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Phan Boi Chau and Three Waves of Dong Du in Japan

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Abstract: Dong Du movement refers to a revolutionary trend of Vietnamese going to Japan to study. These are not just individuals or a small group, but Vietnamese in general, mostly the youth. The first Go to Japan/Dong Du movement, from 1905 to 1908, paved the way for the next Dong Du movements in the 20th century. Many scholars have so far studied the formation, development and consequences of the first Dong Du movement, which was led by Phan Boi Chau. Many works, articles, even literary works have been published, introducing the first Dong Du movement, but the second Dong Du movement in the 40's as well as the third wave have not been studied yet. From that situation, to help readers to visualise the three movements of Dong Du associated with the three stages of development of the Vietnamese-Japanese relationship in the 20th century, the article will clarify the circumstances and conditions of formation, development and results of the three Dong Du movements. The article will thereby clarify the position and role of these movements, especially the role of Phan Boi Chau and the Dong Du movement in the early 20th century in the establishment and development of the friendly relations between the two countries Vietnam and Japan for more than a century.

Keywords: Phan Boi Chau, Three waves of Dong Du, Vietnamese - Japanese relationship.

Subject classification: History

1. Introduction

The Dong Du movement (東遊 - Eastern exodus movement, sending Vietnamese students to Japan for study), which first began in the early 20th century, was launched and led by Phan Boi Chau. The movement was followed by the study activities of

Vietnamese youth and students in the first half of the 1940s and then strengthened and expanded in the late 1980s with the participation of ten thousands of students and trainees. We call the three movements of Vietnamese going to Japan for study, taking place respectively in the early 20th century, the 1940s and the late 20th century

so far the three “Dong Du movements”. The Dong Du movement in the early 20th century, closely associated with the activities of Phan Boi Chau, played the opening role. The launch and development of the three movements of Vietnamese students to go to Japan is not only a sign of Vietnam's openness and integration into the world, but also an important milestone and step to create and expand an exchanging and friendly relationship between Vietnam and Japan in the 20th century.

2. Phan Boi Chau and the first Dong Du movement

At the beginning of the 20th century, the national liberation movements strongly developed all over the world. In Europe, the Russian revolution of 1905 overthrew the tsar's monarchy, brought back the land for farmers, built up the bourgeois authority. This revolution had a significant impact on Asia, triggered a strong national liberation movement, opened up a new age called “the age of waking up Asia”, in which the people from colonial countries started to be aware of their power, therefore, united to fight against the violent colonialism of Western countries.

In that context, after the failure of the feudal ideology for national liberation in Vietnam, Phan Boi Chau² and some Vietnamese patriots decided to campaign for a bourgeois democratic trend. After passing the regional examination (in 1900), from 1902 to 1904, in order to “connect to the Can Vuong movement, an uprising against French rule, aiming to expel colonial forces” [5, p.49], Phan Boi Chau

traveled from the Middle to the North, then from the North to the South to meet and associate with many patriots, including the leader of the Yen The insurrection Hoang Hoa Tham (in the North), Phan Chau Trinh, Tran Quy Cap, Huynh Thuc Khang, Au Trieu (in the Middle), and Nguyen Than Hien (or Nguyen Thanh Hien, in the South).

In May 1904, at Tieu La Nguyen Ham's (Nguyen Thanh) house, Phan Boi Chau and his comrades founded Duy Tan Hoi (維新會, the Association for Modernization), imposing the vision of “recovering Vietnam, building an independent government and having no other goals apart from that” [5, p.49]. The core members were Phan Boi Chau, Nguyen Ham, Trinh Hien, Le Vu, Dang Tu Kinh, Dang Thai Than. They agreed to choose Cuong De as president. To keep secret and avoid the colonialist's inspection, the members called each other as brothers.

With the vision developed, the society set out three missions, including growing the member base (enlisting more members and attracting financial support); preparing for the conflict and post-conflict; and determining the purposes and methods of going abroad to seek for financial aid [5, p.60]. After considering carefully, Phan Boi Chau decided to choose Japan, because “Japan is a progressive Asian country”.

In January 1905, departing from Nghe An, the society went to Nam Dinh, then to Hai Phong, followed by Mong Cai, transited in Dongxing, Guangdong (China), then Hong Kong, to get to the final destination of Yokohama, Japan. Yokohama is the capital city of Kanagawa Prefecture. It is the second largest city in Japan by population, after Tokyo, and the

most populous municipality in Japan. Yokohama got a busy port, as well as Kobe, Osaka, Nagoya, Tokyo, and Chiba which was located in Southern Tokyo.

After arriving in Yokohama, Phan Boi Chau sought to meet Liang Qichao, a Chinese Confucian living in exile in Japan, to whom he was a “true fan” [4, p.73]. At the meeting, Liang Qichao advised Phan Boi Chau to increase capacity, including “education, people’s spirit, and talented individuals” [5, p.76], in order to liberate the country. After that, Liang Qichao introduced Phan Boi Chau to two well-known Japanese politicians at that time. Those were Inukai Tsuyoshi, the general secretary, and Okuma Shigenobu, who previously served as prime minister of Japan and currently as president of Japan’s Progressive Party. Encouraged by Liang Qichao and the Japanese politicians, Phan Boi Chau wrote the book *Việt Nam vong quốc sử* (越南亡國史 - History of the Loss of Vietnam) in order to propagandise in Vietnam, and decided to switch the mission from seeking aid from Japan to using Japan as a base to train and educate young Vietnamese students.

In June 1905, Phan Boi Chau returned to Vietnam to pick up prince Cuong De and Vietnamese young men to study in Japan. In July 1905, Phan Boi Chau came back to Japan with the first three students, including Nguyen Thuc Canh (or Tran Huu Cong/Tran Trong Khac), who then got financial support from Phan Boi Chau to study medicine in Germany in the 20s. The next group of six young men was from the Northern cities, including Nguyen Hai Than and two of Luong Van Can’s sons who were Luong Lap Nham and Luong Nghi

Khanh (Luong Van Can was a revolutionary thinker and the principal of the famous Dong Kinh Nghia Thuc (東京義塾 - Tonkin Free School).

It was miserable for the Vietnamese students during the first days in Yokohama. At that time, a small event strongly impressed Phan Boi Chau and Vietnamese students in Japan. While in Tokyo, they once took a rickshaw to their motel. It took them about one hour. After the arrival, they paid the chauffeur 1 Yen in silver coins, yet he insistently rejected and took only 0,25 Yen. Then he wrote on a note that: “according to the price list set by the Home Office, it only takes that much” [5, p.90], “thus you are foreigners, who came because of adoring the Japanese culture, so I should welcome you, instead of welcoming your money. Now you give me too much, showing that you are disrespecting our country”³. That was not only his sentiment but also the proper perspective and dignified behaviour from an average Japanese worker. It was also a valuable lesson for the transport and tourism sector in Vietnam nowadays.

Until mid-1906, while many students came from the North and Middle, only a few people came from the South. Therefore, Phan Boi Chau discussed with his comrades and decided to write *Kinh Cao Tuyen Quoc Phu Lao Van* (Dear the fathers and grandfathers from the home country) and *Hai Ngoai Huyet Thu* (海外血書- Letter from the Ryukyus Written in Tears of Blood) in the name of Prince Cuong De - a member of the Royal class - to raise patriotism and call for people going to Japan for higher education.

To build an office for taking in the students and create a fund for studying abroad, Phan Boi Chau founded *Viet Nam Thuong Doan* (Vietnam Trade Union) in Hong Kong. The trade union attracted the participation of many overseas Vietnamese, including some sailors working on French merchant ships. After over a year, because of the influence of the French government, this organisation had to close.

In August 1906, the number of Vietnamese students at Binh Ngo Hien (in Chinatown in Yokohama, then moved to Tokyo) was up to 100. Two of them were Tran Van Tuyet - Tran Chanh Chieu's (Gilbert Chieu) son; and Phan Ba Ngoc - Phan Dinh Phung's youngest son. Some with Japanese skills were sent to Japan schools. Most Vietnamese students were arranged to study at "Dong Van thu vien" (Dobun Shoin - Dong Van Library), specialized in natural sciences; only a few of them, including Prince Cuong De and Luong Ngoc Quyen, were sent to "Truong Chan vuhochieu" (Chan Vu Hoc Hieu School), specialized in military training.

Phan Boi Chau created *Viet Nam Cong Hien Hoi* (越南公憲會 - Vietnam Constitutional Association), providing student support for the Vietnamese students in Japan. It had four departments: Economics, Discipline, Communication, and Administration. Phan Boi Chau was the general manager.

Until late 1907 to early 1908, thanks to domestic people's support, there were nearly 200 young men sent to Japan, among them were 100 people from the South, 50 from the Middle and over 40 from the North [4, p.124]. The purpose of study varied: some people wanted to study; some were

intellectuals, taking charge of administration, management such as Cuong De, Phan Boi, Tang Bat Ho, and others; or some were responsible for leading the group of students from Vietnam to Hong Kong - the transit hub - and then let them continue heading for Japan. Also, there were some who "went East" since they were little such as the two sons of Tran Van Dinh (lived in Vinh Long province) - Tran Van An, Tran Van Thu; and one grandson of Tran Van Ky, who arrived in Japan when they were only about 8-10 years old⁴ [13, p.28].

Concerning about the students taking part in the Dong Du in early 20th century, author Nguyen Thuc Chuyen devoted his time discovering the biography of 157 people, and arrived at the conclusion that the most students were from the South, located in Vinh Long and Dong Thap province (due to the current administrative unit), most of the students from the middle of Vietnam were from Quang Nam, Ha Tinh, and most northern ones came from Nam Dinh and Hanoi [6, p.25]. Besides, 200 students had arrived in Japan; there were some more who intended to depart from Vietnam [19, p.48].

Along with the activities of students in Japan, local intellectuals and patriots actively found any measure to encourage and propagate to families to send their children to study in Japan, at the same time gathering financial resources to support the Dong Du movement. In the North, besides Dong Kinh Nghia Thuc founded by Luong Van Can (in March 1907), the French colonialists later called it "the rebels of the North", there were other centres for students, such as in Nam Dinh city (Mr Dinh Trach's house) [12, p.12], Hai Phong

(led by Mr Nguyen Huu Tue, or Ly Tue). In central Vietnam, in early 1907, Ngo Duc Ke founded the Trieu Duong Commune in Nghe An. In Quang Nam, apart from the Company Union of Quang Nam established in 1907, there was also a trade association organised by the Confucian and retired officials [15, p.45]⁵. "This association brings together all the elements that are in opposition to the French influence [...]. The association is active. The members went through the villages, asked the people to cut their hair, dressed in costumes and advised them to resolve their conflicts themselves without going to the court" [15, p.47]. There was no clear barrier between the violence trend and innovative ideas of reforms in the activities of Vietnamese intellectuals and patriots in the early 20th century.

In Cochinchina, in response to the modernisation movement, some prominent patriotic intellectuals such as Luong Khac Ninh, Tran Quy Chieu, Nguyen Chanh Sat, Le Van Trung published *Nong Co Min Dam* news (農賈茗談 - By the teacup, discuss the agri-business news) to spread the news about the new ideology. Then, they established *Nam Trung Hotel* and *Chieu Nam Home* (November 1907), opened *Nam Ky New Technology* (in 1908) in Saigon. Especially, after they came to Hong Kong and met Phan Boi Chau, in the middle of 1907, Tran Chanh Chieu and some of his like-minded friends gathered the young men to send them to Japan for study. A board of receptionists and study guides was established and located in Nam Trung Hotel, with Nguyen Van Hao in charge. The movement of studying abroad became more and more exciting as parents

received the message of Phan Boi Chau with words of determination and great patriotism: "Such a great sorrow!/The six provinces of Cochinchina/Our thousand-year motherland is at risk of getting lost (to the French invaders)/While the fate of the country still remains unknown/Should you mourn over the tragedy of our nation?" [4, p.106]

To help fund the Dong Du movement, Tran Chanh Chieu and Nguyen Than Hien (who created the Can Tho study promotion programme) together with Minh Tan advocates admonished wealthy families to set up places of reception and sources of extra funds for international students. For the children of low-income families, the advocates also raised money to support and encourage their spirit. These are the reasons for Cochinchina in general, Saigon - Cho Lon in particular, not only led the financial supply for the Dong Du movement but also were the localities with the largest numbers of abroad students [11, pp.25-26].

In Japan, Vietnamese students have had a good sense of initiative and good academic results. Nguyen Thuc Canh (or Tran Trong Khac), one of the first Vietnamese students in Japan, said that the results of Vietnamese students were excellent. "The Vietnamese's intelligence is not only equal to the foreigners but can excel. Three children under ten⁶ stayed at the house of a Japanese senator to study in an elementary school with Japanese children. Three semesters, one exam each semester, our three children do not once fall under the fifth place. Three Vietnamese students in the military school *Chấn võ*, studying with Chinese students, also have three exams a year until graduation, not one

dropped into the fourth grade. Japanese schools praise all.” [13, p.29].

While students in Japan were studying diligently and the number of young people from Vietnam responding to the Dong Du movement was increasing, suddenly, the Japanese government colluded with the French colonialists and ordered the expulsion of Vietnamese students. At that time, after the war with Russia, Japan was financially very troubled. It needed about 300 million francs [33, p.59] to invest in economic recovery and development, so they sought French help. Moreover, the French wanted to discuss with the Japanese government the issue of wiping away the Indochinese immigrants in Japan. The two sides finally reached a joint statement on 10 June 1907. Accordingly, the French lent money to Japan and cut its military force from 18,000 to 11,000 men. In return, Japan blocked the anti-French propaganda activities of the Vietnamese in Japan [13, p.36]. After getting money, Phan Boi Chau published three books in Tokyo including *Hai Ngoai Huyet Thu*, *Viet Nam Vong Quoc Su* and *Tran Dong Phong Truyen* (Story on Tran Dong Phong). However, the Japanese government ordered to burn all 3,000 *Hai ngoai huyet thu* in front of the French Embassy, as soon as they were just done with the printing. Fortunately, Mr Ba Nguyen Van Thai Lang (Kashiwabara Buntaro) in *Dong Van* library sent a message to inform them about the bad news, so they were able to hide 150 books [4, pp.150-151]. In parallel with the blocking of patriotic propaganda activities, the government of Japan also ordered parents to send letters calling for students

to return home and expelled Vietnamese students from Japan.

To bring students back home, the most challenging problem at that time was the funding. In that situation, Phan Boi Chau asked a student, named Nguyen Thai Bat, to help contact a progressive Japanese doctor - Dr Asaba Sakitaro.

Asaba Sakitaro was born on 1 March 1867 (the same age as Phan Boi Chau), in Umeda Village, Iwata District, Asaba City, Shizuoka Prefecture [22, pp.189-191]. His father was a soldier. His family line for many generations held the Shinkan (look after god) for the temple in the village. In 1890, after graduating from high school, Asaba entered the medical school at the Imperial College of Tokyo University⁷ (precursor to the University of Tokyo), and in 1894, he graduated. After school, Asaba intended to study in Germany, but because of poor health, he stayed in the country and decided to open a hospital. His hospital was located in a poor fishing village near the sea in Kufu, on the way from his hometown Umeda to Tokyo. Daily, in addition to working in the hospital, he also visited the patients. He was willing to cure the diseases of the poor without taking money.

In those tough circumstances, Phan Boi Chau and the Dong Du movement received timely help from Dr Asaba. After receiving Phan Boi Chau's rescue letter sent to him by Nguyen Thai Bat (a student who had been raised by Asaba and helped with school fees during his study at the *Dong Van Library*), he immediately responded. The reply included a sum of 1,700 yen, a vast sum (about 30 million yen today, or USD 200,000). The salary of the headmaster of Higashi-Asaba Elementary

School at that time was only 18 yen per month [22, p.192]. Thanks to that money, Phan Boi Chau solved the unfinished work such as to support toll fees for some students to return home, printed several books including *Tran Dong Phong Truyen* which he just finished writing.

Later recalling the sentiment and help that Dr Asaba gave to Vietnamese students and the Dong Du movement, Phan Boi Chau said: "If there was no man insistently supported like Mr Asaba, we could not do anything. I am so grateful to Mr Asaba even 'more than to my parents'" [4, p.151].

In 1918, after nine years of separation, Phan Boi Chau secretly returned to Japan and knew that Asaba died soon after he left Japan in 1910 of tuberculosis. Remembering Asaba and his help during the troublesome time, Phan Boi Chau and his companion Ly Trong Ba used a small amount of money left (about 100 yen) to build the Asaba Sakitaro memorial. However, the money was not enough, he finally had to ask the head of the village and the villagers to help. Thanks to the support of the people in the village, after a month, the stela was erected in the joy of villagers and other villages around.

The Doctor Asaba memorial was erected next to the Asaba Sakitaro family's tomb, located in the Umeyama temple, 2.7m high and 0.87m thick. The rock platform is about 1m high [30, p.71]. On the stela, it reads as follows:

"We for the sake of nationality had to run to Japan. He felt compassion for our determination, help us from the bastard, not expecting a return. He was obviously a hero of time! Oh, my! Now he can no longer see

the four seas; this lonely heart knows whom to reveal! So write down this sadness on the stone. Note that:

In the past, no one was as chivalrous as he was. He helped as much as he could. I was grateful as much as the sea and the sky. I did not succeed, he did not expect, my heart aches, until eternity."⁸

It can be said that the help of the Japanese politicians and intellectuals, especially the support of both the money and the spirit from Dr Asaba Sakitaro, facilitated Phan Boi Chau and the Dong Du movement to overcome difficulties and remain active for some time before leaving Japan. That help expresses the great sympathy and compassion of the Japanese people for the Dong Du revolutionaries and the Vietnamese revolution in their infancy.

After the Dong Du movement was suppressed, some stayed in Japan for further studies, such as Ly Trong Ba. He graduated from Polytechnic University in Japan, later went to China to get a degree in civil engineering [6, p.31]. Some people stayed in Japan to study for a while and then went to another country like Nguyen Thuc Canh (or Tran Huu Cong)⁹. Under the name Tran Trong Khac, in late 1922, Nguyen Thuc Canh went to Berlin, Germany for medical education for nine years¹⁰ [13, p.80]. Later he worked in China until 1941, then returned home [13, p.98]. However, most of the students leaving Japan later lived in Siam or China, waiting for the time to continue revolutionary activities. Some representatives of this group were Dang Tu Man (who lived in Hong Kong for making bombs and organizing riots at the Vietnam-China border), Luong Lap Nham (one of the two

supreme leaders of the 1917 Thai Nguyen uprising) Hoang Trong Mau (one of the leaders of the *Hoi Viet Nam Quang Phuc* (越南光復會 - Vietnam Restoration League), Tran Huu Luc (who was arrested and killed with Hoang Trong Mau in Hanoi by the French colonialists, while the revolution was still unfinished). Although each person has had a different way of expression, all dedicated themselves to the fatherland. Some people lost blood and bone. Some people sacrificed their lives for the struggle for national liberation.

The leading historian of Vietnamese history - Tran Van Giau - commented: "Vietnam's political history in the first 25 years of the 20th century was attached to the name Phan Boi Chau. He was a famous politician [8, pp.44, 50], a great cultural, "also a thinker", the country's foremost organiser of the time. Not only created he a new way for liberating Vietnam following bourgeois democratic, but Phan Boi Chau also directly organised the Dong Du movement, gathering hundreds of patriotic young people to study abroad with the expectation to return home in the future to help people save the country. In that way, Phan Boi Chau and his comrades contributed to the training of the first cadre of the new ideology for the national salvation and liberation in Vietnam. Although the Dong Du movement failed quickly after Phan Boi Chau, Cuong De and other students were expelled from Japan, Phan Boi Chau's overseas study trend and patriotic activities in the four years from 1905 to 1909 started the wave of studying in Japan of Vietnamese youth, contributing to the friendship and cooperation between Vietnam and Japan during the 20th century.

3. The second Dong Du movement

The context of the second Dong Du movement was related to the Japanese invasion of Vietnam and Indochina in September 1940.

In June 1940, France was invaded and occupied by the Nazis. Taking advantage of that opportunity, the Japanese fascist regime increased pressure on the French government to take over the French in Indochina. On 18 June 1940, the Japanese sent governor general Catroux a request, asking the French government to close the Vietnam-China border, suspending the transport of oil and warfare equipment to Chiang Kai-Shek along the Hai Phong-Yunnan route.

Then, on 2 August 1940, Japan requested the French to allow Japanese troops to enter Indochina, using airfields to attack South China. On 30 August 1940, France and Japan signed the Tokyo Political Treaty, in which France accepted most of the requirements of Japan. However, on 23 September 1940, the Japanese troops crossed the border between Vietnam and China to invade Lang Son, bombing Hai Phong, landing on Do Son. At risk of the Japanese overflowing into Indochina, France forcefully deployed in Lang Son, but in only three days from 22 to 25 September 1940, the French army suffered a heavy defeat.

After entering Indochina, Japan consistently forced France to conclude and sign treaties favourable to Japan in all economic, military, cultural and ideological terms. On that basis, it step by step

dominated the French government's policies in Vietnam and Indochina.

Regarding ideology and culture, the Japanese fascist propaganda campaigned for Big East Asian policy to establish the so-called "Greater East Asian Commonwealth" [17, p.670]. Japan advocated giving "independence" to Burma and the Philippines, under the condition of Japan held "suzerain". For the situation in Indochina, Japan claimed that it could not rely on Decoux authority, but the French colonials should be dislodged and returned "independent" to the so-called "Annam" and Laos in the spirit of the joint statement of the East Asian Conference [23, p.36].

Along with the propaganda activities mentioned above, in order to gain publicity and attract Vietnamese youths to follow Japan, the Japanese fascists agreed with the French government in Indochina to accept some students to go to Japan to study. Therefore, from the beginning of the 40s, there were dozens of Vietnamese youths studying in Japan. In the capacity of documentation, I would like to introduce two of the most typical faces of the second generation of Dong Du movement during the World War II, namely Doctor Dang Van Ngu and agronomist Luong Dinh Cua.

Professor Dang Van Ngu was born on 4 May 1910, in a Confucian family, in Hue. After graduating with the bachelor's degree in 1930, he got a full scholarship from Indochina Medical University. In 1937, he graduated and became a staff member at the Department of Bacteriology. Thanks to the treaty of student exchange, as an "intellectual, a representative of French medical in Vietnam"¹¹, he went to Japan for three years research. At that time, two types

of people were eligible for scholarships to study in Japan: The first one consisted of people who had graduated from university and went to Japan for exchange and research (Doctor Dang Van Ngu was in this group), and the second one consisted of high school students who studied at the undergraduate level.

At the time Dang Van Ngu and two fellows (Ha Thu, law major and a French who was a Japanese teacher at Albert Sarraut secondary school) arrived in Tokyo, there were seven international students, including two French and five Vietnamese: Phan Thi Dao, Pham Thi Ly, Hoang Dinh Luong, Le Van Qui, and Nguyen Thanh Luong. Only Nguyen Thanh Nguyen was a dentist student; the rest were high school students. Previously, there were also seven Vietnamese students in Tokyo, including Ngo Van Manh, Pham Dai Thai, Ho Quang Phuong, Luong Dinh Cua, Nguyen Xuan Oanh¹², Pham Xuan Ngoan, and Tran Van Ly [3, p.58]. The number of Vietnamese students in Japan was much less than that of Indonesia and Thailand.

During the time studying in Tokyo, Vietnamese students assembled and created the Vietnamese Society in Japan, Dang Van Ngu was the president. The society contacted the Indonesia Society in Japan and cooperated to fight for the independence of the countries.

During this time, because of the war, the life of Vietnamese students in Japan was tough. They had to do part-time jobs. Dang Van Ngu worked as a researcher at Tokyo University and American Military Hospital 406 in Japan at the same time [7, p.406]. Some people relied on financial support from their families in Vietnam.

However, Vietnamese students studied hard and enthusiastically while being involved in propaganda for revolutionary ideas in their home country. In 1945, the Vietnamese Society and the Indonesia Society organised rallies, marches on the streets of Tokyo, across the main streets, to the Embassy of the UK and the Soviet Union to ask for acceptance of independence of Vietnam and Indonesia [3, p.66].

While in Japan, Dang Van Ngu worked in collaboration and guidance of leading Japanese scientists such as Prof. Masuo Ota, an expert on penicillin; Prof. Sumio Umezawa, one of the world-class experts on antibiotics. Thanks to the progressive and free education from the leading research institute in Japan, Prof. Dang Van Ngu became a famous physician and passionately devoted himself to Vietnamese and international medicine, in the field of parasitic research and producing fungal penicillin. In late 1948, following the call of the fatherland, Doctor Dang Van Ngu returned to Vietnam to work in the war zone and made great contributions to the victory of the Vietnamese war against the French colonialists.

After the North was liberated, Prof. Dang Van Ngu was entrusted with developing the Hanoi Medical University and established the Institute of Malaria, Parasitology, and Insects (in 1957). During the American war, he went to the battlefield in the South to cure the soldiers, while continuing to study a vaccine against malaria. In the midst of his talent was on the peak and the country was in desperate need of such talented scientists, he surprisingly passed away after a bombardment of the US B52 aircraft at noon on 1 April 1967 in a forest in the west

of Hue - his hometown. Appreciating his contributions to the country's medicine, especially in the field of parasitic research, penicillin production, and anti-malaria medicine, the state has conferred on him the title Labor Hero (1967), and most notably the Ho Chi Minh Prize for Science and Technology (1996). His dignity and medical talents were trained and accumulated over many years of studying and researching in both Vietnam and abroad, especially in universities and research institutes under the guidance of leading Japanese scientists in the 40s of the 20th century.

Agronomist Dr Luong Dinh Cua was born on 16 August 1920 in Dai Ngai ward, (now called Dai Ngai town), Long Phu district, Soc Trang province [14]. His parents passed away when he was very small. As a result, his life was strenuous and difficult.

However, despite those hard circumstances, he completed primary education (at Lasan Taberd school, Soc Trang Province), and then moved to Saigon to study Baccalaureate (now called high school).

In 1937, he went to Hong Kong to enter La Salle College of Medicine with the desire to advance his English for his studies in business. In the third year, he came to Shanghai, China to study at Saint John's Economics University. Unfortunately, in 1940, that school had to close due to the expansion of the Chinese war. He returned to Japan, entering the Department of Experimental Biology specialised in cultivation at Kyushu State University. At that time, he met Nakamura Nubuko (Japanese), who then became his most beloved wife.

After World War II, as a defeated country, Japan was occupied by US troops. Japan's economy was in deep recession. So, the Japanese government decided to stop providing scholarships to overseas students. In order to get enough money for the study, Luong Dinh Cua had to do many different jobs to earn a living and complete his course. After graduation, he continued pursuing higher education to accumulate knowledge to return to help his motherland in the future. In 1945, with the consent of both families, Luong Dinh Cua officially held the wedding ceremony with Nakamura Nubuko [29, p.1] and later they had two sons. After marriage, they worked together at the Experimental Institute of Kyushu University.

In Japan, with his effort, Luong Dinh Cua has been sponsored a scholarship from Kyoto University to be a PhD student, and after that, he was appointed as a sub-assistant. During the doctorate programme, his research was published in some international and Japanese scientific journals. After his first abroad publication under the title of *Bibliography of Genetic Studies in Japan from 1941 to 1948* (Heredity, London, No. 4, 1950), in two years from 1951 to 1952, he continued publishing sequentially 12 research studies [14] in many prestigious scientific journals in Japan and also around the world. In the summer of 1951, he successfully defended his doctoral thesis with the subject *The ways to deal with genetic polyploids in order to create new rice*, which was highly appreciated by the Kyoto University's Scientific Council for its contributions to agronomy in improving the rice quality. Due to that, he also was unanimously

awarded as Doctor of Philosophy in Agronomy by the Scientific Council, the highest degree allocated for the only and youngest foreigner in Japan since Meiji dynasty. Moreover, he was the 96th person who gained that title within ten years in Japan during that period. Afterwards, he was appointed to be a lecturer at Kyoto University and was awarded a certificate of merit for his studies.

In 1952, subsequently to receiving his PhD in Agronomy, his family and friends suggest him to take his wife and children to Europe or America to develop his career; however, by respect and admiration to president Ho Chi Minh, following the call of his country, he decided to come back to Vietnam with his family, joining the revolution and contributed to the development of the nation's outdated agriculture.

Luong Dinh Cua, together with his wife and their two children, got on a ship to Hong Kong to find their way back to Vietnam.

Informed about Luong Dinh Cua's return to Vietnam, the pro-French government in Saigon sent people to meet, promise jobs and positions, they even had a plan to let him manage an agricultural research centre in My Tho. Nonetheless, for the reason that he was a new returner, not understanding the situation so much, he just accepted to work as a contract employee in the Ministry of Agriculture and tried to connect to the Resistance.

In 1954, he, along with his family, went to the north for "Regrouping" and worked in the Research Institute for Agriculture and Forestry, specialised in rice. From

September 1956 to 1962, he was the vice principal of the University of Agriculture and Forestry. From 1962, he was the vice president of the Vietnam Academy of Agricultural Sciences, then director of the Field Crops Research Institute until his death (28 December 1975).

Throughout his scientific career, he worked hard and gained many great achievements, contributing to the development of Vietnam's agriculture. Besides the time in the laboratory, he also conducted experiments on farms. Thanks to that, he invented many new rice species and effectively applied the methods and cultivation techniques of foreign countries (mainly Japan) to grow rice in Vietnam, such as: *bờ vùng bờ thửa* (multi-field dam and field dam), *cấy thẳng dây thẳng hàng* (transplant with straight cord stretching), *cấy ngược tay* (transplant with reverse hand to avoid rice deep into mud), utilizing Japanese rake to take care of paddy and so on. North Vietnamese farmers applied these methods very successfully and created a record rice-yield at that time¹³.

He was also the creator of many species for high productivity and good quality such as: from IR8 to NN8-388, NN75-1 (hybrid of 813 and NN1), *Nong nghiep 1* (hybrid of Ba Thac, Southern Vietnam and Kunko, Japan), late-season rice Saibuibao, summer rice 314 (hybrid of Doan Ket and Thang Loi) [16] and some other plants, for example, sweet potato, papaya, honeydew melon, cactus, Ipomoea aquatic, seedless watermelon.

Luong Dinh Cua was therefore known as "the scientist of farmers".

He has been rewarded the most precious gifts: the title of Labor Hero (1967) and the Ho Chi Minh Prize for Science and Technology (1996) in recognition of his great contributions.

Like Professor Dang Van Ngu, the period of study and research in Japan was the time for agronomist Luong Dinh Cua to forge dignity, nurture his passion for science, and facilitate the dream, developing his creative talent. So that, after returning to his country, he could be able to devote himself to serve his people and country in developing agriculture, especially rice.

The second Dong Du movement (journey to the east) happened within about ten years, from the early 1940s to the early 1950s. Apart from a few overseas who kept staying in Japan, the others came back to Vietnam to join the resistance. In Southern Vietnam, the nine-year period, from 1954 to 1975, recorded that over 1,000 Vietnam pupils and students came to Japan for study [18, p.60]. Some people of them then became excellent scientists, economists, managers.

4. The third Dong Du movement

After World War II, Japan had to make every attempt to recover its economy and solve many social problems. However, in the two decades from the 50s to 70s, thanks to the sharp rising of Japan regarding economic growth, Japan's GDP, which underperformed most Western countries, surpassed Canada, Britain, France and West Germany by the late 1960s. By 1974, Japan's GDP was one-third the GDP of the United States, turning it into the second-

largest economy in the world [26, p.187]. For many reasons, the technology and export sources, especially industrial and consumer goods played an important role in Japan's miraculous development during these decades. This was also the mystery which made many other countries in the world flock to study and seek Japan's secret to its successes in economic development.

The Japanese study movement only really began in Vietnam after our country performed *đổi mới*, or renovation, and the multilateral foreign policy with the intention of making friends with all the countries in the latter half of the 1980s.

Table 1: The Number of Vietnamese Students Studying in Japan from 1995 to 2004 [27]

Year	The number of students	Year	The number of students
1995	204	2000	717
1996	282	2001	938
1997	363	2002	1,115
1998	468	2003	1,336
1999	558	2004	1,570

In 1988, the Japanese government provided scholarships for Vietnamese researchers and students to study and develop professional expertise in Japan. Also, the Japanese government also supported and facilitated the development of cooperation and educational exchange between the universities of the two countries. Vietnamese universities have cooperated early with Japanese partner universities including Vietnam National University, Can Tho University. Mainly Vietnam National University had much cooperation with Japanese universities such as Tokyo International Languages University, Osaka International Languages University, Keio University, and Daito Bunka University. In the early 1990s, several businesses and cultural organisations, for example, Japan

Foundation for Cultural Exchange and Japanese Airlines JAL (Japan Airlines) also sponsored scholarships for Vietnamese professional pupils, students and PhD students for studying and training in Japan [1, p.2]. By the late 1990s, the number of students and trainees learning in Japan was increasing rapidly. The table below shows the status of Vietnamese students studying in Japan from 1995 to 2004 (Table 1).

However, from the beginning of the 21st century, due to the improvement of the Vietnamese-Japanese relationship into a comprehensive strategic partnership, the exchanges in the field of science and education between the two countries were expanding and developing promptly. The increase of overseas students could be illustrated in the following Table 2.

Table 2: The Number of Vietnamese Students in Japan from 2010 to 2016 [2]

Year	The number of overseas students (persons)
2010	5,147
2011	5,767
2012	8,811
2013	21,232
2014	32,804
2015	49,809
2016	62,422

According to the statistics of the Ministry of Education and Training, Japan, Australia, the United States, and China are the countries with the highest number of Vietnamese students (Figure 1 and Table 3).

Of 130,000 Vietnamese overseas students, the largest number was in Japan, 38,000 people, accounting for 29.2%.

Of course, these above numbers included various subjects, some of them studied abroad by government scholarships. In 2006, the number of overseas students

receiving government scholarships was 5,519 people, studying in 44 countries, including 2,501 PhD students, 580 people for Master degree, 63 interns and 2,375 students [20]. There were also students studying abroad thanks to scholarships of universities, colleges or cultural & educational funds; notwithstanding, the majority of them was self-sufficient. The quantity of overseas now is escalating, overwhelming that of the 1990s.

Figure 1: The Number of Vietnamese Overseas Students [20]

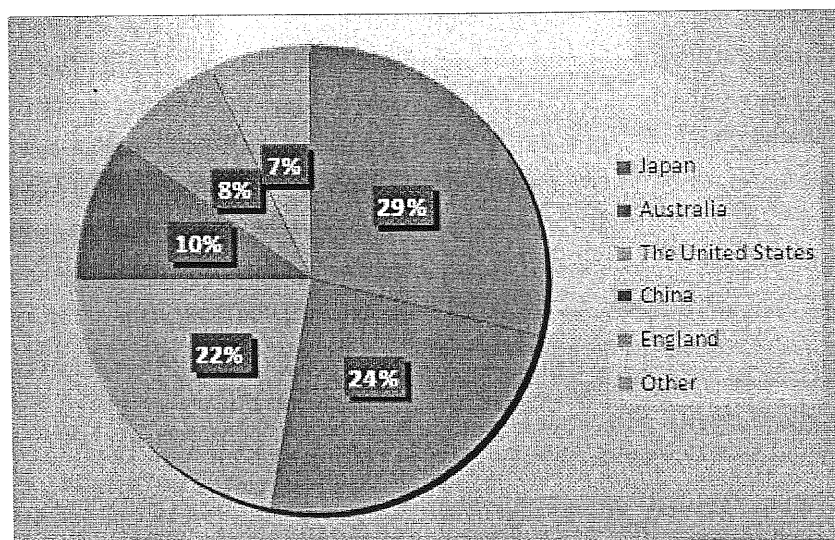


Table 3: Distribution of Vietnamese Students in Different Countries [20]

Nation	The number of Vietnamese students (persons)	Proportion (%)
Japan	38,000	29.2
Australia	31,000	23,8
USA	28,000	21.5
China	13,000	10.0
England (UK)	11,000	8.4
Other	9,000	7.1
Total	130,000	100

Overseas students in Japan studied in various professions and at different levels: some studied for universities, some studied for Master's or PhD degrees, some wanted to do an internship or post-doctoral training in order to advance their research capacity and scientific level, some even just went for high school or just for learning Japanese.

Not only students but trainees also took up an essential part of the total number of

people. On performing the collaboration plan between two governments, in 1992, Vietnam workers started to receive training and work in Japan. After ten years, until 2002, the number of trainees in Japan amounted up to 16,000 [10, p.102]. In order to meet the labour demand in the context of Japan's quickly ageing population, in recent years, the number of Vietnamese trainees who are employed to be trained and worked in Japan has been boosted (Table 4).

Table 4: The Number of Vietnamese Trainees in Japan from 2010-2016 [2]

Year	The number of trainees (persons)
2010	7,922
2011	13,524
2012	16,715
2013	21,632
2014	34,039
2015	57,581
2016	88,211

At present, the total quantity of Vietnamese overseas students and trainees is as high as 144,000.

For trainees, after training, before returning to Vietnam, they are often allowed to stay and work for Japanese companies. By this way, trainees not only have a chance of practising and improving skills but also earn money to support their families in Vietnam. On the other hand, by working in companies and factories, they also make material values, contributing to Japan's economic development.

It should be noted that the higher the quantity of overseas students is, the more careful the organisation and management of students should be. According to Shige at the Immigration Department of Japan, the crime rate among Vietnamese students in Japan is also increasing. Over the past ten years, while the number of Chinese and Brazilian criminals had decreased by one fifth, the number of Vietnamese criminals had increased threefold [21]. This had led the Ministry of Education and Training of Vietnam to recently officially ask the Japanese side to agree on solutions in the management of Vietnamese overseas students, trainees who are living, studying and working in Japan [25].

5. Conclusion

From the beginning of the 20th century, Japan has welcomed three waves of students from Vietnam: First happening in the period of 4 years from 1905; the second lasting for 10 years from the early 40's to the early 50's; and the third, also the longest, began in the 1990s and has lasted for around 30 years (continuing for sure). Of those three waves,

the Dong Du movement at the beginning of the 20th century was a prelude, associated with the role and effort of the great patriot Phan Boi Chau and his group of overseas students; simultaneously it received enormous support from all Japanese people, notably Dr. Asaba Sakitaro.

For scale, the Vietnamese force which studied abroad in Japan was mainly consisting of youngsters. In the early 20th century, the quantity of Vietnamese overseas students was approximately 200, which decreased to several dozens in 1940-1950, before reaching 144,000 now, far higher than the number in the Dong Du movement.

The overseas students in Japan are also progressively organised, with a clear purpose. Regardless of different times, different scale and various ways of organising, the Dong Du waves have the common purpose that they want to learn in Japan to gain knowledge, improve abilities, concurrently find the way to revive their country. Through overseas students and trainees' studies, the friendship and cooperation between Vietnam and Japan have been expanded and strengthened; the Vietnamese-Japanese relationship has been upgraded to a comprehensive strategic partnership from the early 21st century, aiming for a prosperous development, for the happiness of all the people of both the countries.

Notes

² Phan Boi Chau was born on 26 December 1867 in Nam Hoa ward, Nam Dan district, Nghe An province when French colonialists occupied three provinces of Vietnam's South. His father is Phan Van Pho; his mother is Nguyen Thi Nhan. He was very famous for his intelligence since he was small:

He memorised the Trimetric Classic within only three days when he was six years old, and, at his age of 7, he digested the Analects.

³ This is the statement of the Japanese driver which was translated in *Tự phán* (Self-comment) [4, p.76]. I find the translation in the book more accurate when compared with *Tự phê phán* (Self-criticism) [5, p.90]. Therefore, since then I will utilise the translation in the *Self-comment* of the Culture-Information Publishing House, Hanoi (2000).

⁴ These three pupils were arranged to live in a Japanese parliamentarian's house and sent to study in a primary school with Japanese pupils.

⁵ Secret Notification of Quang Nam Minister Charles No. 99 dated 7 September 1906.

⁶ Those are two children and a grandchild of Tran Van Dinh.

⁷ The school was established by the Meiji government in 1877 on the merger of the old governmental western medical schools. It was renamed into Imperial University (帝國大學 Teikoku daigaku) in 1886, and later the Imperial University of Tokyo (東京帝國大學 Tōkyō teikoku daigaku) in 1887 when the imperial university system was formed. It is currently the School/Faculty of Medicine belonging to the University of Tokyo.

⁸ We use the translation of Vinh Sinh (2016) because it is clearer and more intelligible. You could refer to the translation in Phan Boi Chau (2000) [4] or Amma Yuhiko (2006) [30, p.72].

⁹ In his article *Về đội ngũ lưu học sinh Việt Nam trên đất Nhật Bản đầu thế kỷ XX* (The team of Vietnamese students in Japan early in the 20th century) [24, p.250], author Chuong Thau mistook when he wrote that Nguyen Thuc Canh had another name, Tran Huu Luc. In reality, Nguyen Thuc Duong, who was Nguyen Thuc Canh's younger brother, had the name Tran Huu Luc when studying in Japan; Nguyen Thuc Canh had the name Tran Huu Cong (in Japan) and then took the name Tran Trong Khac when studying in Germany [13].

¹⁰ In his memoirs, Tran Trong Khac said that in the summer of 1928, a Vietnamese came to Berlin to find him. Later, he knew that man is Nguyen Ai Quoc.

¹¹ Quotes from Hanoi Medical University's report to present to the government for Ho Chi Minh Prize for Science and Technology [3, p.26].

¹² The autobiography of Professor Dang Van Ngu refers to Nguyen Xuan Oanh [3, p.58]. If Nguyen Xuan Oanh (Nguyễn Xuân Oanh) was also Nguyen Xuan Oanh (Nguyễn Xuân Oánh), he was born in 1921 in Bac Giang; his countryside is Da Nguu village, Van Giang district, Hung Yen province.

Nguyen Xuan Oanh was educated in a Western school. When he grew up, his family sent him to the US to study at Harvard University in Economics. He graduated with a PhD in Economics from Harvard University in 1954, and then worked for the World Bank in the United States.

In 1963, he returned and joined the government. Shortly after that, he was nominated Governor of the National Bank, then Deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Vietnam. He was even nominated Acting Prime Minister in the period when General Nguyen Khanh took power (1964-1965).

After 1975, he was one of the intellectuals of the Republic of Vietnam, who was assigned by the authorities of Ho Chi Minh City, headed by Vo Van Kiet. In particular, in the process of renovation started in the 1980s, he and many other intellectuals contributed greatly to the reform of banking, finance, foreign investment and so on in Vietnam. He was the economic advisor to CPV General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh and Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet.

He was also a member of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front, Vice President of Union of Science and Technology Associations in Ho Chi Minh City, Director of Ho Chi Minh City Investment Services Company.

He passed away on 29 August 2003, in Ho Chi Minh City.

His wife was Emeritus Artist Tham Thuy Hang, who was well-known for the title “The beauty of Binh Duong.”

In the article *Những hoạt động của Phan Bội Châu trong thời kỳ phong trào Đông Du: Nhân tài, Dân trí, Tổ chức* (Phan Boi Chau's Activities in Dong Du Movement: Talents, Knowledge, Organisation) [18, p.60], the author Shiraishi Masaya also referred to PhD of Economics Nguyen Xuan Oanh. However, up to now, we have not found any documents indicate that Mr. Nguyen Xuan Oanh had a period studying in Japan, and also have no basis to confirm that Nguyen Xuan Oanh whom Dang Van Ngu referred in his memoir is PhD Nguyen Xuan Oanh, who later became the Deputy Prime Minister, even, at some time, the Prime Minister of the Republic of Vietnam.

¹³ In the 1970s, many fields in the Red River Delta achieved the productivity above 05 tonnes/ha/year, quadrupling the productivity of the French colonial period. According to French agronomists, the average yield of agriculture in the Red River Delta during the colonial period was about 1.3 tonnes -1.4 tonnes/ha. [9, pp.365, 31, 253]. Moreover, the Chief Inspector of Indochina Agriculture, Y. Henry gave a higher figure, about 17 quintals for two rice crops in the late 1920s and early 1930s [32].

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