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From “Ideal Social Model” to Reality: Vietnamese Studies in Japan

Japanese scholars of the “Vietnam War generation” differed from those of previous and subsequent generations. While the field of Vietnamese studies emerged in Japan before World War II, it was most significantly advanced by scholars who were university students during the 1960s and 1970s, who were drawn to the nature of Vietnam’s rural society and inspired by fervent sentiments of revolution and nationalism as conveyed by media coverage of the country’s struggle against the United States during the Vietnam War. After Vietnam opened its doors as part of the *Đổi Mới* reforms introduced in 1986, fieldwork in the country became possible, and Japanese scholars of the post-Vietnam War generation were exposed to various social phenomena that differed from the image of the country portrayed in the media and academia. Among these scholars who had experienced Vietnam firsthand, research subjects within the field of Vietnamese studies became diversified.

Restrictions on overseas travel due to certain Japanese political and economic affairs, as well as the war and socialist policy in Vietnam, made it almost impossible for Japanese scholars to carry out long-term fieldwork there until the early 1990s. As a result, there are fewer area and anthropological studies based on field surveys carried out in Vietnam by Japanese

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scholars than there are for other Southeast Asian countries, though there are many historical studies of Vietnam based on existing documents. Mikiko Ōno has provided a general overview of rural studies since the *Đổi Mới* reforms. The historical development of anthropological studies has also been discussed by Yōko Hayami, Michio Suenari, Atsufumi Katō, and Petra Karlová.¹ As some of these recent scholars discuss, Nobuhiro Matsumoto (1897–1981), the founder of Southeast Asian ethnology in Japan before World War II, compared Japan and Southeast Asia from an evolutionist and diffusionist perspective and gave an overview of the “Indochinese races and cultures.”² This and other anthropological examples, including Kōichiro Uno’s comparative study of mythology and religious movements and a social analysis of ethnic groups in Vietnam by Kazumasa Kikuchi,³ were based on French, English, and Vietnamese literature collected in a limited research environment.⁴ However, since the 1990s, when Vietnam’s doors were opened wider to foreigners, the number of studies based on field surveys has increased rapidly.

Yumio Sakurai (1945–2012), a scholar of the Vietnam War generation, was engaged in research and education within the field of Southeast Asian studies at two important research institutions in Japan. Sakurai was trained as an archival historian at the Department of Oriental History in the Faculty of Letters at the University of Tokyo from the 1960s to the mid-1970s. He was also affiliated with the Center for Southeast Asian Studies at Kyoto University from the late 1970s to 1980s, where he found new possibilities in interdisciplinary area studies that emphasized the social sciences, natural sciences, and fieldwork. In 1990, he returned to his alma mater, the Department of Oriental History at the University of Tokyo, where he attempted to develop his own area studies program. Sakurai wrote an autobiography entitled, *A Sun: Always*, in which he describes his career, the evolution of his ideas, and the history of Japan’s Vietnamese and Southeast Asian studies.⁵ Written in the form of a memoir, the book tends to either inflate or misremember certain details. It is, however, an important work when considering the rise of Vietnamese studies in Japan after the end of World War II, and Sakurai serves as a major point of reference throughout this paper.

Until the 1980s, Japan’s Vietnamese studies focused on village communities, patrilineal kinship [*đòng họ*], the Vietnam War, and nationalist, socialist, and revolutionary movements. At first glance, such academic

tendencies seem to be aligned with those of English-speaking countries of the same period, in particular the United States.⁶ However, Japanese scholars have sought to differentiate their study of Vietnam from that of the United States. As will be discussed in this paper, Vietnamese studies in Japan after World War II was strongly influenced by America's development of Southeast Asian studies as a discipline during the Cold War. However, owing to anti-American sentiment caused by the General Headquarters (GHQ) occupation and the Japan-US Security Treaty, combined with growing sympathy for Vietnam, the Japanese were reluctant to rely too heavily on American materials.⁷ Scholars therefore tended to rely on the tradition of oriental history (*Tōyōshi*; so named to distinguish it from Western history, though many historians rarely use the term for their own discipline today), basing their research on classical Chinese documents that had been collected in Japan before 1945, as well as on French scholarship produced during Vietnam's colonial period and on Vietnamese-language materials. Compared to studies of other Southeast Asian countries, this approach to Vietnamese studies in Japan was unique.⁸

In this way, while Japan developed the field of Vietnamese studies in parallel with English-speaking countries, it followed its own path. It is therefore necessary to position the field within the historical context of Japan itself, where scholars struggled between pro- and anti-American sentiments after the defeat of Japan in World War II; as Sakurai stated, "The Vietnam War and Southeast Asia gave dreams and romanticism to Japan stifled after the Japan-US Security Treaty."⁹ In other words, and as will be discussed in this paper, these places provided Japan with an "ideal social model" at a time of uncertainty. However, as fieldwork in Vietnam became possible and scholars began to experience the country firsthand, a more diverse set of research subjects materialized. Studies of Vietnam's ethnic minority groups, religions, traditional medicine, and even new perspectives on the Vietnam War emerged. As a result, the complex and diverse reality of Vietnam's society has gradually become clear. In this essay, "reality" is defined as the complicated and diverse cultural, social, and political aspects of people in everyday life, which should not be viewed only from a comparative, comprehensive, or ideological perspective, but can be understood through the experience of long-term and continuous observation in the field.

Vietnamese Studies before World War II and the Vietnam War Generation

SOUTHERN REGION RULE [*NAMPŌ TŌCHI*] AND THE
AFFILIATED RESEARCH INSTITUTE, EAEIB

The field of Vietnamese studies has existed in Japan since before World War II. The Affiliated Research Institute, East Asiatic Economic Investigation Bureau [EAEIB, Tōa Keizai Chōsakyoku Fuzoku Kenkyūjo] was established in 1938 with the support of the South Manchuria Railway [Minami Manshū Tetsudō]; together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Army Ministry, these entities developed Southeast Asian studies for the purpose of advancing national policies. The Affiliated Research Institute, EAEIB, was known as the Ōkawa School, and was sponsored by the pan-Asianist Shūmei Ōkawa, who was prosecuted as a class-A war criminal at the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal after the war. At the Ōkawa School, classes on Japanese spirit, national history, oriental history, affairs of the Southern Region (*Nampō*, which vaguely meant Southeast Asia and Southern Pacific Islands, as the frontier seen from Imperial Japan), ethnology, and foreign languages were introduced for the purpose of developing human resources for the "Liberation of Asia." Ōkawa himself lectured on colonial history and Asian independence movements. Some of the graduates of the Ōkawa School were also sent to French Indochina and had contact with Vietnamese nationalist leaders.¹⁰

As demonstrated by the subjects taught at the Ōkawa School, Japan's national policy and oriental history were deeply interrelated. In the West from the nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century, oriental studies, imperial history, and colonial studies were established with the creation of historical studies of Southeast Asia as a modern science. Influenced by this academic trend, Japanese intellectuals developed oriental history, in which they combined area studies with history as an academic discipline. Mainly employing classical Chinese archives, Japanese oriental historians focused on the history of East-West relations, or interactions between China and neighboring countries. After 1930, the history of the Southern Region [*Nampō shi*] was born as an independent field of oriental history. Subsequently, during World War II when Japan sought to rule the

Southern Region, a significant number of studies on history and colonial achievement in Southeast Asia were translated into Japanese.¹¹

In fact, the Affiliated Research Institute, EAEIB, translated some of the most important French research into Japanese during the period of Japan's invasion of French Indochina, including Pierre Gourou's *Les paysans du delta tonkinois* and Yves Henri's *Économie agricole de l'Indochine*.¹² This reflected Japan's strong interest in the Indochinese rural economy that was under its de facto control. Pierre Gourou's idyllic depiction of a landscape of villages in the northern Red River Delta, surrounded by bamboo fences and marked by strong and egalitarian unity between villagers, was one of the sources of postwar Japanese scholars' perception of the "typical" Vietnamese village. Based on this image, research into the Vietnamese village developed in Japan.

HISTORY OF THE SOUTHERN REGION AND TATSURŌ
YAMAMOTO

Tatsurō Yamamoto (1910–2001), a scholar at the University of Tokyo, trained many scholars working in Vietnamese and Southeast Asian studies after the end of the war.¹³ In the 1960s, Yamamoto held a study group on the history of the Southern Region once a month, gathering his disciples from the prewar days. Sakurai, who was a member of the group at the time, was required to read the latest Southeast Asian historical studies from the United States and to listen to participants' criticisms of this scholarship. In 1966, members who had participated in Yamamoto's study group established the Japan Society for Southeast Asian History, an academic association that was formed in response to the Vietnam War. From the end of World War II to the 1970s, it was difficult for the Japanese to go to Southeast Asia and even to Western countries, so the group working in Southeast Asian studies led by Yamamoto had to rely on materials from classical Chinese archives stored in Japan.¹⁴

Yoshiharu Tsuboi (b. 1948) states that he was introduced to Yamamoto by his supervisor when he was a graduate student at the University of Tokyo in the early 1970s. Yamamoto advised Tsuboi that there were still few primary materials available to foreign scholars in Vietnam while at war, and that the Japanese were able to achieve "world-renowned pioneering

work" by combining resources from classical Chinese documents stored in the Oriental Library [Tōyō Bunko] in Japan with the materials at the Colonial Archives in Aix-en-Provence, France. Tsuboi then moved to France and, under the supervision of anthropologist Georges Condominas, wrote a doctoral dissertation on the political and social history of the Nguyễn Dynasty as it was being colonized by France in the latter half of the nineteenth century.¹⁵

In this way, Yamamoto encouraged young scholars who aspired to study Vietnam to pursue historical studies that combined Japan's oriental history tradition of classical Chinese archives with the use of French colonial materials. Neither Sakurai nor Tsuboi, both students with a strong interest in the Vietnam War, were able to conduct fieldwork in Vietnam, so they focused on pre-nineteenth-century Vietnamese history. Due to the restriction of materials and the tradition of the history of the Southern Region, they dealt with themes far from contemporary Vietnam, which was at the center of international politics during the 1960s and 1970s.

The Vietnam War Generation and Politics

SELF-FORMATION OF THE VIETNAM WAR GENERATION

The Vietnam War generation was, however, keenly aware of international politics at the time and tried to be involved in politics in various ways, despite differences in their political perspectives. Sensitive to the changes of the 1960s, they witnessed the people of Southeast Asian countries and their leaders freeing themselves of Western colonial rule, achieving independence, and resisting the United States' attempts to suppress such movements. The most symbolic situation in Southeast Asia was seen in Vietnam during the war.

As mentioned above, Tsuboi's dissertation was on the political and social history of the Nguyễn Dynasty in the late nineteenth century. His dissertation sought to answer what historical conditions allowed for the French conquest of Vietnam.¹⁶ Tsuboi tried to understand the characteristics of Vietnamese history as a whole. As he pointed out, the most important characteristics of Vietnam were "the dynamism of the Vietnamese nation and its historical involvement in international affairs"; he considered nineteenth-century Vietnam to understand the evolution of the nation in

a global context.¹⁷ However, as is visible in his later scholarship about the dramatic changes in Vietnamese politics since Đổi Mới, his main interest was always in modern politics.¹⁸ According to Tsuboi, who prides himself on being a member of the Vietnam War generation, the reason he began studying Vietnam was that despite his participation in Vietnam antiwar demonstrations in 1968, he realized that he “did not know Vietnam’s society, history, and people at all,” so he “felt painful shame.”¹⁹

Unlike Yamamoto, who, based on his experiences during World War II, believed that scholars had to separate scholarship and politics, his disciple Sakurai did not hesitate to link history with the contemporary political scene. Sakurai, who was involved in the student movements at the University of Tokyo, began to study Vietnam due to his strong sympathy for Vietnamese nationalism and the revolution taking place there. He described his motivation for starting his research as follows:

Around 1966 when the youth of the United Red Army [Rengō Sekigun]²⁰ decided to join the revolution, I decided to spend my life studying Vietnam. The history of Vietnam shows that this country is based on a village. Ties of human relations in villages enable formidable resistance. It was a time when Japanese villages were being dismantled due to phenomena such as agricultural depression, migrant workers, and urbanization. Against such a current trend, I started to study Vietnamese villages. In the villages of northern Vietnam, there was a system called *công điền* [communal land] until the land reform in 1956–1957. Under that system, the village owned land and allocated it equally to villagers in exchange for tax burdens. It has existed since the fifteenth century. A kind of communitarian system was maintained for five hundred years. Agricultural cooperatives [*hợp tác xã*] since the 1960s were based on this *công điền* tradition. Community traditions, land collectivization, and the anti-US resistance war . . . Socialism and resistance in Vietnam were fostered by the *công điền* system. Therefore, I started to study Vietnam’s *công điền* system.²¹

By linking Vietnam’s “anti-US resistance war” movement to Vietnam’s “*công điền* tradition” and the concept of the “agricultural cooperative,” Sakurai argued that “ties of human relations in villages enable formidable resistance.” According to historical sociologist Eiji Oguma, during a period of high economic growth in Japan, the decline of primary industries and the expansion of secondary and tertiary industries resulted in the rapid

migration of the population from rural areas to cities. Between 1955 and 1965, about four million people left the agricultural sector and moved to urban areas.²² Against the trend of Japanese villages being abandoned due to agricultural difficulties and urbanization, Sakurai was impressed by the Vietnamese village, which he believed thrived on a communitarian system and anti-US resistance sentiment, so much so that the Vietnamese village became the object of his "dream and romanticism."²³

Sakurai's empirical historical studies were based on an analysis of a vast amount of classical Chinese materials and field-based agricultural knowledge, and he criticized the academic community in Vietnam for its insistence without historical evidence that there had been *công điền* since ancient times. According to his book, *Formation of the Vietnamese Village: Historical Analysis of the Establishment of Communal Land in Northern Vietnam* (1987), in the ethnic Tai societies in the mountains of mainland Southeast Asia, royal authorities set up a land allocation system in order to secure tax revenue and reward bureaucrats with land. Adopting a system similar to this, in the fifteenth century, Vietnam's Lê Dynasty distributed lands to vagabonds and guerrilla groups to secure taxes—that, he argued, was the beginning of the *công điền* system. Furthermore, Sakurai asserted that in the early modern era, against growing numbers of large landowners, the weakening central power compromised with rural communities composed of small farmers and approved of rural communities managing *công điền*.²⁴

While Sakurai emphasized the strong points of Japan's studies of Southeast Asian history that had inherited the tradition of oriental history, at the suggestion of his supervisor Yamamoto he translated *Les peuples de la péninsule indochinoise: histoire, civilisations* by George Coedès into Japanese (*Indoshina bunmei shi*) in 1969.²⁵ As mentioned above, several empirical studies of French Indochina and the villages of the northern Red River Delta were translated into Japanese by the Affiliated Research Institute, EAEIB, and influenced Sakurai's early thought on Vietnam's villages.

In January 1969, the student movement peaked at what is known as the Yasuda Auditorium Incident. Authorities from the University of Tokyo introduced riot police to suppress students who had barricaded themselves in Yasuda Auditorium, and subsequently attempted to "normalize" the institution. As a result, students who had participated in the movement

gradually withdrew from it and graduated.²⁶ However, when Sakurai, who was involved in the Yasuda Auditorium Incident, was served with an arrest warrant at the end of 1969, he left the university until the warrant lapsed in 1975, staying “hidden altogether” with his comrades. In his words, “I left academia. We discarded books. Hundreds of thousands of students repeated, ‘No,’ against the state, society, and the university. [Ideal existence] standing [by us] beyond those [acts] was Vietnam or Guevara. I could only be involved in Asia in that way.”²⁷

VIETNAM AS THE IDEAL SOCIAL MODEL

Japanese students at the time did not participate in the movement just to protest the Vietnam War. In contrast to the Japanese, who were forced to reconsider their national identity under the overwhelming influence of the United States after World War II, it seemed as if Vietnam and Che Guevara would be united in their pursuit of an anti-American war, nationalism, and world revolution. Therefore, Japanese students entrusted their “dream and romanticism”²⁸ to Vietnam and Guevara. According to historical sociologist Oguma, the student movement in Japan at that time was a rebellion of the people who responded to the increase in the number of students pursuing higher education and the drastic changes in their society, which accompanied high economic growth. The movement sought to restore an “ideal social order” for Japan from the perspective of moral economy.²⁹

For participants in the student movement, Vietnam embodied the ideal social order, or in other words, the ideal social model. In this respect, although some Japanese students like Tsuboi admitted they “felt painful shame” because they “did not know Vietnam’s society, history, and people at all,”³⁰ other students did not attempt to see the reality of Vietnam. Rather, they tried to find in Vietnam what they were longing to see in their own society. In other words, for some young people, postwar Japan’s subordination to the United States meant that its society and state had lost its identity and tradition within the expanding capitalist economy that emerged under an overwhelming American influence. On the other hand, Vietnam, which had maintained unity derived from the strength of its traditional village communities and fought tirelessly against the United States, was an ideal society and state that Japan should aim to emulate for

its future. According to Oguma, many of the students who participated in the student movement criticized "the present day of enjoying the bloody prosperity gained from the Vietnam War." Then, taking up the history of colonial rule, they "totally denied modern Japan itself (pre- and postwar Japanese imperialism, their culture, and themselves)."³¹

From the present perspective, it would be academically inappropriate to discuss the situation in North and South Vietnam at that time as though all Vietnamese had dedicated themselves to revolution and nationalism in opposition to the United States, because this would oversimplify the various political ideas and conflicts that existed in Vietnam at the time. However, participants in the Japanese student movement who were searching for the ideal social model saw only Vietnamese people who had dedicated themselves to revolution and nationalism.

Minami Yoshizawa (1943–2001) from Tokyo Metropolitan University was one of the researchers who best captures the core ideas of Vietnamese studies scholars in Japan during the Vietnam War. Although he was originally interested in the history of China's liberation (from imperialism and capitalism), Yoshizawa was strongly upset by the Red Guard's peer pressure to join the Cultural Revolution and adhere to Mao Zedong Thought that he experienced during his one-year stay in China from 1966 to 1967.³² Aiming to become a researcher after returning to Japan, Yoshizawa conducted research on the historical relations between ethnic minorities and the nation-state in Vietnam, the Japanese invasion of French Indochina, the Vietnam War, and the comparison of agricultural cooperatives between China and Vietnam. He stayed in Hà Nội for two years from 1978 to 1980, during which time he immersed himself in the issues of socialism in Asia and "ethnicities in contemporary Vietnamese history." One of Yoshizawa's books discusses the historical relationship between ethnic minorities and the nation-state in Vietnam, arguing that the Vietnamese Communist Party united ethnic minorities as members of the Vietnamese nation by means of popular movements. In his book, Yoshizawa states:

In the consistent research motif of my book, I attempted to relativize . . . the "nation-state," which was often considered to be the only one, immobile, sacred, or inviolable, and I tried to be as free as possible from this conception of the "nation-state." It was the intellectual, heroic, and international

liberation movement of the Vietnamese people from the 1960s to the 1970s that inspired me to focus on this motif... the democratic formation of “nation-state” and democratic adjustment of mutual relations between “nation-states,” which can be realized only by a popular grassroots movement.³³

Using a collection of oral histories, Yoshizawa explained how the “Japanese,” who at the time included the people of Taiwan, were involved in the war during the Japanese invasion of French Indochina.³⁴ He was critical of Japanese nationalism and fascism just like other post-World War II scholars in Japan. He witnessed the Chinese Cultural Revolution and was upset by the mass killings carried out by the Pol Pot regime, the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, and the Sino-Vietnamese War. Therefore, he was keenly aware that “even socialist states were still facing the reality that various affairs in domestic society and international relations can only be settled by ‘violence’ or ‘military power.’”³⁵ In this respect, like many other scholars of the Vietnam War generation, Yoshizawa’s critique of modernity led him to relativize the nation-state.

However, Yoshizawa still interpreted Vietnam’s revolution and nationalism during the Vietnam War as a “popular grassroots movement” leading to “democratic formation” rather than an ideological nation-state formation led by elites, political parties, and the state. He regarded violence exercised by the Vietnamese people against American soldiers during the war as an “unavoidable self-defensive exercise.”³⁶ For him, it was the “intellectual, heroic, and international liberation movement” as the “popular grassroots movement” that could realize “the democratic formation of the ‘nation-state,’ and democratic adjustment of mutual relations between ‘nation-states,’” and that represented an ideal social model for Japan’s Vietnam War generation. Yoshizawa, who perceived nationalism as a popular movement and found the ideal social model in it, never denied violence in his thought.³⁷

FACING REALITY

At the time, scholars of the Vietnam War generation vacillated and struggled to reconcile the ideal social model with reality. Certain Japanese scholars, including Yoshizawa, had managed to spend significant time in

Vietnam during the 1970s. They were particularly upset by the consequences of global events in Vietnam during this decade. Motoo Furuta (b. 1949) from the University of Tokyo also started studying Vietnam because he was influenced by the Vietnam War. In his book *The History of Ethnic Policies by Vietnamese Communists*, he stated:

I am a scholar belonging to the generation that aspired to study Vietnam during the Vietnam War, when the world was focused on Vietnam. Although I consider myself a scholar majoring in area studies on Vietnam, as a part of the Vietnam War generation, I have been strongly obsessed with the idea of thinking about world history through Vietnam. This idea has continued even after the end of the Vietnam War. To me, who had an opportunity to stay for a long time in Vietnam just after the war, it seemed that new developments in world history were sharply reflected in the appearance of Vietnam struggling with affairs surrounding "refugees" and Cambodia.³⁸

From 1977 until 1980, Vietnam became more isolated over the war with China and Cambodia, and its dysfunctional policy of agricultural collectivization produced a large number of refugees. During this time, Furuta used the Japan-Vietnam Friendship Association to study in Hà Nội. There, Furuta served as a Japanese language teacher hired by the Vietnamese government. Despite the difficulty he experienced in making contact with local people and conducting fieldwork, Furuta observed that old-fashioned socialist models were far from the daily lives of the population, which was not subject to government control, and he was shocked by the "vitality of people running around in their own direction."³⁹ Upon returning to Japan, Furuta analyzed the history of the Vietnam War from the viewpoint of both Vietnam and the United States.⁴⁰ Furthermore, by using Benedict Anderson's concept of "pilgrimage" in *Imagined Communities* as well as various theories of ethnicity, he discussed the formation of the modern and contemporary Vietnamese nation-state through analyses of policies imposed by Vietnamese Communists on ethnic groups in Indochina in the modern era.⁴¹ In recent years he has argued that the Đổi Mới reforms were created amid the controversy that existed at the central level of the Communist Party, as the local governments tolerated the expanding black market economy of the local people during the collectivization period.⁴²

Masaya Shiraishi (b. 1947) is a researcher of the Vietnam War generation who pursued the study of Vietnamese nationalism from a different perspective than that of Furuta. In his doctoral dissertation, Shiraishi explored the relationship between Phan Bội Châu, an early Vietnamese nationalist, and modern Japan, and examined how the cognitive framework that Phan Bội Châu formed during his stay in Japan influenced nationalist movements in Vietnam.⁴³ Recently, Shiraishi conducted research on Cường Để, a prince of the Nguyễn Dynasty, who was invited to Japan by Phan Bội Châu to help attain a constitutional monarchy, and who was involved in one of the Vietnamese struggles for independence.⁴⁴

Shiraishi's focus on Cường Để, a nationalist forgotten by the world after World War II, led him to argue that there were multiple genealogies of Vietnamese nationalism. This observation resulted from his stay in Sài Gòn before the unification of North and South Vietnam, while most Japanese scholars of Vietnam stayed in Hà Nội after the unification. After completing his master's program at the University of Tokyo between October 1973 and April 1975, Shiraishi stayed in South Vietnam as a Japanese teacher at the Publicity and Culture Center of the Japanese Embassy in Sài Gòn. He then attended graduate school at Cornell University from September 1976 to September 1978.⁴⁵ There, he was influenced by prominent historians and political scientists who were leading Southeast Asian studies, such as David Wyatt, George Kahin, Oliver Wolters, and Benedict Anderson.⁴⁶ After returning to Japan, Shiraishi first introduced the Scott-Popkin debate in Japanese in the early 1980s, which produced a debate in Japan over theories of "moral economy" and the "rational peasant."⁴⁷ Based on the Scott-Popkin debate, he considered the rebellion against the Nguyễn Dynasty in the 1820s—led by Phan Bá Vành, who left his home village and joined an outlaw group—by focusing on village-state relationships in northern Vietnam in the nineteenth century.⁴⁸

While Sakurai and Yoshizawa recognized the nationalism developed by revolutionary forces during the Vietnam War as a popular movement, Furuta and Shiraishi, despite their strong interest in the popular character of the nationalist movement, mainly focused on the roles of elites, political parties, and the state as a whole. In order to understand these national ideological movements, Furuta and Shiraishi actively accepted the dominant ideas

in American Southeast Asian studies at the time. This may be related to the fact that both Furuta and Shiraishi were able to stay in Vietnam for long periods of time early in their careers. In other words, through the experience of staying in Vietnam, they realized that the ideal social model created by the Vietnam War generation, who viewed the relationship between the people and the nation-state as harmonious and united, was very far from reality. However, although Furuta and Shiraishi were aware of the gap in thinking between the people and the nation, their research focused on the nation due to the limited number of available historical documents in the 1970s and 1980s in Japan and Western countries. Therefore, the diverse realities of mainstream society at its grassroots in twentieth-century Vietnam were not fully questioned by the scholars of the Vietnam War generation.

CENTER FOR SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES

As is clear from their careers, many of the scholars from the Vietnam War generation were educated in Tokyo and developed their research there. However, the Kansai region (the south-central region of Japan's main island), and in particular Kyoto, are also important places to consider when seeking to understand the development of Vietnamese studies in Japan. Shiraishi, who completed both his education and research at Osaka University of Foreign Studies from 1979 to 1987, was a guest lecturer at the Center for Southeast Asian Studies (CSEAS), Kyoto University, for a year and a half between 1980 and 1982.⁴⁹

CSEAS originated in 1958 from the university's Southeast Asian Studies Group [Tōnan Ajia Kenkyūkai] and was officially established in 1965. Sakurai was also invited by Yoneo Ishii, who specialized in the history of Thailand, to carry out his research activities at CSEAS, where Sakurai learned how to conduct fieldwork in Asia.⁵⁰ Upon his return to the University of Tokyo in the 1990s, Sakurai arranged for Japanese scholars to conduct fieldwork in Vietnam using the methods and network he had established during his time at CSEAS. CSEAS has since provided an arena for various researchers working on Southeast Asian studies from Japan and overseas to collaborate and conduct joint research.

Sakurai returned to academia in 1975, when his arrest warrant expired. He performed his research at CSEAS from 1977 until the 1980s, and he

found academic value in area studies by working there with researchers specializing in disciplines such as topography, soil science, demography, economics, anthropology, hydrology, agriculture, and politics. He began to distance himself from oriental history, which he felt relied too heavily on archival documents, and began to work on Southeast Asian history through fieldwork. Kyoto University had a strong tendency to focus on overseas fieldwork centered on ecologists and agronomists. According to Sakurai, these ecologists and agronomists, with their “spirit of defiance against the entire copy of Western science” and “aspiration for overseas fieldwork,” began to engage in Southeast Asian studies.⁵¹

Sakurai discovered new academic possibilities at CSEAS. While he was skeptical of Western social theories that were going mainstream in the field of Southeast Asian studies in the United States, such as nationalism, other scholars belonging to the center did not necessarily oppose this trend.⁵² Sakurai himself also knew that CSEAS was funded by the Ford Foundation.⁵³ All the same, he began to seek the potential of Kyoto University’s area studies as an arena in which to create Japanese-style studies independent of American ones.

HISTORIANS FROM KYOTO UNIVERSITY

While Sakurai was affiliated with CSEAS, graduate students majoring in oriental history at Kyoto University began to pursue Vietnamese studies. One of them, Shirō Momoki (b. 1955), analyzed a huge amount of classical Chinese historical materials and inscriptions, examining state-society relations in northern Vietnam from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries, as well as international relations with neighboring states such as China and Champa.⁵⁴ Moreover, with a focus on maritime Asian history, Momoki considered the dynamism of Asian history in the Middle Ages and the early modern era from the perspective of global history across the region of Vietnam, which made him a leader in Southeast Asian historical studies in Japan.⁵⁵ Momoki wrote:

I never participated in the anti-Vietnam War movement, but my middle and high school days, when I started to take an interest in “society” and “the world,” were during the Vietnam War era Because I heard the history of Vietnam and Southeast Asia seemed to have few experts in Japan, I was

inclined to study Southeast Asian history when I entered Kyoto University. Many of the scholars who "started studying Vietnam through the Vietnam War" majored in modern or revolutionary history, but since I was originally interested in premodern history such as Japan's Warring States era, I was thinking about studying premodern history or historical geography at the university . . . Sài Gòn was liberated on April 30, 1975, when I had just entered second grade, which made my life inseparable from Vietnam's history.⁵⁶

Takao Yao (b. 1960), who also majored in oriental history at Kyoto University, compared himself to Sakurai and the Vietnam War generation, saying, "When I look back on myself, I feel sorry that I didn't have that kind of passion and ability." Similar to Momoki, Yao was shocked by the coverage of the Sino-Vietnamese War in 1979 and later turned to Vietnamese studies because few scholars were involved in it. Yao considered Vietnam's history from the perspective of the regional conflict between the Red River Delta in the plains and the North Central Mountains. It was Lê Lợi, a member of the Thanh Hóa group in the North Central Mountains, who drove out the Ming and founded the Lê Dynasty. By focusing on this group in Thanh Hóa, Yao rethought the official Vietnamese national history that emphasizes the consistent historical superiority of the ethnic Việt people of the plains.⁵⁷ Both Yao and Momoki point out that they started their research under the influence of the international politics surrounding Vietnam in the 1970s, but at that time, the overromanticized "myths" of the Vietnamese revolution and nationalism were beginning to collapse. Therefore, they already had an objective point of view from which they were able to relativize the movements occurring in Vietnam at the time.

Momoki and Yao were able to pursue Vietnamese studies because of CSEAS and Sakurai as its affiliate. According to Momoki, the Kansai Region's regular meeting of the Japan Society for Southeast Asian History [JSSAH, Tōnan Ajia shi Gakkai] was actively held as an arena for discussion about Southeast Asia in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Momoki felt that there was a bright future in Southeast Asian historical studies, including premodern history, through Sakurai's passionate research activities in the histories of rural society and agricultural development and through the Study Group for Reading Classical Chinese, held in the 1980s.⁵⁸

FRUSTRATION IN UNREALIZABLE FIELDWORK

In this way, Kyoto University became one of the centers of Japanese South-east Asian studies, including Vietnamese studies, by gathering various scholars from the late 1970s to the 1980s. However, researchers interested in Vietnam were often frustrated. According to Momoki,

When I entered the doctoral course in the graduate school in 1981, I felt that my research was interesting, but the glory of Vietnam had faded due to the increasing numbers of boat people and the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia. The Young Scholars' Vietnam Study Group [Wakate no Betonamu Kenkyūkai] was established in 1982, but due to the loss of Vietnam's prestige and the difficulty of entering Vietnam, a considerable number of scholars of the antiwar generation abandoned Vietnamese studies. Few people in my generation were willing to study Vietnam.⁵⁹

Yao also stated that studying abroad in Vietnam, which at the time was in an economic crisis, was extremely difficult, and there were limits to the quantity and quality of historical materials collected in Japan.⁶⁰

It was thus the disappointment in Vietnam's politics itself, the difficulty of fieldwork, and the limitation of historical materials that inhibited the development of Vietnamese studies in Japan. Despite this situation, Momoki continued studying in Vietnam, and with the efforts of Ishii, Sakurai, and Furuta was able to study abroad at University of Hà Nội from 1986 to 1988.⁶¹ Yao also studied there from 1991 to 1993, when Vietnam's open-door policies were gradually opening the country to foreign scholars. Japanese scholars refer to this historical transition in Vietnam, where historical materials became available to foreigners, as the "revolution of historical materials in Vietnam."⁶²

Sakurai was one of the people who supported Momoki's study abroad in Vietnam, but Sakurai himself had difficulties doing fieldwork there. Sakurai was dispatched to Hà Nội in 1985 as a researcher affiliated with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, and he stayed there until the spring of 1987. However, in Vietnam just before and after the *Đổi Mới* reforms, it was very difficult for foreign scholars to carry out independent fieldwork.⁶³ However, prior to his stay in Vietnam, Sakurai had conducted extensive fieldwork in other regions of Southeast Asia. In 1978 in Thailand, following

the advice of topographer Yoshikazu Takaya, Sakurai obtained geographic and topographic maps, copied them by hand, and then investigated all of the named places. In India and Indonesia, he also researched rice cultivation and water management in rural villages with cultural anthropologists, geographers, and soil scientists.⁶⁴ As a result, Sakurai acquired Kyoto University-style fieldwork methods, in which researchers were required to collect comprehensive information about a village in collaboration with various researchers. In this way, Sakurai pursued his own discipline, "historical area studies." Making use of the knowledge gained from his fieldwork in rural societies, Sakurai questioned the established theory that large-scale dike networks and intensive rice cultivation had been widespread in the Red River Delta since ancient times, and argued that the large-scale embankment and reclamation had been implemented only after the Trần dynasty.⁶⁵

The Beginning of Fieldwork in the 1990s and Its Impact on Vietnamese Studies

THE BÁCH CỐC RESEARCH PROJECT AND THE TWILIGHT OF THE IDEAL SOCIAL MODEL

In 1990, Sakurai transferred to the Department of Oriental History, Faculty of Letters, at the University of Tokyo, where he was once educated. In 1994, after foreigners were in principle free to travel to and around Vietnam, Sakurai led seventeen young researchers including Japanese students to conduct "comprehensive village research" of the northern village of Bách Cốc near Nam Định City in the Red River Delta.⁶⁶ This research project was the first full-scale Japanese fieldwork project in Vietnam since 1975 and was carried out many times in the village until Sakurai passed away.

During this time, Sakurai sent many researchers to Hà Nội and "mobilized" Japanese students majoring in various disciplines to participate in the Bách Cốc Research Project, spending about three weeks per survey in Vietnam. Sakurai and other researchers aimed to accumulate data by conducting a basic survey of Bách Cốc Village, making detailed maps, and collecting information related to daily life, such as people's educational

backgrounds, work experiences, and household economies.⁶⁷ In addition to the historians Furuta, Momoki, and Yao mentioned above, sociologist Misaki Iwai, archaeologist Masaya Nishimura, anthropologist Michio Suenari, and agronomist Masayuki Yanagisawa participated in the project.⁶⁸ This comprehensive joint research project provided an important opportunity to demonstrate that Japan's study of Vietnam had reached a new turning point.

However, the results of this research have still not been realized. According to Atsufumi Katō, who conducted his anthropological fieldwork in Hà Tĩnh Province in central Vietnam in the first years of the twenty-first century, the reason for a lack of results is not only "Sakurai's death in 2012, but also that Sakurai and his team have collected too much data over many fields, so they have yet to present a theory for summarizing the multidisciplinary sources."⁶⁹

Another reason for the absence of results is that Sakurai was "worried about how to describe the constantly changing rural society in Vietnam" due to the market economy.⁷⁰ He seemingly refused to acknowledge such changes at Bách Cốc, however. According to his autobiography, Bách Cốc's collective farming system [*hợp tác xã*] continued to play an agricultural cooperative role even after Đổi Mới, in the face of a rapidly expanding market economy. Sakurai emphasized that the agricultural cooperative continued to function as a traditional village community, in his words, an "economy for eating." According to Sakurai, Bách Cốc's "landholding situation was surprisingly homogenous" and "this tradition began with the traditional village's communal land and sharing system called *công điền* that started five hundred years ago."⁷¹ By trying to find in Bách Cốc the characteristics of the typical northern village he had discussed in his analysis of historical sources, Sakurai overemphasized the homogeneity of rural society. During his annual fieldwork at Bách Cốc, he may have noticed that village society had been changing rapidly since Đổi Mới, but until his later years, he stubbornly refused to rethink his own idealized social model that he had imagined in Vietnam's villages.

On the other hand, in the 1990s when Sakurai visited Khánh Hậu Village in the Mekong Delta in southern Vietnam, which was the subject of research by Misaki Iwai and Mikiko Ōno, he noted how the people of

Khánh Hậu were more mobile than those of the typical northern village, as follows:

Rather than the characteristics of the village being different, the village itself is only an inorganic space. Villages in the Mekong Delta move. It is meaningless to analyze how much the structure of a moving village does not change. We have to understand it as a moving, changing, or dynamic structure.⁷²

Sakurai once used the phrase "moving village" or "moving peasant" for those rural societies that he had surveyed in northeastern Thailand.⁷³ He probably understood the villages in southern Vietnam as being related to the villages in mainland Southeast Asia. But his interest in Vietnam was in the villages of the northern Red River Delta, which were (or were expected to be) highly homogenous and symbolic of Vietnam. Therefore, for him, southern villages like Khánh Hậu with their "dynamic structure" were just exceptional cases. Sakurai's view of villages in the northern Red River Delta was quite static, and he was afraid that the society would change. It is clear that his view was influenced by his long-standing sympathy for Vietnamese revolution and nationalism, and that he sought this idealized image in those villages.

NEW RESEARCH DEVELOPMENTS FROM THE BÁCH CỐC RESEARCH PROJECT

As research progressed, individuals participating in the Bách Cốc Research Project began to realize that northern villages were not as static as Sakurai had thought. For example, through village fieldwork in Bắc Ninh Province, Iwai concluded that the collective production system of the agricultural cooperative had already been dismantled in the early 1980s before Đổi Mới, and women released from the system began to engage in work for family households.⁷⁴ Agricultural scientists such as Masayuki Yanagisawa revealed that in Bách Cốc since Đổi Mới, the role of the agricultural cooperative had changed significantly and facilitated the diversification of agricultural management by promoting the spread of various agricultural technologies. It also began to play new roles through its involvement in enterprising commercial agricultural production

activities.⁷⁵ In addition, based on archaeological research, Masanari Nishimura explored why a densely populated, agriculturally intensive, and culturally homogeneous village community with village-scale dikes emerged in the Red River Delta by focusing on the change of material culture from the Paleolithic era to the twentieth century. Nishimura revealed that the dynasties and village societies in the Red River Delta did not passively receive China's influence but rather consciously incorporating various cultural influences from multiple societies and polities such as the Champa, Mường, and Tai Dam peoples in order to create their own culture and identity.⁷⁶

More recently, Japanese researchers have tried to reconsider Vietnamese studies in Japan, which tended to conceive of the "typical" Vietnamese village based solely on the cases of the northern Red River Delta. Since the 1990s, some of the individuals who participated in the Bách Cốc Research Project have conducted fieldwork in the southern Mekong Delta, which has been regarded as the "frontier" of Vietnam. The above-mentioned Iwai and Ōno, as well as Shōichi Ōta, for example, conducted fieldwork in a settlement village in the delta's floodplain. They argue that people practice various social and cultural activities that cannot be attributed to the concepts of openness, social mobility, and economic rationality that have been regarded as typical features of the area. According to their research, local people have a sense of belonging to the patrilineal lineage, and it has become customary for the youngest child to inherit residential land.⁷⁷ Furthermore, by analyzing enormous amounts of statistical data and monographs from the viewpoint of the socioeconomic history of the Mekong Delta during the period of French colonial rule (Cochinchina), Yōko Takada reveals how export rice production was developed and how agricultural settlement land was expanded. In addition, using the oral narratives obtained from her fieldwork in villages near Cần Thơ City and Trà Vinh Province, Takada discusses how a settlement of villages of ethnic Việt (Kinh) people was planted, while indigenous ethnic Khmers were socially and economically marginalized in the modern Mekong Delta.⁷⁸ Research projects like these have gradually collapsed the stereotypical image of the Vietnamese village constructed by Japanese scholars of the Vietnam War generation.

New Dimensions in Fieldwork

AREA STUDIES VERSUS CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Michio Suenari (b. 1938), a cultural anthropologist who had already had many scholarly achievements in Taiwan and Okinawa, has helped develop Japanese anthropological studies in Vietnam since the 1990s. Suenari joined the *Bách Cốc* Research Project in 1993,⁷⁹ but has since ceased participating. Katō offered the following reason for this:

Suenari and some graduate students specializing in anthropology participated in the research project from the beginning, but eventually most of these researchers left the project. One of the reasons was that, in the framework of the project, the conditions for realizing long-term participant observation were insufficient. In addition, in the fieldwork of Sakurai's area studies, participants were required to first collect various material information and quantitative data in an exhaustive way, and then finally people's narratives. The soft facts such as people's daily customs lay outside the scope of research determined by the research group. Sakurai intentionally avoided issues related to thought and consciousness, especially those related to religion, perhaps because he considered such issues to be too sensitive, and recognized the "substructure" to be the fundamental and sole issue for understanding human life.⁸⁰

When Sakurai was affiliated with CSEAS, he thought that the national movement was a revolt of the poor, and so he frequently had disputes with Kenji Tsuchiya, who was working on Indonesian nationalism and viewed it as an ideological movement.⁸¹ Since the 1990s, the *Bách Cốc* Research Project also reflected the materialist attitude that underlay Sakurai's ideas. Therefore, there was a clear disciplinary gap between Sakurai and cultural anthropologists who focused on long-term observation of intangible phenomena, such as rituals, religious activities, and casual practices of people in their daily lives.

VIETNAM AS EAST ASIA

However, unlike Sakurai, who researched the Vietnamese village based on fieldwork and research in other areas of Southeast Asia, Suenari tended to understand the village in relation to East Asian regions. In speaking of Suenari's studies, Katō points out:

Suenari himself started from an anthropological study on ethnic minorities in Taiwan, but then, following the research methods of Ryūzō Torii (1870–1953), Suenari expanded his research field to Okinawa and Vietnam. Torii, who was a pioneer of anthropology in East Asia, conducted extensive fieldwork in most parts of East Asia on his own. Suenari had spent more than eight months in Vietnam since 1994 (at which time he was fifty-four years old), and during this period, he conducted fieldwork in Triều Khúc Village, Hà Đông Province, observing Vietnamese families, communities, and ancestral rituals.⁸²

Suenari's field survey of Triều Khúc led to the publication of a full-scale ethnographic book of the Red River Delta. This was the first time that a single-author work based on long-term intensive fieldwork in Vietnam was published in Japan. The ethnography focused on the organizational principles of the village, especially kinship organization [*đòng họ*], which it attempted to position within East Asian societies. In his book, Suenari points out that kin on the wife's and mother's sides are just as important to individuals as is patrilineal kin. He goes on to state that the influence of China alone could not explain the importance of patrilineal kinship in Vietnam and that it was necessary to compare it with closely related minorities such as the Mường and the Tai Dam.⁸³ In this way, while strongly recognizing the need to understand Vietnam's society in relation to the ethnic groups of mainland Southeast Asia, Suenari also considered Vietnam's society in comparison to East Asian countries such as China and Korea.

As Katō points out, Suenari was influenced by Ryūzō Torii, a pioneer of East Asian anthropology in Japan. The genealogy of Suenari's studies subtly overlapped with but was different from what earlier scholars of area studies and history had developed based on their interest in Vietnamese revolution and nationalism. Suenari's studies can be positioned within folklore studies and ethnology, which are the other branches in the academic genealogy of Vietnamese studies in Japan.⁸⁴ According to Katō, "for the humanities and social science scholars in Japan, the issue of village communities was not only an important theme for Vietnamese Studies, but also for historical, folkloric, and cultural studies of Japanese society. For researchers in Japan, Vietnam's society was one of a mixture of societies based on individual

relationships, as in ethnic Han societies and societies based on organizational relationships as in Japan."⁸⁵

Because conducting fieldwork was almost impossible in Vietnam until the late 1980s and early 1990s, Japan's perception of the country's culture and society had been formed by limited historical literature and other sources collected since before World War II. This perception and the established comparative framework played an important role in the Vietnam War generation's academic understanding of the country before experiencing it firsthand. However, it is worth noting that even fieldwork did not allow all scholars to fully move beyond existing frameworks for understanding Vietnam in Japanese scholarship. So while Suenari was correct in his belief that the territory of Vietnam's traditional dynasties, especially the rural societies of the Red River Delta, were formed under the overwhelming influence of China, attempting to understand Vietnam only from the perspective of East Asia runs the risk of ignoring social, cultural, and historical influences in more regional contexts.

All the same, some of the issues raised by Suenari have been developed by researchers who worked in Vietnam in the 1990s, mastered the language, and realized full-scale intensive field surveys. Regarding the role, status, and rights of women in the current Red River Delta village society, for example, Iwai discussed the role of women in the household economy,⁸⁶ and Chihiro Miyazawa, who conducted a survey in a village in Bắc Ninh Province, examined women's property rights and ancestral rituals in Vietnam in the premodern era from the perspective of historical anthropology.⁸⁷ In addition, Katō, who conducted an anthropological survey in a village in Hà Tĩnh Province, discusses how Confucianism, which is often regarded as a dominant ideology imposed on the population by Confucian dynasties and rulers, is accepted by the people, is used by them, and appears in daily life as localized and popularized morals.⁸⁸ These examples are indicative of how Suenari's approach to Vietnamese studies led to the development of a more diverse set of research topics in the field in Japan.

DIVERSIFICATION OF RESEARCH TOPICS

Sakurai, Nishimura, Suenari, and others have pointed out that the northern Vietnamese village society was formed within the context of close

relationships with ethnic minorities. Masao Kashinaga has been conducting an anthropological survey of Tai Dam society in the northwestern region of Vietnam since 1997. Referring to previous studies of patrilineal lineage groups in East Asia including Vietnam, he discussed the importance that the Tai Dam people place on genealogical recognition through analyzing their record book on ancestral spirits, which proves ancestral inheritance of patrilineal property and family name. According to Kashinaga, the Tai Dam record book on ancestral spirits has been a symbol of authority for dominant lineage groups and cultural elites. However, similar to many other societies in Southeast Asia, in daily life the Tai Dam patrilineal group showed an orientation toward kindred and marital alliances.⁸⁹ Masashi Okada also analyzed the traditional political structure of the Tai Dam in historical studies of early modern Southeast Asia by using historical sources written in classical Chinese and Tai Dam characters. As mentioned above, it has been pointed out that Tai society is related to the formation of the Red River Delta villages. Okada discussed how the autonomous polity, Muang, that existed in the basin and river valley in northwestern Vietnam centralized power in the development of inland transportation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and in the formation of political and military bases by local chiefs under the control of the Nguyễn Dynasty.⁹⁰

Another theme that has been actively researched since the 1990s is the relationship between the nation-state and ethnic minorities, first explored by Furuta and Yoshizawa of the Vietnam War generation. More recent studies have focused on the ethnicity of minorities involved in this relationship. Conducting a village survey in Lạng Sơn Province on the China-Vietnam border, Masako Itō discusses the creation of the Tày-Nùng ethnicities on the Vietnamese side, who had historically formed a common ethnicity with the Zhuang people in China. She points out that the Tày-Nùng people had come to acknowledge and accept the national border as a result of the influence of Vietnam's modern nation-state formation, wars against foreign countries, and ethnic policies.⁹¹ Furthermore, Miho Itō, who conducted a field survey at an ethnic minority boarding school in Vietnam's northern region, discussed the mechanism of resource allocation within the context of ethnic preferential treatment by the government. She pointed out a case in which students selectively registered themselves as

ethnic minorities in order to enjoy the advantage being able to go to university and other benefits of preferential treatment.⁹² Based on a field survey analysis and on historical resources such as classical Chinese and Cham scripts, Toshihiko Shine discussed the history of Vietnam's resettlement policy for ethnic minorities who had traditionally engaged in shifting cultivation in the Central Highlands.⁹³

Moreover, there is an increasing amount of research dealing with religions in Vietnam that were once politically taboo and rarely discussed. Yasuko Yoshimoto conducted an anthropological survey of the ethnic Cham Bani society in south-central Vietnam and analyzed its localized Islamic practices, which had been regarded as "heretical." She revealed various religious practices that did not fit the stereotypical definition of a Muslim.⁹⁴ Naohiro Kitazawa, who has analyzed Vietnam's religious policy in detail by focusing on Caodaism, based his research on his own collection of official documents produced by the local government. He demonstrated how the religious group's organization, personnel administration, and policies had been incorporated into the state's system in contemporary Vietnam.⁹⁵ In addition, the anthropologist Mariko Itō depicted how women who had exceeded the marriageable age and could not give birth to children had a relationship with others at the Cao Đài religious facility in Hà Nội, and reorganized their own lives within an intimate sphere.⁹⁶ Takeuchi, who has been researching popular religions in China and Vietnam, discussed how the ideas of Chinese religious associations spread to Vietnam's society from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, especially among Vietnam's populace. Takeuchi pointed out that such religious ideas originating in China tended to be reinterpreted from a uniquely Vietnamese perspective, with a new popular version emerging as a result.⁹⁷ Satoshi Serizawa, who wrote a doctoral dissertation in anthropology in Hong Kong, has regularly conducted fieldwork in Chợ Lớn, Vietnam's largest Chinese district, since the 1990s. He discussed the formation of the Protestant Church's historical network between Hong Kong and the Chinese living in Chợ Lớn.⁹⁸

Japanese scholars have also explored how the formation of the Mekong Delta's society in southern Vietnam cannot be explained solely by the settlement and land reclamation of immigrants from other regions. Yūji

Nakanishi, who conducted a field survey of a village in Sóc Trăng Province in the 1990s, analyzed the cultural hybridity that existed where marriages had taken place between ethnic Khmer, Chinese, and Việt people. He argued that Theravada Buddhism, which was often regarded as a custom of the Khmer people, coexisted with the ancestral rituals of the Chinese and the Việt people without any contradiction, and he cautioned against understanding ethnicity and customs from an essentialist perspective.⁹⁹ I have deepened Nakanishi's discussion by conducting fieldwork in another village in Sóc Trăng, where Khmer, Chinese, and Việt people also lived together. I collected and analyzed oral histories; ethnographic data about issues not reflected in statistics, such as ethnic and religious hybridities; people's migratory tendencies, including transnational movements to Cambodia; draft evasion at Buddhist temples during the war; and the formation of the black market during the socialist collectivization era. During the Vietnam War and during socialism after the mid-twentieth century, the state has not been able to properly grasp and control the high mobility and hybridity of local people living in multiethnic societies in the Mekong Delta. My findings show that weak state spaces, which have been created through struggle between people and state over social order in the region, have shrunk and reappeared repeatedly in different forms in response to political and social situations, even in the modern and contemporary eras.¹⁰⁰

Scholars in Japan have also been interested in traditional medicine, which is still in strong demand by local people, even in the midst of rapid changes resulting from globalization. Medical anthropologist Akemi Itagaki and the above-mentioned Suenari, Miyazawa, Kashinaga, and Takeuchi have explored Vietnamese medical practices and beliefs by examining rituals, daily use of herbs, community, and popular religion.¹⁰¹ Oda also discussed various policies and controversies over the national institutionalization of traditional medicine in modern and contemporary Vietnam by focusing on various concepts such as southern and northern medicine [*thuốc nam, thuốc bắc*], or Eastern and Western medicine [*đông y, tây y*].¹⁰²

Japanese scholars have also explored the social and political changes taking place in Vietnam from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century within the context of global history and early modern Southeast Asia.

Takashi Hasuda reconsidered the political history of the late Lê Dynasty in Vietnam as an internationally open world, referring to the concept of the "Chinese Century" advocated by Anthony Reid in the 1990s.¹⁰³ Yoshihiro Taga discussed why the use of silver, which in the nineteenth century had come to be treated as an international currency of settlement in Asia, expanded under the Nguyễn Dynasty's financial management, and why silver payments were promoted in the tax system.¹⁰⁴ Inspired by Victor Lieberman's book *Strange Parallels*, Shinya Ueda argued that the modern seventeenth-to-eighteenth-century Vietnam had transformed from a South-east Asian society with a frontier character to an East Asian society consisting of social groups with closed and fixed membership.¹⁰⁵ Minoru Shimao, who examined the political history of the Nguyễn Dynasty, discussed how the imperial examination and bureaucracy system had been established in northern and southern Vietnam. According to him, the Nguyễn Dynasty proceeded to standardize the governing system as the northern village model had been applied to the frontier region in southern Vietnam. On the other hand, the dynasty tried to balance the north and south, for example by distinguishing northern and the southern people and preventing the bureaucracy from becoming dominated by people from northern regions where the imperial examinations had a longer history.¹⁰⁶ Kazuki Yoshikawa considered the history of Lạng Sơn Province from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. He argued that since the second half of the eighteenth century, interventions by Vietnam's dynasties and local officials, social and political upheaval, and destabilization of communities all challenged the authorities of local chiefs in Tày-Nùng society.¹⁰⁷

By focusing on the popular memory rather than on the official history, scholars following the Vietnam War generation also attempted to reconsider the Vietnam War, which had once tended to be discussed within the framework of revolution and nationalism. Akio Imai (b. 1956) collected the oral histories of people who had been soldiers on the revolutionary side and argued that in recent years, the memories were shifting from being national possessions to more popular ones.¹⁰⁸ Masako Itō (b. 1964), together with a Korean journalist, interviewed people who survived in the area where Korean soldiers had massacred civilians during the Vietnam War, and discussed how the perpetrators and victims of the war could be reconciled.¹⁰⁹

Many researchers have also started to pay attention to the overseas Vietnamese communities formed by those who had immigrated to Japan and the United States for various reasons. Hiroko Furuya analyzed the factors that since the 1990s have transformed the Vietnamese Communist Party's policy toward overseas Vietnamese. She considered how policy transformation affected Vietnamese Americans' views of the Vietnamese government, the government's views of Vietnamese Americans, and the government's views on Vietnamese national identity at home and abroad.¹¹⁰ Erina Seto-Suh showed how the Vietnamese in Japan who needed a tropical vegetable garden negotiated with landowners over their lands, which had been abandoned due to aging and diminishing numbers of workers in Japanese society. By considering the negotiation, she revealed the process of creating a new social space in a community that has accepted Vietnamese refugees since the late 1970s.¹¹¹

In this way, Japanese scholars who entered the field after the 1990s have diversified research subjects. As fieldwork in Vietnam has become possible, these scholars have not only addressed classical issues such as rural community studies centered on the Red River Delta, patrilineal kinship, and revolution and nationalism, but have also looked into new topics that had not yet been treated due to material restrictions. However, with the diversification of research, scholars have come to position their own studies within multiple research frameworks by relying on each researcher's discipline or more varied previous studies written in English and Vietnamese. As a result of this diversification, however, Japanese scholars tend to have fewer opportunities than their predecessors to discuss the common themes developed within the Vietnamese studies community.

Conclusion

The field of Vietnamese studies in Japan changed dramatically after fieldwork in Vietnam became possible starting in the 1990s. As a result of diversified surveys resulting not only from area and anthropological studies but also from studies on a vast number of unpublished archives, inscriptions, and archaeological remains, researchers have been gradually revealing Vietnam's diversity and complexity. The Vietnam War generation has struggled to intellectually relate the reality of Vietnam to the ideal social model in which

they once believed. In contrast, later researchers who did not participate in the student movement and who did not watch the Vietnam War coverage in real time did not require Vietnam to be an ideal social model and tended to accept the reality in Vietnam's diverse and complex societies based on more academic interests. Those who were able to study or research in Vietnam explored various research subjects, many of which had never received attention. However, the number of young researchers working in Vietnamese studies in Japan has been on the decline in recent years due to the absence of sensational events such as conflict and democratization. Vietnamese studies in Japan increased from the 1960s to 1990s owing to Vietnam's political turmoil, but since the first years of the twenty-first century, when Vietnam's society and politics began to stabilize, the field has become less popular.

This, however, does not only come from a decline in domestic (Japanese) or global interest in Vietnam. Although Vietnamese studies in Japan has become more diverse, the field has also inherited the traditions of oriental history that have persisted since the pre-World War II era, as well as studies from the French colonial era. While these traditions have promoted a strong interest in village communities, patrilineal kinship, nationalism, and revolution, mainly in the northern Red River Delta, this interest has stemmed from comparisons with East Asia rather than Southeast Asia. Research frameworks formed over a long tradition with a particular focus on specific fields and subjects is one of the strengths of Vietnamese studies in Japan. However, at the same time, it may have created a slight discrepancy with the latest academic trends in various disciplines and Southeast Asian studies and may be linked to the cause of a decrease in the number of people who choose Vietnam as a research subject.

Furthermore, the diversification of Vietnamese studies in Japan has meant that each scholar tends to be trapped within his or her disciplinary framework and narrowed scope of research. In recent years, researchers in Japan have been more active in academic communities organized according to nation-state, such as the Japan Society for Vietnamese Studies, the Japanese Society for Thai Studies, and the Japan Association for Indonesian Studies, rather than the Japan Society for Southeast Asian Studies, which was founded in 1966 (formerly known as Japan Society for Southeast Asian History, renamed in 2006). While the regional category as an

arena in which scholars discuss common themes has been subdivided, there is discussion to restructure or dismantle the academic frameworks of Southeast Asia and East Asia that have been constructed, repositioning them within diachronically and synchronically larger perspectives. This would mean creating a new form of area studies as a larger arena. Scholars working on the study of Vietnam in Japan in particular should pursue research from this new perspective in order to increase the future numbers of young researchers.

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the development of Vietnamese studies in post-World War II Japan. During the Vietnam War, Vietnamese studies in Japan was developed by a young generation of academics who were shocked by war coverage. Some of these scholars viewed Vietnamese society and its nationalist spirit as their “ideal social model,” and dedicated themselves to research topics centered on Vietnam’s rural society, revolution, and nationalism. However, when fieldwork became possible in the 1990s after the Đổi Mới reforms, research subjects became diversified among scholars

who came after the Vietnam War generation as they encountered the country's diverse realities.

KEYWORDS: Vietnam War generation, ideal social model, reality, fieldwork, *Đôi Mới*

Notes

1. Mikiko Ōno, "The Present Condition of Vietnam Rural Studies in Japan," *Asian Research Trends New Series 2* (2007): 19–42; Yōko Hayami, "Within and Beyond the Boundaries: Anthropological Studies of Mainland Southeast Asia since the 1950s," *Japanese Review of Cultural Anthropology 2* (2001): 77–81; Michio Suenari, ed., *Betonamu ni kansuru Nihon jinruigaku kenkyū no sōkatsu to genchi e no hasshin* ベトナムに関する日本人類学研究の総括と現地への発信 [Summarizing Japan's Anthropological Studies on Vietnam and Reporting the Contents to Vietnam] (Tokyo: Bunkyo-dō, 2006); Atsufumi Katō, "Những đặc điểm của nhân học về Việt Nam ở Nhật Bản" [Characteristics of Anthropological Studies on Vietnam in Japan], in *Nhân học ở Việt Nam: Một số vấn đề lịch sử, nghiên cứu và đào tạo* [Anthropology in Vietnam: Some Historical Issues, Research and Training], ed. Nguyễn Văn Sửu et al. (Hà Nội: Nhà xuất Bản Tri thức, 2016), 211–226; Petra Karlová, *Japan's Pre-War Perspective of Southeast Asia: Focusing on Ethnologist Matsumoto Nobuhiro's Works during 1919–1945* (Tokyo: Waseda University Press, 2018).
2. Nobuhiro Matsumoto, *Indoshina no minzoku to bunka* 印度支那の民族と文化 [Culture and Ethnic Groups in Indochina] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1942). Petra Karlová observed Japan's pre-World War II perspective of Southeast Asia by focusing on ethnologist Matsumoto Nobuhiro's works from 1919 to 1945. Matsumoto was well known as a founder of Japan's Southeast Asian and Vietnamese studies in the prewar era, and also an advocator of Southward Theory, in which he claimed that the Japanese originated in the South, especially Southeast Asia or the Southern Pacific Islands. However, Karlová notes that Matsumoto began studying the people of Southeast Asia as a result of his study of evolutionist ethnology in the early 1920s, began focusing on the South Seas in the late 1920s owing to the diffusionist influence during his study in France, and adopted the Western geographical concept of Southeast Asia from Western research materials that he brought from French Indochina in the 1930s. According to Karlová, in order to propagate the new disciplines of ethnology and Southeast Asian studies, Matsumoto borrowed some

- arguments from Japan's Southern Advance Theory and Pan-Asianism (Karlović, *Japan's Pre-War Perspective of Southeast Asia*, 251–252).
3. Kōichirō Uno, “‘Hōzan kikō’ shitan: Betonamu shūkyō kenkyū (1)” 「宝山奇香」 試探：ベトナム宗教研究(1) [Wandering in the “Radiant mountain, unearthly fragrance”: The Study of Vietnamese Religious Movements, no. 1], *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* 民族学研究 [Japanese Journal of Ethnology] 43, no. 4 (1979): 333–354; Kōichirō Uno, “Minami kara mita ‘Nangoku’: Betonamu shūkyō kenkyū (2)” [南からみた「南国」：ベトナム宗教運動研究(2) The Southern Kingdoms Seen from the South: The Study of Vietnamese Religious Movements, no. 2], *Minzokugaku Kenkyū* 民族学研究 [Japanese Journal of Ethnology] 45, no. 2 (1980): 111–133; Kazumasa Kikuchi, *Indoshina no shōsū minzoku shakai shi* インドシナの少数民族社会誌 [The Social Ethnography of Ethnic Minorities in Indochina] (Tokyo: Taimeidō, 1989).
 4. However, during the Vietnam War, a few journalists and researchers stayed in South Vietnam, writing essays on people's daily lives there. Although they were not ethnographers, they depicted ordinary people's culture and society during the war, and had a considerable influence on Japanese scholars' views of Vietnam. For example, Mikio Mori wrote a survey report on a village located in Châu Đốc in the Mekong Delta, which was based on a short-term survey of the delta. See Mikio Mori, “Vetnamu nanbu sonraku chōsa kiroku: Josetsu” ヴェトナム南部村落調査記録—序説 [Field Survey Note in Southern Part of Viet Nam: Introductory Part], *Ajia Afurika Gengo Bunka Kenkyū* アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究 [Journal of Asian and African Studies] no. 4 (1971): 163–187. Journalist Katsuichi Honda depicted a village under control of the National Liberation Front. See Katsuichi Honda, *Senjō no mura* 戦場の村 [Village at War] (Tokyo: Asahi Bunko, 1981). Another journalist, Kōichi Kondō, published the detailed reportage, which also depicted people's daily lives just before and after the “fall of Sài Gòn.” See Kōichi Kondō, *Saigon no ichiban nagai hi* サイゴンの一番長い日 [Longest Day in Saigon] (Tokyo: Bunshun Bunko, 1985). Prominent Japanese novelist Takeshi Kaikō visited South Vietnam in the 1960s and wrote an essay that focused on the voices of South Vietnamese and American soldiers as well as civilians. See Takeshi Kaikō, *Betonamu senki* ベトナム戦記 [The Vietnam War Report] (Tokyo: Asahi Bunko, 1965).
 5. Sakurai, *Hitotsu no taiyō ōruweizu* 一つの太陽 オールウェイズ [A Sun: Always] (Tokyo: Mekon, 2013).
 6. See Nhung Tuyet Tran and Anthony Reid, “Introduction: The Construction of Vietnamese Historical Identities,” in *Việt Nam: Borderless Histories*, ed. Nhung Tuyet Tran and Anthony Reid (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 14–15, and Li Tana, “The Eighteenth-Century Mekong Delta and

- Its World of Water Frontier,” in Nhung Tuyet Tran and Reid, *Việt Nam: Borderless Histories*, 147. These scholars point out some problems of the previous Vietnamese studies in the English and Vietnamese academic worlds.
7. Vietnamese studies in Japan developed significantly during the Vietnam War. However, even though government publications, statistics, magazines, and newspapers published in South Vietnam and the United States at the same time were collected by research institutes such as the Institute of Developing Economies [Aija Keizai Kenkyūjo] in Japan, scholars of the Vietnam War generation tended not to use these materials.
 8. According to Takamichi Serizawa, who examined the commonalities, differences, and interactions of Filipino and Japanese histories, Japan’s Filipino historians of the post–World War II era rewrote their national history under “America’s shadow,” and denied the pan-Asianistic historiography in the prewar era on its surface. While they have a strong sympathy for Southeast Asian nationalism against the United States, these historians recreated their knowledge with the contradiction that they are strongly influenced by Southeast Asian studies in the United States. See Takamichi Serizawa, *Writing History in America’s Shadow: Japan, the Philippines, and the Question of Pan-Asianism* (Singapore and Kyoto: NUS Press in association with Kyoto University Press, 2020). Since Vietnamese studies in postwar Japan was developed by scholars who viewed the Vietnam War as an “anti-American war” by the Vietnamese people, Serizawa’s arguments are useful in this article. However, the Philippines, which was under American colonial rule before World War II, remained under the overwhelming influence of the United States after the war ended, while Vietnam was under French colonial rule, and after independence, it was divided into the North under control of the socialist government and the South under the strong influence of the United States. Thus, it should be noted that the historical backgrounds that shaped academia differed between Vietnam and the Philippines.
 9. Sakurai, *Hitotsu no taiyō ōruweizu*, 27.
 10. Hisashi Maki, “Annan Ōkoku” no yume: *Betonamu dokuritsu wo shien sita Nihonjin* 「安南王国」の夢—ベトナム独立を支援した日本人 [The Dream of “Annam Kingdom”: Japanese Who Supported Vietnamese Independence] (Tokyo: WEDGE, 2012), 107–119, and Fusaji Takeuchi and Chihiro Miyazawa, eds., *Nishikawa Kansei, ‘Saigon Nikki’: 1995 nen 9 gatsu – 1957 nen 6 gatsu* 西川寛生「サイゴン日記」—九五五年九月～一九五七年六月 [The Diary of Kansei Nishikawa in Sài Gòn: September 1955– June 1957] (Tokyo: Fūkyōsha, 2015), 1, 291.
 11. Shirō Momoki, “Tōnan Ajia shi no genzai, kako, mirai” 東南アジア史研究の過去・現在・未来 [Past, Present, and Future of Southeast Asian Historical

- Studies] in *Tōnan Ajia shi, bekkān, Tōnan Ajia shi kenkyū annai* 東南アジア史 別巻—東南アジア史研究案内 [Southeast Asian History, Separate Volume, Introduction of Southeast Asian Historical Studies], ed. Setsuho Ikehata et al. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2003), 4.
12. Pierre Gourou, *Futsuin no sonraku to nōmin* 佛印の村落と農民 [Village and Peasant in French Indochina], trans. Kanji Naitō (Tokyo: Mantesu Chōsakyoku zōban, Seikatsusha, 1945), originally published as *Les paysans du delta tonkinois* [The Peasants of the Tonkin Delta] (Paris, 1936); Yves Henri, *Futsuryō Indoshina no nōgyō keizai* 佛領印度支那の農業経済 上中下巻 [Agricultural Economy in French Indochina], trans. Tōa Kenkyūjo (Tokyo: Tōa Kenkyūjo, 1941), originally published as *Économie agricole de l'Indochine* [Agricultural Economy in Indochina] (Hà Nội: Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, 1932).
 13. According to Sakurai, although Taturō Yamamoto began to organize the study group on the history of the Southern Region in 1942, Yamamoto did not cooperate with military authorities at all, so he was able to continue his research even after all Southeast Asian studies programs at institutes and universities were dissolved by the GHQ after World War II (Sakurai, *Hitotsu no taiyō ōruweizu*, 28). In this way, Yamamoto is considered to have been consciously trying to stay away from politics based on his experience during World War II. However, in recent years Takamichi Serizawa points out that Yamamoto was never apolitical and was rather sympathetic to the national movements by Buddhists and the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam during the Vietnam War. Serizawa, *Writing History*, 49–60.
 14. Sakurai, *Hitotsu no taiyō ōruweizu*, 29–30, 36.
 15. Yoshiharu Tsuboi, *Kindai Vetonamu seiji shakai shi* 近代ヴェトナム政治社会史—阮朝嗣徳統治下のヴェトナム1847–1883 [The Political and Social History in the Modern Vietnam: Vietnam under the Reign of Tu Duc during the Nguyen Dynasty 1847–1883] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1991), 295–296.
 16. Yoshiharu Tsuboi, *Vetonamu gendai seiji* ヲトナム現代政治 [Contemporary Politics in Vietnam] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2002), 251.
 17. Tsuboi, *Kindai Vetonamu seiji shakai shi*, 7. All translations are mine.
 18. Yoshiharu Tsuboi, *Vetonamu: 'Yutakasa' e no yoake* [ヴェトナム—「豊かさ」への夜明け Vietnam: The Dawn toward “Richness”] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1994), and Tsuboi, *Vetonamu gendai seiji*.
 19. Tsuboi, *Vetonamu: 'Yutakasa' e no yoake*, ii.
 20. The United Red Army (Rengō Sekigun) was a Japanese extreme left-wing organization centered on students who aimed to realize a radical communist society. In the early 1970s, it carried out several high-profile acts of violence.

Regarding the Union Red Army, Sakurai says, "the huge tragic fact that I might have been a person concerned in the affairs is too painful." Sakurai, *Hitotsu no taiyō ōruweizu*, 40.

21. Ibid., 41.
22. Eiji Oguma, 1968 'Jō': *Wakamono tachi no hanran to sono haikai 1968* [上] 一若者たちの叛乱とその背景 [1968, vol. 1, The Youth Revolt and Its Background] (Tokyo: Shiyōsha, 2009), 34-35.
23. Sakurai, *Hitotsu no taiyō ōruweizu*, 27, 41.
24. Yumio Sakurai, *Betonamu sonraku no keisei: Sonraku kyōyūden = Kondien sei no shiteki tenkai* ベトナム村落の形成—村落共有田=コンディエン制の史的展開 [Formation of the Vietnamese Village: Historical Analysis of the Establishment of Communal Land in Northern Vietnam] (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1987), and Shirō Momoki, *Chūsei Daietsu kokka no seiritsu to henyō* 中世大越国家の成立と変容 [The Formation and Transformation of the Medieval State of Dai Viet] (Osaka: Osaka University Press, 2011), 69.
25. George Coedès, *Indoshina bunmei shi* インドシナ文明史 [The History of Indochina Civilization], trans. Noboru Karashima, Akiko Uchida, and Yumio Sakurai (Tokyo: Misuzu Shobō, 1969), originally published as *Les peuples de la péninsule indochinoise: Histoire – civilisations* [The Peoples of the Indochinese Peninsula: History, Civilizations] (Paris: Dunod, 1962); recounted in Sakurai, *Hitotsu no taiyō ōruweizu*, 42-43.
26. Aiko Kurasawa, *Onna ga gakusha ni naru toki* 女が学者になるとき [When a Woman Becomes a Scholar] (Tokyo: Sōshisha, 1998), 22-23.
27. Sakurai, *Hitotsu no taiyō ōruweizu*, 44.
28. Ibid., 27.
29. Eiji Oguma, 1968 'Ge': *Hanran no shūen to sono isan 1968* [下] 一叛乱の終焉とその遺産 [1968, vol. 2, The End of the Youth Revolt and Its Legacy] (Tokyo: Shiyōsha, 2009), 781.
30. Tsuboi, *Vetonamu: 'Yutakasa' e no Yoake*, ii.
31. Eiji Oguma, 'Minshu' to 'aikoku': *Sengo Nihon no nashonarizumu to kōkyōsei* 〈民主〉と〈愛国〉—戦後日本のナショナルリズムと公共性 ["Democracy" and "Patriotism": Nationalism and Public Nature in Postwar Japan] (Tokyo: Shiyōsha, 2002), 584.
32. Minami Yoshizawa, *Ko to kyōdōsei: Ajia no shakai shugi* 個と共同性—アジアの社会主義 [Individuality and Community: Socialism in Asia] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1987), 288.
33. Minami Yoshizawa, *Betonamu gendai shi no naka no shominzoku* ベトナム現代史のなかの諸民族 [Ethnicities in Contemporary Vietnamese History] (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1982), 255-256.

34. Minami Yoshizawa, *Watashitachi no naka no Ajia no Sensō: Futsuryō Indoshina no 'Nihonjin'* 私たちの中のアジアの戦争—仏領インドシナの「日本人」 [The Asian War in Our Society: “Japanese” in French Indochina] (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun, 1986).
35. Yoshizawa, *Ko to kyōdōsei*, 289.
36. Minami Yoshizawa, *Betonamu Sensō: Minshū ni totte no senjō* ベトナム戦争—民衆にとっての戦場 [The Vietnam War: The Battlefield for the People] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1999), 250.
37. Munehiro Nohira analyzed the thoughts of Phạm Công Thiệu (1941–2011), a thinker from South Vietnam who wandered around France and the United States. Phạm Công Thiệu’s idea, which was formed during the Vietnam War, was an attempt to connect the ideas of Buddhism, Martin Heidegger, Henry Miller, and so on. Phạm Công Thiệu argued that the ultimate cause of war was the power of modern masses underpinned by Western metaphysics that was common to both capitalism and communism, and emphasized that a primordial dialogue of East-West thoughts was necessary. See Munehiro Nohira, *Atarashii ishiki: Betonamu no bōmei shisōka Famu Kon Tien* 新しい意識—ベトナムの亡命思想家ファム・コン・ティエン [New Consciousness: Vietnam’s Exile Thinker, Phạm Công Thiệu] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009).
38. Motoo Furuta, *Betonamu Kyōsan shugisha no minzoku seisaku shi: Kakumei no naka no esunishiti* ベトナム共産主義者の民族政策史—革命の中のエスニシティ [A History of Ethnic Policies by Vietnamese Communists: Ethnicities in the Revolution] (Tokyo: Ōtsuki Shoten, 1991), 701.
39. Motoo Furuta, “Furuta Motoo saishū kōgi rejume shiryō, ‘Betonamu kenkyū no miryoku’” 古田元夫最終講義レジュメ資料「ベトナム研究の魅力」 [Attractiveness of Vietnamese Studies, Motoo Furuta’s Final Lecture Material, October 9, 2015], and *Nihon Betonamu Yūkō Kyōkai Ōsaka fu Rengōkai Hōmupēgi* 日本ベトナム友好協会大阪府連合会ホームページ [Japan-Vietnam Friendship Association of Osaka Prefecture website], Shirō Momoki, “Dai 15 wa Nihon jin no Ryūgakusei” 第15話日本人の留学生 [Chapter 15: Japanese International Students], <http://lyshuki.nhatvietosaka.jp/syuki/coso15.html> (accessed April 23, 2020).
40. Motoo Furuta, *Rekishī toshitenō Betonamu Sensō* 歴史としてのベトナム戦争 [Vietnam War as History] (Tokyo: Ōtsuki Shoten, 1991).
41. Furuta, *Betonamu kyōsan shugisha no minzoku seisaku shi*; Motoo Furuta, *Betonamu no sekai shi: Chūka sekai kara Tōnan Ajia sekai e* ベトナムの世界史—中華世界から東南アジア世界へ [The World History Seen from Vietnam: From Chinese World to Southeast Asian World] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1995).

42. Motoo Furuta, *Doi Moi no Tanjō* ドイモイの誕生 [The Birth of Đổi Mới] (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 2009). Based on the primary data published after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Hirohide Kurihara explored the historical relations between the Comintern and the Indochinese Communist Party. See Hirohide Kurihara, *Kominterun shisutemu to Indoshina Kyōsan tō* コミンテルン・システムとインドシナ共産党 [Comintern System and Indochinese Communist Party] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 2005).
43. Masaya Shiraishi, *Betonamu minzoku undō to Nihon, Ajia: Fan Boi Chau no kakumei shisō to taigai ninshiki* ベトナム民族運動と日本・アジアファン・ボーイ・チャウの革命思想と対外認識 [Vietnamese National Movement and Japan/Asia: Phan Boi Chau's Revolutionary Thought and External Perception] (Tokyo: Gannandō Shoten, 1993).
44. Masaya Shiraishi, *Nihon wo mezashita Betonamu no eiyū to ōji: Fan Boi Chau to Kuon De* [日本をめざしたベトナムの英雄と皇子—ファン・ボーイ・チャウとクオンデ] [Vietnam's Hero and Prince Heading to Japan: Phan Bội Châu and Cường Để] (Tokyo: Sairyūsha, 2012).
45. Masaya Shiraishi, "Shiraishi Masaya kyōju ryakureki, gyōseki mokuroku" 白石昌也教授略歴・業績目録 [Prof. Masaya Shiraishi's Biography and Research Achievement List], *Ajia Taiheiyō Tōkyū* アジア太平洋討究 [Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies] 31 (2018): 213.
46. Shiraishi, *Betonamu minzoku undō to Nihon, Ajia*, 1–2.
47. Masaya Shiraishi, "Jēmuzu Sukotto Nōmin no Moraru Ekonomī ni kansuru oboegaki" ジェームズ・スコット『農民のモラル・エコノミー』に関する覚書 [The Memorandum on James Scott's *Moral Economy of the Peasant*], *Ajia Kenkyū* アジア研究 [Asian Studies] 26, no. 4 (1980): 95–120; Masaya Shiraishi, "Tōnan Ajia nōson shakai ron no saikin no dōkō wo megutte: Moraru ekonomii ron to poritikaru ekonomii ron wo chūshin ni" 東南アジア農村社会論の最近の動向をめぐって—モラル・エコノミー論とポリティカル・エコノミー論を中心に [Current Research Trends on Southeast Asian Rural Society: Focusing on Moral Economy and Political Economy], *Toyō Bunka* 東洋文化 [Oriental Culture] 64 (1984): 119–152. See also James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), and Samuel L. Popkin, *The Rational Peasant: The Political Economy of Rural Society in Vietnam* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).
48. Masaya Shiraishi, "State, Villagers, and Vagabonds: Vietnamese Rural Society and the Phan Bá Vành Rebellion," in *History and Peasant Consciousness in Southeast Asia*, ed. Andrew Turton and Shigeharu Tanabe (Osaka: Senri Ethnological Studies 13, National Museum of Ethnology, 1984), 345–400.
49. Masaya Shiraishi, "Shiraishi Masaya kyōju ryakureki, gyōseki mokuroku," 213.

50. Sakurai, *Hitotsu no taiyō ōruweizu*, 46–47.
51. *Ibid.*, 45–46.
52. Kenji Tsuchiya, who belonged to the CSEAS, was inspired by the work of Benedict Anderson and discussed the birth of Indonesian nationalism by focusing on a young woman named Kartini in the early twentieth century. See Kenji Tsuchiya, *Karutini no Fūkei カルティニの風景* [Kartini's Image of Java's Landscape] (Tokyo: Mekon, 1991). Ishii discussed the relation between Thai Theravada Buddhism and royal power, as well as the rationalization of Buddhism by referring to the social theory of Max Weber. See Yoneo Ishii, *Jōzabu Bukkyō no seiji shakaigaku 上座部仏教の政治社会学* [Political Sociology of Theravada Buddhism] (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1975).
53. Sakurai, *Hitotsu no taiyō ōruweizu*, 46.
54. Momoki, *Chūsei Daietsu kokka*.
55. Shirō Momoki, ed., *Kaiiki Ajia shi nyūmon 海域アジア史研究入門* [Introduction to Maritime Asian Historical Studies] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2008).
56. Momoki, *Chūsei Daietsu kokka*, 425.
57. Takao Yao, *Sho rei chō Vetonamu no seiji to shakai 初黎朝ヴェトナムの政治と社会* [Politics and Society in Vietnam during the Early Lê Dynasty] (Hiroshima: Hiroshima University Press, 2009), 412, 442–443.
58. Momoki, *Chūsei Daietsu kokka*, 426.
59. *Ibid.* The “antiwar generation” is almost same as the Vietnam War generation, but the social movement of the Vietnam War generation had many aims to change Japan's society beyond being against the Vietnam War.
60. Yao, *Sho rei chō Vetonamu no seiji to shakai*, 443.
61. Momoki, *Chūsei Daietsu kokka*, 426.
62. Yao, *Sho rei chō Vetonamu no seiji to shakai*, 443–444.
63. Sakurai, *Hitotsu no taiyō ōruweizu*, 87–95.
64. *Ibid.*, 62–72, 87–95.
65. Yumio Sakurai, “Chin chō ki Kōga Deruta kaitaku shiron (1): Nishi Hanrangen no kaitaku” 陳朝期紅河デルタ開拓試論(1)—西沱濫原の開拓 [The Red River Delta in the Tran Dynasty (1225–1400)] *Tōnan Ajia Kenkyū 東南アジア研究* [Southeast Asian Studies] 27, no. 3 (1989): 275–300, and Momoki, *Chūsei Daietsu kokka*, 51.
66. Sakurai, *Hitotsu no taiyō ōruweizu*, 123, 138–139, 144–149.
67. *Ibid.*, 136–139, 147–151; Betonamu Sonraku Kenkyūkai ベトナム村落研究会 [Vietnam Village Study Group], *Bakkukokku sha Tsūshin Dai 11 Gō 百穀社通信第11号* [Bách Cốc Report, vol. 11] (2001).
68. See Betonamu Sonraku Kenkyūkai Hōmupēgi ベトナム村落研究会ホームページ [Vietnam Village Study Group website], Sakurai Yumio, “Betonamu

- Sonraku Kenkyūkai no Ayumi ベトナム村落研究会の歩み [The Course of Vietnam Village Study Group], <http://vietnam.macserver.jp/readmore.php> (accessed April 27, 2020).
69. Katō, “Những đặc điểm của nhân học về Việt Nam ở Nhật Bản,” 219.
 70. Sakurai, *Hitotsu no taiyō ōruweizu*, 191.
 71. Ibid., 156.
 72. Ibid.
 73. Ibid., 153, and Yumio Sakurai, *Midori iro no yachō: Tōnan Ajia no rekishi wo aruku* 緑色の野帖—東南アジアの歴史を歩く [Green Field Note: Walking through Southeast Asian History] (Tokyo: Mekon, 1997), 331–352.
 74. Misaki Iwai, “Betonamu Hokubu nōson ni okeru shakai henyō to josei rōdō: Bakkunin shō Chanrietto mura no jirei kara” ベトナム北部農村における社会変容と女性労働—バックニン省チャンリエット村の事例から [Rural Transformation and Women’s Labour in North Vietnam: The Case of Trang Liệt Village, Bắc Ninh Province], *Tōnan Ajia Kenkyū* 東南アジア研究 [Southeast Asian Studies] 36, no. 4 (1999): 525–545.
 75. Masayuki Yanagisawa et al., “Changes in Village-Level Cropping Patterns in the Red River Delta after Doi Moi: A Case Study of the Coc Thanh Cooperative in Nam Dinh Province, Vietnam,” *Japanese Journal of Tropical Agriculture* 43, no. 3 (1999):170–180.
 76. Masanari Nishimura, *Betonamu no kōko kodai gaku* ベトナムの考古・古代学 [Archaeology and Ancient History of Vietnam] (Tokyo: Dōseisha, 2011).
 77. Misaki Iwai, Mikiko Ōno, and Shōichi Ōta, *Betonamu shin keizai mura no tanjō* ベトナム新経済村の誕生 [The Birth of Vietnam’s New Economic Village] (Tokyo: KUIS Press, 2016), 274–275.
 78. Yōko Takada, *Mekon Deruta no daitochi shoyū: Mushu no tochi kara taminzoku shakai e, Furansu Shokuminchi shugi no 80 nen* メコンデルタの大土地所有一無主の土地から多民族社会へ フランス植民主義の80年 [The Making of Large Landholding in the Mekong Delta during the French Colonial Period: From Terra Nullius to Multiethnic Societies] (Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 2014).
 79. See Sakurai, “Betonamu Sonraku Kenkyūkai no Ayumi,” <http://vietnam.macserver.jp/readmore.php> (accessed April 27, 2020).
 80. Katō, “Những đặc điểm của nhân học về Việt Nam ở Nhật Bản,” 220.
 81. Sakurai, *Midori iro no yachō*, 431–432.
 82. Katō, “Những đặc điểm của nhân học về Việt Nam ở Nhật Bản,” 218.
 83. Michio Suenari, *Betonamu no sosen saishi: Chōkyoku no shakai seikatsu* ベトナムの祖先祭祀—潮曲の社会生活 [Social Life and Ancestors in a Vietnamese Village on the Outskirts of Hà Nội] (Tokyo: Fūkyōsha, 1998), 324–326.

84. Regarding the genealogy of Japan's folklore studies and ethnology on Vietnam, see Katō, "Những đặc điểm của nhân học về Việt Nam ở Nhật Bản," and Karlová, *Japan's Pre-War Perspective of Southeast Asia*.
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86. Iwai, "Betonamu Hokubu nōson ni okeru."
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