

## *Studying China from the Communist Comrade's Eyes: The Diverse Tracks of Vietnam's Sinological Development\**

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### *Abstract*

How the small states bordering China study their giant neighbor and how they develop the discipline that brought crucial impacts to their China policies have been ignored by scholars in social sciences and area studies. This article focuses on Vietnam, a nation that has developed its own special characteristics of Sinology because of the country's distinctive historical experience and close ties with China. This study introduces the different but equally remarkable training styles of Vietnamese sinologists through two analytical threads, namely, systematic training and cultural heritage. In addition to presenting the cases of Vietnamese Sinology, this study also compares the cases of Sinological developments in other East Asian countries. Through investigation and comparison, the current research is optimistic that it can show how and why Vietnamese Sinology has maintained its richness and diversity

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despite the domestic and international political upheavals that this field has encountered. This research further argues that the diverse resources accumulated in the evolution of north and south Sinology enable Vietnam to maintain flexibility when interacting with China.

How small states in China's periphery construct their understandings about it and how China's image has been translated and functioned in the small states' managing relationships with China are research topics rarely touched upon by scholars in contemporary China studies.<sup>1</sup> In the era of globalization, studying China is never merely about the personal interests of individual scholars but "involves interactions between two sets of identities—those of the observers and those of China."<sup>2</sup> The development of Sinology is rarely irrelevant to the struggles of individual Sinologists when facing power structure and political upheavals.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the research orientations and outcomes of Sinologists generally provide a hint for the potential directions of the bilateral relationship between a specific country/state and China. Many Sinologists in the states adjacent to China's borders play the role of mediators and assist political leaders in physically and intellectually managing relationships and solving disputes with Beijing. Nevertheless, studying China occasionally causes the suspicion that these scholars are "pro-China" and sympathize with Beijing's behaviors.<sup>4</sup>

Vietnam is one of the most critical countries that shares a border and extensive political and cultural commonalities with China. The trajectory of the Vietnamese Sinological development has unique meanings for investigating the consistency of a small state's China policies. These Sinologists grew up and gained their educations in an environment sharing so much in common with China. This study presents how the personal backgrounds of Vietnamese Sinologists and the historical and political environments that they have experienced shaped their intellectual preferences and built their identities and perspectives on China. The intellectual histories and characteristics of Vietnamese Sinologists have provided considerable inspiration to researchers who are either interested in the relationships between China and a neighboring communist regime or looking for a new angle for better understanding inter-state relations in East Asia. In terms of methodology, the interview transcripts and personal biographies of Sinologists are used as the main sources to support the arguments of this study. These sources as supported by articles and conference papers were

written by young generations of Vietnamese Sinologists in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City.<sup>5</sup> In addition, the current study applies comparative analysis in providing many case studies to reveal and reflect the uniqueness of the Vietnamese Sinology.

Given the special historical background that Vietnam was once a divided country, this research presents a comparative study between North and South Vietnamese Sinologists and the different patterns of their intellectual histories. The main focus of this article is the legacy of the diverse tracks of Sinological development in the North and South Vietnam. The characteristics of the scholarships of North and South Vietnamese Sinologists represent two diverse orientations (the former is more policy-dominated while the latter is unrestricted or pretty much freelancer style) and multiple sources of Vietnam when facing China; these sources include knowledge and experiences covering China's political, economic and social developments, as well as the traditional philosophy and arts that compose the base of Chinese worldviews. The diverse sources provide beneficial hints in understanding Vietnam's flexibility and continuity in its China policy. The self-understanding of Vietnam and its understanding of China are mutually constructed; to be more precise, many Vietnamese intellectuals and elites believe that Vietnamese could better understand themselves only through learning about China and the essence of the Sino-Vietnamese relationship. Meanwhile, the foundation of such mutual construction should be understood by investigating the diverse sources contributed by the North and South Vietnamese Sinologists.

The definitions of "North Vietnam" and "South Vietnam" in this study reflect the continuous usage of the political demarcation before 1975. Before 1975, Vietnam was one territory but two states. Such usage of terminology (the North vs. the South) also fits with the current common sense of Vietnamese society. North and South Vietnamese Sinologists have diverse styles of scholarship, different methods of professional training, and distinctive research preferences. This distinction, which exists within one nation-state, is peculiar when compared with other cases of Sinology developing outside of Vietnam.

The following section begins with the introduction of the analytical structure adopted in this study. Thereafter, an explanation is provided on how cultural upbringing and styles of academic training have shaped the development of Sinology. To highlight the distinctiveness of Vietnamese Sinology, this research introduces and compares Sinologists' styles of

training developed in different countries in East Asia, particularly in those states that have their own traditions of developing Sinological curriculum. Through the comparison, the first part of this article presents the special characteristics of Vietnamese Sinologists. The next section introduces and compares the special routes taken in the establishment of the North and South Vietnamese Sinology. The making of Sinologists in each location and the distinctive characteristics of their research orientations are also discussed. Last, the conclusion links the traditions of North and South Vietnamese Sinology with the current development of the discipline of China studies in Vietnam and its potential contribution toward Vietnam's management of its relationship with China.

## **1. Factors That Shape the Development of Sinology**

The investigation of the intellectual histories and local environments of Sinologists enables succeeding researchers to perform a systematic analysis of the development of Sinology in different locations. Hence the succeeding researchers living under different cultures and civilizations could still study the evolutions of Sinology in the locales and time periods that are alien from theirs. The current investigation provides a solid base for researchers to depict the genealogy of specific countries' understanding of China. This type of knowledge reveals the long-term trend of the bilateral relationships that specific countries have with China.<sup>6</sup>

This study depicts the influence of the political and social environments on scholars in the discipline of Sinology by introducing two cases located in one state, namely, Vietnam. The presentation of historical background and analyses of these two cases are made on the basis of two threads: academic training and cultural upbringing. The two threads are built on the consideration of geographic distance and cultural diversity. These factors have shaped the development of Sinology in different regions of the world; yet the degree of the influence of these factors also reflects the status of bilateral relationships between the locales of the Sinology and Beijing.

Academic training can be received via institutionalized programs and curricula designed by educational or research institutes in a specific locale (state or region) and sponsored by either private or public sources. The range of systematic academic training provided by these local educational institutions includes language training programs, particularly those focused on language skill (i.e., Mandarin); curricula centered on Chinese

history, art, culture, and the classics; and curricula focused on contemporary China, including courses on Chinese politics, economy, society, and other disciplines within the sphere of social science. Academic training also includes the project of sending students and young scholars to overseas institutes to enable them to develop the talents needed in conducting research in Sinology.

Cultural upbringing refers to Sinologists' living experiences in types of environment that share similar characteristics with the Chinese culture and inherit features of Chinese traditions and customs. In this context, cultural upbringing is typically related to the Confucian civilization or even to the degree that one's family background is tied with Confucian value system. Here the term "Confucian civilization" indicates the lifestyle understood and practiced following the belief system built on Confucianism, which shapes one's cultural, religious, social, and political lives. Being raised or trained to be a Confucian does not equal becoming Chinese.<sup>7</sup> Many countries in East Asia maintain a similar type of social life and stratification because they are influenced by Confucianism, including Vietnam.

No clear demarcations exist in terms of the extent to which a state/region exhibits or lacks characteristics of the two threads. The purpose of applying these two threads is to show the orientations of training style, developing process, and possible impact on the evolution of Sinologists and the discipline in different locations. The following typology depicts the diverse developments of Sinology by combining the features of the two threads. The following typology is for comparison and contrast: Type 1—environment with integrated academic training and profound cultural upbringing; Type 2—environment with integrated academic training but weak cultural ties with China; Type 3—environment with loose academic training but deep cultural upbringing; and Type 4—environment with loose academic training and weak cultural ties with China.

The major cases of this study fit with two of the four types. The first case is North Vietnamese Sinology, which fits Type 1. The second case is the investigation of the evolution of South Vietnamese Sinologists, which is close to the description of Type 3. This research does not aim to provide detailed case studies of Types 2 and 4. However, both types share a common crucial fact, namely, physical distance, which discourages the interpenetration of the Confucian civilization and belief system. Strong curiosity or political needs that trigger Sinologists to treat China as an important but remote "other" is also involved.

The demarcation of the four types is not based on nation-state. Although the adoption of state as the unit of analysis provides many benefits to further understand the development of Sinology globally, such an adoption also brings limits to the depth of investigation. The main purpose of this research is to present two different styles of training of Sinologists in one nation-state, that is, Vietnam. Thus, examples of the two other types are not restricted to the concept of state to make a proper comparison. Through this comparison, the uniqueness of Vietnamese Sinology can be further revealed.

## **2. Becoming Sinologists in East Asia: Diverse Paths, Orientations, and Motivations**

The majority of East Asian countries have deep ties with China. One may even argue that they follow similar training styles of Sinologists as Vietnam does. The development of Sinology depends on the domestic political and social conditions of a specific locale/country. The bilateral relationship with China also shapes Sinologists' research orientations. This section provides a general introduction of the different cases alongside the four types of Sinologist training styles. However, the demarcations of such types are indefinite in this study. In the majority of the cases, categorizing the situations of specific countries regarding the training styles of Sinologists is difficult. In addition, this section focuses on only the comparison among the developments of Sinology in East Asian countries. The reason is that covering cases globally is not feasible. The selected cases are mainly those states that can train their own Sinologists.<sup>8</sup>

North Vietnam is not the only entity that applies Type 1 training style of Sinologists in East Asia. Other popular examples include Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. Japan is one of the distinguished countries that own rich resources of China studies and long history of Sinological development. Japanese Sinologists originated from the adoration of ancient Chinese civilization and are trained well to read Chinese classics and manipulate classical and contemporary Mandarin.<sup>9</sup> However, world wars changed the research orientations and styles of Japanese academia. The think-tank style of Sinologist training emerged and information collection became the major purpose of research (similar to Type 2). Since the postwar period, the traditional and wartime styles have remained and prevailed. Thus, the power and the ability of reflection in

the development of Japanese Sinology are continuously enriched.<sup>10</sup> The evolution of contemporary South Korean Sinology also experienced a similar trajectory. Being influenced by the American style of social science, South Korean Sinology inherited the think-tank style of training. Many South Korean Sinologists also continue reflecting the traditional Chinese political philosophy and its relations with modern South Korea, such as the concept of Tianxia (all under heaven) and the tribute system.<sup>11</sup>

Compared with Japanese and South Korean Sinologists, who reconfirm their identities, similarities with, and differences from China, Taiwanese Sinology holds a unique position and purpose of presenting the authenticity of Chineseness that Taiwan has preserved since 1949. Such an image of “authentic China” was once a powerful tool that Taiwan equipped to earn support from the international community, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s. Titus Chen argued that such an image of Taiwan was “an inter-subjective imaginability” that considerably affected the international status and regime legitimacy of the Republic of China (i.e., Taiwan).<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the training of Sinologists in Taiwan was influenced by the Cold War and American epistemology. Both factors nurtured the development of think tanks and experts, whose professions were built on their research on communist China. The flourishing discipline of classical and contemporary China studies, combined with the styles of systematic training and rich academic resources, have made Taiwan particularly attractive to Sinologists globally, including those from Southeast Asia, such as South Vietnamese Sinologists.<sup>13</sup>

Another interesting case is Singapore, where over 70 percent of the population is ethnic Chinese. Singapore has allied with its Southeast Asian neighbors and kept wary of the communist China. This historical background has made China studies in Singapore a discipline with high sensitivity, particularly during the Cold War. Being a state established by ethnic Chinese and facing the suspicion from its Southeast Asian neighbors, Singapore has sought to differentiate itself from China (particularly the People's Republic of China [PRC]). Therefore, Lee Kuan Yew, the founding father of Singapore, launched a bilingual policy and made English the national language of Singapore. Such a de-Sinicization approach also revealed its impact on the development of Sinology in Singapore. The sensitivity of Sinology contributed to the situation that the early generations of Singaporean Sinologists were mainly trained in either the United States or Europe. Moreover, their research scope was

purposely restricted by the authorities and could focus only on topics related to overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia. Since the post-Cold War era, the Singaporean academia has followed the American think-tank style of China studies. The majority of the researchers engaged in leading institutes (e.g., the East Asian Institute) in Singapore are trained in Western countries, and many of them are foreign professionals holding short-term contracts with the Singaporean government.<sup>14</sup> This special characteristic has made Singapore an interesting case that can hardly be categorized into either Type 1 or Type 2; yet Singaporean Sinology has played a key role in the global discipline of China studies since the post-Cold War era.

Nevertheless, among the four types of Sinologist training, Type 2, represented by the American think-tank style, appears the most influential. Therefore, this type of training should be introduced in detail. The field of contemporary China studies began to flourish in the 1950s in the United States, following the establishment of the PRC and the successful revolution of Mao's Chinese Communist Party (CCP).<sup>15</sup> To date, studying China in North America remains the focus on understanding the trajectory of this country's development and its route to becoming a regional and global power. Although the institutional design of Type 2 training style also emphasizes language courses, this section remains relatively weak.<sup>16</sup> Type 2 provides leverage for Sinologists to conduct solid research projects on China in a comprehensive and systematic manner. This type also enables Sinologists to study China without a strict requirement of language ability. By relying on the universalization of social science methodology, Type 2 Sinologist training makes researchers treat China and their research topics as distant objects. This position is assumed to be free from researcher bias and has nothing to do with researchers' identities or roles.

The clear demarcation between researchers and research subjects makes Type 2 emotionally alienated from China and prevents researchers from sympathizing with the reality and true condition of the PRC. This characteristic contributes to the attractiveness of Type 2 toward many East Asian countries or to the political authorities of these countries. For example, the governments of Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia prefer Type 2. Part of the reason is due to the high percentage of ethnic Chinese populations in these countries and the ongoing struggles embedded in the relationships between Chinese ethnic minorities and the respective central governments. Such a characteristic of Type 2 training also drives



the central governments of these states to impose restrictions or eliminations of Chinese language education from the official curricula.<sup>17</sup>

The think-tank style of China expert training may flourish with the support of political authorities in Southeast Asian countries. However, this possibility does not imply that only Type 2 exists and prevails. Although struggling with relationships between central governments and pursuing equality of their political and social status, the Chinese ethnic minorities in Malaysia and Indonesia also follow Type 3 to preserve their respective cultures and identities. Chih-yu Shih explained that “Malaysian Chinese stand out as they have succeeded in preserving the Chinese language and even claiming a position for a ‘living Sinology,’ thus distinguishing themselves from both the indigenous Islamic populations and the academic Sinology in China.”<sup>18</sup> Although the Chinese ethnic minority in Indonesia faces similar challenges as their Malaysian counterparts, the Thai Chinese appear to integrate well with the local majority and hold only slight anxiety of maintaining “living Sinology.” The possible reason is that the majority of the positions in think tanks and higher education in Thailand are controlled by those of Chinese origins (i.e., because of their relatively good financial and social status). Given that the ethnic Chinese in these countries practice and maintain the developments of Sinology, numerous South Vietnamese Sinologists are the majority (i.e., ethnic Vietnamese). This crucial fact has revealed the special characteristics of the Vietnamese Sinology: the relatively less anxiety caused by the Chinese culture and civilization in the formation of Vietnamese identity.

Generally speaking, Type 4 is scattered in many countries that are geographically distant from China. One of the popular cases is the European Sinologists. Many European scholars have built databases of knowledge on China through the experiences of individual intellectuals who go to China as businessmen, diplomats, or exchange scholars. This type of self-learning/training process is compatible with anthropological research methods. In particular, curiosity and romanticization have become the characteristic styles of their works. However, certain cases remain unclearly defined and categorized with any type. In addition, undiscussed cases do not imply that they lack Sinologists or China experts at all. Cases selected for this article are those with a relatively apparent tradition of training Sinologists or cultivating the discipline of China studies.

The most influential think-tank style of Sinologist training requires researchers to study China from an outer position. However, North and

South Vietnamese Sinologists conduct research on China from an inner point of view. Being deeply influenced by their cultural ties with China, North and South Vietnamese Sinologists treat China studies as an approach to gain further understanding of Vietnam's history and the essence of the Vietnamese nation. They share the feeling of a strong connection with the fate of China and the Chinese people. Such sympathy toward Chinese society in fact brings in the ability of empathy of the Vietnamese authority when making a China policy. It is the confidence accumulated from long-term studies and being neighbors with China that Hanoi knows well how to play deference and defiance at the same time. Hence Vietnam could balance China's political influence while at the same time maximizing national interests from the bilateral interactions. It is noteworthy that the North Vietnamese Sinologists experience well-organized systematic training and study China not to avoid its influence but to get into China; the approach they have adopted is to differentiate Vietnam from China by determining the sameness in the first place. South Vietnamese Sinologists also practice the same manner, albeit their research focuses more on humanities than political and economic issues.

### **3. Becoming Sinologists in Vietnam: Comparison between the North and South**

The development of Sinology in Vietnam has a long history. The majority of the Vietnamese people acknowledge that Vietnam was once part of China ("Thời Bắc thuộc" in Vietnamese and translated as "Period of Northern Submission" [北屬時期 *beishu shiqi*]). This part of history has been treated as Vietnam's "National Humiliation" period. Given this characteristic of Vietnamese history, the special tie with China has been generally perceived and attracts many scholars to study Chinese history and culture. In many cases, such research turns into family tradition and passes down to many generations. Vietnamese China or Chinese experts commonly grew up in a Sinologist family, whose fathers or grandfathers devoted themselves to the study of Chinese history or literature. Such characteristic reveals that studying China and Chinese civilization have been crucial academic traditions in Vietnam despite the political distinctions between the North and South.

Distinguishing the differences between the North and South Vietnamese Sinology before 1975 would be a different type of comparison,

for these two regions were in fact two independent political regimes locating in one territory. Hence James Anderson's comparison of the two generations of Vietnamese Sinologists (before and after 1975) provides crucial clues for understanding how history and political backgrounds have shaped the developments of Sinology in Vietnam.<sup>19</sup> This article focuses more on the contemporary impacts of such historical legacy, that is, the divisions of the North and South Vietnam; the diverse training styles of Sinologists established before 1975 continue the influences on the discipline of China studies in Vietnam nowadays. For instance, intervention from the political authority has a more profound impact on the development of Sinology and contemporary China studies in North Vietnam than in the South. The degree of political intervention is determined by the status of the bilateral relationship between Vietnam and China. Since the end of the Second World War, socialist comradeship between the Vietnamese Communist Party (VCP) and CCP has made interaction and cooperation unprecedentedly frequent and comprehensive. At that time, communist brotherhood had encouraged scholars in North Vietnam to devote their time and energy to research on China. In particular, learning to speak Mandarin fluently was one of the important goals in their training process. Nowadays quite a few North Vietnamese Sinologists still hold the faith that "China studies today are conducted for the benefit of maintaining friendly bilateral relations."<sup>20</sup>

North Vietnamese Sinologists were influenced by the communist ideology and struggled in the debate between idealism and materialism in the 1950s and 1960s. By contrast, South Vietnamese Sinologists were immune from the ideological battle and could continue their research on classical Chinese literature, fine arts, and the history of ancient China even when the political situation regarding the Viet-Sino relationship deteriorated. Given the rapid degeneration of the bilateral relationship in the late 1970s, the development of Sinology in North Vietnam faced a dark chapter. Language classes in Mandarin were forced to close in nearly all universities. Several Sinologists were laid off from their institutes, while all research projects on China were treated as sensitive topics that were extensively supervised or even banned.<sup>21</sup> Similar situations also occurred in South Vietnam after 1979. However, being away from the political center and maintaining their research scope within the discipline of humanities had created space for the majority of the Southern Sinologists to continue their work without being interrupted by the official pressure.

Political factors have consistently been a major force that shapes the development of Sinology in Vietnam; after 1975, the impact of socialist ideology became more potent, especially in the North. Since the late 1980s, Hanoi has restored a formal relationship with Beijing; meanwhile, Vietnamese academia has introduced new training styles of China experts, such as recruiting Russian-trained social scientists to join the discipline of China studies.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, the traditional training style of using Vietnam's own curricula remains. After the restoration of official relationship between Hanoi and Beijing, Sinologists trained in the tradition of humanities fit in the new assignments to become early think-tank analysts in North Vietnam.<sup>23</sup> In addition, the Sinologists who work for the think tanks (most of which are located in Hanoi) follow the activities and policies of the CCP closely. The main reasons are that the political authority (i.e., the VCP) believes China's current status could be Vietnam's future; more importantly, the economic prosperity ushered in by a communist regime did bring great inspiration, albeit in a recent decade, Vietnam also paid great attention to the downside of China's economic miracle.<sup>24</sup> The new generation of South Vietnamese Sinologists has also begun focusing on contemporary China, though they tend to focus on Chinese philosophy and classical literature. In addition, these new experts are mainly trained in Hanoi, where the systematic training of Sinologists still prevails and interference from the political authority remains pertinent.

### **a. Cultural Upbringing and the Influence of Family Background**

The study of China is often entangled with the study of Vietnam. This characteristic has led to the further confusion of research subject (researchers) and research object (China) in the process of investigation and analysis. The phenomenon is caused by the complexity of Vietnamese history and the special ties of Vietnam with China. For many Vietnamese scholars, studying China is a crucial premise and necessary condition for studying Vietnam. They are convinced that only by mastering knowledge of China can one have a good understanding of Vietnam. The value system of Vietnamese society is built upon Confucianism and Buddhism, which are deeply implanted in the people's daily life. That is, the Vietnamese nation is believed to be familiar with Chinese culture and history. Thus, Vietnamese Sinologists enjoy an immense advantage. Accordingly, learning Mandarin and conducting research on China could easily

become family traditions and a valued inheritance for many Vietnamese Sinologists, particularly in the South.

The influence of family background is also apparent on the intellectual evolution of North Vietnamese Sinologists. Many of them were born and raised in families whose members had a history of devotion to Sinology, such as Vu Khieu and Phan Van Cac. The current interview data show that Vietnamese Sinologists with such family backgrounds mainly inherit their talents and research interests not from their fathers (the majority of whom were Europeanized scholars or focused on European studies) but from their grandfathers, who were lifetime Sinologists and devoted to research on Chinese culture and history. Such distinguishing cases include Tran Le Bao and Do Tien Sam, whose grandfathers were famous Sinologists in the Nguyen dynasty (1802–1945). These Sinologists have accumulated affection toward the Chinese culture since childhood. They have also cultivated their own styles of appreciating Chinese civilization, thereby developing a special perspective for studying China. This factor has enabled Sinologists in further investigating the current Viet-Sino relationship.

The majority of the eminent South Vietnamese Sinologists are famous for their scholarship and the Confucianism that they have inherited from their family tradition,<sup>25</sup> such as Buu Cam (who is the royal offspring of the Nguyen dynasty), Nguyen Khue (whose father was also a famous Confucian scholar), and Tran Tuan Man (whose grandfather served as an official in the Nguyen dynasty). Ly Viet Dung is a special case among the interview data collected in South Vietnam. He is an ethnic Chinese who later became a self-trained Vietnamese Sinologist.<sup>26</sup> The impact of the Confucian heritage on the family backgrounds of these South Vietnamese Sinologists has become apparent and conspicuous, particularly when compared with their North counterparts. South Vietnamese Sinologists' research orientations also show the characteristic of family influence, which focuses mainly on humanities subjects, including Chinese fine arts, poetry, novels, philosophy, and religion. These relatively less politically sensitive subjects have provided South Vietnamese Sinologists the freedom to continue their research and maintain their Confucian upbringing even during the grand political change in the late 1970s and 1980s. However, their Northern counterparts were forced to suspend their study or research on China when Viet-Sino relationship went sour.

## b. Diverse Tracks of Training and the Development of Vietnamese Sinology

The majority of the North Vietnamese Sinologists have studied in China for a certain period either to receive degrees or become exchange students. Before attending universities in China, these North Vietnamese scholars spent at least one year learning Mandarin in Nanning Yucai School (南寧育才學校, or *Nanning xueshe* 南寧學社) or other language schools in Guangxi (廣西). For example, Nuyen Huy Quy learned to speak Mandarin in Guilin (桂林) for one year before he went to Peking University. This professional language school in Guilin was established specifically for Vietnamese students. This school's function and mission are similar to those of Nanning House, which provides professional training for Vietnamese scholars.<sup>27</sup> These North Vietnamese scholars went to other provinces of China and enrolled in renowned universities to pursue a degree or receive further language training.

The design of Nanning Yucai School, which is located in Nanning (capital of Guangxi province) is unique for the development of Vietnamese Sinology. This school is the product of negotiations and cooperation between Vietnam and China after Ho Chi Minh and Mao Zedong decided to deepen the cooperation between the two countries. The main purpose of Nanning Yucai School was to foster and educate talented personnel for the new Vietnamese communist regime under the support of the Chinese government. This school also served as an institute that nurtures talents to prepare for a united Vietnam. The establishment of Nanning Yucai School was confidential and its administration was substantially controlled by the North Vietnamese authority. Only the positions of language teacher and chef of the school cafeteria were given to the Chinese.<sup>28</sup> Staff and faculty members in the administrative branch and Vietnamese students were prohibited from communicating with the local Chinese and the Guangxi government. They were likewise prohibited from going outside the school alone (outsiders were not allowed to visit the school either) and banned from gaining information on the external environment.<sup>29</sup>

Many famous North Vietnamese Sinologists were trained in Nanning Yucai School. These Sinologists include Pham Thi Hao, who was later assigned by VCP and stayed at the school as one of the Vietnamese Mandarin teachers; and Le Huy Tieu, who became a famous literature professor in Vietnam National University after returning to Hanoi. These

North Vietnamese Sinologists' experiences of studying in Nanning Yucai School were relatively precious. The majority of these scholars witnessed the changes occurring in China during the 1950s and 1960s, including the Great Leap Forward, the Steelmaking Movement, and the Cultural Revolution. One of the famous Sinologists, Nguyen Bang Tuong, even participated in the Down to the Countryside Movement and worked with Chinese peasants. He was sent to the suburban area of Beijing when he studied at Peking University from 1956 to 1962.<sup>30</sup> North Vietnamese Sinologists witnessing the grand changes of China through their personal experiences have contributed immensely to the research on contemporary China. Only a few foreign scholars were allowed to enter China during this period, and the North Vietnamese Sinologists' experiences provided unique firsthand information for investigating and analyzing China in the 1950s and 1960s.

North Vietnamese Sinologists were affected by the negative aspects of the Cultural Revolution. Many of them were forced to suspend their education. For those who had yet to visit China before the Cultural Revolution (e.g., Tran Le Buu and Do Tien Sam), they could only give up their plans because of the severe political situation in China and the following disturbances between Hanoi and Beijing.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, North Vietnamese Sinologists who studied in China were profoundly influenced by their Chinese advisers. The majority of these scholars have developed strong affection toward China-related research topics despite their original preferences shaped by family heritage. Others continued their research on China after being suspended from schools in Chinese educational systems.

Overall, the institutional design of Nanning Yucai School facilitated the establishment of the base for the development of Sinology in North Vietnam. Strict regulations were imposed on Vietnamese scholars who studied in China, but their education on Chinese language and culture continuously provided a strong foundation for their further research on China. This type of academic training of North Vietnamese Sinologists also marks the different characteristics that distinguished them from their other East Asian counterparts.

By comparison, no systematic academic training program analogous to what North Vietnamese Sinologists had been receiving since the mid-1950s existed in South Vietnam. The two major training approaches that South Vietnamese Sinologists followed before the national reunification in 1975 were self-study and overseas study. Eventually, a third training approach was provided by the Saigon University of Liberal Arts. This

university, which was established in 1957, provided Mandarin courses for students and recruited several famous South Vietnamese Sinologists, including Nguyen Khue, Tran Tuan Man, and Hoang Minh Duc. However, this third technique was not prevalent in South Vietnam before 1975.<sup>32</sup>

South Vietnamese Sinologists as Tran Tuan Man never attended an official institute that provides a curriculum in Mandarin. He learned to speak Chinese independently through the Han Nom (漢喃) translation of Tang (唐) poetry and modern Chinese novels. At that time, modern Chinese novels written by Hong Kong and Taiwanese authors, such as Xu Su (徐速), Jin Yong (金庸), Gu Long (古龍), and Qiong Yao (瓊瑤), were popular and used as materials by South Vietnamese Sinologists to learn contemporary Mandarin.<sup>33</sup> Self-trained Sinologists hold a strong affection toward the Chinese culture and have maintained the path of self-education throughout their life. This factor also contributed to the fact that South Vietnamese Sinologists rarely suspended their research on China despite being under pressure from the political authority after the national reunification in 1975.

Another eminent approach for South Vietnamese scholars to fulfill their mandate in the discipline of Sinology was to study overseas. Before 1975, the most popular destination for Southern Sinologists studying overseas was Taiwan. The selection of Taiwan as the destination to pursue degrees and further their understanding of Chinese culture was an American influence. Given that American troops were stationed in South Vietnam for over a decade, local scholars could access American and Taiwanese publications and learn about the academic environments in both locations. Therefore, the United States and Taiwan became quite attractive for Southern scholars who are pursuing degrees (although Taiwan was more attractive than the United States because of the relatively less distance and expenses). Under the influence of the American and Taiwanese academia, South Vietnamese Sinologists followed a pro-liberal style when conducting research. They esteemed Taiwanese scholarship but appreciated Mainland Chinese scholars' works less.<sup>34</sup>

### **c. Characteristics of Vietnamese Sinologists and Their Scholarship: Differences between the North and the South**

The evolution of Vietnamese Sinology has several distinctive facets. The first is the Sinologists' treatment of research on China. China is the



foundation for an in-depth understanding of Vietnamese history and the essence of Vietnam as a country. North Vietnamese Sinologists, such as Nguyen Bang Tuong, believe that studying Vietnam by conducting research on China does not mean that Vietnam is inferior to China. Instead, investigating China through the Vietnamese perspective can facilitate the establishment of the best approach for Vietnam's future development. Nguyen Huy Quy (in his interview) suggested that by investigating China and treating it as a neutral research object, Vietnam could learn the merits from the Chinese experience of development and avoid similar mistakes made in the past.<sup>35</sup> In addition, maintaining deep understanding of China enables Vietnam to deal with China without the support of a third party.<sup>36</sup>

The second facet is that Vietnamese Sinologists hold relatively positive viewpoints toward China and optimistic attitudes on the future development of the Vietnam–China relationship. This facet is particularly apparent on North Vietnamese Sinologists because they were treated well during their stay in China in the early years of their training. Therefore, their opinions on China have remained amicable. Even when the Vietnamese government and people held hostile attitudes against China, Sinologists have maintained their positive views and attitudes, although they have maintained silence to protect themselves from persecution during the political disturbance. These Sinologists adopted a long-term commitment to continue investigating the development of the bilateral relationship between Vietnam and China. Others also proposed that the emergence of China can positively influence other countries in the region and China may need assistance from Vietnam.<sup>37</sup>

In terms of research orientation and scholarship style, a clear distinction exists between North and South Vietnamese Sinologists. North Vietnamese Sinology is under the strong impact of the Chinese academia on their theoretical approaches and research perspectives. Sinologists who studied in Nanning Yucai School were particular examples. Since VCP started the Doi Moi (economic and social reform) policy in 1986, many North Vietnamese scholars had redirected their research agenda. They focused on the study of Western political and social systems, although the major sources that these scholars applied for conducting such research were acquired through the Chinese academia, specifically by reading Chinese translations or articles and books written by Chinese scholars. Younger generations of North Vietnamese Sinologists have a relatively open space in terms of selecting theoretical approaches and

research tools. Certain of them have followed the Russian path or Western approaches.<sup>38</sup>

South Vietnamese scholars' research orientations, particularly for those who studied in Taiwan, were evidently different from those of their Northern counterparts. Northern Sinologists are critical in their research on China while praising the value of the revolution. By contrast, South Vietnamese Sinologists are relatively pragmatic in terms of being loyal to their research objectives and avoiding being influenced by political forces. Unlike certain North Vietnamese Sinologists whose research occasionally overemphasizes criticality and allow their analysis to drift toward fabrication,<sup>39</sup> South Vietnamese Sinologists have adopted textual analysis as their primary research method. They also focus on the presentation of text authenticity. Numerous South Vietnamese Sinologists are also influenced by the Western academic style and have focused on textual comparisons.<sup>40</sup> In selecting research topics, South Vietnamese Sinologists are interested in conducting research on classical Chinese literature and traditional philosophy, such as Zhu Xi (朱熹).<sup>41</sup> Buddhism, Zen, and Tantra are also popular topics in South Vietnamese Sinology.<sup>42</sup>

The strong cultural tie with China and the loose style of academic training have made South Vietnamese Sinologists flexible in their research orientations and selection of occupations.<sup>43</sup> Unlike their Northern counterparts, Southern Sinologists do not necessarily work for the government. Many of the South Vietnamese Sinologists earn their living in the market. For example, certain Sinologists living in Ho Chi Minh City are defined as "freelance researchers." They are not affiliated with official institutes. Thus, they are typically under minimal pressure than North Vietnamese Sinologists regarding official restrictions on research topics and contents. In addition, Southern Sinologists enjoy space in conducting research on the basis of personal interests and their observations of readers' preferences (i.e., these scholars earn their living by publishing their works in the private sector). One example is Cao Tu Thanh's research on translating Chinese novels into Vietnamese. These novels include kung fu and ghost stories, which are relatively popular in the Vietnamese book market.<sup>44</sup>

By contrast, political power influences the setting of North Vietnamese Sinologists' research agenda. After training in China, many Sinologists were assigned to positions in diverse official institutions, including universities and think tanks. To fulfill the missions assigned by the political authority, the design of the research agenda for each

Sinologist appointed in the public sector should comply with the official policy. Hence, the pattern of Chinese national development, study of Chinese foreign policy and China's economic reform, and the domestic politics of China have been popular topics selected by Sinologists. By investigating China's pattern of national development and making the Chinese experience the model for Vietnam's future development, North Vietnamese Sinologists have served the Vietnamese government's needs of promoting the nationwide reform project and strengthening the relationship with China. Consequently, North Vietnamese Sinologists have been allowed to maintain ties with China and Chinese academia, thereby enabling them to further their research on China.

However, the excessive dominance of political power on North Vietnamese Sinologists' research agenda setting has a negative impact. The most apparent defect is the restriction on scholars' freedom of speech and composition. Nguyen Van Hong (in his interview) referred to the superficiality of research conducted by Vietnamese scholars as the result of the customized research agenda that serve the interests of the political authority. In addition, this tendency of having a customized research agenda has made Vietnamese Sinologists unwillingly take responsibility for their own research results.<sup>45</sup> Vu Khieu (in his interview) also ascribed his selection of research topics to the assignment from VCP. Therefore, his devotion to the study of Confucianism consisted of the distribution of works assigned by the party authority.

Overall, the North Vietnamese Sinologists often play the roles as consultant and mediator for the political authority. Whenever the Vietnamese government senses the need to restore or re-strengthen its relationship with China, North Vietnamese Sinologists serve as consultants and provide advices for policy makers. However, when the bilateral relationship goes sour, the same group of scholars is forced to remain silent until the next wave of change in the Sino-Vietnamese relationship occurs. On the other hand, certain Northern Sinologists still neglect the pressure from the political authority and select their research topics based on idiosyncratic reasons.

South Vietnamese Sinologists are evidently not so interested in conducting contemporary studies on China, including Chinese politics, China's economic development, and China's foreign relations, compared with their Northern counterparts. Certainly their avoidance of politically sensitive topics might due to the fact that most academics living in the South are not strongly connected with the communist party. Nevertheless,

the Southern scholars have benefited from this research preference because their research topics and studies are apolitical. Therefore, South Vietnamese Sinologists are rarely suspended or even affected by the changes of the real political world.<sup>46</sup> Current South Vietnamese Sinologists maintain their preferences for relatively apolitical issues, such as the transition of modern Chinese society and cross-cultural marriage between Vietnamese women and Taiwanese men.<sup>47</sup>

In summary, Vietnam's past experience of being a divided country has contributed to the diverse developmental routes of Sinology, thereby leading to the different training styles and research orientations of the North and South Vietnamese Sinologists. Nevertheless, such differences have made Vietnam a location where the resources on China studies are extensive and prosperous and allowed the Vietnamese authority to develop outstanding flexibility when facing the vicissitudes of the changing bilateral relationships with China. Both North Vietnamese Sinology and South Vietnamese Sinology carry the spirit of humanities embedded in Confucianism, while in the same time both Sinological types preserve the criticalness in their studies and reflections of the discipline. These attributes provide a clue for understanding the Vietnamese political authority's ability of adopting a vehicle through its Sinological roots to reach outside of the sovereign mindset.<sup>48</sup> Such flexibility was evident when Hanoi was insisting on the socialist brotherhood with Beijing while struggling in the competition and conflict over the sovereign rights on the South China Sea. Therefore, the rich and diversified Sinological traditions founded by North and South Vietnamese Sinologists have provided knowledge and skills, thereby equipping policy makers with several options in their China policy making. Moreover, Chinese cultural elements do not compromise Vietnam's national identities as they do in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and other Southeast Asian countries.<sup>49</sup> This factor has ensured the Vietnamese authority's continuing support for the development of Sinology.

#### **4. Conclusion**

This study starts with a hidden but evident premise. For most small countries adjacent to China's borders, the development of Sinology is about studying China and understanding their respective roles and identities. To further understand how Sinologists' perspectives are formed in different regions/nations, this research provides two threads for analytical

purpose, namely, cultural upbringing and academic training. Both threads construct four types of training style of Sinologists. These styles may oversimplify the real situation of any specific country and underestimate the agency of Sinologists. However, creating categories is only for comparison and only through comparison can the uniqueness of the forming process of Sinology and Sinologists in a specific region/nation be clearly defined. Given the establishment of these four types of Sinologist training styles, this research further provides a general introduction of the developments and characteristics of Sinology in other East Asian states for comparison purpose. Although there are exceptional cases that couldn't be easily categorized (for some Sinologists' backgrounds and life experiences make it difficult for them to be defined as either North or South Vietnamese scholars), the discussed distinctions remain and continue to shape the evolution of Vietnamese Sinology.

South and North Vietnamese Sinologists believe that only by gaining a profound understanding of China can Vietnam and the Vietnamese people truly understand themselves. These scholars continue to maintain personal concerns and psychological connections with China and Chinese cultures. This factor has made their judgments on China's actions and motivations seemingly apt and direct. On the other hand, since the Vietnamese communist regime shares deep ties with their Chinese counterparts, the Vietnamese authority always need information and advice from Sinologists and China experts. The establishment of the Institute of China Studies at the Vietnamese Academy of Social Science (VASS) in 1993 was meant to shoulder the mission of serving the party and government. The Institute of China Studies has its own training programs for nurturing new generations of Sinologists and China experts; in addition to conducting research and providing education, this institute is also in charge of connecting research and educational institutes in China and maintaining good relations with the Chinese academia.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, due to its close tie with the party, the research outcome of this institute is not supposed to deviate from the will of the political authority.

The empathy the Vietnamese experts hold toward China makes them view China's economic, social, and political developments as the model, or at least mirror, of Vietnam's future. Hence China's failure normally wouldn't make them happy, but worry these Sinologists to an extreme.<sup>51</sup> Such attitude of the Vietnamese Sinologists also impact Hanoi's attitude toward Beijing. While the Sino-Vietnamese bilateral relationship has been

turbulent due to the South China Sea sovereign rights disputes, the inner evaluation of the VCP high officials remain “portrayed the Sino-Vietnamese tension as one within the family and likened Chinese aggressive acts toward Vietnam to a father’s tough love for his child.”<sup>52</sup> Such a psychologically family-like tie is constructed on the basis of not only socialist comradeship, but also the long-term accumulation of knowledge about China and the empathy toward their northern counterpart.

The South Vietnamese Sinologists maintain the Sinological tradition through independent learning and overseas study, both of which contribute to the richness and diversification of Vietnamese Sinology. The relatively liberal and open academic atmosphere of the South Vietnamese Sinology provides space for the development of diverse approaches and perspectives, among which the continuing influence of Taiwanese academia is significant. The fact that the southern provinces of Vietnam are the main residential areas for Taiwanese businessmen creates a convenient venue for deepening the interactions between Vietnam and Taiwan. The political influence of the South Vietnamese Sinologists on the government’s China policy might not be as potent as their North counterparts, yet the South scholars’ concerns for humanity and their openness in terms of preserving interactions with Taiwan contribute to Vietnam’s current complicated and inconsistent China policy.

The characteristics of the North and South Vietnamese Sinology have been important factors that bring potential influence on Vietnam’s effort to manage its relationship with China. Although the political authority has been integrating academia in the North and South since 1975, the research orientations of Sinologists in either location have not changed substantially. Training styles and curriculum designs in universities still manifest characteristics that continue to represent historical differences in North and South Vietnam’s educational traditions. Nanning Yucai School no longer exists, while South Vietnamese Sinologists build their own method of academic training for younger generations. Most importantly, cultural upbringing and the responsibility of being a Vietnamese Sinologist remain potent. These factors make these Sinologists a strong research group in the global arena of China studies.

## Notes

- 1 Brantly Womack’s analysis of the asymmetric relationship between Vietnam and China provides a profound explanation of the small state’s perspectives

- and logics when facing the neighboring great power. See Womack, *China and Vietnam: The Politics of Asymmetry* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
- 2 Chih-yu Shih, "Introduction," in *Sinology in Post-Communist States: Views from the Czech Republic, Mongolia, Poland, and Russia*, edited by Chih-yu Shih (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2016), p. xiii.
  - 3 The *Oxford Dictionary* defines Sinology as "the study of Chinese language, history, customs, and politics." The current study adopts the meaning of Sinology as China studies in the following analyses. See <http://www.oxford-dictionaries.com/definition/english/sinology>.
  - 4 Chih-yu Shih, "Introduction," in *China Studies in South and Southeast Asia: Between Pro-China and Objectivism*, edited by Chih-yu Shih, Prapin Manomaivibool, and Reena Marwah (Singapore: World Scientific, 2018), p. xi.
  - 5 The majority of the materials cited in this study were collected from two sources. The first source is the interview transcripts of sinologists, which can be downloaded from the website of the Research and Educational Center for China Studies and Cross Taiwan–Strait Relations at the Department of Political Science, National Taiwan University, <http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/act02.php>. The second source comprises articles and presentations given at the conference titled "The Intellectual History of Vietnam's Sinology and China Studies" (Nghiên cứu Trung Quốc học ở Việt Nam: lịch sử qua lời kể), which was held in Hanoi in May 2015 and hosted by the Department of Political Science NTU and the Research Center of China Studies of the University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi.
  - 6 Chih-yu Shih, *Sinicizing International Relations: Self, Civilization, and Intellectual Politics in Subaltern East Asia* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).
  - 7 Chih-yu Shih, "Understanding China as Practicing Chineseness: Selected Cases of Vietnamese Scholarship," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (2018), p. 48.
  - 8 To date, certain Southeast Asian states, such as Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar, continue to lack the facility and ability to support the development of Sinology. The reason may be the political and economic conditions and limitations. However, this study does not indicate a lack of China experts in these countries. In fact, these states also have local scholars, whose expertise includes contemporary China and East Asian international politics. Nevertheless, the trainings of these China experts rely generally on other regional countries or even Western academia.
  - 9 He Peizhong, "Ribei xuejie de dangdai zhongguo guan" (The View about China in Contemporary Japanese Academia), in *Zhan hou riben de zhongguo yenjiu—koushu zhishi shi* (The Postwar China Studies in Japan:

- Intellectual History), edited by Shih Chih-yu, He Peizhong, Kenichiro Hirano, Tetsuo Tsuchida, and Murata Yujiro (Taipei: Department of Political Science NTU and the Research Center of China Studies, 2011), pp. 15–26; Chih-yu Shih, “Conclusion: The Evolution of Sinology after the Communist Party-State,” in Shih, *Sinology in Post-Communist States*, p. 270.
- 10 Chen Jian-ting and Shih Chih-yu, *Zhong ri he qun? riben zhishijie lun zheng “zhongguo jueqi” de jindai yuanliu* (The China-Japan Cooperative? The Recent Origin of the Debate on “China Rise” in Japanese Academia) (Taipei: Department of Political Science NTU and the Research Center of China Studies, 2007), pp. 138–154.
  - 11 Kyoung-yoon Seo and Shih Chih-yu, *Huifu chaogong guanxi zhong de zhuti—hanguo xuezhe Quan Hai-Zong yu Li Chun-Zhi de zhongguo yanjiu* (Confronting the Middle Kingdom: The History of Tribute System Revisited through Chun Hae-jong and Lee Choon-shik) (Taipei: Department of Political Science NTU and the Research Center of China Studies, 2012).
  - 12 Chen Chih-Chieh, “Jiangou xianghu zhuguan de xiangxiang ti: pouxi lengzhan qi yuan shiqi de guoji guanxi yanjiu suo ji qi zhongguo yanjiu (1953–1975)” (Constructing an Inter-Subjective Imaginality: Analyzing Taiwan’s Institute of International Relations and Its China Studies during the Early Cold War (1953–1975)),” *Renwen ji shehui kexue jikan* (Journal of Social Sciences and Philosophy), Vol. 28, No. 1 (2016), pp. 68–104.
  - 13 Shih, “Conclusion,” p. 273.
  - 14 Chen Chang-hong, *Xinjiapo zhongguo yanjiu de zhishi mima—huayi li qun zhe de shenfen celue yu neng dong xing zhangwou* (The Knowledge Code of China Studies in Singapore—The Identity Strategy and Agency of Ethnic Chinese Diaspora) (Taipei: Department of Political Science NTU and the Research Center of China Studies, 2011).
  - 15 Terrill E. Lautz, “Financing Contemporary China Studies,” in *American Studies of Contemporary China*, edited by David Shambaugh (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1993), pp. 301–305.
  - 16 Timothy Light, “Chinese Language Training for New Sinologists,” in Shambaugh, *American Studies of Contemporary China*, pp. 239–263; Paul R. Goldin, “History: Early China,” in *A Scholarly Review of Chinese Studies in North America*, edited by Haihui Zhang, Zhaohui Xue, Shuyong Jiang, and Gary Lance Lugar (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, 2013), [https://car.clas.asu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/A\\_Scholarly\\_Review\\_ePDF.pdf?af39ad](https://car.clas.asu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/A_Scholarly_Review_ePDF.pdf?af39ad).
  - 17 Shih, “Conclusion,” p. 270.
  - 18 *Ibid.*, pp. 270–271.
  - 19 James Anderson, “An American Perspective on Vietnam’s Sinology,” in Shih, Manomaivibool, and Marwah, *China Studies in South and Southeast Asia*, pp. 287–302.
  - 20 *Ibid.*, p. 290.



- 21 Dr. Pham Quang Minh from the University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi, mentioned this part of history during his speech for the Department of Political Science at National Taiwan University on 10 November 2015. The experiences of several North Vietnamese sinologists also corresponded to this fact.
- 22 Cong Tuan Dinh, "Sourcing Contemporary Vietnam's Intellectual History in Russia: Sciences, Arts, and Sinology," in Shih, Manomaivibool, and Marwah, *China Studies in South and Southeast Asia*, pp. 103–122.
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- 24 Li Cunxia, "Yuenan guanfang meiti de zhongguo renzhi bianqian fengxi—yi yuenan renmin bao (2000–2011) wei yangban" (An Analysis of Changing Perceptions of China in the Official Vietnamese Media: The Case of Nhan Dan Newspaper, 2000–2011), *Dangdai Yatai* (Journal of Contemporary Asia-Pacific Studies), Vol. 5 (2012), pp. 97–120.
- 25 Nguyen Dong Trieu, "Báo cáo hội nghị phỏng vấn các nhà Hán học Việt Nam" (A Report of Analysis and Comparison Made from the Interviews with the Vietnamese Sinologists), paper presented at the conference "Nghiên cứu Trung Quốc học ở Việt Nam: lịch sử qua lời kể" (The Intellectual History of Vietnam's Sinology and China Studies), Hanoi, 16–17 May 2015.
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- 27 Truong, "Báo cáo phân tích so sánh."
- 28 Dao Thi Tam Khanh, "Bước đầu bản về nhận thức về Trung Quốc của các nhà Hán học Việt Nam đương đại" (The Community of Vietnamese Sinologists and Their Understanding of China), paper presented at "Nghiên cứu Trung Quốc học ở Việt Nam: lịch sử qua lời kể"; Quach Thu Hien, "Nhận thức về Trung Quốc của giới Hán học Việt Nam nhìn từ góc độ nghiên cứu văn học Trung Quốc" (Discussing Vietnamese Sinologists' Understanding of China from Their Research of Chinese Classics), paper presented at "Nghiên cứu Trung Quốc học ở Việt Nam: lịch sử qua lời kể."
- 29 Hien, "Nhận thức về Trung Quốc của giới Hán học Việt Nam nhìn từ góc độ nghiên cứu văn học Trung Quốc."
- 30 See Nguyen Bang Tuong's interview transcript, available at [http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/comm2/vietnam\\_06ch.pdf](http://politics.ntu.edu.tw/RAEC/comm2/vietnam_06ch.pdf).

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- 34 Hien, “Nhận thức về Trung Quốc của giới hán học Việt Nam nhìn từ góc độ nghiên cứu văn học Trung Quốc.”
- 35 Khanh, “Bước đầu bản về nhận thức về Trung Quốc của các nhà hán học Việt Nam đương đại.”
- 36 Shih, “Understanding China as Practicing Chineseness,” p. 49.
- 37 Hien, “Nhận thức về Trung Quốc của giới hán học Việt Nam nhìn từ góc độ nghiên cứu văn học Trung Quốc.”
- 38 Dinh, “Sourcing Contemporary Vietnam’s Intellectual History in Russia.”
- 39 Khanh, “Báo cáo giới thiệu về tình hình thực hiện phỏng vấn các nhà Hán học của nhóm Hà Nội.”
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- 41 Khanh, “Báo cáo giới thiệu về tình hình thực hiện phỏng vấn các nhà Hán học của nhóm Hà Nội.”
- 42 Khanh, “Bước đầu bản về nhận thức về Trung Quốc của các nhà hán học Việt Nam đương đại.”
- 43 Anderson, “American Perspective on Vietnam’s Sinology,” pp. 291–292.
- 44 Truong, “Yuenan zhongguo yanjiu koushu lishi de bijiao.”
- 45 Ibid.
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- 47 Trieu, “Báo cáo h i ngh ph ng v n các nhà Hán h c Vi t Nam.”
- 48 Shih, Chou, and Nguyen, “Two Intellectual Paths That Cross the Borders,” p. 124.
- 49 Ibid., p. 125.

- 50 Do Tien Sam, “Yuenan dangdaishi yanjiu de xianzhuang yu zhanwang” (The Current Status and Prospect of the Contemporary Chinese History Studies in Vietnam), *Zhongguo shehui kexue wang* (Chinese Social Sciences Net), 14 April 2014, [http://www.cssn.cn/sjxz/xsqksjk/skdt/201404/t20140414\\_1065759.shtml](http://www.cssn.cn/sjxz/xsqksjk/skdt/201404/t20140414_1065759.shtml).
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