

# **PRESIDENT HO SPEAKS TO THE CHILDREN: *THIEU SINH* MAGAZINE AND THE NEW CHILD IN 1945 REVOLUTIONARY VIETNAM**

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## **Introduction**

The history of the immediate aftermath of the declaration of independence in Vietnam on September 2, 1945 awaits a socio-cultural analysis. Historiography of this period is saturated with military and political analyses. But how much do we really know about its social programs and cultural history? This paper examines the socio-cultural history of the child during the revolution. In the midst of forming a new government, unifying the anti-colonial movement, and fighting the return of the French colonial government, President Hồ Chí Minh called on the youth to liberate southern Vietnam.<sup>1</sup> How did the government prepare the children for wartime and what was the child's place in revolutionary society?

I will use the *Thiếu Sinh* children's magazine, which was state-sponsored, to explore the revolutionary's government cultural imaginings of the child's place in society. From its perspective, the child was neither wholly passive nor a subordinate child soldier. The child was expected to be an active member of society, functioning as a kind of social reserve for the future of independent Vietnam. Children were expected to devote their physical and intellectual education to the betterment of revolutionary Vietnam. In essence, from the point of view of the magazine, children did not exist so much as present members of society as prospective contributors to the collective future of revolutionary society.

## **Vietnam in 1945**

*Thiếu Sinh* magazine is published in what is arguably modern Vietnam's most crucial historical setting: the beginning of the end of colonialism. The three regions, now known as Vietnam, had been a French colony and protectorate since the final treaty of 1884. The French colonial government ruled, not without resistance from anti-colonial groups, until July 1940 when the Japanese invaded and occupied Indochina, one month after the French surrender to Nazi Germany. In the March 9, 1945 coup, the Operation Meigo, the Japanese military disposed of the French administration.

By April 1945 the Japanese installed a new government with Vietnamese intellectual Trần Trọng Kim and Prince Bảo Đại at its head. The new government matched the Decoux administration's zeal for youth programs. After the Japanese surrender to the Americans, the Trần Trọng Kim government surrendered power and under the National Congress of the People, Hồ Chí Minh was elected to the seat of president. Ho and the Việt Minh led the August Revolution against the colonial

government. Bảo Đại abdicated on August 25 in favor of the Việt Minh, and 2 September 1945 Hồ Chí Minh declared independence of the Democratic Republic of Socialist Vietnam. Vietnam was finally declared independent after more than sixty years.

That fall 1945, the Vietnamese revolutionary government experienced an uphill battle for independence. Even before the Japanese surrendered, the allied powers had already decided the fate of post-Japanese Indochina at the 24 July 1945 Potsdam conference. According to this decision, the Vietnamese region of Indochina was to be divided into two halves at the 16<sup>th</sup> parallel: the southern half to be occupied by British troops and the northern by Chinese troops. A British occupation essentially meant that the French would be permitted to return. Only ten days after Ho declared independence, British troops entered Cochinchina. The Việt Minh began the southern uprising against the return of colonialism with the 25 September the massacre of French and Franco-Vietnamese civilians at the Cité Heurault.<sup>2</sup>

Vietnam's fate in the north, it seemed, was a power play between the French and the Chinese nationalist leaders. The Chinese nationalists, in turn, were using Vietnam as a bargaining chip and a political space to settle their domestic problems. In the north, 30,000 Japanese troops were disarmed by 150,000 Chinese nationalist troops, five times the number of British troops in the south.<sup>3</sup> Chinese nationalist leader, Chiang Kai-Shek, used northern Indochina as a bargaining tool in his quest for rule in China; this bought valuable time for the Việt Minh. By late December 1945 the French and Chinese eventually came to an agreement on the colonial return to the north.<sup>4</sup>

The Vietnamese revolutionary government, in the mean time, was gathering its support from assorted venues while working to allay the drastic affects of the famine. In an effort to appeal to a broader audience both in Vietnam and abroad, November 11, 1945 Hồ officially dissolved the Indochinese Communist Party. He boasted of support from the American and Soviets, which is evident in *Thiếu Sinh* magazine articles, and called for a revolutionary uprising in the south. Hồ's efforts were futile: post-war international wheeling and dealing made the French return inevitable. October through December 1945, the life span of *Thiếu Sinh* magazine, was the extremely violent beginning of the thirty-year revolution in Vietnam.

## **The Vietnamese Child in World War II Histories**

The history of the child in the revolution is not new to Vietnamese historiography. There is a celebrated tradition of child revolutionaries from the tenth century to the August Revolution of 1945, many of who have been immortalized through street names.<sup>5</sup> Numerous sociological studies of the child's place in Vietnamese society also date back to the colonial period. And the youth's role in the anti-colonial struggle is well documented.<sup>6</sup>

The notion of the child in the revolution, according to Trần Quy Nhơn, has its origins in the tradition of children fighting foreign invaders and also in the legacy of the communist ideology. He writes that Marx and Engels saw children as future workers and, furthermore, that Lenin saw children as the foundation of the communist and anti-colonial revolutions.<sup>7</sup> Working off the combined influences of Vietnamese heritage and communist ideology, Nguyễn Ái Quốc (an earlier alias of Hồ Chí Minh) heralded the importance of the child in the communist movement for Vietnamese national liberation. Võ Văn Lộc follows a similar argument but says that it was Hồ Chí Minh, himself, who saw children as the future workers and “Khách nhỏ” which translates as “small people,” literally meaning young adults and future patrons.<sup>8</sup>

By far the most discussed topic in historical studies of the Vietnamese child is the relationship between Hồ Chí Minh and the child.<sup>9</sup> One can witness firsthand contemporary Vietnamese society’s ongoing celebration of this relationship when driving through Hanoi or Ho Chi Minh City, where streets are lined with paintings, propaganda posters, and statues depicting Hồ Chí Minh caring for a child. Hồ himself wrote about the child’s place in society and the revolution and authored the book *China and the Chinese Youth* (USSR, 1925) and *Thesis on Colonized Children*.<sup>10</sup> In 1925 in Quang Trau, China, Hồ founded a group of young Vietnamese communists, one of whom was among the most famous of child anti-colonialists, Lí Tự Trọng.<sup>11</sup>

Stein Tonnesson and Anne Raffin argue that Vietnam’s revolutionary youth groups actually emerged out of the Vichy youth groups.<sup>12</sup> Raffin argues that the phenomenon of youth groups started under Petain’s regime in France, and the model was exported to the colony as a “patriotic” movement in which children were to pursue their civil duties. The organizational structure and militarization of the Vichy youth, she argues, provided the basis for the future anti-colonial youth groups in Vietnam.

The relationship between the Vichy and the Vietnamese nationalist groups, Raffin argues, was not determined-causal, for nationalism and anti-colonialism did exist before the Vichy groups. Instead she explains that the relationship was sequential-causal: the organizational structure of the groups and militant nature enabled them to transform patriotic groups into nationalist groups in the power vacuum and attendant chaos of the August Revolution. According to Raffin, the Japanese surrender and the ensuing August Revolution provided a catalyst for the nationalization of Vietnamese youth groups. She bases her analyses of the post-independence youth groups on police reports that give information about the membership, organization, and political leanings of these groups. However, Raffin’s argument, which focuses on the organizational and structural similarities between the Vichy youth groups and the anti-colonialist youth groups, is insufficient to explain the ideological shift in propaganda. This paper will explore how the revolutionary government courted the Vietnamese children for the purposes of building nationalism.

### ***Thiếu Sinh Magazine and the Revolutionary Child***

During the August Revolution and following Hồ Chí Minh's declaration of independence, the Việt Nam Dân Chủ Cộng Hòa courted not only youth but also small children. Hồ published a series of articles that stressed the importance of the child in revolutionary society.<sup>13</sup> These articles did not refer to the children as child soldiers, but instead spoke of their importance to the future of Vietnamese society. I would like to call the readers' attention to the Việt Nam Dân Chủ Cộng Hòa government-sponsored magazine *Thiếu Sinh* as a tool to examine the revolutionary government's practices of appealing to young children, including those who were not members of the Vichy youth groups. By exploring the government's propaganda efforts, I hope to reveal a broader history of the child's place in revolutionary Vietnamese society. Without divorcing the topic from the political history, this article will examine the social history of the child in late 1945, immediately following Vietnam's declaration of independence.

I chose *Thiếu Sinh* for its timely appearance in the immediate post-independence period and for its content, which reveals the government's perspective on children in the revolutionary society. This paper explores how the government related to children; how it explained the children's civic duties; and how it defined their role in wartime society. These three issues shed light on the cultural imaginings of the child's place in Vietnamese revolutionary society.

Historiography of the anti-colonial wars has yet to explore *Thiếu Sinh* magazine and other such children's magazines. Furthermore it is difficult to research a subject that is a single age category. Whereas "child" is a fixed category, "children" are a transient population. This subject is defined not by individuals but by numerics, and is thus comprised of an ever-changing membership. Not surprisingly, there are very few source materials written by children themselves. Children's magazines, however, can be used to understand the social imaginings of, and informal governmental policies directed at, the children. Moreover, if we look at the magazines not as a one-way information street but as a "conversation" of sorts, we can see how the publishers and government sought to court the child. By consulting letters written to the staff by young readers, we can see some of the ideas that were being exchanged between the revolutionary government and children. While it is possible that the magazine editors could have fabricated the readers' letters, this author has no reason to assume they are anything but real. Of course, this exchange was controlled by the publishers; yet it is important to consider that the choice of letters published and the choice of responses tell us about the social and political imaginings of the child and the future of the child.

The *Thiếu Sinh* magazine was first printed only a few weeks after the declaration of independence. It was published in 13 weekly issues (12 October- 29 December 1945). The first 10 issues sold for 1.50 dong each; the remaining 3 issues sold for 1.80 per issue. "President Hồ Speaks to the Children," opens *Thiếu Sinh*'s first issue. The magazine provides insight into the revolutionary government's aims for, and visions of, the revolutionary society's children, particularly during the campaign to liberate the South and negotiate an independent Vietnam.

The name *Thiếu Sinh* translates as “cadet”; the magazine was written for an audience under the age of 15. Traditionally, the *Thiếu Sinh* were orphaned or had a military parent, and were themselves slated to enter the military. The Trường Thiếu Sinh was a military school analogous to the colonial Ecole des Enfants de Troupe, which was linked to the colonial social welfare system. L’Ecole des Enfants de Troupe was used to integrate poor and orphaned children into society while also using them for the benefit of the colony through education and military training. The Trường Thiếu Sinh followed the same pattern. From the content of the *Thiếu Sinh* articles, it appears that the magazine was specifically writing to an audience intended for later military service, i.e., the thiếu sinh cadets.

*Thiếu Sinh* magazine was affiliated with local youth groups like the ones described by Anne Raffin. These groups, which were based on Vichy-organized youth groups, included the Nguyễn Thái Học group (named after nationalist Nguyễn Thái Học), Tổng Hội Sinh Viên Cứu Quốc (Students’ Save the Nation group), Thiếu Niên Tiên Phong (Pioneers), Hướng Đạo Sinh (Boy Scouts) and the Hội Đồng Bộ Thanh Niên (youth group), which was founded in January 1945 and led by Võ Nguyên Giáp.<sup>14</sup> These groups appear to follow the Raffin model in that, over the course of the August Revolution and immediate aftermath, they maintained their organizational structure but changed their political identity from patriotic civic groups to nationalist groups that sought the nation’s legitimate rights. The Nhi Đồng Cứu Quốc (Young Children Save the Nation group) declared its purpose as “[uniting] children in intellectual education, moral education, and physical education in order for the children to become a clear-sighted element useful to the country.”<sup>15</sup> Thiếu Niên Tiên Phong Vietnam, which consisted of 14-17 years olds, was declared by the magazine to be a “group that knows how to unite and help one another in order to train to become the brightest elements, useful for society.”<sup>16</sup> The members of these types of youth groups were indeed readers, but not all readers were guaranteed to be members of the groups. Clearly, part of *Thiếu Sinh*’s mission was to recruit young children for these revolutionary youth groups.

The *Thiếu Sinh* Magazine claimed to have readers from Hanoi and the surrounding countryside but the true circulation is not clearly established. There was no dearth of articles about Hồ’s trips to the countryside and his childcare programs implemented in the countryside. Yet the magazine advertised youth meetings which took place only within downtown Hanoi.<sup>17</sup> While *Thiếu Sinh* articles were *about* the country dwelling children, it was *to* the urban children whom they wrote.

It is unclear whether *Thiếu Sinh* was written specifically for a male audience, although officially the cadets in the Trường Thiếu Sinh were males. The magazine’s articles appear to assume that the reader is male and many refer separately to Nữ Sinh (young female students who were neither cadets nor necessarily orphans) as the separate entities which leads me to believe that *Thiếu Sinh* wrote for an audience of male children. Articles also refer more generally to female children and female adults. Some of the articles were even signed by female names and instructed children to obey their mothers and older sisters.<sup>18</sup> The articles portray females as obedient daughters, supportive wives, and nurturing mothers, all of whom were expected to contribute to the revolution. The

magazine features recurring female fictional characters such as Em Thu, a girl who helps her mother, and the wife in the story of “Vợ Chồng Anh Viet,” about a couple who travel to the South to fight against the French; both husband and wife are heroes in the story.<sup>19</sup> Regardless of the gender of the readership, the magazine makes clear that both female and male children are equally valuable – albeit in different ways – for the revolution and Vietnamese society.

### **Courting the Active Child**

The child reader was addressed as a child yet also as an active participant in the revolution. The *Thiếu Sinh* magazine contained articles that appealed to the child’s sense of fantasy and fun: each issue featured slapstick cartoons, stories about biting ants, and fantasy tales of children smaller than an insect.<sup>20</sup> Important issues like death were discussed in terms that a child could understand: in the article entitled “Nếu Mọi Vật Đều Bất Tử” (If Every Animal Were Immortal”) explained death as a necessity because without it the world would be dangerously overpopulated with animals (including Human-Beings) and no one would have a place to rest their feet. The wish to be immortal was therefore “điên,” crazy and mad.<sup>21</sup>

The child was not expected to be a passive reader. The magazine was not a one-way information street; children were urged to write letters and draw pictures, which were published in subsequent issues.<sup>22</sup> “Em Muốn Biết” (“I/You Want to Know”) was a weekly feature introduced on 15 October 1945 that answered the readers’ questions about day-to-day issues such as entering art school, regional travel, and how to contribute to the national revolution. “Giấy Than Ai,” another weekly article, responded to individual letter writers while maintaining the privacy of the letter content. This feature gave the reader a sense of intimacy with the magazine staff as well as a national “imagined community” like that described by Benedict Anderson.<sup>23</sup> With all these fantasy and fiction stories, the magazine clearly delineated its young readership as children, an identity wholly distinct from adults. On the other hand, the magazine implied an appreciation for its young readers’ mind by asking for their input. The magazine therefore cultivated the youthful imagination of the child without forcing the child into a passive role.

The child as active participant is most evident in the articles written by Hồ Chí Minh. Hồ, who in contemporary society is referred to as Bác, or great-uncle, was at the time called Cụ Hồ, meaning elder. Today Hồ is remembered as an avuncular figure. In the articles published in *Thiếu Sinh*, Hồ does not condescend to the children but instead speaks to them on a horizontal level; he relates to their experiences. Of course he maintains age superiority via the Cụ pronoun, but his articles tell stories that take the reader back to his childhood, thereby identifying him with children. Hồ repeatedly celebrates the notion of “yêu nước” (literally “love your country” but should be translated as patriotism). As Hồ writes, patriotic children should “study hard, obey their parents, and not waste money on candy.”<sup>24</sup>

As mentioned earlier, the state itself is surprisingly absent from the *Thiếu Sinh* articles. Each cover is printed with the name Việt Nam Dân Chủ Cộng Hòa, but the logo -- Độc Lập-Tự Do-Hạnh Phúc (independence-freedom-happiness), which appears on all post September 2, 1945 documents -- is absent. Việt Nam Dân Chủ Cộng Hòa is not even mentioned in any articles until the third issue. An article by Hồ Chí Minh in the first issue, 1 October 1945, mentions the Việt Minh but does not actually mention the new state. This article speaks of how the children were trained by the Việt Minh to run contacts between villages and run supplies into the mountains.<sup>25</sup> The magazine also publicized state-sponsored child welfare programs such as the Thắc Nhi Sở, a day care program introduced in many villages, especially in rural areas. This program was modeled on American and Soviet examples. *Thiếu Sinh* writers argued that this day care program would help children to develop intellectually. The program's female caretakers taught them to load guns and to emulate the austere lifestyle of revolutionaries. The government hoped to establish programs like this in every village of every revolutionary area.<sup>26</sup> Aside from romanticized poverty, references to class struggle or communism are absent. This is most likely related to Hồ's effort to gain broader support for the Việt Minh movement, this is evidenced by the 11 November dissolution of the Indochinese Communist Party.

### **The Child's Contribution to the Revolution**

As the title *Thiếu Sinh* indicates, the magazine's intended readers were cadets, children slated to enter the military. *Thiếu Sinh* sent its readership mixed messages about their role in the revolution. Ostensibly, the magazine directed them to perform humble and entirely peaceable gestures such as making clothes for soldiers.<sup>27</sup> Certain articles recounted stories of children who brought rice to revolutionaries or gave money to the revolutionary cause.<sup>28</sup> Yet was the role expected of the children really this simple?

Perhaps understandably, the future soldier-reader was taught through detailed articles to use weapons such as grenades, pistols, machine guns, and revolvers, as well as to prepare for war through games such as "blockade," "sea battle," and "air battle."<sup>29</sup> The magazine also included sketches of children fighting; features about life as a revolutionary; and articles urging children to liberate the South.<sup>30</sup> Children killed by French soldiers in the South were glorified for sacrificing their lives for the revolution.<sup>31</sup>

The magazine's war games and tales of martyrdom most likely influenced and even excited young readers. Indeed, *Thiếu Sinh* printed letters from children asking permission to join the war effort. One collectively signed by children 13-15 years old asks Hồ Chí Minh to allow children to join the war effort and kill French soldiers. The letter explains that their parents will not let them join the revolution and asks Hồ to permit them to do so.<sup>32</sup> Hồ Chí Minh responds that the children should not kill but should study hard to develop their intellect and work hard to develop their bodies.<sup>33</sup> "Warrior Anh," who writes to the children from the battlefield, commends the readers on their will to fight but encourages them to study hard instead.<sup>34</sup>

How genuine were the magazine editors' admonishments that their young readers not seek to go into battle? The magazine sent its readers a series of contradictory messages. The magazine taught children how to use weapons, thereby encouraging a militant mentality as well as providing them with military skills. When readers expressed a desire to use these skills in war, the magazine could have decided not to print their letter on the grounds that it might incite bellicosity among other young readers. Yet the editors did decide to print letters from the children who wanted to go to war – thus reinforcing the image of war as a kind of forbidden fruit. In a final contradictory gesture, the magazine told children that they were too young to fight. *Thiếu Sinh* thus reaffirmed children's role as *children* and their concomitant duty to the future of the nation; at the same time, the magazine may have been engaged in a manipulative effort to foster a communal longing to fight for the nation.

### **“Con của Dân Tộc” (Child of the Nation)**<sup>35</sup>

Children's health was a predominant topic in *Thiếu Sinh* magazine. The magazine outlined specific workout regimens and described specific strength-building postures and exercises. Readers were also told to take care of their bodies by controlling consumption of harmful products such as meat. Vegetarianism was said to promote physical well-being and to condition the body to enable it to withstand hardship. The southern revolutionaries, for example, could not eat always obtain meat; to prepare themselves for such situations, children were expected had to condition themselves to be tough and enduring (Dai Sức).<sup>36</sup> Young readers were urged to follow Cụ Hồ's example: to skip a meal every day and to share meals.<sup>37</sup> Metaphorically speaking, as Hồ believed, “when guns are not available, use rice as a weapon.”<sup>38</sup>

*Thiếu Sinh* indicates that the Việt Nam Dân Chủ Cộng Hòa was not only interested in producing physically strong citizens but also intellectually strong citizens. According to Trần Quý Nhơn, Hồ's doctrine was that the child's responsibility to the revolution was to become educated.<sup>39</sup> This was evident in *Thiếu Sinh* articles urging children to excel in their studies. Most issues contained puzzles and mind games to build intellectual strength.<sup>40</sup> The magazine even offered incentives: children who passed their exams were rewarded with a free month's subscription to the magazine.<sup>41</sup> When one child wrote to the magazine asking how he could contribute to the revolution, the editors wrote in response that the best way to contribute to the revolution was by learning to read and write.<sup>42</sup> And children were expected to build the strength of the nation through their intellectual capacity to outwit the enemy,<sup>43</sup> albeit without overestimating themselves.<sup>44</sup>

The magazine's emphasis on intellectual as well as physical strength suggests that children are intended to care for themselves in the service of collective social health rather than serve as mere fodder for war. Instead of fighting, *Thiếu Sinh*'s editors expected children to build their strength in order to contribute to the future of the independent nation.

### **Conclusion**

It is important to note that *Thiếu Sinh* magazine fostered a relationship to children that was both horizontal and cooperative. The child even enjoyed a certain sense of power vis-à-vis the magazine. Readers were encouraged to write to the publication; through correspondence and subscriptions the magazine was actually dependent on its readers.

Of course we cannot rule out the possibility that some or all of the correspondence was forged. However, even if it were theater, the correspondence cannot simply be dismissed. The ideas expressed within the correspondence, faked or not, effectively gave agency to the child. Children were presented as powerful players whose ideas were taken seriously. Manufactured power is still power in the sense that it generates self-fulfilling expectations and behavior.

Interestingly, in cultivating a horizontal relationship with children, *Thiếu Sinh* magazine nonetheless conveyed an image of the child quite distinct from that of adults. In other words, children were not merely short adults; they were permitted to enjoy their own fantasy realm. Yet, at the same time, the child was respected as a crucial reserve for the future of the revolutionary nation. Unlike the warriors Raffin describes who existed only as disposable units in the present tense, *Thiếu Sinh*'s readers were portrayed in the future tense. The child's purpose in revolutionary society was not for the glorification of the past or present, but rather for the building of the nation's collective future.

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<sup>1</sup> Trần Quy Nhơn, *Tư tưởng Hồ Chí Minh về vai Trò Thanh niên trong Cách Mạng Việt Nam* (Hà Nội: NXB Thanh Niên, 2003) 53.

<sup>2</sup> David Marr *Vietnam 1945: The Quest for Power* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995); Vu Ngu Chieu, "Political and Social Change in Vietnam 1940-1946," Dissertation, 1984, University of Wisconsin—Madison.

<sup>3</sup> Vu, 558.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 562.

<sup>5</sup> Nguyễn Trãi, Nguyễn Huệ, and Lê văn Hưu began their careers as child soldiers. Trần Quy Nhơn, 10-11.

<sup>6</sup> See Micheline Lessard "Tradition for Rebellion: Vietnamese Students and Teachers and Anti-colonial Resistance, 1888-1931" Dissertation, 1995, Cornell University.; Anne Raffin, "The Causes and Consequences of Patriotic Youth Mobilization in Vichy France and Indochina during and After World War II" Dissertation, 2000, New School.; David Marr *Tradition on Trial 1920-1945* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1981); and Trần Quy Nhơn's coverage of the 1930-1931 student uprisings, Trần Quy Nhơn, 51.

<sup>7</sup> Trần Quy Nhơn, 34-38.

<sup>8</sup> Võ Văn Lộc, ed., *Bác Hồ với Thiếu Niên Nhi Đồng* (Hà Nội: NXB Chính Trị Quốc Gia, 2003) 9.

<sup>9</sup> See Trần Quy Nhơn.; *Hồ Chí Minh Toàn Tập* (Hà Nội: NXB Chính Trị Quốc Gia, 2001).

<sup>10</sup> Trần Quy Nhơn, 31, 42.

<sup>11</sup> *Hồ Chí Minh Toàn Tập 4*, p225 footnote 4.

<sup>12</sup> Stein Tonnesson *The Vietnamese Revolution: Roosevelt, Ho Chi Minh and De Guealle in a World at War*. (London: Sage Publications, 1991).; Anne Raffin.

<sup>13</sup> "Các Nhà Văn Hóa Việt Nam Hảy Chú ý Đặc biệt đến Nhi Đồng," 24 November 1946, "Tết Trung Thu với nền Độc Lập," 19 September 1945, "Phát Biểu tại Đại hội Đại Biểu Thanh niên Hà Nội," 27 September 1945; "Thư Gửi các Học sinh," September 1945, reprinted in *Hồ Chí Minh Toàn Tập 4* p460, 16, 29, 32.

<sup>14</sup> *Thiếu Sinh*, 5 November 1945, 29 October 1945, and 15 November 1945.

<sup>15</sup> *Thiếu Sinh*, "Em Muốn Biết," 22 November 1945.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Thiếu Sinh*, 5 November 1945, 29 October 1945, 15 November 1945.

<sup>18</sup> Chị Kim, "Em Giúp Mẹ," *Thiếu Sinh*, 1 October 1945.

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- <sup>19</sup> “Vợ Chồng Anh Viet,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 6 November 1945.
- <sup>20</sup> “Đi Du lịch” *Thiếu Sinh*.
- <sup>21</sup> “Nếu Mọi Vật Đều Bất Tử,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 5 November 1945.
- <sup>22</sup> *Thiếu Sinh*, 1 October 1945.
- <sup>23</sup> Benedict Anderson *Imagined Communities: Reflections of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1998).
- <sup>24</sup> Hồ Chí Minh “Hồ Chủ Tịch Nói Chuyện với Thiếu Sinh,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 1 October 1945.
- <sup>25</sup> Ibid
- <sup>26</sup> “Thạc Nhi Sở,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 29 October 1945.
- <sup>27</sup> “Những Chiếc Áo Rét Gửi cho Chiến sĩ Ngoại Mặt Trận,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 15 October 1945.
- <sup>28</sup> *Thiếu Sinh*, 22 October 1945.
- <sup>29</sup> “Khoa Học,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 15 October 1945, 22 October 1945, 29 October 1945, 22 November 1945, 29 November 1945.; “Thiếu Sinh Tap Tran,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 1 October 1945; “Mọt Không Chiên,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 22 November 1945.
- <sup>30</sup> *Thiếu Sinh*, 29 October 1945; *Thiếu Sinh*, 29 November 1945; “Đoi Sông của Dan Quan Du Kich,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 13 November 1945; “Nam Bắc Một Nhà,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 15 October 1945.
- <sup>31</sup> *Thiếu Sinh*, 29 October 1945.
- <sup>32</sup> “Xin Cù cho Chung Châu vào Nam bộ,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 5 November 1945.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>34</sup> “Thu của một Chiến sĩ Gửi cho các Em,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 15 November 1945.
- <sup>35</sup> “Thọ,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 29 December 1945.
- <sup>36</sup> “Ăn Chay và Ăn Thịt,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 29 October 1945.
- <sup>37</sup> *Thiếu Sinh*, 22 October 1945
- <sup>38</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>39</sup> Trần Quý Nhơn, 65-71.
- <sup>40</sup> “Đố Nát óc,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 8 October 1945.
- <sup>41</sup> “Đanh Sách Các Em Đu Thi,” “Bat Tai Tu,” “Thuong 1 Thang Bao,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 8 October 1945.
- <sup>42</sup> “Em Muốn Biết” *Thiếu Sinh*, 15 October 1945.
- <sup>43</sup> “Em Phải Làm Gì Trọng Ngày Kháng Chiến Toàn Quốc,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 29 October 1945.
- <sup>44</sup> “Các Em Viết Các Em,” *Thiếu Sinh*, 29 December 1945.