). *Sự phát triển của tư tưởng Hồ Chí Minh* (pp. 118–125). Hà Nội: Nxb. Khoa học Xã hội.

introduced multi-column grids that segmented the page into clearly differentiated article units. This modular structure enabled the parallel presentation of class struggle, international affairs, organizational directives, and reports from labor sites within a single page, thereby constructing a visual public sphere of simultaneous political visibility. Yet, even within this parallelism, hierarchy remained explicit: articles on party policy or the international communist movement were consistently positioned at the center or upper left, while agitational pieces, local reports, and readers' contributions occupied the lower or peripheral zones. The grid thus imposed an ideological spatial order of "center" and "periphery," rather than a neutral arrangement of information.⁴⁹

During the later revolutionary period, particularly throughout the *Việt Minh* era and following the establishment of the state, the layouts of *Cứu Quốc* (National Salvation), *Quân đội Nhân dân* (People's Army), and *Nhân Dân* (The People) became increasingly standardized and institutionalized. Page formats, column structures, and the relative size and placement of headlines, subheadings, body text, and photo captions were systematically codified. Large, bold headlines positioned at the top of the page facilitated immediate recognition of political slogans and key messages; at the same time, the consistent line spacing in the body text accommodated extended ideological expositions alongside military and economic reporting.⁵⁰

5.3. EVOLUTION OF REVOLUTIONARY NEWSPAPER LAYOUTS: VISUAL SPATIALIZATION OF THE POLITICAL PUBLIC SPHERE

In the 1920s, newspapers such as *Thanh Niên* and *Búa Liềm*, produced in Guangzhou by mimeograph and movable type, primarily adopted a single-column layout. The central placement of the title at the top, followed by editorials, theoretical essays, international Communist news, and organizational guidelines arranged vertically, visually mirrored the hierarchical transmission of revolutionary theory and the centralization of leadership. This single-column design directed the reader's gaze from top to bottom, emphasizing a linear flow of political argument from 'policy – explanation – action'. The grid, though minimal in segmentation, strengthened the normative and solemn nature that revolutionary texts and propaganda were meant to convey.

In the early 1930s, with the formation of the Indochinese Communist Party, publications such as *Cờ Đỏ* (Red Flag), *Tranh Đấu* (Struggle), and *Dân Chúng* (People)

⁴⁹ Thủ tướng Chính phủ Việt Nam. (2012). *Danh mục Báo vật quốc gia đợt 1* (pp. 3–6.). Quyết định số 1426/QĐ-TTg. Hà Nội.

⁵⁰ Nguyễn Thành. (1984). *Lịch sử báo chí cách mạng Việt Nam, 1925–1945*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia.

began using multi-column grids.⁵¹ The multi-column layout allowed multiple articles and topics to be presented in parallel on a single page, facilitating a complex structure of the public sphere that included international news, party policy explanations, labor and peasant struggles, and organizational announcements. In this case, the grid was not just a tool for saving space; it served as a visual mechanism for simultaneously arranging and cross-referencing revolutionary discourse.⁵²

However, the introduction of the multi-column layout did not immediately imply the dissolution of hierarchy. Even within the multi-column structure, a clear order of importance was maintained. Core articles addressing party policy or international Communist movements were typically placed in the upper left or central areas of the page, while field reports, case studies of struggle, popular mobilization articles, and readers' letters were relegated to the lower or right-hand sections. This demonstrates that the newspaper's spatial arrangement visually coded ideological priorities.

During the Viet Minh era and the subsequent period of state formation, newspapers such as *Cứu Quốc*, *Quân đội Nhân dân* (People's Army), and *Nhân Dân* (The People) standardized the use of the multi-column grid. Page size, column number, column width, line spacing, and title size and placement became fixed, creating a stable visual rhythm suited to collective reading and recitation. At this stage, the grid evolved beyond a mere editorial framework, functioning as a visual constitution that materially organized the public sphere of the revolutionary state.⁵³

5.4. TYPOGRAPHY AND COLOR AS THE VISUAL SYMBOLIC SYSTEM OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PUBLIC SPHERE

In Vietnamese revolutionary newspapers, the masthead functioned not merely as a title but also as a visual sign that condensed political identity and ideological authority. Across publications such as *Thanh Niên* (Youth), *Búa Liềm* (Hammer and Sickle), *Cờ Đỏ* (Red Flag), *Cứu Quốc* (Save the Nation), *Nhân Dân* (The People), and *Quân đội Nhân dân* (People's Army), the naming of the paper, typographic choices, and modes of placement constituted a form of visual politics that spatially inscribed revolutionary ideology.⁵⁴ The masthead was consistently positioned at the top center of the page, ensuring that the party and national symbols occupied the highest point in the reader's visual hierarchy.

⁵¹ Eisenstein, E. L. (1979). *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (pp. 321–325). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁵² Nguyễn Văn Khánh. (2010). *Lịch sử báo Nhân Dân* (pp. 17–22). Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia.

⁵³ Hobsbawm, E. (1990). *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (pp. 73–81). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁵⁴ Duiker, W. J. (2000). *Ho Chi Minh: A Life* (pp. 118–124). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Red was the most charged chromatic code in these newspapers. Titles such as *Cờ Đỏ* and *Búa Liềm* invoked color and iconography at the linguistic level, while in print, red headlines, underlines, or borders symbolically represented revolution, sacrifice, and international proletarian solidarity, even within limited color palettes. Rather than decorative, red operated as an affective trigger that immediately mobilized emotions of commitment and struggle.⁵⁵

Logos and graphic motifs further appropriated the visual language of Soviet revolutionary imagery. Symbols such as the hammer and sickle, the red star, resolute faces of workers and peasants, and silhouettes of flag-bearing crowds were frequently placed near mastheads or introductory sections, declaring ideological identity before textual engagement. These were not illustrations but political icons translating the shared symbolic vocabulary of international communism into the colonial Vietnamese visual environment.⁵⁶

5.5. LINE SPACING, TYPOGRAPHIC DENSITY, AND THE RHYTHM OF COLLECTIVE READING

In Vietnamese revolutionary newspapers—designed for contexts such as workers' meetings, night schools, and commemorative gatherings—line spacing and typographic density established a political rhythm aimed at collective oral reading rather than mere silent legibility.⁵⁷ Publications like *Thanh Niên* (Youth), *Búa Liềm* (Hammer and Sickle), *Cờ Đỏ* (Red Flag), *Cứu Quốc* (Save the Nation), *Nhân Dân* (The People), and *Quân đội Nhân dân* (People's Army) typically employed small type sizes and tight letter spacing for body text, while maintaining ample line spacing to ensure tonal clarity during oral recitation. This layout convention simultaneously engaged both the individual reader and the collective voice.

During the underground and exile periods of the 1920s and 1930s, material constraints necessitated a high density of information; nevertheless, consistent line spacing and paragraph separation were maintained to structure pauses and breathing units during collective readings at study circles and cell meetings.⁵⁸ Rather than privileging silent, individualized reading, this typographic approach draws on formats oriented toward oral delivery, such as sermons, military manuals, and political lectures. Editorials and ideological essays frequently employed short sentences, parallel syntax, and consistent

⁵⁵ Lafont, G. (2001). *L'iconographie révolutionnaire soviétique* (pp. 22–31). Paris: CNRS Éditions.

⁵⁶ Mitchell, W. J. T. (2005). *What Do Pictures Want?* (pp. 161–170). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

⁵⁷ Nguyễn Thành. (2005). *Báo chí cách mạng Việt Nam 1925–1945* (pp. 41–58). Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia.

⁵⁸ Nguyễn Thành. (1984). *Lịch sử báo chí cách mạng Việt Nam, 1925–1945* (pp. 72–89). Hà Nội: Nxb Khoa học Xã hội.

spacing, facilitating oral delivery based on phrases. In this way, the newspaper's material form aligned with Lenin's conception of the press as a "collective propagandist, agitator, and organizer," since the layout itself regulated the rhythm of collective utterance.⁵⁹

After the Viet Minh period and the establishment of the revolutionary state, newspapers such as *Cứu Quốc* and *Quân đội Nhân dân* standardized type size, line spacing, and column width to ensure that texts could be read and recited with a consistent rhythm across military, rural, and industrial settings.⁶⁰ This typographic uniformity fostered vocal uniformity, enabling political subjects to internalize ideology through a shared tempo and intonation.

6. FORMATION OF TYPOGRAPHIC NORMS IN REVOLUTIONARY NEWSPAPERS (1946–1954)

6.1. VISUALIZING REVOLUTIONARY RESOLVE AND NEWSPAPER AESTHETICS

Before 1945, Vietnamese Lunar New Year special issues generally emphasized personal sentiment, seasonal motifs, and nostalgic reflection.⁶¹ After 1946, with the onset of the protracted revolutionary struggle, New Year issues underwent a fundamental shift, serving as media to organize collective resolve and mobilize action toward achieving an "independent spring".⁶² The change was not limited to the content itself but also reflected in masthead typography, line spacing, page visual hierarchy, and image arrangement.

This shift is evident on the covers of major revolutionary newspapers' New Year issues, including *Cứu Quốc* (Save the Nation), *Vệ Quốc Quân* (Defend the Nation), *Sự Thật* (Truth), and *Nhân Dân* (The People). Traditional "spring images" featuring young women and flowers were replaced by central motifs such as President *Hồ Chí Minh's* New Year letters, celebratory poems, and soldiers in combat poses.⁶³ This change was not merely illustrative; it reorganized the textual hierarchy. Poems and celebratory texts were visually emphasized through bold type, central alignment, and generous spacing, transforming them into declarative statements rather than literary verses.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Lenin, V. I. (1901/1961). *Where to Begin?* (in *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, pp. 13–24). Moscow: Progress Publishers.

⁶⁰ Nguyễn Văn Khánh. (2010). *Lịch sử báo Nhân Dân* (pp. 15–33). Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia.

⁶¹ Nguyễn Thành. *Báo chí cách mạng Việt Nam 1925–1945* (pp. 212–218). Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia.

⁶² Duiker, W. J. (2000). *Hồ Chí Minh: A Life* (pp. 381–389). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

⁶³ Nguyễn Văn Hải. *Hồi ký làm báo Cứu Quốc* (pp. 56–63). Hà Nội: Nxb Sự Thật.

⁶⁴ Tố Hữu. "Đọc báo tết của chiến sĩ" (pp. 3–4). *Vệ Quốc Quân* Xuân issue. 1949.

6.2. REVOLUTIONARY NEW YEAR ISSUES AND THE FORMATION OF TYPOGRAPHIC NORMS: VỆ QUỐC QUÂN (DEFEND THE NATION), CỨU QUỐC (SAVE THE NATION), SỰ THẬT (TRUTH), AND NHÂN DÂN (THE PEOPLE), QUÂN ĐỘI NHÂN DÂN (PEOPLE'S ARMY)

Vệ Quốc Quân served as the precursor to the People's Army's official newspaper, functioning as a military propaganda medium that shaped the visual identity of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam's regular forces during the First Indochina War (1945–1954).⁶⁵ Its 1949 Lunar New Year issue employed yellow and blue as dominant colors and prominently featured a soldier representing “Uncle Hồ's Army” on the cover. The 36-page issue, priced at 35 đồng, was exceptional given the material constraints of the period.⁶⁶ Mai Văn Hiến's illustrations were coordinated within the typographic framework, so that bold mastheads, ample line spacing, and distinct image outlines harmonized with the text blocks. Even under low-resolution printing conditions, this layout maintained the hierarchy between text and image.⁶⁷

The same issue included a poem by *Tố Hữu*, *Reading the Lunar New Year Posters of the Soldiers*, which, despite its lyrical tone, adhered to the newspaper's strict typographic conventions. Short lines and repeated structures emphasized collective cadence and resolute tone rather than allowing free expressive space.⁶⁸ This demonstrates that literary texts were subsumed under the revolutionary newspaper's typographic system, transforming “emotional expression” into the “regulation of attitude”.⁶⁹

Cứu Quốc, the Viet Minh-aligned united front organ, developed a distinctive visual identity through contributions from leading writers such as *Xuân Thủy*, *Trần Huy Liệu*, *Tô Hoài*, *Nam Cao*, and *Nguyễn Tuân*, as well as illustrations by *Trần Đình Tô*.⁷⁰ Despite material shortages requiring the use of bamboo and rice paper, and the clandestine transport of movable type, the newspaper established typographic norms through layout repetition rather than through a variety of typefaces. The cover of the 1948 Lunar New Year issue aligned armed soldiers and a burden-bearing woman along a shared horizontal axis, synchronizing the visual flow of images with the reading direction of text. This layout symbolically organized optimism for the protracted struggle and collective forward movement.⁷¹

⁶⁵ Duiker, W. J. (2000). *Ho Chi Minh: A Life* (pp. 381–389). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

⁶⁶ Barnard, M. (2005). *Graphic Design as Communication* (pp. 94–101). London: Routledge.

⁶⁷ Müller-Brockmann, J. (1981). *Grid Systems in Graphic Design* (pp. 54–61). Zürich: Niggli.

⁶⁸ Nguyễn Thành. (2005). *Báo chí cách mạng Việt Nam 1925–1945* (pp. 212–218). Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia.

⁶⁹ Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities* (Rev. ed., pp. 182–189). London: Verso.

⁷⁰ Nguyễn Văn Hải. (1987). *Hồi ký làm báo Cứu Quốc* (pp. 56–63). Hà Nội: Nxb Sự Thật.

⁷¹ Eisenstein, E. L. (1979). *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (pp. 329–335). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Figure 10: *Cờ Đỏ* (Red Flag) newspaper (1.5.1929). Source: by Vietnam Press Museum. “A key catalyst that unified Vietnam’s revolutionary movements to establish the Communist Party in 1930.”

Figure 11: *Cứu Quốc* (National Salvation) newspaper (11.30.1944). Source: by Vietnam Press Museum.

Figure 12: *Sự Thật*(Truth) newspaper (10.5.1949).

Figure 13: *Nhân Dân* (The People) newspaper (3. 11.1951). Source: by Vietnam Press Museum.

Figure 14: *Quân đội Nhân dân*(People’s Army) newspaper (1.2.1954). Source: by <https://media.qdnd.vn/long-form>, accessed on 2025-12-21.



The 1949 Lunar New Year issue of *Sự Thật*, the central party theoretical journal, emphasized declarative authority through a red masthead, stable margins, and a centrally aligned celebratory poem by President *Hồ Chí Minh*.⁷² Illustrations by *Phan Kế An* focused on stabilizing the hierarchy of text blocks rather than expressive emotion, and the celebratory poem functioned not as literary decoration but as a call to struggle.⁷³ In 1953, the *Nhân Dân* New Year issue expanded from four to six pages. President *Hồ Chí Minh*'s portrait and poem were placed at the top of the front page, with a contribution by General *Bùi Nguyên Nhật* below, establishing a clear hierarchical structure that guided readers' attention toward leadership discourse.⁷⁴

From 1946 to 1954, revolutionary New Year issues maintained the highest level of typographic and content norms despite severe material scarcity. These issues acted as symbolic media that repeatedly reproduced collective optimism and confidence in future victory within the cyclical temporal framework of the Lunar New Year. Typography functioned as a core visual technology for organizing emotion and stabilizing ideology, playing a decisive role in institutionalizing the aesthetic norms of revolutionary newspapers.⁷⁵

6.3. INTEGRATION AND STANDARDIZATION OF MILITARY JOURNALISM

Following the Third National Congress of the Party in July 1950, the General Command decided to merge the existing military organ *Vệ Quốc Quân* (National Defense Army) with *Du Kích* (Guerrilla), the publication of militia forces, thereby establishing a

⁷² Nguyễn Văn Khánh. (2010). *Lịch sử báo Nhân Dân* (pp. 27–34). Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia.

⁷³ Nguyễn Trọng Nhân. (2012). *Mỹ thuật kháng chiến Việt Nam 1945–1954* (pp. 144–152). Hà Nội: Nxb Mỹ thuật.

⁷⁴ Trần Đình Thọ. (2001). *Ký họa kháng chiến* (pp. 22–31). Hà Nội: Nxb Mỹ thuật.

⁷⁵ Nguyễn Văn Khánh. (2010). *Lịch sử báo Nhân Dân* (pp. 45–51). Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia.

unified military newspaper encompassing both regular and local armed forces under the title *Quân đội Nhân dân* (People's Army Newspaper).⁷⁶ This decision institutionalized a political and organizational effort to reorganize military journalism from a fragmented array of dispersed propaganda outlets into a centralized organ that reflected a unified command structure and ideological line.⁷⁷

Ho Chi Minh conceived the People's Army Newspaper not merely as a source of military information or propaganda but as a visual and linguistic institution designed to organize revolutionary norms and collective subjectivity.⁷⁸ From the newspaper's title – explicitly foregrounding the “People's Army” – to editorial directives calling for “short and clear writing, easily understandable illustrations, and a neat and orderly page layout,” his guidance articulated a principle of political communication that regulated content and form simultaneously.⁷⁹ These principles materialized in shorter articles, reinforced paragraph segmentation, hierarchical headline systems, generous line spacing, and regularized column structures, forming a typographic regime oriented toward collective reading aloud and immediate comprehension in combat and training contexts.⁸⁰

Simultaneously, the repeated presentation of exemplary soldier narratives and the systematic organization of reader responses demonstrate how military journalism functioned as a mechanism for institutionalizing ethical models and behavioral norms within the armed forces.⁸¹ In this context, the layout, order, and editorial practices of the People's Army Newspaper crystallized a prototype of socialist typography that visually embodied revolutionary discipline, collectivity, and political authority. This provided the ideological and formal foundation for standardized page structures across Vietnamese military and Party newspapers in the postwar period.⁸²

7. CONCLUSION

This study reexamines Vietnamese revolutionary print culture from the late nineteenth century to the 1950s, not as a stylistic evolution of typefaces but as a historical process through which typographic norms and visual order were institutionalized. Beginning with the colonial gazette *Gia Định Báo* (1865), column structures, line spacing, headline hierarchies, and censorship-imposed layouts generated predictable reading patterns that

⁷⁶ Nguyễn Văn Khánh, *Lịch sử báo Nhân Dân* (pp. 27–29) (Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia, 2010).

⁷⁷ Nguyễn Thành. (2005). *Báo chí cách mạng Việt Nam 1925–1945* (212–218). Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia.

⁷⁸ Duiker, W. J. (2000). *Ho Chi Minh: A Life* (381–385). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

⁷⁹ Nguyễn Văn Hải. (1987). *Hồi ký làm báo Cứu Quốc* (56–59). Hà Nội: Nxb Sự Thật.

⁸⁰ Nguyễn Văn Khánh. (2010). *Lịch sử báo Nhân Dân* (30–34). Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia.

⁸¹ Tố Hữu. (1949). “Độc báo tết của chiến sĩ,” *Vệ Quốc Quân Xuân* issue (3–4).

⁸² Nguyễn Văn Khánh. (2010). *Lịch sử báo Nhân Dân* (31–34). Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia.

formed the material foundations of a modern public sphere. These conventions functioned as political devices that visually articulated authority, legality, and public discourse.

Rather than dismantling the colonial print infrastructure, *Ho Chi Minh's* revolutionary journalism strategically appropriated and transformed its normative potential to construct a socialist visual politics. *Le Paria* positioned colonized subjects within a global public sphere through multilingual mastheads and international grid systems, while *The Revolutionary Path* established revolutionary theory as a disciplinary text through restrained typographic hierarchies and repeatable layouts. Subsequent newspapers – *Thanh Niên*, *Cứu Quốc*, *Vệ Quốc Quân*, *Quân đội Nhân dân*, and *Nhân Dân* – evolved from single-column formats to multi-column grids and shifted from decorative illustrations to directive image–text hierarchies, thereby turning layout order itself into a visual discipline of collective action.

The typographic system of Vietnamese revolutionary newspapers reflects a synthesis of European modernist grid rationality and Soviet ideological publishing practices. European grid systems provided clarity and coherence in politically dense layouts, while Soviet models reinforced ideological hierarchy through standardized mastheads, spacing, and imagery. By integrating these approaches, Vietnamese revolutionary typography embodied both modern design principles and revolutionary political authority.

This article conceptualizes this process as a “visual regime of revolutionary print,” demonstrating that the Vietnamese revolutionary public sphere was articulated not only through discourse but also materially through typographic order. Vietnamese modern print culture thus emerged not from the passive adoption of Western models but from the revolutionary transformation of colonial typographic rationality into a socialist visual form. This perspective repositions typography as a central medium in the formation of political subjectivity and the public sphere, contributing a comparative framework for studying revolutionary visual culture in East Asia and the Global South.

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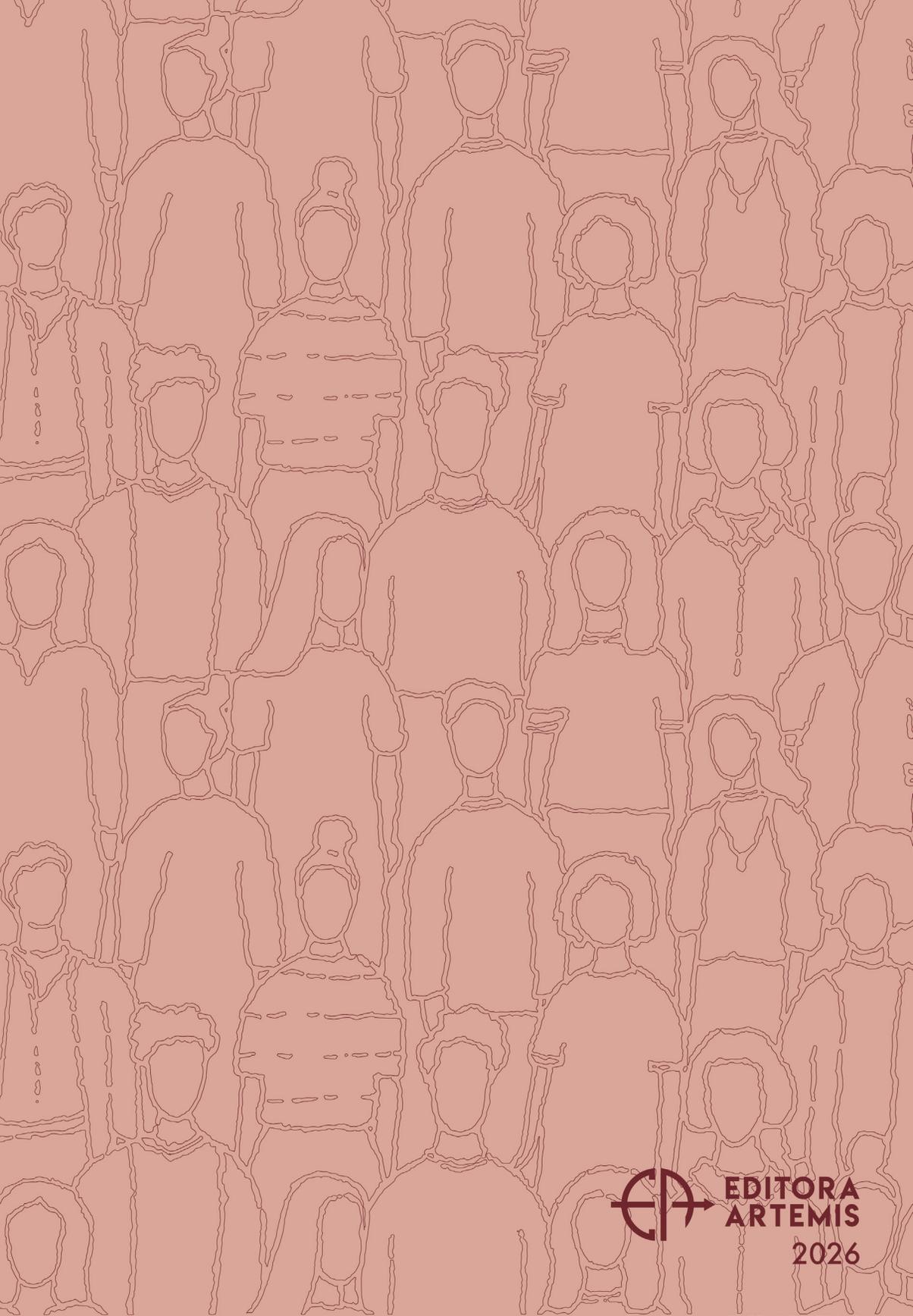
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