

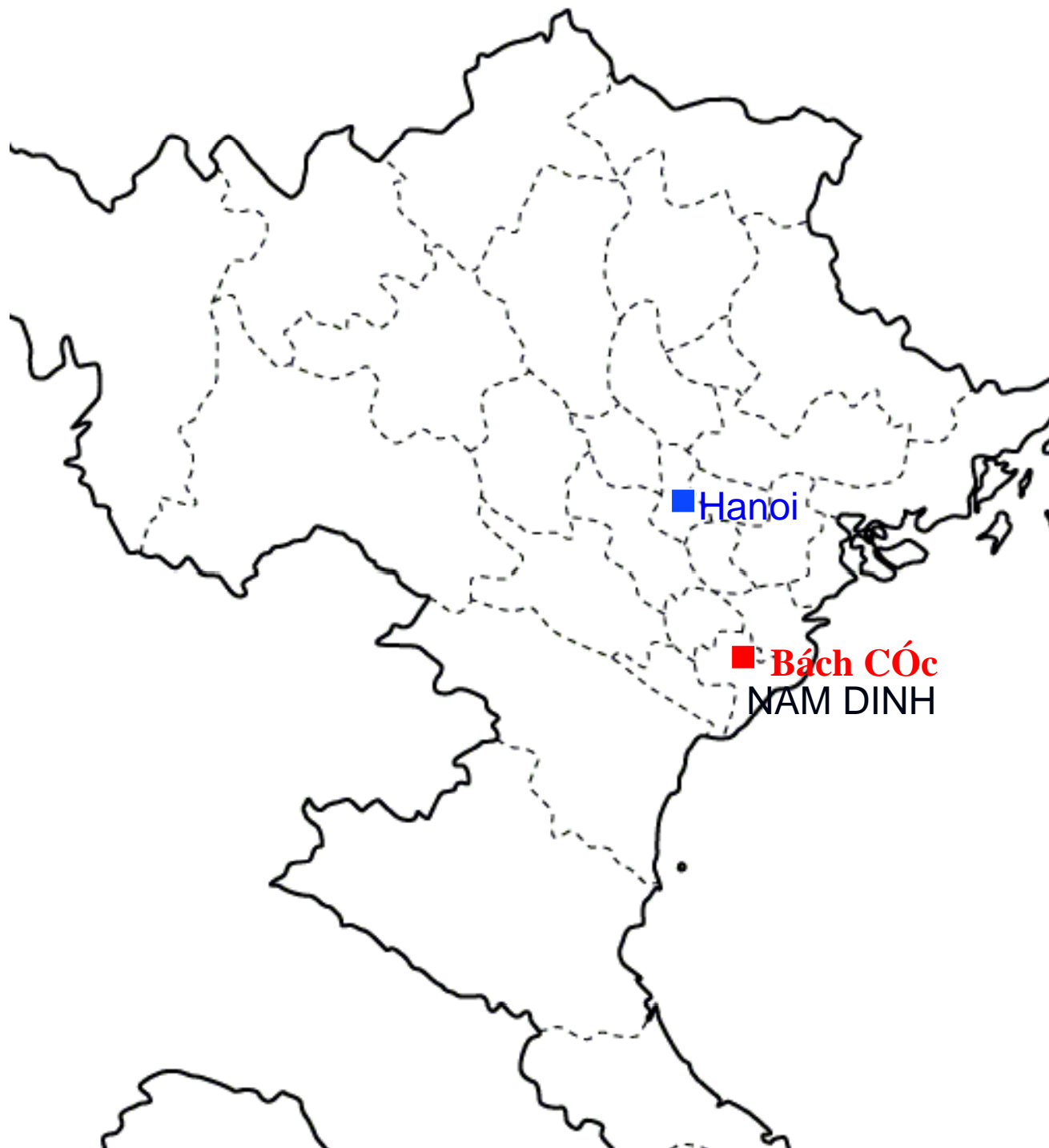
Modern History as Experience

Starvation, Scorched Earth, Wandering, **Revolution**

Yumio Sakurai January 18, 2010

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Làng
(village)
Bạch CỐC
tỉnh Nam
Định, huyện
Võ Bản,
xã Thành
Lũy, HTX
Cốc Thành,
5 xóm

Organizations Researching Bach Coc

Funding: Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research, JICA
Study Grants, etc.

Japanese side: Main research institutions

1993-95 Osaka University

1996-98 Keio University

1999-2001 University of Tokyo

2002-04 Nagoya University of Commerce & Business

2003-05 Kanda University of International Studies

2005-07 Hiroshima University

Others: Kyoto University, Tropical Agriculture Team, Graduate School of
Agriculture; Waseda University, Geography Team, Faculty of Education; etc.

Vietnamese side:

Vietnam National University, Hanoi; Vietnam Agricultural Science Institute;
Ministry of Planning & Investment; People's Committee of Nam Dinh
Province; People's Committee of Thanh Loi; Coc Thanh Cooperative



Survey Participants

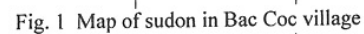
1994-2010: 17 surveys

300 participants from 20 Japanese universities, 100 active members



	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
General Survey												
Land survey												
Household economy												
Village Document												
Religious Organization												
HTX, DSX												
Agronomy												
Market Activity												
	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002		
Archaeology												
Ecology												
Personal History												
Social Organization												
Agricultural Credit												
Women's activiy												
Architecuture												
Rural Industrialization												
labor migration												

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Average Farm Area per Household

2007 Survey in Xom (hamlet) B

Wet season rice
field: 1,793m²

Dry season rice
field (winter,
spring planting):
1,654m²

Farm, vegetable
garden: 240m²

Housing premises:
228m²



Survey of Personal Histories

Interviews with 200 elders in 6 xom; 100 provided useful information for historical documentation

Xom A: 43% male elders

Xom B: 100% male elders

Xom C: 66% male elders

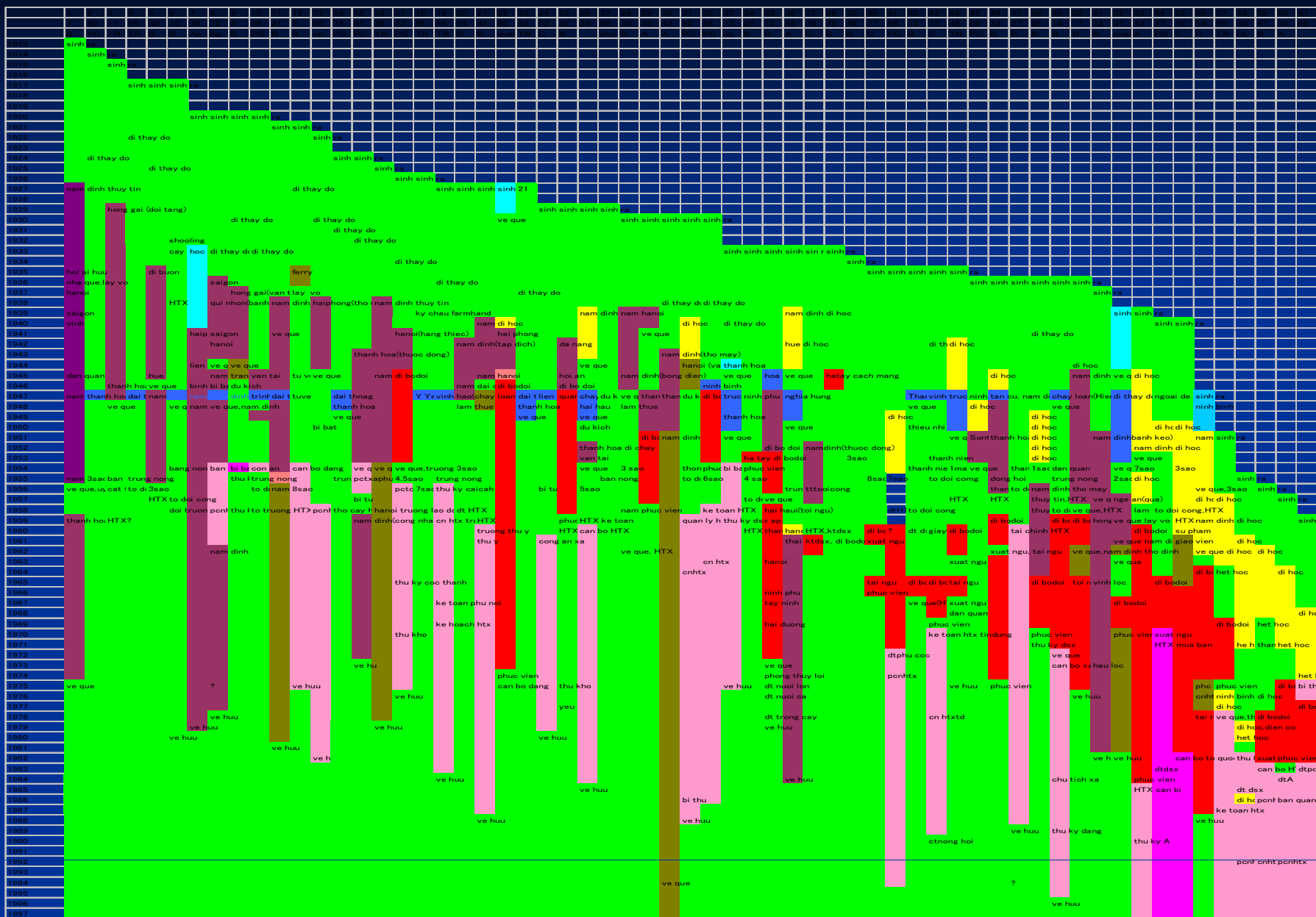
54% of total were male elders



Aims of Surveys



- Investigation of formation of domestic socialism
- Domestic socialism vs. state collectivism
- Subsistence economy vs. profit-making economy
- More efficient distribution of wealth for survival

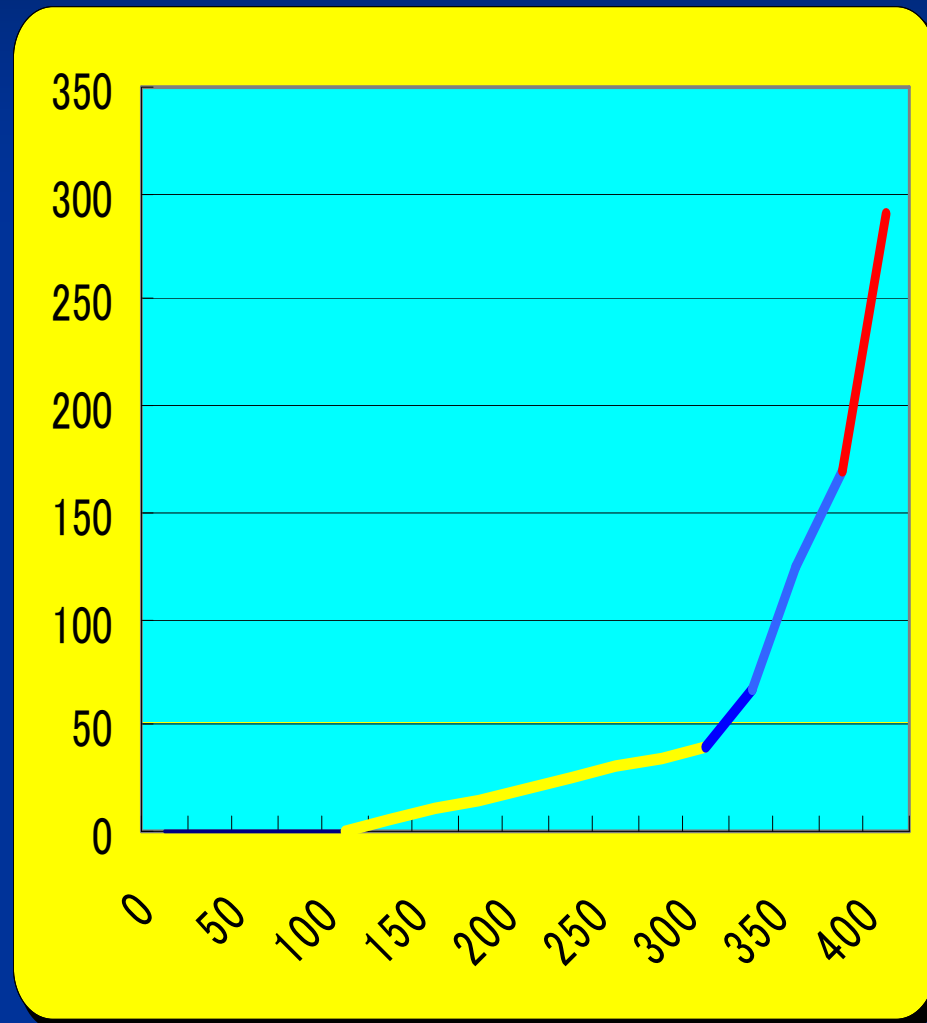


Generational Divisions in Personal Histories

- Pre-independence past
- Great Famine (1945)
- French invasion (1947)
- Arrival of peace and land reform (1954-1957)
- Earliest cooperatives (1959)
- Advanced cooperatives and war against U.S. (1965)
- Decree No. 100 (1981)
- Land allocation (1993)
- New cooperatives (1996)
- Construction of industrial parks (2003)



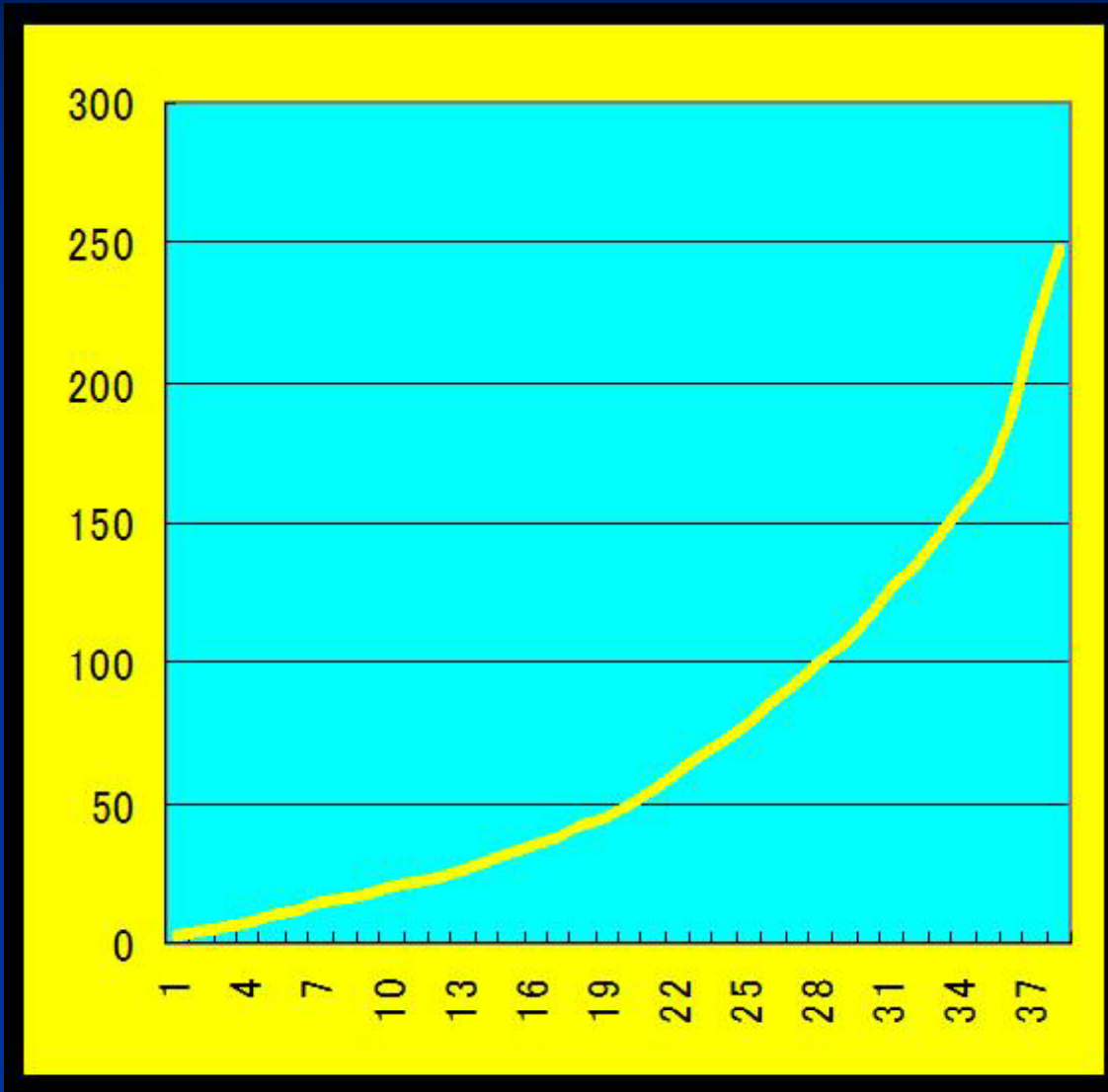
Non-homogeneity of Landholding — 1930-1940



- Landowner
- Upper middle-class
- Lower middle-class
- Landless farmers

Homogeneity of Landholding by Lower Middle-class

- Analysis of 37 non-property-owner farmers of state-owned land





Rice Productivity

- 1) 20-30 kg. per 1 *sao* (556-833 kg./ha)
- 2) 30-40 kg. (833kg.-1,111kg.)
- 3) 30-45kg. (833kg.-1,250kg.)
- 4) 40kg. (1,111kg.)
- 5) 50kg. (1,388kg.)
- 6) 83kg. (2,300kg.)
- Low productivity of less than 1/3 of current levels

Vietnam's Pre-independence Past

- Absolute poverty and food shortages
- Alienation of landless farmers from village society
- Homogeneity of land holdings among middle-class farmers
- Development of outside-village work opportunities through *thay do* (teacher) education

Great Famine of 1945

Historic experience
— To be or not to be

Nan Doi — Great Famine

- Due to very poor harvest in autumn 1944, extreme food shortages in Bach Coc from February to April 1945.
- Because of transport stoppages with the South, poor harvests throughout Red River Delta, jute cultivation, etc., rice prices rise drastically, and poor cannot eat.
- People begin dying of starvation from end of February. Total of 137 people die in Xom A, B, Van, Ap Phu, around 16% of population (Furuta, 1998)

- “This area was full of corpses during the 1945 famine. Many corpses were lying along both sides of the roads, but there was no one to bury them.” (No. 29, female, Xom B, born in 1932)
- “Father was a glassworker who had no paddy fields. My father returned to the village in March 1945 but died. My eldest brother, younger sister, and younger brother all starved to death.” (No. 48, male, Xom C, born in 1934)
- “Our family had 7-8 members up until the 1945 famine, but except for my older brother, younger sister, and me, they all died of starvation. In March 1945, my father died, and in August the same year, my mother died. Two boys and two girls also died. So many people died that we do not worship them on the anniversary of their deaths.” (No. 53, male, Xom C, born in 1929)
- “Many people from the xom (Trai Noi) tried to escape to Thai Binh and elsewhere. Many people died. Around 300 people must have died. In many families only one child survived.” (No. 82, male, Trai Noi, born in 1927)

Who Survived?

- Who Survived?

Number of Survivors Holding State-Owned Fields

情報者	生年	部落	公田	私田	通学年	家族数	家族内死者	性別
80	1920	AP		0	0	6		0 m
82	1927	TN		0	0	1		0 m
17	1936	B		0	0			0 m
21	1921	B		0	0	0		0 m
56	1927	TN		1	5 long			0 m
59	1920	PC		1	0	2		0 m
39	1929	A		2	5-6	3		0 m
44	1933	A		2	30	5	10	0 m
43	1938	A		2	5	8		0 m
55	1917	TN		2	10 long			0 m
60	1914	PC		2	0	6		0 m
75	1935	C		2	0	0.5		0 m
80	1922	AP		2	0	3		0 m
41	1927	B		2		1		0 m
73	1933	AP		2	0	3	9	0 m
52	1939	PC		2	2	4		0 m
42	1929	A		2	2	3		0 m
74	1924	PC		2	0	11		0 m
76	1920	AP		2	0 long			0 m
85	1926	TN		2	0	0		0 m
19	1929	TN		3	50	0	10	0 f
45	1935	TN		3	0	3		0 m
58	1930	PC		3	0	4		0 m

Survival of Non-Agricultural Workers

n	in	by	bp	land		NAJ	schooling	family	death	DR	
				cd	td		year	number	number	%	
16	80	1920	AP	0	0	cake maker	6		0	0	
22	82	1927	TN	0	0	fisher	1		0	0	
7	17	1936	B	0	0	metal worker	0		0	0	
6	21	1921	B	0	0	textile worker	0		0	0	
14	59	1920	PC	1	0	rice trader	2		0	0	
19	75	1935	C	2	0	baffalo keeper	0.5		0	0	
21	80	1922	AP	2	0	buffalo keeper	3		0	0	
4	41	1927	B	2		cabinetmaker	1		0	0	
17	73	1933	AP	2	0	cake maker	3	9	0	0	
10	52	1939	PC	2	2	rice trader	4		0	0	
5	42	1929	A	2	2	tailor	3		0	0	
26	79	1933	AP	0	0	textile worker	0	6	1	16	
24	18	1920	B	2	0	glassmaker	0	7	1	14	
28	84	1920	TN	0	0	fisher	0	5	2	40	
30	48	1934	B	0	0	galssmaker	0	6	3	50	
35	37	1940	B	0	0	vegetable pedler	0	7	5	71	

Higher Mortality Rates for Farmers not Holding Land and also not Engaged in Non-Agricultural Sectors

n	in	by	bp	land cd	NAJ td	schooling year	family number	death number	DR %	sex
34	38	1930	A					10	1	10 m
24	18	1920	B	2	0 glassmaker		0	7	1	14 f
26	79	1933	AP	0	0 textile worker		0	6	1	16 m
25	77	1935	C	1	0		0	6	1	16 m
27	13	1933	B	0	0	0	0	5	2	40 m
28	84	1920	TN	0	0 fisher		0	5	2	40 f
29	16	1925	C	0	0	0	0	6	3	50 m
30	48	1934	B	0	0 galssmaker		0	6	3	50 m
36	78	1940	c	3		?		6	3	50 m
31	15	1935	B	0	0	0	0	7	4	57 m
32	53	1929	CAP	0	0	0	0	7	4	57 m
35	37	1940	B	0	0 vegetable pedler		0	7	5	71 f
33	57	1940	TN	0	0	0			2 ?	m

Who Survived?

- 1) Farmers who owned land even though small
- 2) Farmers who had land but also were engaged in non-agricultural sectors

Conclusion:

Farmers without land, no matter how small, perished.

The August Revolution

- Return
- In March 1945, during the height of the famine, French forces in Nam Dinh surrendered to the Japanese army. French colonial rule collapsed. All shops in Nam Dinh closed, and many people evacuated back to their home villages to escape the coming war.
- At their most prosperous, Nam Dinh textile factories employed up to 13,000 workers. By August 1945, because of raw material shortages and U.S. bombing, only 2,000 left employed.

Ordinary People's Encounters with Historical Events

- “Certainly people in Nam Dinh saw the fighting between the Japanese and French forces in March 1945.” (No. 41)
- “In 1945, people working in Hanoi participated in the Independence Day ceremony and then soon joined the People's Army.” (No. 40, male, Cam Pha, born in 1927)
- People living in villages during same period have almost no recollection of the August Revolution.
- “I knew there had been a revolution, but family circumstances did not allow us to participate.” (No. 29, female, Xom B, born in 1932)

Meaning of August Revolution for the People

- Establishment of new government
- Distribution of state rice fields; 60 *mu* per 300 households
- Start of education for commoners
- However, most people from that period do not recall these events.

Villages of the “Past” Disappear

Invasion of French forces

The 2nd month of 1947

Burning of Villages

- In February 1947, French tank units invade Viet Minh villages near Route 10 to restore order along Route 10. They burn down villages used as bases by guerilla fighters. (Nam Dinh Strategy)
- Guerillas had hideouts in Bach Coc, but area subsequently swept three times. Total of 300 homes — 75% of households — burned down.
- As a result of Viet Minh's “scorched-earth” strategy, majority of villagers evacuated, chaos grips Bach Coc.

Remaining People

- People from lower middle-class staying behind to fight, young people with no land — become post-war political leaders
- Upper middle-class landowners protecting their land
- Young people with no land cultivating abandoned fields; after war, alienated from village politics.
- Households with only women and children completely cut off from communications

People Escaping Long Distances

Mainly two groups to:

Nam Dinh coastal areas, Christian area of Hai Hau
Thanh Hoa liberated zones

Many people already had experience working outside of
villages, knew outside world.

Tended to remain, having own capital, technology.

Became political leaders in villages after 1954.

Wandering People

Many women who were separated from their families roamed from place to place. Illiterate, these women had no previous experience away from their villages.

No. 16 (female) was born into a landless farm household in 1925 in Xom B. As a young girl, she worked for various landowners in the village, taking care of children and doing household chores. In 1946 she married a landless young farmer in the village. However, unable to buy a house, they rented a room at a temple. Then the French invaded, and she began her wandering journey with her husband. They lived on shrimp and crab. She does not remember where they went. Around 1949, her husband was captured by the French, and she did not know what happened to him. After their separation, she soon gave birth to her first son. She returned to her home village in 1954. She heard no news of her husband. Later she heard he was taken to the south, where he married a Vung Tau woman and started another family.

Land Reform

Completion of domestic socialism

Establishment of New Village Administration

Bui Huy Ngo was head of the Coc Thanh Cooperative. Coming from the upper middle-class of Xom A, he was the secretary of the party's Xom A branch and the party secretary for the former Than Coc cooperative.

At that time, No. 41 from Xom A was 27 years old. He attended the school in Bach Coc for one year, and after that worked in Nam Dinh and Hanoi. Just after the August Revolution, he directed the distribution of state-owned fields in Bach Coc as a regional political officer. In 1947 he joined a resistance group, and for a long time after that, he belonged to the security department of the resistance government.

- No. 72 from Ap Phu was 34. Originally a confectioner, he belonged to the school construction department under the new government.
- No. 73 from Ap Phu was only 21. Before the revolution, he sold confections in Thanh Hoa. He later became a teacher for adult classes while also working as a member of the cooperative's security department.
- No. 45 from Trai Noi was no more than 19. He became secretary of the cooperative's youth organization and worked to get donations to the new government from landowners and other wealthy people.
- A village headman (or village chairman) was selected under Bui Huy Ngo.

- Bach Coc's village head was Bui Huy Thi from Xom A. He was a company commander in the Tan Thanh Self-Defense Brigade. Under him, the then 25-year-old No. 39 was the headman of Xom A. After completing three years of schooling at the St. Thomas School in Nam Dinh, No. 39 was the head of the Save-the-Country Youth Organization in Tan Thanh during the resistance.
- At that time, the then 28-year-old No. 62 was village head of Phu Coc.

- No. 62 was born in Phu Coc in 1926. He was the eldest of six siblings. He studied classical Chinese characters and *Quoc Ngu* (national language) for three years at a private school. When he was 16 or 17, he went to Hanoi and apprenticed at a tin craftsman's house on Hang Thiec Street (Tin Street). He was in Hanoi when the August Revolution occurred, and he heard the new government's declaration of independence in Ba Dinh Square. He joined the People's Army and fought in many battles. He was wounded in the battle at Phu Tho and was sent to Thanh Hoa to recuperate. In 1954 he returned to Phu Coc. After his return, he was soon selected as the headman of Phu Coc.

Land Reform in Vietnam

- Redistribution of state-owned land (1945)
- Large-scale abandonment of land (1947)
- Unauthorized cultivation of abandoned land (1947-1954)
- Selling off of land by landowners (1955)

Land Reform Pressure from the Outside

Land reform was first societal interference by the state
Doi (land reform brigades) arrive in Bach Coc end of
1956

Union of brigades and landless youth

Conflict with leaders of new government — Dismissal
of Bui Huy Ngo

National Party incident

Rectifications in 1957

Reinstatement of leaders from middle class

Equalization of land holdings

Changes in Land Holding after Land Reform

■ Bach Coc and Phu Coc

	pre-LR		post-LR
■ class	CD+TD	TD	
■ Middle-class farmers	3,767.8	3,278.8	3,583.4
■ Poor farmers	6,92.0	203.0	1,993.8
■ Farm laborers	36.0		2,016.0

Most People Unaffected

■	IN	Pre-Reform		Post-Reform		xom		
■		CD	TD		class		career	
■	21	6		6	?	B		
■	56	2	5	6	trung nong duoi	TN	thu ky cai cach	RD
■	44		30	30	trung nong	A		
■	80	2	0	2	phu nong	CA	Work for French Army	
■	20	2	?	3	?	B		
■	60	3		3	ban nong	PC		
■	78		3	3	?	C	lao dong, 1.5	
■	54		4	4	ban nong	C	Tailor	
■	53		5	5	ban nong	C	du kich, anh la can bo	
■	19	0	6	6	trung nong duoi	B		
■	59	1	6	6	trung nong	PC	xa cong an	
■	43	2	5	7	trung nong	A		
■	45		10	10	?	B	pho bi thu thanh nien xa	
■	55	2	10	12	trung nong duoi	TN		
■	14	0	20	20	trung nong	B		
■	67	?	?	5,6	ban nong	PC		

Changes for Poor Farmers

	CD	TD	Post LR
IN			
8	0	1.33	16
68	2.66		8.5
15	0	0	6
62	4.5		5-6
67	4.5		5-6
27	2		5
84		2	3
29	0	0	2.5
81	0	0	?
35	2	0	?
57	?	?	7.5
71			7
53		5	5
54		4	4
60	3		3

Changes for Farm Laborers

■ IN CD	TD Post LR
■ 48	1 3
■ 24 0	0 3
■ 28 0	0 4
■ 25 0	0 4
■ 33 0	0 4
■ 37 0	0 6
■ 85	7
■ 64 0	0 7
■ 77 0	0 8
■ 79 0	0 10

Political Changes

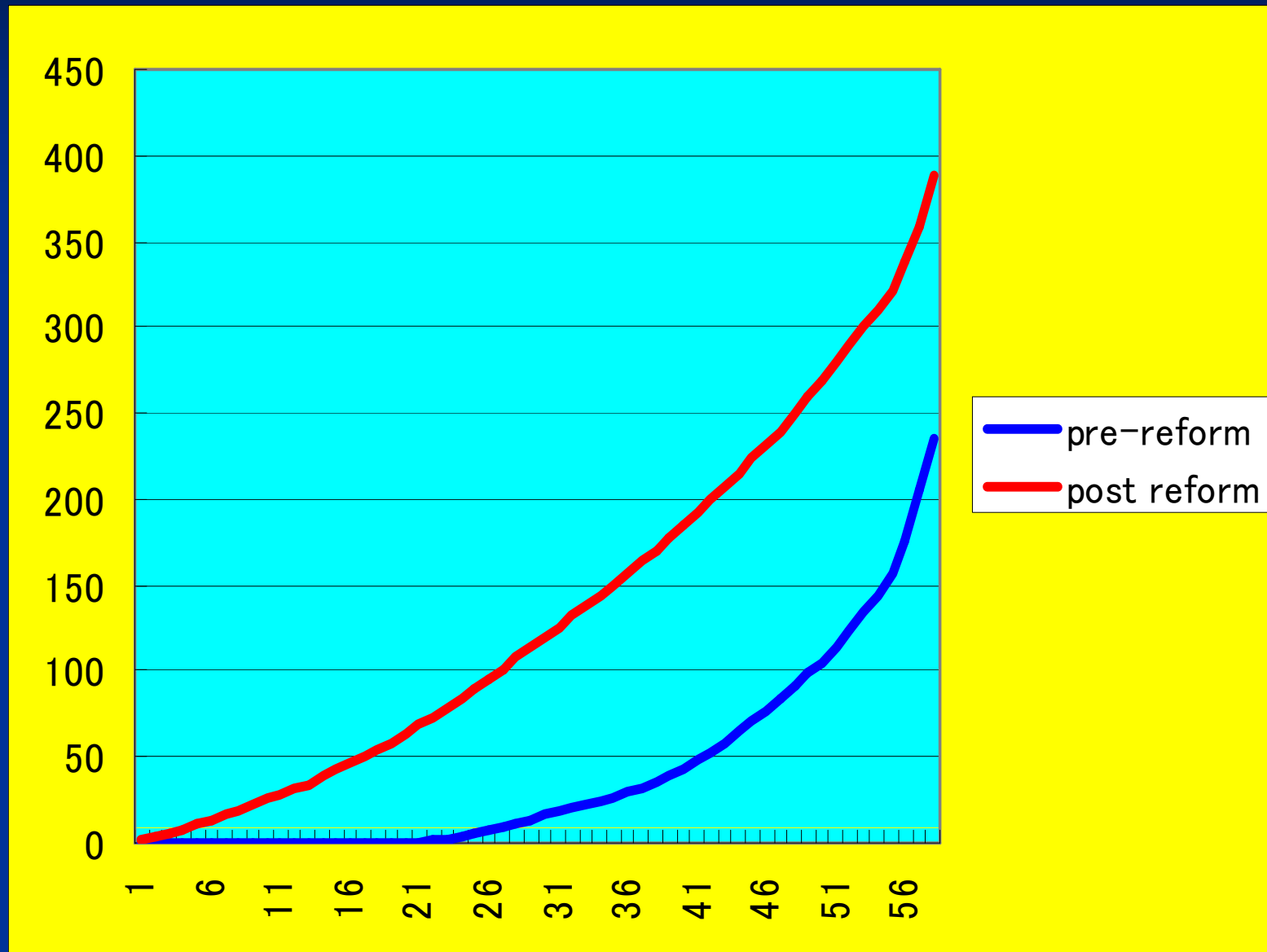
- 1) Disappearance of landowners and upper middle-class persons who maintained the previous village social order.
- 2) Some from the upper middle-class who had led the resistance against the French and many lower middle-class people took over the core of village politics;
- 3) However, because of criticism directed at the former upper middle-class persons by the *doi* land reform brigades, former peasant-class persons became the political core.
- 4) Following the rectifications of the land reforms, the lower middle-class groups again established their hegemony.

Direct discrimination against illiterate class still remained.

Changes in Landowning Structure

- 1) Most landowners and the upper middle-class were ousted.
- 2) So they could replace the upper middle-class, preferential treatment was given to lower middle-class and lower class farmers who had actively participated in the resistance movement against the French.
- 3) The land distribution carried out independently during the resistance period remained as the basis of the landholding structure;
- 4) The distribution of state lands remained as it was.
- 5) Lower middle-class and lower class farmers received 4-7 *sao* per household, enabling lower class to join lower middle-class.

Inclusion of All Villagers into Lower Middle-Class

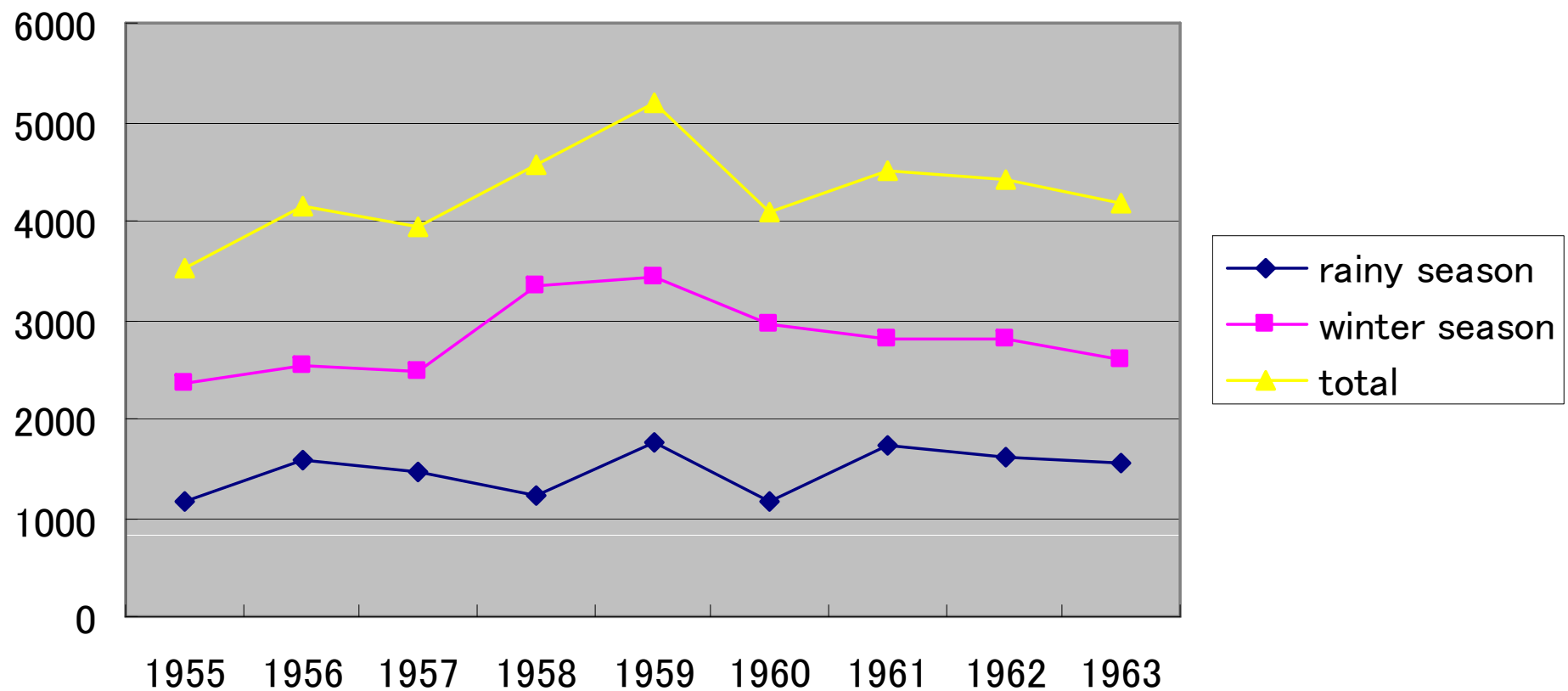


Systemic Establishment of Domestic Socialism

Most farmers understood land reform
as the ownership of state lands by the
farmers.

Increases in Food Production as a Result of Intensive Redistribution of Capital, Labor

(from publicity document issued
by cooperative in Nam Dinh)



Period of cooperatives: 1960-1981

Period of land allocations: 1981-2003

Period of industrial parks

Fusion of domestic socialism and market
economics

Sang di toi ve model

