



FOURTH EDITION

# VIETNAM

Past and Present

D.R. SarDesai

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D. R. SarDesai

University of California, Los Angeles

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# Contents

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| <i>List of Tables and Maps</i>                         | <i>xi</i>   |
| <i>List of Acronyms</i>                                | <i>xiii</i> |
| <i>Preface</i>   | <i>xv</i>   |
| <br>   |             |
| <b>1 ETHNICITY, GEOGRAPHY, AND EARLY HISTORY</b>       | <b>1</b>    |
| Vietnam—The Nomenclature, 2                            |             |
| The Human Fabric and Languages, 3                      |             |
| Early Vietnamese History, 9                            |             |
| Early Nationalism, 13                                  |             |
| <br>   |             |
| <b>2 A MILLENNIUM OF FREEDOM</b>                       | <b>19</b>   |
| Mongols Invade Vietnam and Champa, 22                  |             |
| Fall of Champa, 23                                     |             |
| Chinese Occupation and the Birth of the Le Dynasty, 24 |             |
| Vietnam's Partition, 27                                |             |
| The Tayson Rebellion, 28                               |             |
| Unification and Consolidation, 29                      |             |
| <br>   |             |
| <b>3 THE FRENCH CONQUEST OF VIETNAM</b>                | <b>33</b>   |
| Vietnam and the French Missionaries, 33                |             |
| Conquest of Cochin China, 36                           |             |
| De Lagrée-Garnier Expedition, 38                       |             |
| Garnier's Tongking Adventure, 39                       |             |
| Completing the Conquest of Vietnam, 41                 |             |
| <br>   |             |
| <b>4 THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT</b>                      | <b>45</b>   |
| Early Resistance to French Rule, 46                    |             |
| Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh, 47                  |             |
| Beginnings of the Modern Nationalist Movement, 48      |             |
| The VNQDD, 50  |             |



|          |  |            |
|----------|--|------------|
|          | The Uprisings of 1930–1931, 51                         |            |
|          | Ho Chi Minh, 52  |            |
|          | Birth of the Viet Minh, 56                             |            |
|          | Establishment of the DRV, 59                           |            |
|          | The First Indochina War, 61                            |            |
|          | Dien Bien Phu, 64                                      |            |
|          | The Geneva Settlement of 1954, 65                      |            |
| <b>5</b> | <b>ROOTS OF THE SECOND INDOCHINA WAR</b>               | <b>67</b>  |
|          | South Vietnam After the Geneva Conference, 67          |            |
|          | Unrest in South Vietnam, 75                            |            |
| <b>6</b> | <b>THE INDOCHINA IMBROGLIO</b>                         | <b>93</b>  |
|          | The Gulf of Tonkin Incident, 94                        |            |
|          | The Pleiku Incident and Bombing of the North, 98       |            |
|          | Operation Rolling Thunder, 98                          |            |
|          | The War Escalates, 99                                  |            |
|          | McNamara's War, 100                                    |            |
|          | Impact of War on North and South Vietnam, 102          |            |
|          | US Disengagement, 104                                  |            |
|          | Public Opinion and Resignations of Policy Makers, 107  |            |
|          | Government and Politics in South Vietnam, 109          |            |
|          | The Tet Offensive, 110                                 |            |
|          | Nixon, Kissinger, and the International Situation, 113 |            |
|          | Cambodia Since Geneva, 115                             |            |
|          | Cambodia's Neutrality, 116                             |            |
|          | The Khmer Rouge, 117                                   |            |
|          | The Paris Accords of 1973, 118                         |            |
|          | Communist Victory in Vietnam and Cambodia, 119         |            |
|          | Reasons for the US Failure in Vietnam, 120             |            |
| <b>7</b> | <b>THE NEW VIETNAM</b>                                 | <b>123</b> |
|          | Postwar Economic Measures, 126                         |            |
|          | Five-Year Plans and Economic Policy, 128               |            |
|          | The Economic Impact of <i>Doi Moi</i> , 137            |            |
|          | The ODA and FDI, 139                                   |            |
|          | The State-Owned Enterprises, 140                       |            |
|          | Critics of <i>Doi Moi</i> , 141                        |            |
|          | Government and Politics in the New Vietnam, 143        |            |

|           |  |            |
|-----------|--|------------|
| <b>8</b>  | <b>VIETNAM AND ITS IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORS</b>                             | <b>153</b> |
|           | Vietnam and Cambodia, 154  |            |
|           | Vietnam's March into Cambodia, 161                                     |            |
|           | Vietnam's Occupation of Cambodia: Goals and Impact, 162                |            |
|           | Multipronged Efforts Toward Peace in Cambodia, 164                     |            |
|           | Khmer Rouge and Pol Pot, 172   |            |
|           | Hun Sen Takes Power, 172   |            |
|           | The Khmer Rouge Trial, 173   |            |
|           | Cambodia's Economic Reconstruction, 175                                |            |
| <b>9</b>  | <b>VIETNAM'S RELATIONS WITH CHINA,<br/>THE SOVIET UNION, AND ASEAN</b> | <b>177</b> |
|           | Vietnam and China, 178   |            |
|           | Vietnam and the Sino-Soviet Rivalry, 179                               |            |
|           | The Islands Issue, 180   |            |
|           | The Ethnic Chinese Issue, 183  |            |
|           | The Sino-Vietnamese Conflict of 1979, 185                              |            |
|           | Vietnam and the Soviet Union, 187                                      |            |
|           | Sino-Vietnamese Relations After Withdrawal from Cambodia, 190          |            |
|           | Vietnam and ASEAN, 192   |            |
|           | ASEAN and Vietnamese Economy, 197                                      |            |
| <b>10</b> | <b>US-VIETNAM RELATIONS AND<br/>VIETNAMESE AMERICANS</b>               | <b>199</b> |
|           | Preconditions to Normalization of US-Vietnam Relations, 200            |            |
|           | The MIA Issue, 201   |            |
|           | Bilateral Trade Agreement, 206   |            |
|           | President Clinton Visits Vietnam, 207                                  |            |
|           | Problems in US-Vietnam Relations, 208                                  |            |
|           | The "Catfish War," 211   |            |
|           | The Vietnamese Refugee Problem, 213                                    |            |
|           | Refugee Settlement in the United States, 217                           |            |
|           | Achievements of Vietnamese Americans, 226                              |            |
|           | The Viet Kieu and Their Home Country, 227                              |            |
|           | <i>Chronology</i>  | 229        |
|           | <i>Notes</i>   | 235        |
|           | <i>Bibliography</i>  | 243        |
|           | <i>Index</i>   | 261        |



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# Tables and Maps

## Tables

|      |   |     |
|------|---|-----|
| 10.1 | Refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos into the United States, 1975–1991 (Rounded to Hundreds) | 220 |
| 10.2 | Vietnamese Americans, by County, 1999   | 225 |

## Maps

|                                   |      |
|-----------------------------------|------|
| Vietnam and Neighboring Countries | xvii |
| Vietnam’s Ethnic Groups           | 5    |
| Vietnamese Southward Movement     | 43   |



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# Acronyms

|           |  |
|-----------|--|
| AFTA      | ASEAN Free Trade Agreement   |
| ARVN      | Army of the Republic of Vietnam  |
| ASEAN     | Association of Southeast Asian Nations   |
| BLDP      | Buddhist Liberal Democratic Party  |
| BOT       | build-operate-transfer   |
| BTA       | Bilateral Trade Agreement  |
| CEPT      | Common Effective Preferential Tariff   |
| CGDK      | Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea   |
| COMECON   | Council for Mutual Economic Assistance   |
| COSVN     | Central Office of South Vietnam  |
| CPP       | Cambodian People's Party   |
| DRV       | Democratic Republic of Vietnam   |
| EEZ       | exclusive economic zone  |
| EPZ       | export processing zone   |
| ESCAP     | Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific                                  |
| FDI       | foreign direct investment  |
| FUNCINPEC | National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful,<br>and Cooperative Cambodia |
| GDP       | gross domestic product   |
| GNP       | gross national product   |
| ICC       | International Control Commission   |
| ICP       | Indochina Communist Party  |
| ICRC      | International Committee on Reconstruction of Cambodia                                    |
| ICRF      | International Commission on Religious Freedom  |
| IMF       | International Monetary Fund  |
| ITC       | International Trade Committee  |
| JIM       | Jakarta Informal Meeting   |
| KMT       | Kuomintang   |
| KPNLF     | Khmer People's National Liberation Front   |
| KR        | Khmer Rouge  |

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| KUFNS  | Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation                    |
| MAAG   | Military Assistance Advisory Group                                |
| MFN    | most-favored nation   |
| MIA    | missing in action   |
| MoCI   | Ministry of Culture and Information                               |
| NEZ    | new economic zone   |
| NLF    | National Liberation Front   |
| NSC    | National Security Council   |
| NTR    | normal trade relations  |
| NVA    | North Vietnamese Army   |
| ODA    | official developmental assistance                                 |
| ODP    | Orderly Departure Program   |
| ORT    | Operation Rolling Thunder   |
| PCC    | Paris Conference on Cambodia                                      |
| POW    | prisoner of war   |
| PRG    | Provisional Revolutionary Government                              |
| PRK    | People's Republic of Kampuchea                                    |
| PRP    | People's Revolutionary Party                                      |
| ROVR   | Resettlement Opportunities for Vietnamese Returnees               |
| SAM    | surface-to-air missile  |
| SEATO  | Southeast Asia Treaty Organization                                |
| SNC    | Supreme National Council  |
| SOC    | State of Cambodia   |
| SOE    | State-Owned Enterprise  |
| SRP    | Sam Rangsi Party  |
| SRV    | Socialist Republic of Vietnam                                     |
| TEL    | Temporary Exclusion List  |
| UBC    | Unified Buddhist Church   |
| UNAKRT | UN Assistance to Khmer Rouge Trials                               |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization |
| UNHCR  | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees                     |
| UNTAC  | United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia                 |
| VCP    | Vietnamese Communist Party  |
| VNQDD  | Vietnamese Nationalist Party                                      |
| WTO    | World Trade Organization  |
| ZOPFAN | zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality                            |

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## Preface

Vietnam has evoked more interest internationally among scholars and diplomats, militarists and peace activists, journalists and the public than most other countries in recent times. The spectacle of a small nation, with far less sophisticated weaponry than its opponents and hardly any air power, immobilizing the most advanced, militarily best-equipped nation, moved people across the globe. What motivated the Vietnamese men, women, and children to make such supreme sacrifices? Was it communism or nationalism—or a combination of both?

My interest in Vietnam was further aroused by numerous Vietnamese students at UCLA who had immigrated to southern California as “boat people” in the wake of the 1975 “fall” of Saigon. Their complaint about a persistent bias in most of the Western accounts about Vietnam and their plea that I write an objective history of the modern period in the perspective of its long historical past have been primarily responsible for this book. I have profited most from discussions with them, in particular Nguyen Dao Phan, who completed a thesis on the National Liberation Front under my supervision. My thanks are also due to Pham Cao Duong, whose scholarly insights into the agrarian policies and successes and failures of governments in Vietnam have benefited my understanding of rural Vietnam. For the recent period, I have drawn extensively from the most well-informed and fairly objective and analytical reports of Nayan Chanda, special correspondent and expert on Vietnam for the *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

I should acknowledge my debt of gratitude to Charlotte Spence, former Indo-Pacific bibliographer of the University of California, Los Angeles, for her unfailing assistance in locating materials; and to Dr. Ingelise Lanman, my former doctoral student research assistant, for her help in writing this book. I am very grateful to Jane Bitar, manager of the word-processing department for social sciences and humanities at UCLA, and Nancy Rhan, also in the word-processing department, for their professional expertise in the preparation of the manuscript. Finally, as always, I am beholden to my wife for providing consistent encouragement and inspiration in all my scholarly and writing endeavors.

*D. R. SarDesai*

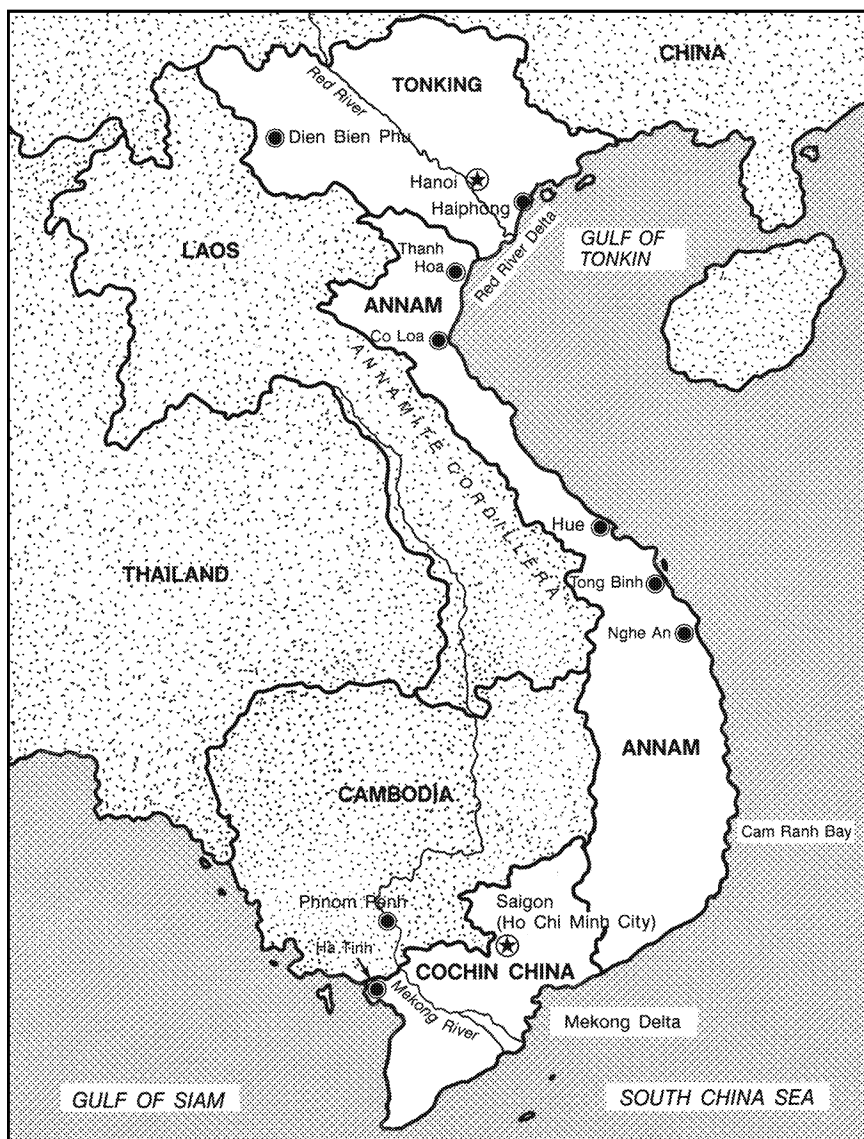




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Vietnam and Neighboring Countries



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# Ethnicity, Geography, and Early History

The Southeast Asian littoral, the promontory at the extremity of mainland Southeast Asia, constitutes Vietnam. It extends from about 8° to 23°N and 102° to 109°E. The long coastline of Vietnam uncoils in the shape of an S from China's southern border to the tip of the Indochina Peninsula. It is bordered on the north by China, to the west by Laos and Cambodia, and to the east and south by the South China Sea. Nearly 1,240 miles long, the country extends unevenly at widths ranging from 31 to 310 miles and covers an area of 127,300 square miles. Vietnam is as large as the British Isles, smaller than Thailand, with a population estimated at 79 million in 2004, making it the thirteenth largest populated country in the world. Owing to heavy human losses during the long conflict, the population is young, with 70 percent under the age of thirty. The literacy rate is one of the highest in the world; 90 percent of those age ten and over are literates.

Vietnam's two fertile alluvial deltas—the Red River, or Song Ma, in the north and the Mekong in the south—have inspired the image of the typical Vietnamese peasant carrying a pair of rice baskets suspended at the ends of a pole. Connected by a chain of narrow coastal plains, the deltas produced enough rice before the war not only to feed the population but even to export. Since the late 1990s, Vietnam has become the second largest exporter of rice in the world. Although these delta regions make up only about a quarter of the country's area, they support almost 80 percent of its population. The rural population density in some of the provinces of the Red River Delta is as high

as 1,000 per square mile. The Mekong Delta is the richer of the two and extends well into Cambodia. Both deltas are known for their intensive agriculture; the Red River Delta has long reached the point of optimum agricultural expansion. The country's historical, political, and economic development has taken place in these two separate areas partly because of a mountain range dividing the country. The Truong Son, or Annamite Cordillera, runs approximately north and south along the border of Laos and Vietnam, cutting the latter almost in two and also extending along the Vietnamese-Cambodian border. At certain points, the mountains have elevations of up to 10,000 feet.

Communications between Vietnam and Laos or Cambodia are possible through certain strategic passes. Of these, the more difficult ones are located in the north at an altitude of more than 3,000 feet at the head of the valleys of the Song Da (Black River), the Song Ma (Red River), and the Song Ca. Further south the communications are, by comparison, not as difficult. Thus the Tran Ninh area can be reached through the town of Cua Rao, whereas the Cammon Plateau can be reached from the Nghe An area through the Ha-trai and Keo Nua Passes at an altitude of more than 2,000 feet or further south through the Mu Gia Pass at a somewhat lower altitude. From Quang Tri one can traverse just north of the Kemmarat rapids through the Ai Lao Pass (at an altitude of about 1,300 feet), regarded as the gateway to Laos. Between the Red River Delta and central Vietnam, communications go through several passes and corniches at Hoanh Son, the gateway to Annam, at elevations of between 1,300 and 1,500 feet. The geographical configuration and the varied accesses are extremely significant for understanding the movement of people and armies in the military encounters in ancient as well as recent times.

## **Vietnam—The Nomenclature**

For most of their history, the Vietnamese people lived only in the Red River Delta. During the first millennium of the Christian era, from 111 BC to AD 939, Vietnam was a directly ruled province of the Chinese empire. The separate kingdom of Champa, south of the empire's border in central Vietnam, existed until 1471, when most of it was overrun by independent Vietnam. The remnant of Champa was absorbed by the Vietnamese in 1720. Thereafter, taking advantage of an extremely weakened Khmer empire, the Vietnamese gradually expanded into the Mekong Delta, completing the conquest by the middle of the eighteenth century and reaching the modern borders of Vietnam.

Vietnam has had a succession of names, reflecting its rule by various people at various times. The Chinese called the country Nan Yueh and the Red River Delta the Giao. In the seventh century, after putting down a series

of revolts by the Vietnamese, the Chinese renamed the territory Annam, meaning “pacified south.” After the Vietnamese overthrew the direct Chinese rule in AD 939, the kingdom was called Dai Co Viet (country of the great Viet people). Through the centuries, as Vietnamese rulers extended the kingdom almost to the present-day borders, the three natural divisions of Vietnam—north, central, and south—came to be known to the Vietnamese as Bac Viet, Trung Viet, and Nam Viet, respectively. The kingdom as it existed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries covering north and central Vietnam was divided into two political parts and ruled by two families: the Trinh in the north and the Nguyen in central Vietnam, both of whom recognized the Le as kings (see chapter 2). The country was unified for the first time by Emperor Gia Long in 1802 and was named Vietnam. Because France conquered Vietnam in three different stages and later tried through official policies to submerge the nationalist identity and spirit of the Vietnamese people, the French referred to the three regions only by the names of their administrative units, insisting also that these corresponded to three separate cultural entities. Cochinchina in the south was a French colony; Annam, or central Vietnam, with its imperial capital of Hué, was a protectorate; and Tongking, with Hanoi as capital, was regarded as a separate protectorate. The French vivisection of Vietnam was regarded as an insult by Vietnamese nationalists, who vowed to liberate their country from the French (and later from the Americans) and to bring about its reunification as the single nation-state of Vietnam. This they accomplished in 1976, after a relentless struggle lasting several decades.

## **The Human Fabric and Languages**

### *The Vietnamese*

The Vietnamese, who form 85 percent of the population, are a mixture of non-Chinese Mongolian and Austro-Indonesian stock who inhabited the provinces of Kweichow, Kwangsi, and Kwantung before the area was brought under Chinese rule in 214 BC. Further racial intermixture probably came about through marriages between the Vietnamese and a Tai tribe long after the Vietnamese had moved into the Tongking Delta.

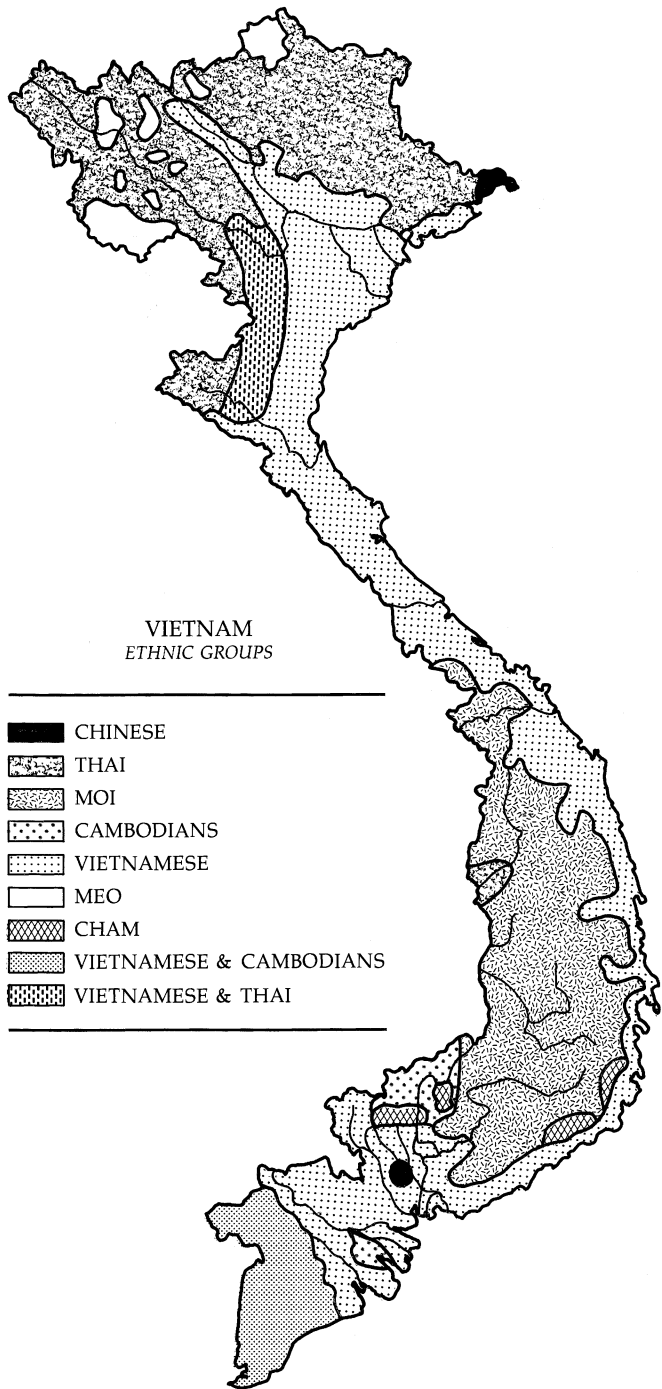
The mixed racial descent of the Vietnamese is reflected in their language, which is both monotonic like the Malayo-Indonesian and variotonic like the Mongolian group of languages. It is also influenced by the Mon-Khmer languages in its grammar (no declension or inflection) and even more so in its vocabulary (up to 90 percent of words in everyday usage). Vietnamese owes its multitonic system as well as a large number of words to the Thai language. By

the time the Vietnamese came under Chinese rule in 111 BC, they already had a well-developed language of their own. Thereafter, the monosyllabic Vietnamese language drew heavily on the Chinese for administrative, technical, and literary terms. For most of their history, the Vietnamese used Chinese ideographs for writing. In the twelfth century, the Vietnamese developed the Nom characters (literally meaning southern characters) independent of the Chinese. In the seventeenth century, a Jesuit missionary, Alexandre de Rhodes, developed a romanized system of writing. *Quoc-ngu*, as it is called, shows the differing levels of pitch as well as vocal consonant elements by diacritical marks. It was widely adopted for common use in the twentieth century.

### *The Tribals*

Several tribal groups live in the extensive mountainous country to the north and west of the Red River Delta. The Meo, the Muong, and the Tai, all of Mongolian origin, are the most important and numerous. Together, all the tribals account for about 2 million people. The Tai speak languages closely allied to those of Thailand and Laos. Except for the 20,000 Muong, who use a language akin to Vietnamese, the other tribes speak dialects of Tibeto-Mongolian origin. The vast plateau and hilly areas of central Vietnam are inhabited by several ethnic minorities numbering nearly 1 million people and collectively called the Montagnards by the French. Six of the larger groups account for nearly half of the tribal population. These are the Rhade, Sedang, Jarai, Stieng, Bahnar, and Roglai, certainly a heterogeneous people, whose skin color ranges from brownish white to black and whose languages are drawn both from the Malay-Polynesian and the Mon-Khmer groups. They were pushed into the mountains by the Vietnamese moving south.

Traditionally, there is not much love lost between the tribal people and the plains people. Renowned as warriors and as masters of the strategic passes, the tribals have been able to move swiftly across the borders of Vietnam into Laos and Cambodia. They may be fewer in number than the Vietnamese and their weapons far less sophisticated, yet they were never completely subdued by the Vietnamese. Due to their bravery, skills, and knowledge of the terrain, the tribals were wooed by the Chinese as they considered an invasion of Vietnam, later by the French, and by both sides in the recent drawn-out war. The tribals have held all outsiders, including the ethnic Vietnamese, in contempt and have viewed them with strong suspicion. They do not have the Vietnamese enthusiasm for wet rice cultivation, preferring instead to burn the brush on the mountain slopes and resort to dry rice cultivation. Their ways of life, languages, dress, social organization, and house structures have all been distinct from those of the Vietnamese. Generally speaking, the Montagnards have never displayed a high regard for the law and government of the plains people.



Vietnam's Ethnic Groups



Despite governmental efforts to better their lot, the tribal population of Vietnam still follows primitive ways of life, eking out a miserable existence exploiting the infertile and inhospitable terrain constituting four-fifths of the country's area. After 1954, the North Vietnamese government introduced several programs to improve their economic condition. This was perhaps because of the valuable assistance the tribals gave to the Viet Minh, who had operated from their hideouts in the mountainous territory of the northwest during the struggle against the French. The present government of Vietnam has a twofold policy toward the tribal population. On the one hand, it allows them autonomy, thus helping them to maintain their ethnic identity through retention of age-old social institutions and practices. On the other hand, it encourages assimilation through education and common participation in the life of the lowlands.

### *The Chams*

Also in central Vietnam are the Chams, numbering about 40,000. The descendants of a former dominant and highly civilized people who controlled central Vietnam for nearly fifteen centuries, they are of Indonesian stock and have reverted to a tribal lifestyle. Their former kingdom, called Champa (or Linyi in Chinese records), was founded in AD 192 by a local official who overthrew the Chinese authority. Taking advantage of the weak Chinese control over Tongking in the declining days of the Han dynasty, the Chams extended northward. Although they controlled portions of central Vietnam at various times, Champa proper extended from a little south of Hué to the Cam Ranh Bay and westward into the Mekong valley of Cambodia and southern Laos. The history of the relationship between China and Champa was one of alternating hostility and subservience on Champa's part. With the reconsolidation of China under the Chin dynasty, Champa sent the first embassy to the Chinese emperor's court in AD 284. But whenever the Chinese authority in Tongking slackened, the Chams seized the opportunity to raid the northern province. During this early period, the center of the Champa kingdom was in the region of Hué.

Champa came under Indian influence around the middle of the fourth century AD, when it absorbed the Funanese province of Panduranga (modern Phan Rang). Funan was an early kingdom based in Cambodia, extending its authority over the Mekong Delta, southern Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand from about the first century AD. The political center of Champa had by then moved from near Hué to the Quang Nam area, where the famous Cham archaeological sites of Tra Kieu and Dong Duong indicate the profound Pallava impact of the Amaravati school of art. In the same area, the most notable archaeological site is that of My-son, a holy city whose art demonstrates Gupta

influence as well as that of the indigenous pre-Khmer concepts of Cambodia. After the sixth century, the center of Cham activity moved south to Panduranga, where the south Indian influence increased, as is seen, for instance, in the towers of Hoalai. In the opinion of the eminent French scholar Georges Coedès, it was the Indianization of Champa that lent it strength against its Sino-Vietnamese enemies.<sup>1</sup>

Although the kingdom was divided into several units separated from each other by mountains, the Chams rallied dozens of times in the defense of freedom against attacks by the Chinese, the Vietnamese, the Khmers, and, later, the Mongols. In such conflicts Champa's mountainous terrain and easy access to the sea provided considerable scope for military maneuver. At last, after a millennium and a half of survival as an independent state, the Chams suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese in 1471. More than 60,000 Chams were killed and about half that number were carried into captivity. Thereafter, Champa was limited to the small area south of Cape Varella around Nha Trang. The remnant state lingered until 1720, when it was finally absorbed by the Vietnamese, the last Cham king and most of his subjects fleeing into Cambodia.

The Cham society was and is matriarchal, daughters having the right of inheritance. Following the Hindu tradition, the Chams cremated their dead, collected the ashes in an urn, and cast them into the waters. Their way of life resembled that of the Funanese. Men and women wrapped a length of cloth around their waists and mostly went barefoot. Their weapons included bows, arrows, sabers, lances, and crossbows of bamboo. Their musical instruments included flutes, drums, conches, and stringed instruments. Today about 40,000 southern Vietnamese and about 85,000 Cambodians claim Cham ancestry. Their social organization, marriage, and inheritance rules did not change despite their later conversion to Islam.

### *The Khmers*

Not far west of Saigon and south of the Mekong live about 500,000 Khmers in what were once provinces of the Khmer empire (founded in the ninth century AD) and its precursors, the kingdoms of Chenla (seventh to eighth century AD) and Funan (first to sixth century AD). Like the Chams, the Funanese were of Indonesian race, whereas the Chenlas and the Khmers were kindred to the Mons of Burma. At its height, the Khmer empire extended over the southern areas of mainland Southeast Asia, including the Mekong Delta. The Funanese and the Khmers were extremely active as a maritime commercial power, serving as intermediaries in the trade between India and China. Both were Indianized kingdoms that adopted the Sanskrit language and Indian literature and

religions and grafted Indian concepts of art and architecture to indigenous forms, producing (among others) the world-renowned monuments of Angkor. After the sack of Angkor by the Tais in AD 1431, the Khmers became subservient to the Tais but still retained control of the Mekong Delta. With the Vietnamese conquest of Champa and the final absorption of the Champa kingdom, the Mekong Delta region of the Khmer kingdom was exposed to the aggressive Vietnamese policies. The present-day Khmers of Vietnam are descendants of the population that chose to stay on in the Mekong Delta after its conquest by the Vietnamese in the eighteenth century. An indeterminately large number of them were used by the Vietnamese as an advance column in their march into Cambodia in December 1978.

### *The Chinese*

Until the recent exodus, there were more than a million Chinese in Vietnam, mostly in the south and especially in Cholon, the twin city of Saigon (now called Ho Chi Minh City). Some of them are descendants of very old families, whereas ancestors of most others migrated in the wake of the French colonial rule in the nineteenth century, principally from the Canton area. As in most other countries of Southeast Asia, the Chinese dominated the economic life of their adopted country, acting as traders, bankers, moneylenders, officials, and professionals. They maintained close ties with relatives in their homeland. Due to their economic power, they invited the hatred and distrust of the Vietnamese people and governments, including the present Communist government. More recently, they became the target of official persecution in 1978–1979, resulting in their large-scale migration to China and as boat people to other destinations. A large number perished on the high seas.

One of the most persistent themes throughout Vietnamese history is a love-hate relationship between China and Vietnam. If the Vietnamese appreciated, admired, and adopted Chinese culture, they despised, dreaded, and rejected Chinese political domination. Such a mixture of envy and hostility is seen in the contemporary Vietnamese attitudes toward the ethnic Chinese in Vietnam, who have been by far superior to the Vietnamese in trade, commerce, and finance. Historically, Vietnam was the only country in all of Southeast Asia with close political and cultural ties to China, all the other Southeast Asian countries being heavily influenced by Indian culture, at least in the first millennium of the Christian era. As David Marr observed, “The subtle interplay of resistance and dependence . . . appeared often to stand at the root of historical Vietnamese attitudes toward the Chinese.”<sup>2</sup>

The long history of Sino-Vietnamese relations was marked by significant Vietnamese absorption of Chinese culture both through imposition and will-

ful adoption. Vietnamese intellectuals through the centuries have regarded their country as the “smaller dragon” and a cultural offshoot of China. Nonetheless, their history has been punctuated by numerous valiant efforts to resist the deadly domination of their land by their northern neighbors. Vietnamese nationalism has taken a virulent form whenever fear of Chinese take-over loomed large. Some of the greatest Vietnamese legends have been woven around the exploits of heroes who led the struggle against the Chinese. It is, therefore, no surprise that a significant section of the historical museum in Hanoi is dedicated to exhibits on the numerous instances of Vietnamese resistance to Chinese domination. The Vietnamese never allowed their culture to be totally overwhelmed by the Chinese, taking care periodically to review, rearticulate, and maintain their identity as a people distinct from the Chinese. The hostility born of long centuries of Chinese domination sharpened a militant nationalism against any alien rule.

## **Early Vietnamese History**

The Vietnamese have attempted to give their country a history as hoary as China's. According to one of the numerous legends concerning the origin of their state, a Vietnamese prince named Lac Long Quan came to northern Vietnam from his home in the sea. He married a princess from the mountains, Au Co, who is also described as the wife of a northern (Chinese?) intruder, on the top of Mount Tan Vien some time around 2800 BC. Instead of the commonplace result of such a union, the princess laid 100 eggs, a son eventually hatching from each. For some unknown reason, the parents separated, the mother leading half the progeny across the northern mountains, where they became the ancestors of the Muong, and the father leading the remaining fifty sons to the sea, where they became ancestors of the Vietnamese. The most valiant of the sons was chosen to be the first of the eighteen Hung kings. Lac Long Quan, a prince of the sea, and Au Co, a princess of the mountains, are regarded by the Vietnamese as their primal ancestors. Does this imply that the Vietnamese were originally of the Malay-Polynesian, sea-oriented race who came to terms with the Mongolians of the southern Chinese plains?

### *The Dong-son Culture*

The earliest name for Vietnam was Van Lang, founded by King Hung. Seventeen kings or generations, all styled Hung, succeeded him. They ruled throughout the Bronze Age, from Phung Nguyen in the Hong River valley (site of the Early Bronze Age, third millennium BC) to Dong Dau (site of the Middle Bronze Age at the midpoint of the second millennium BC) and Go Mun (peak

of the Bronze Age, 1200–800 BC) to Dong-son (the most famous site of the Late Bronze Age, 800–300 BC). Although the archaeologist's spade has uncovered substantial quantities of bronze arrowheads in Dong Dau and Go Mun, a fairly centralized state probably did not emerge until the Dong-son period. The Hung era is rightly termed "legendary" by most historians inasmuch as no eighteen kings or generations could have spanned the nearly two millennia of prehistoric development in the Tongking Delta. It is possible that the rule of the eighteen Hung monarchs relates to the Dong-son period, which marked the displacement of the economic and social leadership of primitive agricultural practices by a monarchical apparatus responsible for the building and maintenance of an irrigation system of dikes and canals, providing against nature's vagaries of droughts and floods.

The new state, based on the irrigation system in the region of the three rivers in Upper Tongking, must have produced excess wealth, requiring protection against predator enemies from the exposed borders to the north and the south. Hence the need for extensive use of bronze technology for varied weaponry. By the Dong-son period, the kingdom of Van Lang extended to Hunan in southern China. The capital was moved to Vinh Phu, where the three rivers—Song Da, Song Ma, and Song Ca—meet.

The evidence of the bronze-using Dong-son culture is spread not only along the northern and central Vietnamese coastline but also as far away as Yunnan and Szechuan in China and in Malaya and Flores in the Moluccas. A large number of ornate bronze drums as well as hoes, axes, knives, spears, and plates of armor, among other archaeological artifacts, speak of a flourishing culture noted for agriculture, handicrafts, pottery, silk, music, and maritime activity on a considerable scale.

The Dong-son people were undoubtedly seafarers who built their own canoes for domestic communications but also modest-sized ships for distant trips, guiding their navigational movements with some understanding of astronomy. Their trading contacts with the outside world must have brought them the knowledge of metallurgy. The discovery of the Dong-son culture demolished the earlier theory that bronze was introduced by China (where iron was not used until the third century BC) and iron by India. As for religion, the art of Dong-son demonstrates the practice of ancestor worship and animism. Gods were related to agriculture; temples were built on hills or elevated platforms. The ashes of the dead were buried in jars or in megalithic dolmens, although the people seemed to believe that the dead passed away to some place in the direction of the sinking sun. In their elaborate cosmology, the dualistic elements of mountain and sea, winged beings and water beings, mountain dwellers and plains people provided the core themes. A substantial part of the Dong-son culture eroded among the Vietnamese during the subsequent long