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Hegemony, Counter-hegemony and Buddhist Redemption
in the Poetry of Xu Huizhi and Nguyen Phan Que Mai

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越南二十世紀上半葉學者對儒教史的研究：
演變、趨向與思想含意

HOANG Minh Quan (黃明君)

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越南二十世紀上半葉學者對儒教史的研究：演變、趨向與思想含意

HOANG Minh Quan （黃明君）



Hegemony, Counter-hegemony and Buddhist Redemption in the Poetry of Xu Huizhi and Nguyen Phan Que Mai

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Abstract

This article aims at examining the poetry of Xu Huizhi (許悔之) and Nguyen Mai within the framework of Sinification. It attempts to focus its discussion on how the speaker in those poems depict hegemony, counter-hegemony, and Buddhist redemption. The results of the discussion show that the factors that contribute to the hegemony and counter-hegemony are governmentality, subjectification, and technologies of the self. With regard to Buddhist redemption, the speaker in the investigated poems reflect the purification of the body and the cultivation of the spirit. Also, the two major turning points in Buddha's life, renunciation and awakening, are demonstrated by the speaker. Two conclusions are reached: 1. Hegemony and counter-hegemony are both inward and outward criticism - the former means it self-criticizes the society's consent of being dominated or marginalized and the latter signifies that it criticizes the unjust domination by the dominant side and; 2. The existence of Buddhism in the poetry of Xu Huizhi and Nguyen Mai is pertinent to the context of where these two poets live and write about, Taiwan and Vietnam.

Keywords: hegemony, counter-hegemony, Buddha, literature

1. Introduction

Xu Huizhi (許悔之) is the pen name of Xu Youji, born in Taoyuan in northern Taiwan in 1966. He started writing poetry in the 1980s and has published six books of poems in addition to prose. Xu powerfully articulates the central issues of our time through reflections on romantic love and existential angst in his early work, political satire and realist nativism in the middle period, and metaphysical contemplation on the clash between body and soul and the hope of redemption through Buddhism in his recent writings (Yeh & Malmqvist, 2000:476).

Nguyen Phan Que Mai was born in 1973 in Ninh Binh, the northern province of Vietnam, but she was raised in Bac Lieu, the southern part of the country. In Mai's poems, according to Weigl (in Mai, 2014:10), the sensibility of the north and the south manifests in the form of a graceful nationalism - a crucial characteristic of Vietnamese history and culture that has enabled Vietnamese to survive "foreign invasions for over a thousand years". Her poetry, Weigl (in Mai, 2014:11) further pointed out, is "deeply committed to tradition, but open too to the influences and innovations of Western art and thinking; a global poetry necessary for our troubled times". Historically, Balaban (2022) emphasized that one great tributary that has fed Vietnamese literature is the written literature of Chinese influence and along with the borrowed conventions of Chinese literature came Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. Like Huizhi's poetry, Mai's poems are rich with some ideas pertinent to Buddhism.

As such, considering all aforementioned notions, power, hegemony and counter-hegemony exist in the poetry of Xu Huizhi and Nguyen Mai. With regard to power, Huizhi and Mai's poetry does not only touch the potentials of the body in its literal sense, but also grabs its corresponding relatedness, such as, body politics, cultural body, military body, religious body, and so forth. Moreover, the mentioning of the soul does not merely refer to the counter-hegemonic soul as opposed to the hegemonic body. It is the intention of this article to say that, in the



poetry under investigation, power can be both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic along with the existence of Buddhism and its notions of purification and spiritual cultivation.

This study will examine six poems by Xu Huizhi and seven verses by Nguyen Phan Que Mai. The titles of Xu Huizhi's will-be-investigated poems are "Corporeal Form-for Aung San Suu Kyi", "My Compassionate Buddha-Ananda's Confession", "A Bowl of Rice-the End of Aung San Suu Kyi's Home Arrest", "Body in Ruins", "Purple Hare", and "The Implorer". On the part of Nguyen Mai, her selected poems are "The Poem I can't yet Name", "Pearls of My Aunt", "The Secret of Hoa Sen", "My Mother", "Separated Worlds", "The Desire of Clouds", and "Freeing Myself". The notions of war and Buddhism, either explicitly or implicitly imparted, seem so exquisite that they are worth further exploring by answering these three research questions: how does the speaker depict the hegemony?; how does the speaker delineate the counter-hegemony; and how does the portrayal of the hegemony and counter-hegemony contribute to the speaker's redemption in the Buddhist way?

2. Theory

As an expert in Sinophone studies, Shih Shu-mei (2007:5) points out that the vernacular dialects of the Sinophone can be seen in, among other things, a movie called *Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon*. Shih further elaborates that:

Multiple accents for one standard language reveal a more powerful message in that they indicate living languages other than the standard one, whose hegemonic projection of uniformity is subverted through a straightforward representation that refuses to cover up dissonance with uniformity.

The heteroglossia of hegemony and counter-hegemony exist even from the use of different language accents for the very same standard language. This study does not deal with the Sinophone, but with the Sinification, how the Chinese

culture influences the praxis in Taiwan and Vietnam and how the Taiwanese and Vietnamese counteract such influences within the poetry of Xu Huizhi and Nguyen Mai.

Shih (2007:11) emphasizes the existence of hegemony and counter-hegemony in both visuality and literature. With regard to literature, what is clear from the dichotomy of hegemony and counter-hegemony is “the specific and contextual usage of the medium and practice of everyday life determine where in the spectrum of hegemony and resistance it lies. The geopolitical, spatial, and historical contexts are necessary to understand” (Shih, 2007:11; Huotari, 2014:1-24). In this study, the investigated medium is poetry rather than visuality and the scrutinized practice is hegemony and counter-hegemony. To situate the practice locally and globally, overdeterminations are important to recognize. Overdeterminations are causes or factors that produce the libido and the unconscious, in Freudian terminology, in the form of consent on the part of the marginalized. Overdeterminations can be seen by such categories as history, politics, culture and economy both locally and globally (Shih, 2007:11). What is meant by global scope here is capitalism.

Klein (2014:68-87) combines the concepts of hegemony and counter-hegemony by Gramsci and Foucault because the former tended to observe a certain class while the latter did not. She follows the model of power and resistance which includes the notions of governmentality and normalizing techniques, subjectification and the body, bio-power and healthy bodies, and technologies of the government and of the self. Governmentality is a form of government based on a new technique of power concerned with the management and regulation of the population through practices and techniques of normalization. Regarding subjectification, there are two meanings to the word “subject”: 1. subject to someone else by control and dependence; and 2. subject as tied to one’s own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge.

Bio-power is a form of productive power that operates as a type of governmentality through the regulation of the health and well-being of the



population optimized in the service of the state or capitalist objectives. About the technologies of the self, they refer to the ways by which individuals govern themselves. Technologies of the self are part of government technology's processes, emphasizing the ways by which individuals participate in their own domination. Technologies of the self imply the various modes of action through which individuals have chosen to work on their bodies, behaviors, thoughts, and appetites with the effect of fashioning themselves in particular ways. These indicators will be used to identify the factors or causes that produce hegemony and counter-hegemony.

In light of the seemingly local context of the poetry of Xu Huizhi and Nguyen Mai, the notions of Buddhism are worth putting into consideration. Yang (2017) talks about the politics of religion by concentrating on the re-contextualization of Chinese Mahayana Buddhism in Taiwan through these six ways: purifying the Japanese Buddhist convention (neglect of monastic precepts) and highlighting the core teaching of the Buddha: ethical conduct (Vinaya), mental discipline (right mindfulness and concentration), wisdom leading to enlightenment; purifying the penetration of Confucianism & Taoism/folk religion in Buddhist doctrine & practice; continuing the Mahayana Buddhist convention in mainly the Zen lineage; enhancing the studies in the Dharma at Buddhist institutes, especially the Vinaya, and promoting its practice; starting to care about the once-marginalized or suppressed knowledge and pursue spiritual cultivation (manifested e.g. in the widespread trend of many female college graduates joining the Sangha); and secularizing or modernizing Mahayana Buddhism by consolidating the Four Leading Buddhist Monasteries: Foguangshan, Chung-tai, Dharma Drum, and Tsu-chi. This study will make good use of the notions of purification, enlightenment, and spiritual cultivation in the poetry under investigation.

Also, this study will consider the biography of the Buddha, especially the two major turning points in his life as the ways to perceive the reflections of Buddha in the development of the speaker in the poetry of Xu Huizhi and

Nguyen Mai. Carrithers (1996:2) narrates that as he reached manhood, Buddha was confronted with a sick man, an old man, and a corpse. Reflecting on what he had seen, he reached the first great turning-point of his life: against the wishes of his family he renounced home, wife, child, and position to become a homeless wanderer, seeking release from this apparently inevitable pain. So he sat down to reflect quietly, with neither psychic nor physical rigors, on the common human plight. This led to the second great change in his life, for out of this reflection in tranquility arose at last awakening and release. He had 'done what was to be done', he had solved the enigma of suffering.

Carrithers (1996:3) further points out that, based on the life of Buddha, the true outline of life must be at least: birth, maturity, renunciation, search, awakening and liberation, teaching, death. This life outline, with the two marked transformations, the renunciation and the awakening, gave the Buddha and his followers the dramatic plot with which to illustrate their belief and the psychological and philosophical model on which to found their thought. Dramatically the action centers on spiritual changes achieved by heroic personal application, while philosophically it focuses on discoveries made within the Buddha's own mind and body.

3. Methodology

This study applies discourse analysis as its method. Discourse is considered a process, rather than a product. The approach of this study is qualitative one. This means that the data are in the form of words. The technique that will be used in processing the data is descriptive one. In interpreting the data, this research will describe the interpretation in such a way to answer the formulated research questions. To reduce subjectivity, triangulation will be attempted, especially in the data collection and in the method of data interpretation.

In this study, the thirteen poems were selected through purposive sampling. It means picking up sources of data through a series of strategic choices (Palys, 2008). In the context of this study, the poems were picked up after an intensive



reading of all the poems as they best exemplified the topic being discussed. In this research, purposive sampling relied on criterion sampling and theory-guided sampling. The theories applied in this investigation were theory of hegemony and counter-hegemony and theory of Buddhist redemption.

The poems under investigation are selected based on the poets' nationalities, when they were born and how their reputation as writers is, the year of the poems publication, and the similarities in terms of themes. This study considers the authors that come from Taiwan and Vietnam as the ones that directly experienced the Sinification in their countries. Originally, this research began by picking up the eight poems by Xu Huizhi in an anthology entitled *Frontier Taiwan: An Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry*. However, out of these eight poems, only six verses involve the singular and plural first person speakers. The rest two verses do not involve any first person speaker. Then, this study selected seven poems by Nguyen Mai in her own poetry anthology called *The Secret of Hoa Sen* to suit the themes of the Taiwanese poetry by Xu Huizhi. All selected Nguyen Mai's poems involve the singular first person speaker.

The data are principally collected from the aforementioned thirteen poems. About the data collection techniques, first of all, the observation of the poems are conducted in order to see the phenomena of hegemony, counter-hegemony, and Buddhist redemption. Secondly, note-taking is carried out in such a way to record the data that are needed to answer the research questions. Thirdly, the categorization is performed in order to group the data based on the reviewed theoretical frameworks and/or methodology.

As a continuation of categorizing the data, the analysis of data signifies that the data are studied in a more systematic and careful way. The data are related to how the speaker in the investigated poems portrays hegemony, counter-hegemony, and Buddhist redemption. The reviewed theories will be used to guide the analysis.

The cultural model which consists of keyword based and non-keyword based analysis will be applied too (Quinn, 2005:35-81; Strauss, 2005:203-242). The

keywords in this study are hegemony, counter-hegemony, Buddha, and literature. The non-keywords in this research are the ones that are related to the keywords, such as power, war, body, soul, self, redemption, freedom, Taiwan, and Vietnam. These keywords and non-keywords will be found either in the narrations or utterances of both the main and additional sources of data.

With regard to data interpretation method, to interpret data means to decide what the intended meaning of the data is. To reach this goal, this study will make good use of method of discovery and method of verification (D'Andrade, 2005:83-104). About the method of discovery, the interpretation will show where the intended phenomena can be seen. On the method of verification, the interpretation will bring out how and why the phenomena take place.

4. Discussion

The notion of Chineseness and its influence on Taiwan can be found in Xu Huizhi's poem entitled "Corporeal Form-for Aung Sang Suu Kyi (1991)". The speaker in this poem explicitly mentions: "Now I shall choose hunger/In the endless cycle of transmigration/Only the Buddha can/Reap an abundant harvest of five grains/To fast, to go without food/To give oneself to the hungry tiger/The Buddha said, life does not end/With the first lamp or the second lamp/Where the sun doesn't shine/One vows never to lose compassion/And to be one of the hungry people" (pp.478-479).

The hegemony of China over Taiwan can likely be seen in the phrase "five grains". This phrase seems to allude to the Chinese god of the five grains, Wugu Shennong. Shennong was doing so much for agriculture that he is worshipped by farmers and pheasants as the founder of their profession and is worshipped by the rice merchant in Taiwan¹. This consent of worship deserves to be named as the effect of hegemony. But the poem stanza also discusses the counter-hegemonic corporeal body. Body can be trained "to fast," that is, to delay eating or drinking for a certain period of time. Rather than continuously being

1 See "Wugu Shennong (God of Farming or God of the Five Grains)" at <https://culture.teldap.tw>



hegemonically dominated, the marginalized side has the capability to maintain their consciousness by “being hungry” for a while until they themselves can reap their own abundant harvest.

Politically rendered, the poem’s writing or publication year, 1991, seems to be significant in elaborating why the poem explicitly talks about Burma whereas as a matter of fact it implicitly discusses Taiwan. Lepesant (2018:65) points out that: “Between 1945 and the beginning of the 1990s, the KMT tried constantly to impose a primordial, essentialist, Chinese nationalism that contradicted the memories and living experience of most of the island’s population.” It is likely that subjectification, in this case, was used to control the Taiwanese and to make them dependent by applying, among other things, the politics of religion and identity.

Like Xu Huizhi’s poem, Nguyen Mai’s “The Poem I can’t yet Name” hints at Chineseness in an implicit way. The speaker says, “My hands lift high a bowl of rice, the seeds harvested/in the field where my grandmother was laid to rest/. Each rice seed tastes sweet as the sound of lullaby/from the grandmother I never knew/. I imagine her soft face as they laid her down into the earth,/her clothes battered, her skin stuck to her bones;/in the Great Hunger of 1945, my village was starved for graves to bury all the dead” (p.19).

The hegemony of China over Vietnam manifests in the phrase “a bowl of rice”. This phrase may allude to the Chinese iron bowl of rice political concept² as the living standard between 1952 and 1978. During the Socialist China, the State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) provided secure jobs with secure goods, services and livelihood guarantee for the workers and thus “iron rice bowl” refers to the indestructible security of jobs and living for people. The Communist China, however, especially since world monetary crisis in 1997, no longer fully sustain such indestructible security and hence workers call or accuse the government of ‘smashing the iron rice bowl’. This likely portrays today’s communist Vietnam indirectly.

2 See “iron rice bowl” at contemporary_chinese_culture.en-academic.com

The corporeal counter-hegemony is shown in “my hands lift high” and “(tongue) tasted bitter rice”. The speaker’s hands seem to appreciate the seeds harvested in the field rather than the rice given by the government. But this result was reached after 65 years of struggle. Unlike Xu Huizhi’s poem, Nguyen Mai’s verse sounds more straightforward in terms of bodily counter-hegemony. Probably it was due to the use of governmentality in the way the Japanese occupier articulated their power by regulating the Vietnamese people to submit agricultural produce to the occupier. But like Xu Huizhi’s poem, this poem alludes to something else, that is, the Japanese occupation in Vietnam in 1945 in order to signify the domination of China over Vietnam.

Both poems portray how the speaker ‘experiences’ corporeal purification and spiritual cultivation. The speaker in Xu Huizhi’s poem mentions that: “Before the silent Buddha/A perfect contented soul/As is he is touching my/shriveling body” (p.479). After performing fasting and not losing compassion, the speaker’s soul is contented. Fasting likely purifies the speaker’s body as the Buddha is touching it. The experience of the speaker in Nguyen Mai is different. “I listened in the burning incense how my grandmother’s soul spread, joining the earth, taking root in the field, ..., calling the rice plants to blossom” (p.19). It is the speaker’s grandmother that undergoes purification and cultivation. But like the speaker of the previous poem, such purification and cultivation took place in the Buddhist way. The blossoming plants may refer to the blossoming lotus flower in Buddha or may counter-respond to the notion of Chinese “letting a hundred flowers blossom” (Liu, 1983). None of the speakers has a willingness to take revenge. This proves the success of spiritual cultivation.

The phrase “a bowl of rice” appears in Xu Huizhi’s poem titled “A Bowl of Rice - the End of Aung Sang Suu Kyi’s House Arrest” and it likely has something to do with territorial hegemony. The speaker brings up: “This time when I leave the prison/The sun shines perfectly over the peninsula of Indochina/A rice bowl facing toward the ocean/I can feel my people and me/Like solid grains of rice/Rinsed and cleansed by seawater/In the sun’s flames we use gun stocks for fuel/



To cook slowly a bowl of rice” (p.48).

The Chinese territorial hegemony is likely brought out by these phrases: “rice of bowl”, “house arrest” and “the peninsula of Indochina”. Indochina refers to the intermingling of the influences of India and China on the culture of the region which covers up these countries: Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar (Burma), Thailand, Vietnam, and Malaysia. French Indochina, however, only consists of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Again, Xu Huizhi does not explicitly hint at China or Taiwan, but, again, the denomination of when the poem was written or published, 1994, seems significant. Based on the 1992 Consensus interpretation by Xi Jinping, “The two sides (China and Taiwan) of the strait belong to one China and would work together to seek national reunification.” According to KMT interpretation, however, “One China, different interpretations,” with ROC standing as the “one China”³. The poem may allude to the Consensus and thus signify the one China consent on the part of Taiwan to a certain extent as the effect of territorial hegemony. It is very likely that the factor that produces such hegemony is governmentality because the government, in this case, uses power to manage and regulate the population in terms of territorial affairs.

The counter-hegemony is shown in the capability of the speaker to feel her⁴ and her people “like solid grains of rice”. This signifies the existence of consciousness on the part of the speaker and her people. Solid grain of rice, in this case, may be rendered as corporeal consciousness and while the grains are “rinsed and cleansed by seawater,” they are experiencing bodily purification. These grains are then used to “cook slowly a bowl of rice”. Cooking seems to suggest cultivating and thus it signifies spiritual cultivation in the Buddhist way. As such in the last stanza the speaker dedicates the cooked bowl of rice to “The Buddha and three worlds”. The three worlds of Buddha comprise of the desire realm (earth), the form realm (atmosphere), and the formless realm (sky).

3 See Lindsay Maizland's “Why China-Taiwan Relations Are So Tense” at www.cfr.org

4 In this poem, one of the lines reads, “I feel my postmenopausal body”. So, the speaker is supposed to be female.

In her poem entitled “My Mother,” Nguyen Mai demonstrates how the speaker shows the places in Vietnam that were once hit by war, supposedly including Sinovietnamese war. The speaker brings up: “I cross the Lam River to return to my homeland/I cross the sedge fields to return to Ninh Binh/I cross the Mekong River to return to Bac Lieu/I cross the distance to return to Sai Gon” (p.75). The war caused the speaker to be separated from the mother, “My mother sends me away among raindrops/I overcome my shyness, to hug my mother for the first time/Hesitantly, my feet walk the dusty road of life” (p.75). The effects of hegemony can be seen in the shyness and the hesitancy. One may argue that the shyness is probably due to the first experience, but then why it continued to the hesitancy to continue the mundane living? The speaker’s willingness and determination to “cross, return, overcome, and walk” brings out the counter-hegemony. Such repeated actions as crossing and returning can only occur when one has enough consciousness in such a way that it motivated one to execute the performances. In addition, the speaker’s consciousness manifests in “I am always far away, and guilty not to be there” (p.75). One can only be aware of the distance and guilty feelings when one is in the state of consciousness. As such, the speaker and the mother show the technologies of the self in such a way that they have their own way in their counter-hegemonic behaviors.

The notions of separateness and return due to war also manifest in Nguyen Mai’s poem “Separated Worlds”. The speaker in this poem mentions: “Tonight I hear their footsteps/coming from two separate worlds/the hurried, trembling footsteps/finding each other in the dark/the footsteps sucked dry blood/lost through millions of miles/lost through thousands of centuries” (p.55). The hegemonic effect of war on the speaker can be seen in the speaker’s consent to listen to the footsteps of the dead. Here the separateness is undergone by children and fathers who had died in the war. Governmentality seems to be a factor that caused this kind of hegemony and technologies of the self likely deserve to be the factor that motivated the counter-hegemony on the part of the speaker.

In the following stanza, the speaker demonstrates the counter-hegemony:



“With each footstep I place in my country/how many bodies of wandering souls will I step on?/How many oceans of tears/of those who haven’t yet found the graves of their fathers?” (p.55). There is a kind of shifting in terms of Buddhism in the poetry of Nguyen Mai. In the theme of separateness, Buddhism is likely to be treated politically as it goes along with the counter-hegemony. The existence of “bodies” and “souls” is still around but when it is pertinent to the speaker’s “country,” there is a tendency to pinpoint one side to blame or to be responsible for what unjustly happened in the past, that is, the war.

Nguyen Mai recollects and redesigns her poetic materials in the rest of the investigated poems in such a way as to return to the right teaching of Buddhism, that is, the impartment of the notion of redemption. Nguyen Mai starts with childhood recollections of the speaker in the poem “Pearls of My Aunt”. “I had seen her cry before and I had/kept those pearls deep inside my chest as we/kowtowed our heads three times to Buddha/who sat at our village pagoda,/the roofs curling into half-broken moons./... Today my aunt no longer cries as she/kneels by the bedside of my uncle,/dying from cancer, who has to share/his single, tattered hospital bed/with two other withering men./... I stand here with the pearls of my aunt’s courage/blossoming inside my blood,/holding me to the earth” (pp.34-35).

The effect of hegemony of Chinese culture on the speaker as a child and the aunt can be seen in their kowtowing performance when praying in front of Buddha. Kowtowing means kneeling and touching the ground with the forehead in worship or submission as part of Chinese custom. The aunt was crying as she begged Buddha to return to her the mother of her childhood who died due to the Great Famine of 1945 in Vietnam. It was the era of the Japanese occupation in Vietnam.

The counter-hegemony manifests in the aunt’s kneeling without crying by the bedside of the dying uncle. The aunt no longer practices the Chinese custom of kowtowing but it does not necessarily mean she no longer believes in Buddha. Not crying does not necessarily mean she no longer hopes her husband

will recover either. Her kneeling may suggest she prays to Buddha to heal her husband and she begins to show the capability not to beg too much to Buddha, differing from her demand of her dead mother return. She starts to awaken and release too high a demand. Learning from the aunt, the speaker decides to stand with courage and humility in living the speaker's life. Seen from the two major turning points in Buddha's life: renunciation and awakening, the speaker's aunt has achieved redemption in Buddhist way.

Regarding the speaker's redemption, Nguyen Mai at least portrays it in three different short poems. In "The Desire of Clouds," the speaker mentions: "One day the clouds open and pour into me,/silting, singing./Rain vibrates like a forest, freeing itself like the sea;/...the rain blankets me, the human fates/short lived, tottering, white only once" (p.63). The speaker compares the process towards redemption with how the clouds turn into rain. Being open, generous and dynamic are typical characteristics to achieve redemption. Humans do not have much time so they should act at once.

In "The Secret of Hoa Sen" and "Freeing Myself" the speaker finally discloses how to reach for redemption in a Buddhist way. In the former, the speaker hints at: "The eyelid of night lifted me onto a sampan,/floating among the humming lotus./Hoa Sen; my darling called out their name/so their perfume blossomed onto his lips,/unveiling the mist of a world/that I didn't know existed" (p.41). While in the latter the speaker mentions: "One day the wind lifts me high;/the wind hands me a pair of wings/and tells me to free myself from wings and/fly above my thoughts" (p.143). The notions of time, night and day, probably suggest that it takes time to redemption and it reflects how Buddha was on the way to redemption. Hoa Sen means lotus flower and in Buddhism lotus flower has a strong symbolism, as strong as the freedom of the self so as not to take revenge and not to command or demand an apology.

Like the poetry of Nguyen Mai, the theme of separateness and coherence can be found in at least two short poems by Xu Huizhi: "Body in Ruins" and "My Compassionate Buddha-Ananda's Confession". The stanza in the former



reads: “While my head is still beautiful/Cut it off, carry it with your hand/Drum on it hard/I can’t bear decomposing and gnawing maggots/My body in ruins is a sacred Dharma vessel/Now forgotten by the world” (p.481). The body parts separateness manifests in the order to cut off the head from the body using the interlocutor’s hand⁵. If the mind cannot lead one to enlightenment, what is the use of it? This is likely the counter-hegemonic function of part of the body. The head and the mind should be harmoniously constructed in such a way as to achieve enlightenment. Otherwise, it is better to separate these two.

In the latter, the speaker brings out the importance of head as the vessel of mind especially in terms of the way to achieve redemption. The referred stanza reads: “My Buddha consoled me, saying clarity grows out of filth and mud/My Buddha promised me that I would be the first to be freed in the next life/My Buddha touched me, caressed the top of my head/My Buddha is merciful, with supreme compassion/My Buddha, do not shed a tear for me” (p.480). The notions of clarity, freedom or redemption, and compassion seems inseparable from the coherence of the head and the mind. But, like in the poetry of Nguyen Mai, this takes time and needs a process. Filth and mud should be faced prior to the capability to see clarity. But, unlike the poetry of Nguyen Mai, Xu Huizhi seems to put stronger self-responsibility on the part of human when he/she does not yet succeed in following Buddhist path. This can be seen in not requiring Buddha to cry for the speaker. In this case, the factor that contribute to hegemony and counter-hegemony is the technologies of the self whose main tenet is how individuals manage themselves.

Again, unlike the poetry of Nguyen Mai, the implicit call for togetherness exists in Xu Huizhi’s poems “Purple Hare” and “The Implorer”. In the former, the plural first person speaker hints at: “This winter/We scissor the cloth of the Milky Way/Garner the brightest star of Sirius/For a burial button/A hundred

5 According to the Buddhist doctrine of isshin sanzen, “one mind contains three thousand thoughts, implying that within the mind we hold our own enlightenment, the world of Buddha” (Chin, 2014:225). The poem line may allude to the doctrine to signify that the head as the vessel of mind plays an important role in Buddhism.

years from now/Ah purple hare purple hare/There goes a clever hare/Without a shred on” (p.483). The invitation for togetherness appear in the use of the subject “we” rather than “I” in the poem under investigation although it discusses the purple hare⁶. The purple cloth worn by the hare was the collective achievement and so was the brightest star of Sirius. Such achievements may endure longer and be commemorated by more posterities from time to time than the individual ones. In the latter, the plural first person speaker mentions: “Implore you to turn around when you leave/Implore the soul, if we have one” (p.483). The two lines comprises of more than just an invitation, it is a begging for togetherness. It is as if the lines implored the awakening souls in order to reach the goal of togetherness. The existence of such a call for togetherness in the poetry of Xu Huizhi, but barely exists in the poetry of Nguyen Mai, probably due to the issues of unification and independence are more perceivable in Taiwan than in Vietnam.

5. Conclusion

To compare the poetry of Xu Huizhi and Nguyen Phan Que Mai is to scrutinize post-war Taiwan and Vietnam, two countries with once was or is still under the Sinification influence. As such, hegemony and counter-hegemony are both inward and outward criticism. Inward criticism means it self-criticizes the society’s consent of being dominated or marginalized and outward criticism means it criticizes the unjust domination by the dominant side. Consciousness on the part of Taiwanese and Vietnamese both individually and collectively as a nation is in continuous conflicts and challenges either with domestic or foreign domination.

Redemption is taught not only by Buddhism but also by any given religion or system of belief. The existence of Buddhism in the poetry of Xu Huizhi and Nguyen Mai is pertinent to the context of where these two poets live and write about, Taiwan and Vietnam. In the case of Vietnam, as reflected in Nguyen Mai’s

6 This poem likely alludes to the story of the hare who befriended three other animals: a monkey, a jackal, and an otter. These four friends are famous for their selflessness. The hare was made the leader of the group. It is said that the hare was Buddha before becoming the Buddha. See O’Brien’s “The Jataka Tale of the Selfless Hare” at www.learnreligions.com.



poems, redemption or awakening tends to be challenged by war experiences in the past. As such, individual or familial matters are highlighted. With regard to Taiwan, expressed either explicitly or implicitly in Xu Huizhi's poetry, freedom is in opposition with either the past or the progressive unification and independence predicaments.

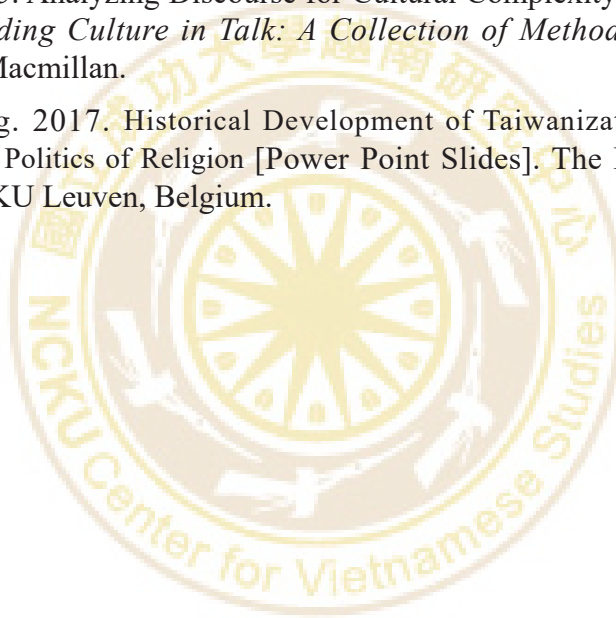
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General education in the North of Vietnam, period 1954-1975 achievements, limitations and lessons for current education reform

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Abstract

General education in the North of Vietnam was conducted in the territorial area from the 17th latitude toward the North, from 1954 to 1975 in the condition of a short peace time, followed by a fierce war against the American imperialists. That education was born from a colonial country and underwent the resistance war against France (1945-1954) with many difficulties and deprivations. That education really carried out a profound educational revolution that radically changed the socio-cultural foundation, and at the same time met the requirement of mobilizing human and strength of the Southern reinforcements to complete the national unification work. Apart from the outstanding advantages, the general education system in the North of Vietnam revealed weaknesses and inadequacies. This article intends to delve deeply into that issue, thereby thinking about lessons learned to contribute to the current educational reform.

Keywords: general education, North of Vietnam 1954-1975, Vietnamese education, education in resistance war, education innovation

1. Introduction

In 1954, according to the Geneva Agreement, Vietnam was temporarily divided into two regions so that the political parties could gather forces. From the 17th latitude to the North was the land under the management by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Geneva Agreement was not strictly observed, the country's division lasted till 20 years later. During the these 20 years, the North focused its work on building socialism and gave support the South to the fight for national independence and the national reunification. General education in the North of Vietnam was conducted in such context and time. Having emerged from a colonial country and conducting anti-colonial war against the French colonialists (1945-1954) with many difficulties and deprivations, the North of Vietnam built a large-scale revolutionary education for the whole people. That education really changed the socio-cultural foundation, and at the same time provided human resources for the struggle for national independence and reunification. Regarding the evaluation of that education, there are many different opinions, both negative and negative, while there are opinions of high recognition, even considering it as a model of education today. What are the actual values of such an education system? This article rethinks that issue: trying to assess the achievements and limitations of education in the North from 1954-1975, thereby thinking about lessons learned to contribute to the current educational reform.

The research method used in the article is mainly based on highly reliable archival materials, assessments and summaries in official documents by the Party and State, and references to works and articles from which opinions and evaluations on this issue are drawn.

2. Remarkable education achievements in the North, period 1954-1975

2.1. Social context of education after 1954

The North just experienced a 9-year resistance war against the French



from 1945 to 1954. Before that, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam gained its independence after 80 years under French colonial rule. It was at the final stage of the Second World War 1939-1945 when the North was under the Japanese-French rule, and when the situation was very tragic, the people were exploited to the end; the famine in 1945 caused more than 2 million deaths. The colonial educational legacy was little, specifically seen from the following statistics:

Before the August Revolution, more than 95% of the population were illiterate. The illiteracy rate for women was 97.2% in localities with primary schools and 99.8% in areas without primary schools. The illiteracy rate for ethnic minorities was 95.5%. Only 20% of teenagers could attend school, of which the percentage of girls from primary to secondary school was only 14.8%, in high school alone, there were only 3.1% of girls (Dinh Quang Hai, 2020, p.375).

When the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was born, President Ho Chi Minh highly appreciated the role of education, affirming that by developing education and raising people's intellectual standards, people could build a powerful, humane and happy country. In a letter to students on the occasion of the first school day of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, September 15, 1945, President Ho Chi Minh wrote: "Whether Vietnam becomes beautiful or not, the Vietnamese step up to the podium to compete with the great powers of the five continents will depend on your studies." That teaching always resonates, always motivates teachers and students of many generations.

After Peace was restored in 1954, the central task of the North was to develop a new socialist education quickly, on a large scale, for all subjects, in different localities, to bring our country from a low educational level to a developed education system, to successfully build the socialist North and fight for national reunification. The Resolution of the Third Party Congress of the Vietnam Workers' Party clearly stated:

Education must be developed on a large scale in order to cultivate the young generation into workers who own the country, are enlightened with socialism, who master culture and technology, and have good health in order to effectively serve for staff training and raising the cultural level of the working people. Education must serve the Party's revolutionary lines and tasks; education must be combined with productive labor, theory is associated with reality, and school education has to go together with society's education. (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2002, pp.929-930)

Considering whether an education system succeeds or fails, we should look into its relation to its objective mission and the context in which it is conducted. By such point of view, the education in the North from 1954 to 1975 had 3 main achievements as follows:

- (1) An education system for all people - “everyone can go to school”;
- (2) Continuous progress in all conditions, even in war;
- (3) An education system with true quality, for fighting against invaders and building the country.

The first issue is presented in a separate section while the rest two issues, which are closely related to each other, will be presented in a single section.

2.2. Building the education system for all people - “everyone can go to school”

2.2.1. Illiteracy eradication and education improvement

During the resistance war against the French, that movement continued to be maintained in the “free zone”. After peace was restored, one of the important tasks of the education sector in the North was to further promote the movement to eliminate illiteracy and fight “re-illiteracy”. A very familiar image in cities, industrial zones and rural areas was the scene of workers and farmers who



went to work during the day, and carried kerosene lamps to classes at night. The literate people taught the illiterate ones, the more educated people gave lessons to the less knowledgeable. Within 3 years, illiteracy eradication earned an impressive figure: in 1955, 105,087 people escaped from illiteracy, in 1956 there were 943,030 people, in 1957 there were 206,563 (Source: Central Statistics Office, 3 years of economic recovery, cultural development, 1955-1957, Hanoi, 1959, p.137). By the end of 1958, the Northern Delta and Midland provinces had basically eliminated illiteracy, 93.4% of people aged 12-50 could read and write.

After the illiteracy eradication campaigns, the education sector developed the movement of “education popularization” and “education and culture supplement”, which developed very quickly then, in order to improve people’s intellectual level, meeting the learning needs of groups of people, cadres, and soldiers who, due to resistance conditions, could not go to school. Many supplementary schools for workers and farmers were established, with the mission of not only improving the cultural level, popularizing education for the people, but also supplementing the education and culture for young workers and farmers to be able to enter universities and professional high schools afterwards. In 1960-1961, the North had 25 general labor schools, 9 training schools for workers and farmers, thousands of supplementary schools with nearly 1.8 million learners.

2.2.2. General education

General education earned a drastic development. In 1956 at the National General Education Congress, the Government approved the second education reform project drafted by the Ministry of Education. Accordingly, general education in the North would follow a 10-year model similar to that of socialist countries: Level I: 4 years, Level II: 3 years, Level III: 3 years. Thus, it was a must to unify the 9-year education model in the war zone with the 12-year model of French-Vietnamese schools. The basic characteristics of the new education system were of socialist nature, taking Marxism-Leninism as the ideological foundation, the purpose of which is to serve the working people.

In order to develop the nation's education towards meeting the learning needs of the people while the country was still poor, the Party and State considered the whole people as its key resources in combination with other resources, specifically:

Spending a large amount of the state budget on education, for example VND 16,092,000 in 1956, VND 46,346,000 in 1960 and VND 65,806,000 in 1965 respectively.

Implementing the policy of tuition fees with exemption or reduction for children of policy-benefited families or children in mountainous areas. The amount of tuition fees contributed by the people was nearly half of the state budget invested in education.

Receiving aids of different kinds from socialist countries.

In addition to the government's funding, the people's contribution, the students' own efforts through the weekly labor days were the main cause for school construction and building. By doing so, from the day Peace returned to 1962, the government built 671 schools with 3,333 classrooms, the people built 6,341 schools with 21,315 classrooms (National Archives Center III, Phong Phu). Prime Minister, Dossier No. 18022, Dossier on Education Reform. Thus, the number of schools and classrooms built by the people was nearly 10 times that of the State. Although quite a few schools were of leaf roofs and earth walls, some of the schools were of top priority, and then were gradually replaced by "tile" roofs and walls.

The Party and State aimed to expanding the network of schools to every commune, so that each commune could have one primary school, two or three communes had one secondary school, towards each commune having one secondary school, each district having at least one high school. Below is the table on education situation in the North, period 1955-1975.



Table 1. Education situation in the North, period 1955-1975

School year	Number of schools	Number of classes	Number of teachers	Number of students
1955-1956	4,495	17,584	16,013	716,100
1960-1961	7,066	41,447	44,401	1,899,600
1965-1966	10,294	71,060	80,488	2,934,900
1970-1971	10,987	108,658	132,631	4,568,700
1975-1976	11,832	132,343	176,611	5,308,400

(Source: General Statistics Office of Vietnam, Statistics on Vietnam, Volume 1, Publishing House of Statistics, Hanoi, 2000.)

Along with the rapid growth in the number of students, the number of female students increased rapidly. In the 1956-1957 school year, the number of female students accounted for nearly 30%, in the 1964-1965 school year, the number of female students accounted for 41.5%, that is, the relative balance of gender in education had been reached.

In the development of education, the number of schools and the number of high school students has grown especially rapidly. Within 10 years from 1955 to 1965 in the North, the number of high schools increased 8.3 times; the number of classes increased by 14.3 times; the number of teachers increased 17 times; the number of students increased 13.6 times.

It can be said that education in the North of Vietnam within 20 years after the return of Peace developed rapidly, expanding in scale from urban to rural areas. That development was shown in the number of schools, the number of classes, the number of teachers and students. Gender equality in education also made spectacular progress, reaching a natural balance. In that development, high school education made rapid progress, showing that the level of high school students in the North reached a high level.

2.2.3. Education in mountainous areas

The Party and State focused on developing education for children in mountainous areas, gradually eradicating the educational disparity between those in lowland and mountainous areas. Since 1959, the Party and State had implemented such policies as encouraging teachers in the lowlands to work in mountainous areas, spending a lot of money on education activities in mountainous areas, offering free tuition to students in mountainous areas. Thanks to these policies, education in mountainous areas made rapid progress. Among them, the number of female students increased rapidly to achieve gender equality in education. The minority groups of Thai, Mong, Tay-Nung had already developed their own languages for the preservation of languages and cultures.

General comments on the achievements of building education by all the people of the North from 1954 to 1975:

Within 20 years from the school year 1955-1956 to the school year 1974-1975, the education sector in the North had a miraculous development with an unprecedented speed and scale in history. The number of schools increased by 2.6 times (with 11,832 high schools at all levels); the number of classes increased by 7.5 times (with 132,343 classes); the number of teachers increased 11 times (with 176,611 people); the number of students increased 7.4 times (up to 5.3 million people). With the then population of about 17 million people, 1 out of 3 people attended school. That education met the “right to go to school” of all social classes, turning our country from a backward country with more than 95% of the population being illiterate during the French colonial period to a country with a high level of education, which effectively served the resistance war and the construction of a new society in the North.

2.3. Education development was ensured during the war time with improved quality, progressive operation for the needs of resistance war and country construction

2.3.1. Education development kept progressing during the resistance war



From April 1964, the US imperialists waged an escalating war to destroy the North, sending the air force and navy force to attack the North. In 1966, the US imperialists continued to escalate the war, sending massive American expeditionary troops and troops of allied countries into direct combat on the battlefields of the South; at the same time, sending more warships and aircraft to attack the North in order to crush the will of the Vietnamese people who were fighting for the liberation of the South and reunify the country.

On July 17, 1966, President Ho Chi Minh read “The Appeal to compatriots and soldiers of the whole country” for fighting against the US and saving the country on Radio Voice of Vietnam: “The war can last 5 years, 10 years, 20 years or more. Hanoi, Hai Phong and some cities and factories may be destroyed, but the Vietnamese people are determined not to be afraid! Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. On the day of victory, our people will rebuild our country to be stronger, more dignified, and beautiful!”.

In response to President Ho Chi Minh’s call, the North became a block of steel. The youth carried out the slogan “Three readies”, women “Three braveries” and the whole society rapidly changed from peace time to war time. So was the education sector.

During the destructive war caused by the US imperialists, with the aim of destroying the material facilities of the North, threatening the spirit of the North's army and people, turning the North into the “stone age” as stated by the American President, the US Air Force targeted educational institutions. Xuan Giang Primary School (Ha Tinh) was hit by American bombs on August 5, 1964. One school in Ho Xa town (Vinh Linh), Dong Hoi town also collapsed 2 days later. During 4 years of the first destructive war (1965-1968) 1,558 schools, including 7 universities, were destroyed, many teachers and students were killed throughout the North.

On August 5, 1964, the Prime Minister issued Directive 88/TTg on redirecting education work in the context of war in the whole country. The main method was to continue to develop education in an appropriate strategy to the

wartime situation, ensuring the safety of students in their learning activities, associating school activities with production and combat work.

The education sector organized the evacuation of schools to avoid American bombs, better organized anti-aircraft work, and ensured the safety of teachers and students. Schools in cities, towns, near main roads, ferry terminals, bridges and culverts were removed to rural areas. Millions of students, tens of thousands of classes were re-organized in schools in districts, communes, which can be seen as a great migration. That migration did not cause any difficulties for the receiving place because the peasants were willing to give up parts of their house for evacuated teachers and students. Rural schools also quickly transitioned their activities to fit with the war time. The classes were scattered to study in the villages, under the eaves of pagodas, temples hidden under the green bamboo groves to avoid enemy bombs. In classrooms, underneath trenches were created together with A-shaped tunnels. When enemy aircraft arrived, according to the unified command, all teachers and student quickly moved down the trenches and into the shelters. Students were taught how to braid straw hats, nun (like a straw shield to wear on the back), and how to bandage wounds, how to give first aid to injured people. Every day during the height of American air raids, students went to school with straw hats and shields to avoid bombs, carrying first aid bags with a red antiseptic wash and cotton bandages to bandage themselves or give first aid to others.

In fierce war zones such as Vinh Linh, Zone IV, many groups of students were sent to the North to evacuate and study so that their parents could stay safe and keep on fighting; many of them were adopted into the families of officials. In Zone IV, classes had to be organized in basement. Despite the hardships and shortages that the white shirts were dyed blue, the oil lamps were covered to limit light, and blown off at the enemies' plane arrival and that school supplies, pens, and books were in short supply, most of which were provided by local small-scale industries, ... teachers and students were still determined not to drop out of class, still aware of the great mission of cultivating people cause - "For the sake of ten



years, we plan trees, and for a hundred years we cultivate people” as President Ho Chi Minh taught. Every year the number of learners kept increasing. In the 1967-1968 school year, in the whole North, 4.7 million students went to school. There were primary schools in communes, secondary schools in communes or inter-communes and high schools in districts.

Through two destructive wars by the US imperialists in the North 1965-1968 and April 1972-December 1972, teachers and students in the North maintained their classrooms. After each destructive war, tens of thousands of schools and millions of students returned from evacuation places to cities, towns and concentrated industrial zones. Schools and classrooms that were bombarded were rebuilt with damaged facilities being repaired, and classrooms being quickly stabilized. Schools went into normal and organized operation of teaching and learning activities as they were in the pre-war times.

2.3.2. The quality of education was ensured and effectively served the work of national construction

In the conditions of teaching-learning with many difficulties and shortages, the education sector made efforts to ensure quality. President Ho Chi Minh used to remind teachers and students of that spirit: “No matter how difficult it is, we must continue to emulate good teaching and learning. On the basis of good political education and ideological leadership, it is necessary to strive to improve the quality of education and expertise in order to practically solve the problems posed by the revolution and, in the near future, to reach the highest level of science and technology.” (“Letter to cadres, teachers, employees, pupils and students on the occasion of the start of the new school year”, published in Nhan Dan Newspaper, October 16, 1968).

The second education reform was an important fundamental step in the process of building a socialist education. The education system was renovated and built according to the model of socialist countries, mainly the Soviet Union.

Compilation of textbooks: In the 1959-1960 school year, the educational

program was streamlined to be more reasonable, and new textbooks were also compiled. The preparation of books was in charge of the Secretariat of the Ministry of Education, including teachers and scientists with high professional qualifications and experience. Textbooks were regularly revised and new knowledge was added in the following years without having to compile a new book series. In 1964, the Ministry of Education recompiled textbooks on reading, history for primary schools, and social science books for junior and senior high schools in order to improve teaching and learning contents. The ministry advocated reusing old books to overcome the shortage of books.

The curriculum included foreign languages, namely Russian and Chinese instead of French, but only at the high school level.

A movement to build socialist-oriented schools from 1958 to 1975:

From 1958, the movement to build a socialist school model was launched. Accordingly, the education and training work in our country in general was strongly moved into the orbit of socialist education. From the school year 1958-1959, schools organized working and production activities for students to participate in during the summer. Students were enthusiastic to go to plants, factories, cooperatives, to villages, participating in working activities in construction sites, irrigation works, bridges and roads, ... Rural students were required to participate in one working session per week for school construction.

In 1961, the education sector held a conference to launch the emulation movement “Two Goods” (Teach Well, Learn Well) in Phu Ly, Ha Nam. The Conference unanimously recognized Bac Ly as the leading flag of the whole sector and approved the launch of the “Two Goods” emulation campaign with the slogan: “Actively emulating, teaching well, studying well, catching up and surpassing Bac Ly”. In the movement to build schools of socialist characteristics, advanced examples emerged, such as Hoa Binh Socialist Labor Youth School, Hai Nhan Primary School (Thanh Hoa), Chu Van An High School (Hanoi), and Ngo Si Lien High School (Bac Giang), etc. Such advanced model of schools became the goal of all schools to strive for.



The movement “Children do a thousand good deeds, fight against America to save the country” attracted tens of thousands of students from primary and secondary schools. The bookcase “Good people and good deeds” launched by Kim Dong Publishing House with hundred thousands of small-sized books regularly introduced examples of students who studied well, worked well, overcame difficulties, helped friends, picked up lost items, and returned them to their owners ... served a great motivating and exemplary effect. The movement “Red Corner and Green Garden,” which involved building a study corner, growing vegetables, and raising chickens, not only established a study routine in difficult conditions but also contributed to instilling a strong work ethic in students.

The work of training good students: Training and fostering talents for the future of the country was very important. From the school year 1964 - 1965, the education sector held a special exam for excellent students. The system of selecting and fostering excellent students started at high school level. Every year, schools held contests to select excellent students from district, provincial level to the whole North scale. Exams for excellent students at provincial and northern levels (grades 7 and 10) were held annually, strictly, even during war, attracting the attention of the entire education sector. Each province had a school specializing in training excellent students, mainly in Mathematics. In the whole North, there was Chu Van An high school, specializing in Mathematics, specialized Mathematics classes in University of General sciences, and specialized Mathematics classes in Hanoi National University of Education. All were funded by the State. Thanks to this, the North sent teams overseas for international Olympiad competitions for excellent students, all of whom won medals and gained worldwide recognition.

In 1974, for the first time, the Vietnamese student team went to an international math competition in the German Democratic Republic, 4 out of 5 students achieved excellent results with 1 Gold medal and 1 Silver medal, 2 Bronze medals.

In 1975, in Bulgaria, 4 out of 7 students won high prizes: 1 Silver medal, 3 Bronze medals.

Admissions for higher education were conducted in a very rigorous and disciplined manner. The system of higher education and professional secondary education was well organized. Central universities were mainly located in Hanoi, besides there were regional universities such as Viet Bac (Pedagogy), Thai Binh (Medicine), Vinh (Pedagogy). Only the central government operated universities, the provinces only had colleges and intermediate schools. The number of annual university enrollments of universities and colleges was very small compared to the total number of high school students.

Table 2. Number of annual university enrollments of universities and colleges.

School year	Number of grade 10 student (last year in high school)	University admission	Rate
1969-1970	51,000	27,150	52%
1970-1971	54,000	13,930	25%
1971-1972	61,000	12,900	21%
1972-1973	66,000	16,730	25%

(Dinh Quang Hai, 2020, pp.306, 315)

The appointment of students for overseas studies: Even during the fierce war years, the North sent excellent students to countries in the socialist system to prepare talents to build the country after the war. Here are the detailed statistics:

Table 3. The appointment of students for overseas studies.

Year	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1970
Number of students	255	1,801	3,025	3,075	3,445	11,916

Every year, students took intermodal trains from Hang Co station through China, to Eastern European countries, and also to China, North Korea, and Cuba for overseas studies. By 1975, the total number of overseas Vietnamese students



reached tens of thousands of people.

In short, within 20 years the education sector in the North made a great progress. The North formed a complete education system from kindergartens to high schools and complete university. That education system also spread from cities to remote areas, mountainous communes, and islands, with the presence of schools. The image of teachers regardless of high or low remuneration, bringing the light of education to all regions of the country, and the image of diligent, intelligent and studious students were the most familiar and prominent in the North during those years.

Despite the fierce war, teachers and students wore straw hats to school, not allowing a single lesson to be interrupted. That image made a strong impression on the international media as a resilient and studious nation. That education catered for the battlefield soldiers of burning patriotism, high discipline, sharp minds who mastered military science and tactics to be able to win in the cause of independence, national reunification. That education prepared well-qualified cadres to approach science, technology, to run economic and administrative management in the North so that the North was really a big hinterland. That education also prepared engineers, scientists, researchers, professors from advanced educational backgrounds to build the country after the war. It can be said that education was successful in completing its glorious mission.

3. Education in the North, period 1954-1975: limitations and lessons for current task on education innovation

3.1. Limitations to be overcome

Commenting the limitations of our country's education right after Peace and Unification, "Political Report by the Central Party Committee", released at the 5th National Congress on 27th March 1982 severely pointed out many limitations:

"Our entire education system was not well prepared in terms of quality and capacity for the young generation to prepare for production activities and for socialism construction (...) Today biggest problem is a serious decline in

education.” (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2005, p.100).

“The school premises and tools, equipment for teaching and learning activities are few in number, not being used and maintained well (...). Regularly pay attention to building competent teaching staff, take measures to gradually improve their political, cultural, scientific and professional qualifications, and strive to improve their material and spiritual life.” (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2005, p.101, 103)

Based on the above comments and looking back at the 20-year development process of education in the North from 1954 to 1975, we can draw the following limitations:

- (1) Education developed in ‘fast’ speed but with low quality;
- (2) Educational programs and objectives were of subsidized characteristics;
- (3) Expenditure for education and teachers’ lives;
- (4) Differences in education among regions.

3.2. Lessons for education sector in the current educational innovation cause

These above-mentioned limitations occurring during the time of Reformed policy to the moment have gradually improved despite arising problematic issues. However, some lessons can be withdrawn, basing on the attained achievements.

Adjusting educational philosophy, programs and objectives: It is necessary to adjust the educational philosophy to suit the new situation on which the country is on the path of industrialization, modernization, and expansion of cooperation relations with countries around the world. At the same time, it is still necessary to raise vigilance to protect territorial sovereignty at the same time to boldly escape the barriers of subsidized thought in education. Focus must be emphasized on the goal of training Vietnamese people with humanity, national consciousness and liberal spirit as well as on training personality and self-esteem for students.

Improving the funds for education and income for teachers: The economy organized in the North before 1975 was a centrally planned economy, so the



educational model we conducted was completely identical. Currently, our country's economy comprises of many sectors, in which the private sector accounts for an increasingly large proportion. However, education in our country is still heavily subsidized, and subsidies are rampant, leading to inadequacy. It is necessary to have a policy to mobilize the private sector, social organizations and businesses to participate widely in education so that the State budget gives subsidies to education at a moderate level, in order to leave enough funds to improve teachers' lives. Improving teacher salaries and benefits is the key to improving the quality of education and making education sustainable.

Strengthening investment in education and inspection in education investment: Along with increasing income for teachers, it is necessary to further increase investment in education. Public investment in many localities is being abused, causing low efficiency, losses and waste. Therefore, the management and control of investment in education is of necessary responsibilities. Educational equipment, modern libraries and laboratories should be improved to keep up with the progress of modern education.

Solution to the differences among regions: It is necessary to apply a fair preferential policy to attract qualified, high-quality teachers in the whole country. On-site teacher training should be soon stopped while unqualified teachers should be arranged to switch to other jobs. Central funding should be prioritized for remote areas for sustainable development of education in these localities.

4. Conclusion

Education in the North of Vietnam from 1954 to 1975 had a strong development in terms of educational philosophy and educational scale. It has completed the glorious mission assigned by history: to turn our nation from an enslaved nation, most of whom were illiterate, into a nation with a high level of education and victory in the struggle for independence to establish and unify the country and initially build a new society in the North. These great achievements dispel the view of completely denying education in the North during those 20

years. However, history has turned a new page, the situation of our country has posed new problems, so education must change profoundly and comprehensively to meet the requirements in new context. Educational models, philosophies, objectives, and programs must also change. The success and failure of education in the North from 1954-1975 serve as useful lessons for us in the current educational reform.

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Research on Confucianism's history of Vietnamese intellectuals in the first half of 20th century: developments, trends and ideological implications

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Abstract

Research on the history of Confucianism is a challenge, but at the same time a very attractive goal for any scholar who wants to enter the world of Confucian thought. Therefore, in the first half of 20th century in Vietnam, almost all important scholars who research Confucianism discussed various issues related to the history of Confucianism by different methods. In this paper, by way of researching some representative works and authors, such as Trần Trọng Kim (1883-1953), Nguyễn Bá Trắc (1881-1945), Lê Du (1884-1967) and other Nam Phong Journal's scholars who wanted to revive Confucianism by studying its history, Phan Khôi (1887-1959) who criticized Confucianism by studying its history, and some Marxist scholars (Đào Duy Anh (1904-1988), Nguyễn Bách Khoa (1913-1999)), we want to point out the developments, trends and ideological implication of the research on Confucianism's history of Vietnamese intellectuals in the first half of 20th century.

Keywords: Confucianism, Confucianism's history, research on Confucianism's history

越南二十世紀上半葉學者對儒教史的研究： 演變、趨向與思想含意

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摘要

研究儒教的形成和發展歷史是一項挑戰，但同時對於任何想進入儒教思想世界的學者都是一個非常有吸引力的目標。因此，在越南二十世紀上半葉對儒教研究領域中的重要學者幾乎都以不同的方法來討論與儒教歷史有關的各種問題。在這篇論文中，我們透過考察一些代表性的作品和作者，比如透過研究儒教史而挽回儒教的陳仲金（Trần Trọng Kim，1883-1953）、阮伯卓（Nguyễn Bá Trác，1881-1945）、黎興（Lê Dư，1884-1967）等《南風雜誌》（*Tạp chí Nam Phong*）學者，透過研究儒教史而批判儒教的潘魁（Phan Khôi，1887-1959），以及陶維英（Đào Duy Anh，1904-1988）、阮百科（Nguyễn Bách Khoa，1913-1999）等馬克思主義學者，而期待指出越南二十世紀上半葉學者對儒教史研究的演變、趨向及其思想內涵。

關鍵詞：儒教、儒教史、儒教史的研究

1. 引言

在越南傳統社會中，儒教作為一種官方意識形態，是社會精神基礎，支配著越南廣大人民尤其是知識分子的政治思想與道德觀念。就學術方面而言，與儒教相關的學術活動是儒教自身內在發展的一部分。在歷史上，儒家知識分子對儒教與儒教經典進行考究，以此來闡明聖賢的本意。對他們來說，儒教不單純是一種對象，而就是學術活動展現的一種文化環境。他們為了儒教自身發展的要求而考究儒教，透過考究儒教而不斷地發展它。從此形成了在東亞各國作為一種以儒家經典為對象的學術活動的經學。在中國，馮友蘭以所謂「經學」來描述從董仲舒到康有為的哲學史¹。在越南，從十八世紀開始，經學也有了突飛猛進的發展，取得了一定成就，比方說黎貴惇 (Lê Quý Đôn, 1726-1784)、范阮攸 (Phạm Nguyễn Du, 1739-1786)、吳時任 (Ngô Thì Nhậm, 1746-1803) 等儒者的作品。

到二十世紀初，儒教已經失去了它的歷史地位。此後，與儒教有關的學術活動也轉型，而產生了現代意義上的對儒教的研究活動。這種轉型的關鍵問題主要在於學者們對儒教的「客觀化」。對他們來說，儒教不再是一種文化環境，而變成了一個客觀性的對象。他們將自己置身在儒家之外，審視儒教與其歷史，期待可以透過各種科學方法來闡明儒教的本來面目。他們的首要目標是關於儒教的真實知識，而不是儒教本身的生命，儘管後者也是一些學者關懷的目的。在這背景下，引起學者們關注的一個重要問題是對儒教史的研究。

對像儒教這樣的千年學說的形成和發展歷史進行研究固然是一項挑戰，但同時對於任何想進入儒教的思想世界的學者都是一個非常有吸引力的目標。因此，在越南二十世紀上半葉對儒教研究領域中的重要學者幾乎都以不同的方法來討論與儒教歷史有關的各種問題，這種情況也是不足為奇了。總的來說，我們認為，在越南當時對儒教史研究可以根據其覆蓋範圍分為三類。首先是致力於整個儒教史的研究類型。在這一類中，不得不提到陳仲金²與他在《南風雜誌》³於1922

¹ 馮友蘭：《中國哲學史》，第2集，黎英明[Lê Anh Minh]翻譯，河內：社會科學出版社，2007年，頁6。

² 陳仲金 (Trần Trọng Kim, 1883-1953)：越南二十世紀的史家、教育家、政治家。他1906年到法國留學，1911年回國之後，擔任越南當時教育體系中的一些職務。他有名的作品是《越南史略》(Việt Nam sử lược, 1920)、《儒教》(Nho giáo, 1930) 等等。

³ 《南風雜誌》(Tập chí Nam Phong, 1917-1934) 是一份在越南二十世紀初非常有名與有影響力的文學、科學月刊。這個雜誌有三個部分：越文版、漢文版與法文版。《南風雜誌》的重要學者都是越南當時西學和舊學著名的學者。

年發表的〈儒教〉(Nho giáo) 這篇論文以及他在1930年出版非常著名的《儒教》(Nho giáo) 一書。第二是從專門歷史角度對儒教史研究的類型。屬於這一類型的作品相當多，考察角度也很豐富。透過我們的考察，可見這類大部分都在《南風雜誌》上發表。有的將儒學史視為倫理史，比如阮有進 (Nguyễn Hữu Tiến, 1875-1941) 在《南風雜誌》翻譯的一些論文：蔡元培的《中國倫理學史》(Khảo về lịch sử luân lý học nước Tàu) (1920-1921)、三浦藤作的《中國倫理學史》(Khảo về luân lý học sử nước Tàu) (1932-1934)。有的將儒教史視為哲學史，比如阮伯卓⁴的〈中國之哲學〉(1920)，黎興 (Lê Dư, 1884-1967) 的〈中國之哲學略論〉(1922)，或者阮士道 (Nguyễn Sĩ Đạo) 1942年出版《大越哲學歷史》(Đại Việt triết học lịch sử) 一書。此外，還有一些將儒教史視為學術史、漢學史的研究，比如阮伯卓的《論中國學術》(Bản về học thuật nước Tàu) (1918)、《漢學論》(Bản về Hán học) (1920)。我們上面提到的這些研究，雖然都是從專門角度(哲學、倫理學、漢學等領域)來講學術歷史，但總的來說，它們主要的內容就是致力於儒教史。所以，我們也可以透過它們而清楚地看到越南二十世紀初學者們對儒教史的分析與評價。第三是矚目儒教歷史中重要階段的研究類型。這一類不是考察歷代儒教的全部階段，而是透過考察儒教歷史中的先秦時代、漢代、宋代重要階段而論儒教的發展與變遷過程。在這一類型中，代表性的研究是潘魁⁵論漢儒、宋儒的一些論文，陶維英⁶於1938年出版的《孔教批評小論》(Khổng giáo phê bình tiểu luận)，阮百科⁷於1944年出版的《阮公著⁸的心理與思想》(Tâm lý và tư tưởng Nguyễn Công Trứ)。

另外的一種分類法是根據研究的趨向和思想內涵來分。這種分類其實或多或少也跟以上的分類有關。根據研究的趨向和思想內涵，可以大概地分成三類。一是挽回儒教的趨向。這趨向的學者透過研究儒教史而保護儒教，期待可以將儒教

⁴ 阮伯卓 (Nguyễn Bá Trắc, 1881-1945)：《南風雜誌》漢語版的主筆。

⁵ 潘魁 (Phan Khôi, 1887-1959)：儒學出身的學者，在科舉上得到了秀才名位。他後來放棄科舉事業，學習法文，與許多從南到北的報紙工作與合作，成為越南二十世紀非常著名的記者。

⁶ 陶維英 (Đào Duy Anh, 1904-1988)：越南馬克思主義學者。他對越南現代史學、漢學、文學、詞典學等學術領域有開闢的貢獻。他在1945年之後當河內文科大學教授。他的有名著作是《簡要漢越詞典》(Giản yếu Hán Việt từ điển, 1932)、《越南文化史綱》(Việt Nam văn hóa sử cương, 1938)、《孔教批評小論》(Khổng giáo phê bình tiểu luận, 1939) 等等。

⁷ 阮百科 (Nguyễn Bách Khoa, 1913-1999)：越南馬克思主義學者。他在1945年之後當河內文科大學文學教授。他的重要著作是《越南詩經》(Kinh Thi Việt Nam, 1940)、《阮公著的心理與思想》(Tâm lý và tư tưởng Nguyễn Công Trứ, 1944) 等等。

⁸ 阮公著 (Nguyễn Công Trứ, 1778-1858)：越南阮朝著名的政治家、詩人。他在越南十九世紀經濟、軍事等領域上都有重要的貢獻。他的詩文也很有個性，表現他瘋狂的性格，所以受到後代學者的關注。



與西方文化結合起來，而創造一種新文化。最有代表性的是《南風雜誌》的學者們，比如以上提到的陳仲金、阮伯卓、阮有進、黎興。《南風雜誌》的「南風」其實植根於《詩經-南風歌》的「南風之薰兮，可以解吾民之慍兮」，這就表明《南風雜誌》的創立人對儒教的感情。在這個雜誌工作或合作的學者，不是儒學出身，就是有淵深的儒學知識，所以他們對儒教歷史研究領域有很大的貢獻。以上的第一和第二類型大部分是《南風雜誌》學者的成果。在越南20年代研究儒教與儒教史的領域，他們的成就不管在數量方面還是質量方面都是誰都比不上的。二是批判儒教的趨向。這趨向的學者透過研究儒教史而批判儒教，否定它在新時代的積極作用。最著名的就是從儒學出身的潘魁。他本來是一位儒者，在科舉上得到了秀才名位，但從20年代底開始發表了很多批判儒教的論文。他寫出的論文的爭議性很高，所以受到了學界的關注，當時人都稱他「文壇禦史」。因此，他對儒教史的研究是很值得注意的。三是馬克思主義的趨向。馬克思主義學者也批判儒教，但他們進一步批判產生儒教的社會環境。這趨向在30年代形成，但很快地成為在學界非常有影響力的趨向。馬克思主義學者的研究領域其實很廣，他們以馬克思的唯物史觀為基礎進行研究文化、歷史、社會等領域。就對儒教史的研究而言，他們最突出的貢獻在於陶維英《儒教批評小論》與阮百科《阮公著的心理與思想》兩本書。潘魁、陶維英或阮百科在研究儒教歷史與批判儒教時，都注重把握儒教發展過程中的重要階段，所以，他們的研究可列為以上提到的第三類型。

在這篇論文中，我們透過考察一些代表性的作品和作者，比如透過研究儒教史而挽回儒教的陳仲金、阮伯卓、黎興等《南風雜誌》學者，透過研究儒教史而批判儒教的潘魁，以及陶維英、阮百科等馬克思主義學者，而期待指出越南二十世紀上半葉學者對儒教史研究的演變、趨向及其思想內涵。

2. 在《南風雜誌》(Tập chí Nam Phong) 上對儒教史的研究與陳仲金的《儒教》一書

正如我們以上說過，對儒教發展史的較為完整的研究大部分見於《南風雜誌》上。這在一定程度上表明了《南風雜誌》對儒教歷史重新認識的雄心，它的領導期待可以透過重新認識儒教歷史而克服在當代觀眾對儒教瞭解的缺少，同時進一步保存儒教的真正價值。深入分析他們研究的具體內容，我們認為《南風雜誌》的各位學者對這個問題的看法在基本上是一致的。

在全面地研究儒教發展歷史時，第一個問題是歷史斷代。將儒教作為一個客觀性的研究對象，而不是研究主體自身的文化環境，自然讓《南風雜誌》的學者關注歷史斷代的問題。換言之，將自己視為儒教歷史的局外人使研究主體在重新認識和評價儒教發展歷史中具有相對客觀的地位，從而可以提出對這學說歷史的科學性斷代。阮伯卓在〈中國之哲學〉一篇文章概括地提出了重要的觀點，他說：「中國哲學之歷史。上下約在三千年。欲簡明而敘述之。決非容易。其適當之方法。總不外就歷史上研究。分許多之辰期及其辰期之特色」⁹。實際上，這觀點已在《南風雜誌》其他對儒教研究的論文中得到了體現。

《南風雜誌》學者所建構的儒教歷史模式體現了他們一致的認知。阮伯卓在上面提到的論文已將中國哲學史（包括儒教史）分為三個時期：上古、中世、近世。黎輿在他的〈中國之哲學略論〉一文也提出相似斷代：淵源、中世、近世。就具體時間來看，他們兩人的斷代是同一的：第一個時期是秦代之前，第二個時期是從漢代到唐末，第三個時期是從宋代開始。這樣的斷代其實與胡適在《中國哲學史大綱》一書提出的看法相近。值得注意的是，這種看法只出現在這兩篇將儒教史視為哲學史的論文。最有可能的是，阮伯卓與黎輿兩位學者已接受胡適先生《中國哲學史大綱》的斷代。

在其餘與儒教歷史有關的論文，《南風雜誌》的學者提出根據具體朝代的斷代。阮伯卓在他《論中國學術》（Bàn về học thuật nước Tàu）一文將中國學術發展史（固然包括儒教）分為幾個時期：上古時代，夏、商、周時代，秦、漢、三國時代，東晉、西晉、南北朝時代，隋、唐、五代時代，宋、元時代，明、清時代。陳仲金在〈儒教〉一文概括地描述儒教在每個朝代的面貌，其中特別強調了秦、漢、宋的里程碑。雖然這種斷代更為詳細，但其目的也是突出儒教在各個歷史時期的變遷與其特點。當然，無論如何斷代，上面提到的文章都是為了指出儒教在每個階段的基本精神，而不是對儒教在每個階段的具體思想進行詳細的分析。因此，《南風雜誌》學者所建構的儒教史模型可以看作一種草圖，是後來更深刻研究的起點。

在這意義上，以陳仲金為例，我們可以將他在《南風雜誌》發表的〈儒教〉一篇論文視為在越南二十世紀上半葉對儒教史最規模研究的《儒教》一書的出發點。在這本書中，為了重構儒教史「地圖」，他按照各個朝代而將儒教發展史分成幾個時期：春秋戰國時期，兩漢時期，三國六朝時期，隋唐時期，宋代時期，元代時期，明

⁹ 阮伯卓：〈中國之哲學〉，《南風雜誌》（漢文版），第40期，第7卷，1920年，頁127。



代時期，清代時期。值得注意的是，由於這本書的規模比較大，陳仲金能夠深入地研究每個時代的儒教思想，從而不僅概括了儒教在每個時代的特色，而且指出了它的多面性，理解了它的分派。這就是陳仲金在儒學史研究領域上的突出貢獻，也是當時越南其他學者無法超越的一點。

與儒教史斷代密切相關的是對於各個時期儒教提出評價的問題。這種評價對於塑造各位學者對儒教在歷史上的遺產的態度非常重要的。阮壽德 (Nguyễn Thọ Đức) 研究陳仲金的《儒教》一書時特別注意到所謂它的「重建儒教道統傳承譜系」。這種「重建」體現在陳仲金對歷代儒家的看法、評價、批評、肯定¹⁰，換言之，我們可以透過他對歷代儒家的評價而看出他對儒教發展史正統性的觀點。這種情況，我們還可以在《南風雜誌》關於儒教史的其他論文。《南風雜誌》的各位學者對各個時代儒教的評價是相對一致。阮伯卓用一句話來概括了儒教在每個時期的特點：「中國的儒教：周代的純粹，漢代的高尚，五代的柔弱，唐代的浮華，宋代的繁雜而不純粹，明清代的專注於文藝。總而言之，前者是義理之學，後者爲了科舉而重視詞章之學，因此後來儒學比不上前者」¹¹。阮伯卓肯定周代的儒教純粹，又說「後來儒學比不上前者」，他的意思顯然是只有原始儒教才是真正的儒教，而且一切後學對儒教的發展都扭曲了儒教的宗旨。這也是在越南當時很普遍的看法。在《南風雜誌》，這是各位學者在研究儒教時的基本認知，對他們來說，孔孟思想的價值是無可爭辯的。固然一句話很難描述儒教在歷史上的變遷。阮伯卓寫這句話時，可能是想要肯定原始儒教的價值，而不是否認後來的儒教。

在《南風雜誌》學者對從秦漢儒教之後的研究中，最值得注意的是他們對宋儒與明儒的評價。在這方面上，《南風雜誌》學者的趨向是批判朱子，看重陸、王。朱熹對中國儒教以及東亞各國儒教的發展史都有深遠的影響。在很長時間，朱熹對儒教經典的詮釋已成爲包括越南在內的東亞各國對經典認知的典範。我們可以透過考察越南中世紀的經學而清楚地看到這個情況。換言之，越南近代之前的知識分子都將朱子學視爲儒教正統之學，他們透過朱子哲學與朱子經學而認知孔子學說。在這背景下，對朱熹的批判已表現了《南風雜誌》的各位學者的對儒教道統傳

¹⁰ 阮壽德：《關於陳仲金在〈儒教〉中對儒教道統傳承譜系的重建與其對朱熹思想的批判》[Về việc xác lập lại phá hệ truyền thừa đạo thống Nho giáo và phê phán tư tưởng Chu Hi của Trần Trọng Kim trong “Nho giáo”]，收入阮金山主編：《在越南的儒家經典》[Kinh điển Nho gia tại Việt Nam]，河內：河內國家大學出版社，2020年，頁160。

¹¹ 阮伯卓：〈漢學論〉[Bản về Hán học]，《南風雜誌》(越文版)，第40期，第7卷，1920年，頁325。

承譜系重建。阮伯卓說：「宋代儒家透過解釋經典的意義而約束後世的學者」¹²，就是對朱子學的認定。陳仲金在〈儒教〉一文也提出相似的觀點，他說：「總之而言，漢代之後，宋儒是最興盛。但因為程頤、張載、朱熹學說的約束性太強，所以表面是很盛達，而其實卻很衰敗」¹³。總的來說，《南風雜誌》學者對朱熹學說批判的重點就是它的約束性。

反而，《南風雜誌》的各位學者對陸九淵、王陽明之學提出很高的評價。陳仲金在〈儒教〉一文評論濂、洛、關、閩四種學派時，已說：「四種學派雖然同宗，但它們的性質卻不同，將周敦頤、程顥與程頤、張載、朱熹對比起來，兩前者的學說較為雍容和純粹，與孔子所說的『無可，無不可』很相近。至於後面三個人，他們固守舊禮、舊俗，這種保守之學對社會的進化非常有害」¹⁴。程顥哲學被認為是陸九淵心學的前提，說程顥更接近孔子，就是說以他學說為基礎的才是正統之學。黎興在他〈中國之哲學略論〉一文中直接而毫不猶豫地肯定陸九淵和王陽明哲學就是孔孟哲學的真傳，他說：「王守仁出。而學術始入於精微。王實為明代哲學之代表，因陸學而得孔孟之真傳者也」¹⁵。在《南風雜誌》，許多學者看重陸、王，但也只有黎興才對他們哲學的正統地位做出如此直接的肯定。這表明黎興對陸、王哲學有高度讚賞。後來，他又寫了一篇關於王陽明的論文，再一次肯定這觀點。

陳仲金《儒教》一書的精神基本上也與他以前在《南風雜誌》發表的論文一致，但他在這本書對歷代儒教的評價更為詳盡和全面。陳仲金將孔子學說分為「形而上」與「形而下」兩部分，以此為依據而對儒教在歷史上的發展進行分析、認定。他認為儒教的精神在於它的形而上學，因此想要發揮儒教的精神，得看能否發揮它的形而上學。以這觀點為基礎，他認定，就戰國時期的儒教而言，孟子是真正繼承孔子精神的人，荀子則因失去孔子的形而上學，專注形而下學而離孔子的精神很遠。漢代到唐代的儒教，在他看來，只是接受了形而下學，所以表面上很興盛，實際上並沒有達到孔子的精粹。評價漢儒時，他說：「【漢儒】偏重章句、訓詁之學，而放棄儒教深遠的義理，因此扭曲了儒教的精神」¹⁶。他評價魏晉儒教說：「【魏晉儒教】

¹² 阮伯卓：〈論中國學術〉[Bản về học thuật nước Tàu]，《南風雜誌》（越文版），第15期，第3卷，1918年，頁141。

¹³ 陳仲金：〈儒教（2）〉[Nho giáo (2)]，《南風雜誌》，第66期，第11卷，1922年，頁448。

¹⁴ 陳仲金：〈儒教（2）〉[Nho giáo (2)]，《南風雜誌》，第66期，第11卷，1922年，頁448。

¹⁵ 黎興：〈中國之哲學略論〉，《南風雜誌》（漢文版），第57期，第10卷，1922年，頁93。

¹⁶ 陳仲金：《儒教》[Nho giáo]，3卷，河內：黎升出版社，1943年，頁96。



浮華方面上很盛，而義理方面上卻衰敗」¹⁷。至於唐儒，他說：「唐代儒教在表面上非常盛達，而儒教的精神卻很衰」¹⁸。陳仲金認為孔子的形而上學到了宋儒才能再次發揮，所以，他說：「宋代儒教真正地繼承孔孟的道統，這樣說並不錯誤的」¹⁹。但他也指出，在宋代儒教中，只有理學派的周敦頤、程顥與心學派的陸九淵達到孔子「隨感而應」、「循天理而行」的精神，至於程頤、朱熹，他們的形而上學也很高明，但其形而下學卻具有約束性。對於明儒，陳仲金十分看重王陽明，稱他為「瞭解聖賢學說的精粹」²⁰的人。後來，陳仲金根據他在《儒教》一書中關於王陽明的章節而出版《王陽明》一書，進一步表明他對陽明學的欣賞。總之，陳仲金在《儒教》一書對歷代儒教的變遷進行了非常詳細的分析。將這本書與在《南風雜誌》對儒教史研究的論文聯繫起來，可以說它是以《南風雜誌》為代表的保護儒教趨向的總結。

雖然批判朱熹、看重陸王是《南風雜誌》各位學者的主要趨向，但是這並不意味他們完全否認朱熹哲學的價值。杜黎浦 (Đỗ Lê Phổ) 在《南風雜誌》1917年發表的〈論語有四疑論〉一文中以朱熹集注為根據而駁斥了胡季聲 (Hồ Quý Ly, 1336-1407) 對《論語》的四疑。由此可見，朱熹在越南二十世紀初對儒家經典的接受還有一定的影響。更值得注意的一例是阮伯卓在〈中國之哲學〉一文對宋明儒教的認定。一方面，他指出宋明儒家用佛教與道家思想來發展儒教，所以他們學說與孔孟學說有許多不同之處²¹，這也是他在〈漢學論〉一文所說的「繁雜不純粹」的特點。在這個方面上，阮伯卓的觀點跟《南風雜誌》其他學者的觀點是一致，同時也跟他自己在其他論文一致。另一方面，在哲學角度上，他認為以朱熹與王陽明為代表的宋明儒教是最有趣的，他說：「自哲學上觀之。則宋明之哲學在哲學史上最有興味」²²，「故論哲學則宋明辰代比孔孟辰代為有興味」。²³

在這情況下，可見研究角度的轉變「將儒教歷史視為哲學歷史」導致評價的轉變。注重傳承過程中的正統性，朱熹不被欣賞，甚至被批判，但注重哲學創新的方面，朱熹卻值得欣賞。就哲學發展而言，無論朱熹哲學能否繼承孔孟的精神，它自

¹⁷ 陳仲金：《儒教》[Nho giáo]，第3卷，河內：黎升出版社，1943年，頁105。

¹⁸ 陳仲金：《儒教》[Nho giáo]，第3卷，河內：黎升出版社，1943年，頁109。

¹⁹ 陳仲金：《儒教》[Nho giáo]，第3卷，河內：黎升出版社，1943年，頁146。

²⁰ 陳仲金：《儒教》[Nho giáo]，第3卷，河內：黎升出版社，1943年，頁46。

²¹ 阮伯卓：〈中國之哲學〉，《南風雜誌》（漢文版），第40期，第7卷，1920年，頁133。

²² 阮伯卓：〈中國之哲學〉，《南風雜誌》（漢文版），第40期，第7卷，1920年，頁131。

²³ 阮伯卓：〈中國之哲學〉，《南風雜誌》（漢文版），第40期，第7卷，1920年，頁132。

身也有價值。阮伯卓說：「而宋明儒者論天則與孔孟所信之天大不相同。孔孟之天是尊教的。宋明之天則哲學的。孔孟之天則視乎人格。有一點迷信的觀念。宋明之天則不關乎人格。而在乎支配宇宙之原則原理」。²⁴

在《儒教》一書，陳仲金也提出相似的看法。對他來說，朱熹比不上陸、王，但他也不否認朱熹在哲學方面的貢獻。陳仲金一再強調這觀點，他說：「在哲學方面上，朱晦庵之學具有很多高明之處，但在實行方面上，它卻有不少固執之處」²⁵，又說：「朱晦庵的思想很高，他的道行也厚，真是儒教歷史中的一位大儒者，不過他行道的方法太嚴格，凡是風流清雅的東西他都不喜歡」²⁶。後來，有一些學者以為朱熹的思想不是真正的儒教，從而完全否認他思想的價值。在這背景下，我們認為阮伯卓與陳仲金的看法具有一定的合理性。

《南風雜誌》學者們對儒教史的重新認知也體現了他們對儒教的態度。透過他們對歷代儒教的評價，可見，對他們來說，儒教的根本精神具有永恆的價值，當時人已指出的在儒教中的消極性其實不是孔子、孟子學說的本意，而只是後儒的產物。因此，他們認為，只要回歸孔孟的宗旨，或者如陳仲金所說的孔子的「形而上學」，就能夠看出它的本來面目與其價值。進一步，他們提出將儒教精神與民主、科學等西方價值調和的主張，期待可以以儒教的精神為越南新文化的基礎。這就是他們透過研究儒教史而體現的思想內涵。

3. 潘魁對儒教史的研究

在越南二十世紀上半葉研究儒教的活動中，潘魁也是著名的學者，雖然他其實沒有像《南風雜誌》各位學者對儒教歷史研究完整的成果。實際上，在越南當時，屬於儒學出身的學者，潘魁一直被期望成為具有實力能夠撰寫一本儒教史總結書的人。潘魁自己也想到這樣的作品。他曾經表白過本身想要寫「清楚地描述儒教從孔子到清儒的歷史」的「儒教源流」一書，雖然他在計劃的這本書從未完成，但由此可見，對潘魁來說，儒教歷史真是他一直關注的問題之一。在潘魁撰寫許多的論文中，尤其是他對漢儒、宋儒研究的論文，他其實也提出自己對儒教歷史的分析與評價。

²⁴ 阮伯卓：〈中國之哲學〉，《南風雜誌》（漢文版），第40期，第7卷，1920年，頁131。

²⁵ 陳仲金：《儒教》[Nho giáo]，第3卷，河內：黎升出版社，1943年，頁221。

²⁶ 陳仲金：《儒教》[Nho giáo]，第3卷，河內：黎升出版社，1943年，頁243。



潘魁論儒教時特別強調孔孟儒教、漢代儒教、宋代儒教三個大里程碑。在他看來，明確地指出三個階段特點的不同之處對認知儒教精神是非常重要的。他認為儒教從先秦時代到漢代、宋代的發展過程也是儒教不斷被扭曲的過程。對於漢儒，潘魁注重分析「三綱」理論，他強調這只是漢儒的產物，與先秦儒教的「五倫」有基本的區別。潘魁指出，「三綱」最早出現在漢代的《白虎通》一書中，孔子本來只提到「五倫」，雖然「五倫」之中也包括「三綱」君臣、父子、夫婦的倫理關係，但是在「五倫」的這三種倫理關係的本質與在「三綱」的其實不同，他說：「孔子不知道三綱是什麼，三綱是漢代儒者爲了奉承君王而產生的理論」²⁷。在他另一篇論文，潘魁強調漢儒的「三綱」理論與孔孟儒教完全相反：「漢代儒者爲了報恩君王而將五倫之中的君臣、父子、夫婦三個倫理關係與另兩倫分開，建立了三綱學說。三綱學說具有君壓制臣、父壓制子、夫壓制婦的本質，沒有五倫本來具有的平等精神。所以，我敢說三綱與孔孟的本意是相反的」²⁸。陳仲金在《儒教》一書中也多次指出漢儒的錯誤，他認為漢儒沒正確地把握孔子的宗旨，但他也肯定漢儒對儒教的流傳與發展的貢獻，尤其是建造在社會中美好風氣的重視名節之學²⁹，或者保存與流傳孔子之道的重視收藏、解釋經傳的訓詁之學³⁰。在這一點上，潘魁的評價比陳仲金的嚴格多了，他也更爲注重漢儒與孔子學說的區別。

至於宋儒，潘魁認為他們與原始儒教的差別是更大的，他說：「漢儒離孔子的時代不遠，所以即使他們有錯誤之處，也不多，而宋儒的錯誤比漢儒的多了」³¹。潘魁論宋儒時非常關注他們對「理」的觀念，透過分析宋代儒者對理的論述而指出他們的「錯誤」。宋代理學家以爲自己是孔子道統的繼承者，但在潘魁看來，宋儒在表面上是高舉儒教的旗幟，而內在其實與孔孟儒教大相徑庭：「宋儒也稱爲理學，因爲宋儒專注講述性理，鼓勵學者用功存心養性，將存心養性視爲儒教的重中之重。這一點已表明宋儒與孔子之道的差別，因爲孔教的範圍本來很廣，而宋代儒者卻把它縮小了。宋代儒者大底門外掛著儒教的門牌，院前高舉著儒教的旗幟，但他

²⁷ 潘魁：《孔教在我國的影響》[Cái ảnh hưởng của Khổng giáo ở nước ta]，收入潘魁：《1929年的報紙作品》[Tác phẩm đăng báo 1929]，峴港：峴港出版社，2005年。

²⁸ 潘魁：《再一次談到三綱與五倫》[Lại nói về tam cương với ngũ luân]，收入潘魁：《1931年的報紙作品》[Tác phẩm đăng báo 1931]，河內：文學家會出版社，2006年。

²⁹ 陳仲金：《儒教》[Nho giáo]，第3卷，河內：黎升出版社，1943年，頁27。

³⁰ 陳仲金：《儒教》[Nho giáo]，第3卷，河內：黎升出版社，1943年，頁96。

³¹ 潘魁：《孔教在我國的影響》[Cái ảnh hưởng của Khổng giáo ở nước ta]，收入潘魁：《1929年的報紙作品》[Tác phẩm đăng báo 1929]，峴港：峴港出版社，2005年。

們的主張與儒教的宗旨不同，他們卻敢說孔子之道流傳到孟子以後就經歷了千餘年的中斷，到了他們時代才有真正的承繼者」。³²

「理」或「天理」是宋儒哲學的關鍵概念之一。潘魁證明「理」原來不是孔孟儒教的產物，就是證明宋儒並沒有遵循孔孟儒教的真正精神。潘魁在〈關於儒教須知的問題〉一文中寫道：「在儒教歷史中，自古以來，孔子與其他儒者講仁、義、禮、忠恕、良知良能，不管講什麼，從來沒講過『理』」。到了宋代儒者，他們仍然以儒教為基礎，但開闢了一種新哲學，稱為『理學』」³³。在他看來，宋儒的「理」不僅不屬於儒教真正的精神，更是這一時代儒教的萬惡之源。可見潘魁對宋儒理學的觀點與《南風雜誌》學者尤其是陳仲金的完全對立。正如我們上面所指出，陳仲金認為，宋代儒者可以發揮孔子精神的部分就在於他們建構的形而上學，也就是他們對「理」的哲學觀念。潘魁將孔子學說中「仁」、「義」、「禮」等根本概念與宋儒的「理」分開，認為兩者完全沒有關係，陳仲金，相反地，卻將「理」與「天理」視為貫穿儒教精神的核心，在他看來，「仁」就是人遵循「天理」的行動³⁴。潘魁與陳仲金對宋儒理學的核心概念的看法確立了對宋儒在儒教歷史上地位的兩種對立態度。

可以說，陳仲金與《南風雜誌》其他學者力圖在儒教歷史上找到一個核心，指出歷代儒教與孔孟學說又有差別之處，又有繼承之處，而潘魁似乎只強調儒教變遷過程中的中斷。陳仲金的這種觀點讓他對儒家適應歷史變遷的能力充滿信心，他認為只要把握儒教精神的核心，就可以「隨時而變」而將儒教改變成適合環境的學說。潘魁的觀點導致他對這種改變的拒絕。對他來說，儒教歷史就是越來越錯誤的解釋的歷史，而漢儒與宋儒絕對不能算是真正的儒教。進一步，當他開始批判孔孟學說的一些論點時，也就是他宣佈儒教已經過時的時候。《南風雜誌》學者也批判儒教，但只是批判後儒，對於孔孟學說的價值，他們並不懷疑。潘魁不僅批判了漢儒與宋儒，而且批判了孔孟的一些論點。可見，在他看來，漢儒、宋儒都不是真正的儒教，而孔孟學說真正的儒教也沒有永恆的價值，所以，不必也不應該像《南風雜誌》學者這樣維護儒教。儘管潘魁是從儒學出身的，他也不怕說：「儒教過

³² 潘魁：《孔教在我國的影響》[Cái ảnh hưởng của Khổng giáo ở nước ta]，收入潘魁：《1929年的報紙作品》[Tác phẩm đăng báo 1929]，岷港：岷港出版社，2005年。

³³ 潘魁：《關於儒教須知的問題》[Đôi điều nên biết về Nho giáo]，收入潘魁：《1931年的報紙作品》[Tác phẩm đăng báo 1931]，河內：文學家會出版社，2006年。

³⁴ 陳仲金：《儒教》[Nho giáo]，1卷，河內：黎升出版社，1943年，頁124。



時了，儒教應該退了」。³⁵

4. 馬克思主義學者對儒教史的研究

阮百科在他1944年出版的《阮公著的心理與思想》一書論〈儒教知識體系〉的部分中已回顧陳仲金與潘魁對儒教史的兩種看法，同時也表明了他對陳氏的同意。在他看來，潘魁的觀點是一種唯心主義的觀點，由於潘魁「將孔教視為一個抽象的實體，認為它完全在理性純粹的境界生存與滅亡，而不是植根於社會，一旦形成就會永遠不變」³⁶。當然，需要注意的是，雖然阮百科同意陳仲金的觀點一致，但只是他對陳仲金認為宋儒也屬於儒教的觀點，至於就理解儒教歷史的方法而言，阮百科或者其他馬克思主義學者的方法與陳仲金的有基本的不同。

潘魁、陳仲金與《南風雜誌》其他學者從專門角度（哲學、倫理學等等）或者從在儒教發展過程的正統性角度來研究儒教史，在基本上，都是從儒教內在的思想而進行分析。馬克思主義學者則完全不一樣，他們站在唯物史觀的立場，以儒教的階級性來理解它的變遷歷史，將它視為一種「階級性的知識體系」。對他們來說，儒教歷史就是它所代表的階級興衰的歷史。阮百科指出：「孔教是一種階級性的知識體系，它支持在社會中擔任統治角色的新地主階級。因此，想要認識它的本來面目與其在歷史上的變化狀態（漢儒、宋儒），必然要研究新地主階級的本質與其變化狀態」。³⁷

在《孔教批評小論》一書中，陶維英在考察漢、宋、明、清歷代儒教的發展時，將其與君主專制制度聯繫起來，指出歷代儒教的本質在於保護統治階級。他認為，在春秋戰國時代，君主制度還沒完備，所以，儒教尊君學說與家庭倫理還沒有極端性。秦漢時代以後，君主專制制度已經建立，儒家思想中就出現了壓制小民、扶持有地位的人、服務統治者的利益的觀念。

漢儒的三綱學說、宋儒的政治與倫理觀念都不在這個目的之外。關於宋儒，他評價道：「在政治與倫理方面，宋儒大力支持有權威的人，而在學術方面，他們提

³⁵ 潘魁：《孔教在我國的影響》[Cái ảnh hưởng của Khổng giáo ở nước ta]，收入潘魁：《1929年的報紙作品》[Tác phẩm đăng báo 1929]，峴港：峴港出版社，2005年。

³⁶ 阮百科：《阮公著的心理與思想》[Tâm lý và tư tưởng Nguyễn Công Trứ]，河內：韓詮出版局，1944年，頁41。

³⁷ 阮百科：《阮公著的心理與思想》[Tâm lý và tư tưởng Nguyễn Công Trứ]，河內：韓詮出版局，1944年，頁42。

倡性理學、理氣論、心性論，雖然在哲學上，他們豐富了儒教，但是在實際上卻讓學者們只埋頭空談玄學、看重「存心養性」而不注重實踐之事，這對統治者也很有利」³⁸。陶維英認為，儒教之所以到了清代還可以維持它的生命，就是因為它與統治者的權利密切相關。

陶維英的這本書概括了儒教在它與君主專制制度和統治階級權力的關係中的發展過程，但在總體上仍是粗略的。對作為儒教史貫穿本質的階級性的分析，等到阮百科的《阮公著的心理與思想》一書才得到了充分體現。在這本書中，儒教歷史的研究變成了對「孔子與新地主階級關係的變化」的研究³⁹。他將歷代儒家的所有變遷歸咎於地主階級地位的變遷。

在他看來，孔子時代的儒教是新地主與富商階級興起而推翻封建制度、建立君主中央集權制度時期的儒教。像陶維英一樣，阮百科認為孔子的尊君觀念還沒達到極端的程度，但他根據當時階級關係與階級鬥爭而提出一個更清晰的理解：新地主階級剛取得統治權，還要對付老貴族、無產窮人的各種敵對階級，所以仍然要靠人民（指所有土地的人民）來保護自己的權利與地位⁴⁰。

提到孟子的時代，阮百科指出，當時新地主的階級越來越強大，他們的經濟與政治權力越來越穩固，在社會上就出現了作為保護他們的權力的士人。阮百科認為，在孟子的思想中，君王只是擔任管理新地主階級的財產的人，而士人就是「新地主階級的代表，被這階級「養育」，為了他們而控制君王的政事」⁴¹。這樣說，孟子時代的儒教反映了以新地主階級為中心的新地主、君王與士人的關係。阮百科以這看法為基礎來分析孟子的「民為貴」論說。在越南二十世紀初，許多學者認為孟子的「民為貴」與西方的「民主」、「民權」是相同的，從而肯定儒教在現代社會的價值。在阮百科看來，「民為貴」中的「民」不是指人民，而是指地主階級，「社稷次之」中的「社稷」是指土地，「君為輕」的「君」是指替地主階級管理社會的人。也就是說，孟子的「民為貴」與西方的「民主」並沒有關係，而且是保護地主階級的工具。

對於漢儒，阮百科也從中國漢代社會中的階級結構談起。他指出，這一時代

³⁸ 陶維英：《孔教批評小論》[Khổng giáo phê bình tiểu luận]，順化：觀海叢書，1939年，頁98。

³⁹ 阮百科：《阮公著的心理與思想》[Tâm lý và tư tưởng Nguyễn Công Trứ]，河內：韓詮出版局，1944年，頁42。

⁴⁰ 阮百科：《阮公著的心理與思想》[Tâm lý và tư tưởng Nguyễn Công Trứ]，河內：韓詮出版局，1944年，頁45-46。

⁴¹ 阮百科：《阮公著的心理與思想》[Tâm lý và tư tưởng Nguyễn Công Trứ]，河內：韓詮出版局，1944年，頁50。



的階級結構有三個值得注意的特點：一是地主階級極其強大，擁有了大部分社會財產；二是士人變成一個獨立的等級，持有政治權力；三是王侯、皇室等級的形成。這三個階級一方面相互矛盾、相互限制（士人與皇室衝突，士人與地主衝突，士人與皇室聯手起來而限制地主），一方面有共同的權利而壓制「無產農民」⁴²。從而，阮百科肯定了漢儒的「三綱」學說、重視名節之學或者命運學說都是這三個階級妥協或聯手的結果。與認為「三綱」是漢儒產物的潘魁不同，阮百科指出，漢儒只是繼承與發展孔子學說中對於君臣、父子、夫婦三種關係的主張，而且強調君臣的關係。在潘魁看來，「三綱」是對孔孟儒教精神的扭曲，而對阮百科來說，「三綱」只是反映了從孔孟時代已經形成的保護新地主權利的精神，漢儒與孔孟儒教的區別不是漢儒扭曲孔孟學說的結果，而是社會中階級關係變化的結果。他總結說，漢儒不過是具有更明顯的階級性的儒教新哲理、新倫理的體系：「皇室、士人與地主的妥協（社會中各個階級的新結合方式）建構了一種新哲理、倫理的體系（漢儒），它雖然生於孔氏真傳的精神，但它的階級性比孔子學說的鮮明多了」。⁴³

繼續分析地主階級地位與性質的變化，阮百科將宋儒解釋為地主階級發展到最反動時期的產物。在這個時期，地主、士人與皇室，在與無產窮人與小商的衝突中或多或少地做出讓步之後（見於王安石的改革），推翻了所有的改革政策而鞏固與維持他們自己的地位與權力，同時徹底地鎮壓對立階級的反抗。阮百科特別強調宋代地主階級的「反動」性質，意味著這一時期的儒教只反映了一個沒有進步作用的階級的頑固。孔孟儒教與宋儒的區別在於，孔孟儒教代表著在發揮進步作用而反對落後社會秩序的新地主階級，而宋儒代表著發展到最反動的階段的這個階級。由陳仲金或阮伯卓在一定程度上看重的宋儒，對阮百科來說，只是一種神秘、虛無、與地主階級的「寄生」心態適合的思想。所以，對於程頤與朱熹兩位宋儒理學最著名的代表，阮百科不怕做出很嚴格的結論：「程（伊川）與朱（晦庵）果然能夠在他們學說中，體現了當時地主、富商、皇室、士人階級的一切反動性格」。⁴⁴

回顧儒教從孔子時代到宋代的演變過程，阮百科對儒教歷史提出了一些結

⁴² 阮百科：《阮公著的心理與思想》[Tâm lý và tư tưởng Nguyễn Công Trứ]，河內：韓詮出版局，1944年，頁61-62。

⁴³ 阮百科：《阮公著的心理與思想》[Tâm lý và tư tưởng Nguyễn Công Trứ]，河內：韓詮出版局，1944年，頁65。

⁴⁴ 阮百科：《阮公著的心理與思想》[Tâm lý và tư tưởng Nguyễn Công Trứ]，河內：韓詮出版局，1944年，頁72。

論。第一，他肯定儒教在其整個歷史上一一直是「一種階級性的知識體系」，維護地主、貴族（皇室）、士人的權利。第二，儒教形式的變化反映了地主階級地位在歷史上的變化。第三，漢儒、宋儒並不違背孔孟精神，相反是孔孟儒教的產兒，因為儒教經過各個時代都只是保護統治階級權利的學說，這也是貫穿它發展歷史的重點。第四，在發展方向方面，阮百科認為儒教的歷史是從積極、進步到消極、虛無、反動的變化（與地主階級從進步到反動的變化的相應）。

總之，陶維英、阮百科等馬克思主義學者在階級角度上對儒教史提出了比他們之前的學者完全不同的認識。對他們來說，儒教史僅僅反映了它所代表的階級的歷史。這就是貫穿儒教發展史的規律，也是解釋歷代儒教變化的基礎。在這個意義上，他們根本顛覆了《南風雜誌》學者或者潘魁對於儒教史的觀念。《南風雜誌》學者或潘魁將儒教視為對孔子學說正確或錯誤解釋的歷史，從而把儒教的衰落歸咎於後儒對於孔子的錯誤解釋，而對馬克思主義學者來說，儒教的衰落僅僅是經濟社會環境與階級機構變化的結果。

馬克思主義學者透過研究貫穿儒教史的階級本質，進一步批判了儒教的經濟社會基礎。陶維英在《孔教批評小論》說：「一種學說、主義或者宗教只能立足於與它適合的經濟基礎與社會狀態。當這經濟基礎與社會狀態還存在，不論對它怎麼猛烈地攻擊和排斥，都無可推翻它」⁴⁵。他的意思就是，想要推翻儒教，像當時許多學者只在思想方面上批判它是不徹底的，而必須在經濟社會背景上進行批判。他認為，推翻儒教的經濟社會基礎的革命才能夠推翻儒教。這也是馬克思主義學者與包括潘魁在中的批判儒教其他學者的不同之處。

5. 結論

以上我們已概述越南二十世紀上半葉學者對儒教史研究的三種趨向與其思想含意。從20年代的《南風雜誌》學者到30年代的馬克思主義學者，是越南學者不斷地將儒教視為客觀性的對象而進行分析、解釋與評價的過程。在科學研究方面上，他們當時取得的成就，對現代儒教研究領域來說，有很大的意義。他們爲了後代學者提供了新視野、新方法、新認識。在思想發展是方面上，他們也有重要的貢獻。《南風雜誌》學者對歷代儒教進行研究而指出它有永恆價值的真正精神。從而，他們提出保留儒教精神的主張。潘魁研究漢代、宋代儒教時特別強調這兩時

⁴⁵ 陶維英：《孔教批評小論》[Khổng giáo phê bình tiểu luận]，順化：觀海叢書，1939年，頁137。



代儒者對於孔孟學說的扭曲，體現了他對漢代、宋代儒教非常嚴格的批判。他又進一步批判孔孟學說的一些論點，肯定儒教，不論哪一時代的儒教，都已經過時，從而提出全面性西化的主張。到了馬克思主義學者，對儒教批判變成對它經濟社會基礎的批判。以階級性為儒教的本质，他們認為，儒教在歷史上的變遷只反映了它保護的地主階級的變遷，從而，肯定進行社會革命的必要。可見，我們在此文中已提到的學者都或多或少地透過研究儒教史而表述了他們自己的文化、政治思想。我們也可以通過他們的研究活動而看出越南當時思想發展的情況。在一定程度上，他們對儒教史的研究也表明了儒教在越南二十世紀初的命運。他們所爭論的就是儒教到底能否在現代社會存在與發揮作用的問題。越南當時的學者最後還沒達到一致的答案，但他們所提出的觀點，對今天的我們來說，還有一定的啟示意義。

回應

若有任何關於本篇論文的回應，請直接寄給作者黃明君
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2. Bún-kó ē lūi-hēng: It-poaⁿ-tèk pun-chò gián-kiù lūn-bún kap chheh-phēng nng-khoán, ũ tang-sí-á mā ũ tiān-ia/kang-chok pò-kò. Gián-kiù lūn-bún kap pò-kò ē jī-sò, goán-chek-tèk Eng-bún kó mài chhiau-kòe 8,000 sū, Tâi-bún kó mài chhiau-kòe 15,000 jī (im-chat), chheh-phēng chè-hān tī 2,000 sū/ jī lāi-té.
3. Lūn-bún ē keh-sek :
 - A) Pún khan-bút chiap-siū ēng Tâi-bún/Tiong-bún/Oát-bún/Jit-bún áh-sī Eng-bún siá ē bún-kó. Su-siá ē gí-gián nā m̄-sī tâu-kó-chiá ē bó-gí, lô-hoán tâu-kó chìn-chēng ka-tī khai-chīⁿ chhiáⁿ bó-gí jīn-sū kàu-tùl bún-kó. Nā-sī kó-kiāⁿ ēng Eng-bún liáh-gōa ē gí-gián su-siá, lô-hoán siáng-sī thê-kiong chhít-hun Eng-bún ē tiah-iàu.
 - B) Tâi-bún kó chiap-siū Hàn Lô kap choán Lô su-siá ē hēng-sek. Lô-má-jī kan-taⁿ chiap-siū thoán-thóng Tâi-oân-jī/Pêh-ōe-jī. Hàn-jī ē pō-hūn kiàn-gī iōng pún khan-bút kap Tâi-gí Sìn-bōng-ài chhui-chiàn ē iōng-jī. Lô-má-jī ē jī-hēng lô-hoán iōng Unicode.
 - C) “Chù-kái” ài tong-ia̍h chù-kái, kan-na tui lāi-bún ē pō-chhiong kái-soeh tiòh hó, bún-hiàn liat tī bún-kó āu-piah ē chham-khó chheh-bák tō ē-sái.
 - D) Su-siá ē keh-sek lô-hoán chham-khó pún khan-bút thê-kiong ē chham-khó kiàn-pún.
 - E) Bún-kó ē lōe-iōng sūn-sī sī a) phiⁿ-miá, b) siang-gí tiah-iàu, c) pún-bún, d) chham-khó chheh-bák, e) hù-liók. Tiah-iàu goán-chek-tèk mài chhiau-kòe 150 jī, lēng-gōa ài thê-kiong 5 ē í-lāi ē koan-kiàn-sū.
4. Tâu-kó kap sím-kó ē thēng-sū :
 - A) Lô-hoán ēng email tâu-kó. Kó-kiāⁿ lô-hoán thê-kiong Word kap PDF nng khoán tóng-àn. Nā ũ tèk-piát ē jī-hēng, lô-hoán lēng-gōa thê-kiong chóa-pún áh-sī JPG ē tóng-àn lāi khak-jīn lōe-iōng kám ũ tēng-tāⁿ.
 - B) Khàm-miá sím-kó, pau-hâm 2-3 ē gōa-sím ē ũi-oân, kòe pòⁿ- sò thong-kòe chiah chiap-siū. Tâu-kó ē sī lô-hoán ká chok-chiá ē chu-liâu kap bún-kó hun-khui, lī-piān khàm-miá sím-kó. Chok-chiá ē chu-liâu pau-hâm a) phiⁿ-miá, b) miá-sèⁿ, c) hók-bū tan-ūi kap chit-bū, d) lián-lók hong-sek. Tâu--lāi ē kó bô beh thê-hēng, lô-hoán ka-tī lâu-té, chhiáⁿ liōng-chēng.
 - C) Pún khan-bút bô chiap-siū chhít phiⁿ kó tâu kúi-ā-ē só-chāi, áh-sī bat tī kī-khan, choan-chheh hoat-piáu kòe ē gián-kiù lūn-bún. Pún khan-bút ēng sūi kàu sūi sím ē hong-sek, lô-hoán thông-bô tī àn-sng beh chhut-khan chìn-chēng 4 kò-goèh tâu-kó.
5. Tù-chok koân kap kó-hùi :
 - A) Lūn-bún chhut-pán liáu, pún khan-bút ē sàng hit-kī ē chhut-pán-phín 1 hūn hō chok-chiá, bô koh sng kó-hùi ah.
 - B) Chok-chiá ài pò-chēng bún-kó sī ka-tī siá--ê, bô chhim-hoán lāng ē tù-chok koân. Nā ũi-hoán tù-chok koân, chok-chiá ài ka-tī taⁿ hoat-lút ē chek-jīm.
 - C) Chok-chiá tâu-kó liáu tòng-chò ũ tòng-i ká tù-chok chàl-sán koân, hui choan-siók siū-koân hō pún khan-bút ēng chóa-pún kap sò-ūi ták-khoán ē hēng-sek chhut-pán kap tēng chè-chō. Chok-chiá ka-tī pò-liù jīt-āu ká chit phiⁿ khan tī chia ē lūn-bún thêh khi pát-giah koh hoat-piáu iah-sī chhut choan chheh ē koán-lí, m̄-koh ài chù-bēng kũ-té tī pún khan chhut-khan--kòe.
6. Chit hūn khan-bút sī pòⁿ-nī-khan, àn-sng ták-nī ē 1--goèh kap 7-- goèh chhut-khan. Ū kó beh tâu áh-sī ũ chheh beh phēng-lūn, lô-hoán kiá : 701台南市大學路1號國立成功大學越南研究中心 蔣為文收 (lô-hoán chù-bēng tâu-kó “ Oát-lâm Gián-kiù ”)

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《越南學研究》徵稿啓事

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 - B) 匿名審稿包含2-3位外審委員，過半數通過才接受。投稿請區分作者資訊與文稿以方便匿名審稿。作者資訊包含a)篇名 b)作者姓名 c)服務單位與職稱 d)連絡方式。來稿恕不退還，請自行留底。
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