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The Issue



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## ИСТОРИЯ И КУЛЬТУРА

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Nguyen Van Khanh

### EXTERNAL SUPPORT FOR INTERNAL ISSUE: PHAN BOI CHAU AND THE VIETNAMESE “DONG DU” MOVEMENT IN THE EARLY XX CENTURY

**Abstract:** Dong Du movement refers to a revolutionary trend of Vietnamese to go to Japan for study. The first *Go to Japan/Dong Du movement*, from 1905 to 1908, led by Phan Boi Chau, paved the way for the next Dong Du movements in the XX century.

However, to help readers visualize the three movements of Dong Du associated with the development of the Vietnamese – Japanese relations in the XX century, the article explores the circumstance and conditions of formation, development and results of the first wave of Dong Du movements (the Vietnamese youth is going to Japan to study and for revolutionary purposes). The author clarifies the position and the role of Phan Boi Chau and the Dong Du movement not only in the Patriotic movements against French in Vietnam but also in the establishment and development of friendly relationship between Vietnam and Japan in the XX century.

**Keywords:** Phan Boi Chau; the Dong Du movement, liberation, Vietnam – Japan relationship.

#### Introduction

Phan Boi Chau (1867–1940) was the most celebrated leader of Vietnam in the struggle against the French colonialism for national independence in the first two decades of the XX century.

After obtaining the first laureate of the regional examination (*thi Hương*) in Nghe An, he began to embark upon the path of national salvation. Through the establishment and leadership of such political organizations as *Hội Duy Tân* (Association for Modernization) in 1904, *Việt Nam Quang phục Hội* (Vietnam Restoration League) in 1912, and the other activities such as writing books, spreading patriotic and revolutionary ideas, and especially organizing the *Đông Du* (Travel to the East for Study) movement, which helped bring over 200 young Vietnamese students to Japan between 1905 and 1908. Phan Boi Chau became the soul and most outstanding representative of the violent anti-French approach in early XX century Vietnam.

After 14 consecutive years of operating in China (including 4 years being imprisoned in Guangdong province), on 30th June, 1925, Phan Boi Chau was arrested in the French concession in Shanghai, brought back to Hue City in central Vietnam, where he was kept under house arrest until the last day of his life on 29th October, 1940.

On the patriotic activities of Phan Boi Chau, especially about the Dong Du Movement, there have been a number of researches, reflecting various aspects of the activities. In Vietnam, apart

from the historical annals and textbooks, there are several monographs on his path of national salvation such as *Tài liệu tham khảo lịch sử cách mạng cận đại Việt Nam* (A reference on the history of modern Vietnamese revolution) by Tran Huy Lieu (Hanoi, 1956–1957); *Lịch sử 80 năm chống Pháp* (A History of 80 Years Fighting against the French) by Tran Huy Lieu (Hanoi, 1956); and *Phan Bội Châu và một giai đoạn lịch sử chống Pháp của nhân dân Việt Nam* (Phan Boi Chau and a Historical Period of Fighting against the French by Vietnamese People) (Hanoi, 1958). In the two recent decades, there have been some in-depth studies of the life, activities and contributions of Phan Boi Chau, a notable example of which is Chuong Thau's *Phan Bội Châu – con người và sự nghiệp cứu nước* (Phan Boi Chau – Autobiography and the Patriotic Cause), (Hanoi, 1996). Over the past decade, on the 100th anniversary of the Dong Du Movement (2005) and with the joint collaboration between the University of Social Sciences and Humanities (Hanoi), Waseda University (Japan), and Japan Asaba Association, an international workshop on Phan Boi Chau and Dong Du Movement has been organized in 2017, in which a number of papers focused on Phan Boi Chau in establishing and developing the Dong Du Movement to resist against the French colonialism, leading to the establishment of the Vietnam – Japan connection in the early XX century.

Outside Vietnam, the first monograph about Phan Boi Chau was compiled by Boudarel, George in 1969 under the title *Phan Boi Chau et la société Vietnamienne de son temps* (Phan Boi Chau and the Vietnamese Society of His Time). This work was later developed by G. Boudarel into a dissertation which was then defended at University of Paris VII. After G. Boudarel, there are also some publications about Phan Boi Chau by such authors as J. Chesneaux, Nguyen The Anh and P.R. Feray. The other important work includes *Phan Boi Chau (1867–1940). Le Nationalisme vietnamien avant Ho Chi Minh* (L'Harmattan, Paris, 2008) which reserved a chapter to introduce the activities of Phan Boi Chau and the Dong Du movement in Japan. However, it only addresses anti-French activities under the movement without giving an in-depth look at the impact made by the Japanese and the role of Phan Boi Chau and his movement in establishing Vietnam – Japan friendly relations.

In the United States, David Marr studied Phan Boi Chau and the Dong Du Movement in his book entitled *Vietnamese Anti-colonialism 1885–1925* published in 1971. In addition, there were a number of research papers on this theme which were published during the scientific activities to commemorate 100 years of the Dong Du movement.

In Japan, where the Dong Du Movement was active in the period 1905–1909, there is a great attention toward the study of Phan Boi Chau and the Dong Du Movement. The two most distinguished scholars of Vietnamese studies, Shiraishi Masaya and Vinh Sinh with the respective works of *Phong trào dân tộc Việt Nam và quan hệ của nó với Nhật Bản và châu Á* (The Vietnamese Nationalist Movement and Its Relationship with Japan and Asia) and *Vietnam and Japan: Cultural Interactions* (2015). Both books view Phan Boi Chau and the Dong Du Movement from different angles: historical military context and cultural background. In the former Soviet Union and today Russia, there have been some scholars who studied Phan Boi Chau and the Vietnamese national salvation movement in the early 20th century such as A.P. Shiltova, C.A. Mkhitaryan, and O. V. Novakova... Out of the distinguished scholars are A.X. Voronin and N.I. Nikulin – the two cultural experts.

Supplementing the shortcomings and pursuing the untouched parts in the study of Phan Boi Chau and the Dong Du Movement, we examined the Complete Works of Phan Boi Chau (10 volumes, Hue City, 2001), especially his memoirs. Besides, we studied the French archives and the contemporary writings such as works by Phan Chu Trinh, Huynh Thuc Khang, and the memoirs of the people who participated in the Dong Du Movement in Japan during the period 1905–1908.

By gathering, collecting and comparing different source materials, and applying the historical perspective, this article presents the formation and transformation of Phan Boi Chau's thoughts of national salvation in the early 20th century. Especially, the paper examines the activities and relations of Phan Boi Chau with the Japanese politicians, as well as the support from the people of Japan such as Doctor Asaba Sakitaro for Phan Boi Chau and the other Vietnamese overseas students during the last stage of the Movement. By studying these activities, the article clarifies the role and contributions of Phan Boi Chau to the cause of Vietnamese national salvation and liberation, as well as to bilateral relations between Vietnam and Japan in the early 20th century.

### **Phan Boi Chau and the Dong Du movement**

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> 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 – “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 Chau<sup>1</sup> 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” [Phan Bội Châu 2008: 49], Phan Boi Chau travelled 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” [Phan Bội Châu 2008: 49]. The core members were Phan Boi Chau, Nguyen Ham, Trinh Hien, Le Vu, Dang Tu Kinh, Dang Thai Than. They agreed to choose prince 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. After considering carefully, Phan Boi Chau decided to choose Japan, because “Japan is a progressive Asian country” [Phan Bội Châu 2008: 60].

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<sup>1</sup> Phan Boi Chau was born on December 26, 1867 in Nam Hòa ward, Nam Dan district, Nghe An province, when French colonialists occupied three provinces of South West. His father is Phan Van Pho, his mother is Nguyen Thi Nhan. He was very famous for his intelligence since he was small: He memorized Trimeteric Classic within only 3 days when he was 6 years old, at his age of 7, he digested Analects.

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 Confucianist living in exile in Japan, to whom he was a “true fan” [Phan Bội Châu 2000: 73]. In the meeting, Liang Qichao advised Phan Boi Chau to increase capacity, including “education, people’s spirit, and talented individuals” [Phan Bội Châu 2008: 76], in order to liberate the country. After that, Liang Qichao introduced Phan Boi Chau to two well - known Japanese politicians at that time, who were Inukai Tsuyoshi – the general secretary and Okuma Shigenobu – previously served as prime minister of Japan, currently as president of the Japan 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 his thought 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 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 1920s. 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” [Phan Bội Châu 2008: 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”<sup>1</sup>. That was not only a sentiment but also the proper perspective and dignified behaviour from a normal Japanese worker. It was also a valuable lesson for the transport and tourism sector in Vietnam nowadays.

Until mid - 1906, while there were a lot of students who came from the North and Central Vietnam, 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

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<sup>1</sup> This is the spoken sentence of the Japanese driver which was translated in *Tự Phán* (Self-comment) [Phan Bội Châu 2000: 76]. I find this book’s translation more accurately when compared to *Tự phê phán* (Self-criticism) [Phan Bội Châu 2008: 90]. Due to that, since then I utilize the *Self-comment* translation of Culture–Information Publishing House, Hanoi (2000).

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 organization had to be closed.

In August 1906, the number of Vietnamese students at Binh Ngo Hien (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 vu hoc hieu" (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: Economic, 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, in which 100 people were from the South, 50 ones from the Middle and over 40 ones from the North [Phan Bội Châu 2000: 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...; 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 "Go East" since they were babies such as 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 old<sup>1</sup> [Trần Trọng Khắc 1971: 28].

As for the students taking part in the Dong Du in early 20<sup>th</sup> century, author Nguyen Thuc Chuyen devoted his time discovering the biography of 157 people, and made the conclusion that the most students were from the South, located in Vinh Long and Dong Thap provinces (along with the current administrative unit), most of the students from Central Vietnam were from Quang Nam, Ha Tinh, and most northern ones came from Nam Dinh and Hanoi [Nguyễn Thúc Chuyên 2007: 25]. In addition to 200 students who had arrived in Japan, there were some more who intended to depart from Vietnam [Tôn Quang Phiệt 1958: 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 centers for students, such as in Nam Dinh city (Mr. Dinh Trach's house) [Phuong Hữu 1950: 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

<sup>1</sup> These three pupils were arranged to live in a Japanese parliamentarian's house and sent to study in a primary school with Japanese pupils.

An. In Quang Nam, apart from the Company Union of Quang Nam established in 1907, there was also a trade association organized by the Confucian and retired officials [Lê Thị Kinh 2001: 45]<sup>1</sup>.

“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” [Lê Thị Kinh 2001: 47]. Obviously, 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 XX century.

In Cochinchina, in response to the modernization 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?"* [Phan Bội Châu 2000: 106].

To help fund the Dong Du movement, Tran Chanh Chieu and Nguyen Than Hien (who created the Can Tho study promotion program) 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 poor families, the advocates also raised money to support and encourage their spirit. These are the reasons why Cochinchina in general and Saigon–Cho Lon in particular, not only led the financial supply for the Dong Du movement but also were the localities with the largest number of abroad students [Nguyễn Văn Hậu 2002: 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 10<sup>2</sup> stayed at the house of a Japanese senator to study at 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, nor once dropped into the fourth grade. All are praised by Japanese schools” [Trần Trọng Khắc 1971: 29].

<sup>1</sup> The Secret Notification of Quang Nam Minister Charles No. 99 on 07.09.1906.

<sup>2</sup> Those are two children and a grandchild of Tran Van Dinh.



While students in Japan were studying diligently and the number of young people from home country 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 [Yves 2009: 59] to invest in economic recovery and development, so they sought French help. And the French wanted to discuss with the Japanese government for 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. In return, Japan blocked the anti-French propaganda activities of the Vietnamese in Japan [Trần Trọng Khắc 1971: 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). But 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 printed. 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 [Phan Bội Châu 2000: 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 difficult 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.

Phan Boi Chau, Asaba Sakitaro and Vietnam – Japan Relationship

Asaba Sakitaro was born on 1 March 1867 (the same age with Phan Boi Chau), in Umeda Village, Iwata District, Asaba City, Shizuoka Prefecture [Vĩnh Sinh 2016: 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 the hospital, he also visited the patients. He was willing to cure the disease 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 huge 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 [Vĩnh Sinh 2016: 192]. Thanks to that money Phan Boi Chau has 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.

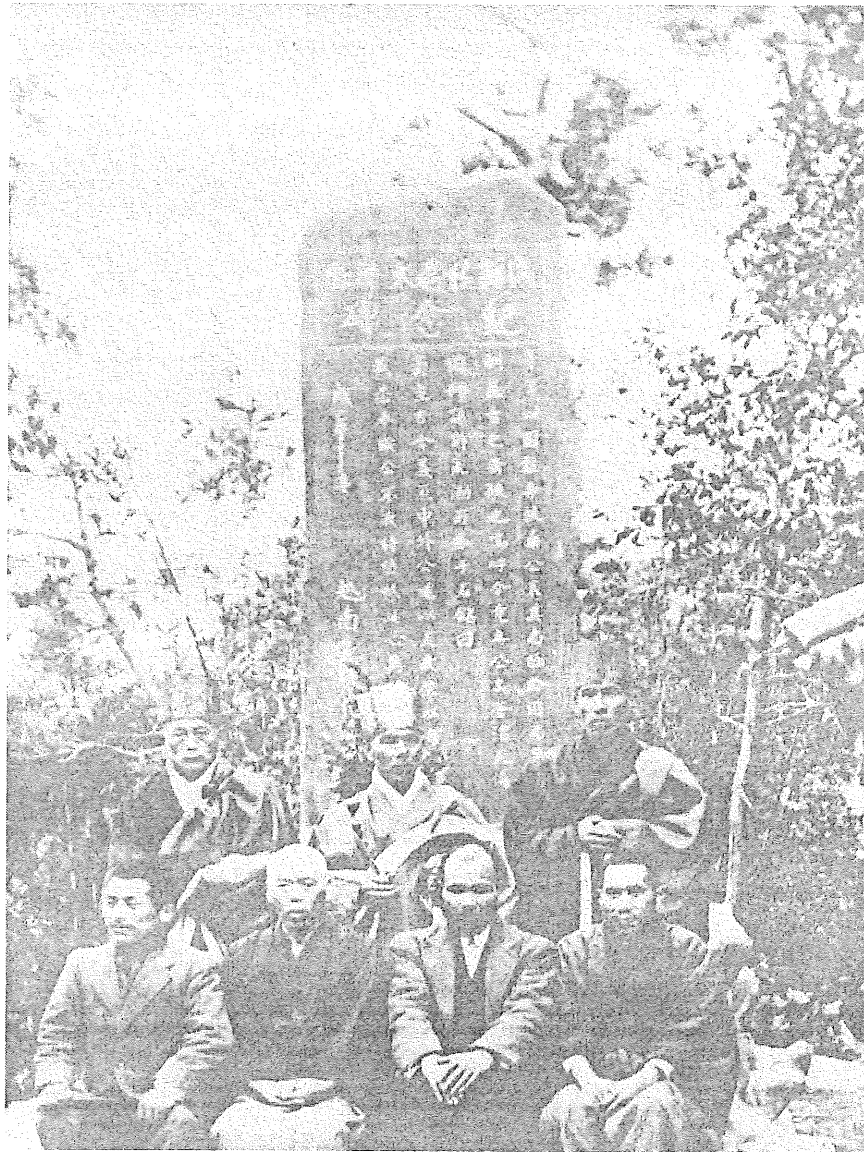
Later recalling the sentiment and help that Dr. Asaba gave to Vietnamese students and the Dong Du movement, Phan Boi Chau said: “If there was no man insistently supported like Mr. Asaba, we couldn’t do anything. I am so grateful to Mr. Asaba that even “more than my parents” [Phan Bội Châu 2000: 151].

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. But 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's memorial was erected next to the Asaba Sakitaro family's tomb, located in the Umeyama temple, 2.7 m high and 0.87 m thick. The rock platform is about 1m high [Yuhiko 2006: 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 the 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:



Phan Boi Chau took picture at the "Repaying Mercies Stele" to commemorate Asaba Sakitaro in 1918.

*Photo made by the author in his homeland in May 2016.*

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”<sup>1</sup>.

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 [Nguyễn Thúc Chuyên 2007: 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)<sup>2</sup>. Under the name Tran Trong Khac, in late 1922, Nguyen Thuc Canh went to Berlin, Germany for medical education for 9 years<sup>3</sup> [Trần Trọng Khắc 1971: 80]. Later he worked in China until 1941, then returned home [Trần Trọng Khắc 1971: 98]. But most of the students leaving Japan later lived in Siam or China, waiting for the time or continuing revolution 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 had a different way of expression, but all dedicated themselves to the fatherland. Some people lost blood and bone. Some people sacrificed their lives for the struggle for national liberation.

### Conclusion

The leading historian of Vietnamese history – Tran Van Giau – commented: “Vietnam's political history in the first 25 years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was attached to the name Phan Boi Chau. He was a famous politician [2007: 44, 50], a great cultural, “also a thinker”, the country's foremost organizer of the time. Not only created a new way for liberating Vietnam following bourgeois democratic, Phan Boi Chau also directly organized 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 cadres of the new ideology for the national salvation and liberation in Vietnam. Although the Dong Du movement failed quickly after Phan Boi Chau and Cuong De and other students were expelled from Japan, Phan Boi Chau's overseas study trend and patriotic activities in the four years

<sup>1</sup> 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) or Amma Yuhiko (2006: 72).

<sup>2</sup> 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 21<sup>st</sup> century) [Chương Thái 2006: 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 name Tran Huu Cong (in Japan) and then took name Tran Trong Khac when studying in Germany

<sup>3</sup> In his memoirs, Tran Trong Khac said that in about summer 1928, a Vietnamese came to Berlin to find him. Later than he knew that man is Nguyen Ai Quoc.

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 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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**ВНЕШНЯЯ ПОДДЕРЖКА ВНУТРЕННЕГО ПРОЦЕССА:  
ФАН БОЙ ТЯУ И ВЬЕТНАМСКОЕ ДВИЖЕНИЕ ДОНГ ЗУ В ЯПОНИИ  
В НАЧАЛЕ XX В.**

**Аннотация:** Движение Донг Зу относится к революционной практике вьетнамцев отправляться в Японию на учебу. Первое движение «Отправляйся в Японию / Донг Зу», с 1905 по 1908 гг. возглавляемое Фан Бой Тяу, проложило путь для следующих движений Донг Зу в 20 в.

Тем не менее, чтобы помочь читателям представить три движения Донг Зу, связанные с развитием вьетнамско-японских отношений в 20 в., в статье рассматриваются обстоятельства и условия формирования, развитие и результаты первой волны движений Донг Зу — поездок вьетнамской молодежи в Японию на учебу для достижения революционных целей. Автор разъясняет позицию и роль Фан Бой Тяу и движения Донг Зу не только в патриотических движениях против французов во Вьетнаме, но и в установлении и развитии дружественных отношений между двумя странами Вьетнам – Япония в 20 в.

**Ключевые слова:** Фан Бой Тяу; Донг Зу, освобождение, отношения Вьетнама и Японии.

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