

# Contents

*Preface ix*

## **1 Colonialism and the Vietnamese Community 1**

The Setting and the Meaning of the Vietnamese Revolution 1

The Social Revolutionism of the Early Colonialists 8

The Decline of the Bureaucracy's Power to Summarize National Life 14

Social Change and the Sterile Seedtime of Modern Law 22

## **2 The Early Nationalists' Search for a New Community 28**

The Traditional Heritage and the Dilemmas of Activists 28

Elite Nationalism and Lower-Class Organizations 31

The Confucian Elitism of Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chu Trinh 36

Revolution and Organization as Seen by the Chinese Reformers  
of 1898 43

The Problem of Social Units and Their Conceptualization 53

The Vietnamese Nationalist Party and Its Problems of Integration 59

## **3 The Intellectuals and the Problem of Social Organization 68**

Social and Cultural Barriers in the World of the Intellectuals 68

The Intelligentsia and Mass Communications 77

The Education of the Intellectuals and Their Search for New Public  
Personalities 82

The Ambiguities of Familism as a Source of Organizational Power 95

✓ Conservative Intellectuals and the Prestige of Confucian Methods 102

## **4 Colonialism and Premonitions of Revolution in the Countryside 109**

Historical Stabilities and Instabilities in Rural Society 109

The Village under Colonialism: Landlordism and Changes in Class  
Relations 118

Village Reforms and the Twilight of the Village Oligarchs 128

Village Structures and the Modernizing Impulse	142
Synthetic and Real Village Patriotism: The Tam Dao Youth Farm and the Binh Da Firecrackers	148
The Decline and Fall of the Tonkin Village Economy	153
<b>5 The Origins and Expansion of Communist Power</b>	<b>160</b>
✓ Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese Political Tradition	160
✓ Ho Chi Minh as a Young Communist Revolutionary	165
The High Tide and Ebb Tide of the Rural Soviets	173
The Conflict between Religious Sectarianism and Communism	182
✓ The Buddhist Revival and the Communist Revolution	192
<b>6 The Mandarin Proletarians and the Redemption of the Past</b>	<b>201</b>
United Front Politics and the Vietnamese Labor Movement	201
The Rubber Plantations and Colonial Social Totalitarianism	209
The Japanese Occupation of Indochina and the Creation of the Viet Minh	215
The Enactment of the August Revolution	225
The Triumph of the Mandarin Proletarians	234
✓ Tradition and Revolutionary Military Doctrines	239
<b>7 Revolution and the New Organizational Ethic</b>	<b>246</b>
The American Intervention in Vietnam and the Frustration of Vietnamese Nationalism	246
The Village and Revolution in the North	248
Industrialization and Problems in the Definition of New Communities	260
Culture and Education and the Creation of New Social Behavior	267
Revolution and Legal Organization	273
<b>8 Social Groups and Organizational Dilemmas in the South</b>	<b>277</b>
Political Ferment and Colonial Myths	277
Traditional Forms of Integration and Their Failure to Disappear	280
The Educated Classes and the Hangovers of Colonialism	291
<i>Epilogue: The Vietnamese Revolution Reviewed</i>	<i>301</i>
<i>Notes</i>	<i>308</i>
<i>Suggestions for Further Reading</i>	<i>333</i>
<i>Index</i>	<i>341</i>