

**THE AMERICAN INFLUENCES ON THE HIGHER
EDUCATION OF THE SECOND REPUBLIC OF
VIETNAM: THE CASE OF THE NATIONAL
UNIVERSITIES**

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List of Abbreviations

AED -	The American Educational Dimensions Inc
AFV -	The American Friends of Vietnam
AMA -	The American Medical Association
ARVN -	The Army of the Republic of Vietnam
AVA -	The American Vietnamese Association
CIP -	The Commercial Import Program
CORDS -	The United States Agency for Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support
DRV -	Democratic Republic of Vietnam
IRRI -	The International Rice Research Institute
IRC -	The International Rescue Committee
MSU -	Michigan State University
MSUG -	The Michigan State University Group
NCWC -	The American Women's Association, and the National Catholic Welfare Council
NIA -	The National Institute of Administration
NLF -	The National Liberal Front
NSC -	The National Security Council
Nxb -	Nhà xuất bản (Publishing House)
PL.480 -	The Food for Peace program
P.M.S -	Pays Montagnards du Sud
PRC -	The People's Republic of China
RVN -	The Republic of Vietnam
SEADAG -	The Southeast Asia Development Advisory Group
SIU -	Southern Illinois University
SRV -	The Socialist Republic of Vietnam
TERM -	The Temporary Equipment Recovery Mission
Tp. HCM -	Thành phố Hồ Chí Minh (Ho Chi Minh City)
TTU -	Texas Tech University
USAID -	The United States Agency for International Development
USIS Saigon -	The United States Information Agency's Vietnam Center
USOM -	The United States Operations Mission
USSR -	The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
PEN -	The Poets, Essayists, and Novelists Clubs (Vietnamese)
VN -	Vietnam

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Preface

In the era of technology which enhances massively the role of knowledge and the intelligentsia, Vietnam could not be an exception which stands outside of the race. As the development of each country has been decided by innovations and applying them creatively, higher education subsequently occupies the central stage in the strategic plans of development of all nations. It is assumed that the growth of each country's higher education could depict how far that country, or more specifically, the country's economy has developed. In turn, an advanced economy is a premise to promote higher education. Observing the efforts of Vietnamese educators and government officers since last decades in innovating Vietnamese higher education, more evidence is given to prove that higher education has attracted the primary concern of the Vietnamese government and their people on the integration path recently. The multifaceted-developing course of the Vietnamese higher education's history, as well as the current interest in this issue inspire the passion for the author to conduct a study of higher education in Vietnam in a certain period.

Studying higher education of a country not only produces a narrative of higher education development itself, but more than that, the vicissitudinous history of a country is also presented. Doing so does not mean to pale higher education as the main research objective, instead, it bestows researchers an opportunity to grasp the development of higher education in a comprehensive view. Considering higher education, specifically higher education in South Vietnam from 1967 to 1975, as a study objective of this thesis, the author would like to provide a closer look at the uniqueness of the Republic of Vietnam's (RVN) higher education development under a disastrous condition of war and damages. Recalling Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s, researchers, scholars, and others became accustomed to images of deaths and damages as the results of the Vietnam War, in other words, only images of the war. Albeit, the war had not and had never been a whole narration of South Vietnamese life in the 1960s and 1970s. In contrast, the aspirations of Vietnamese people to peace was still a pivotal trend. The aspirations of peace images would explore their way to making an entire image of Vietnamese history. Researching higher education in South Vietnam in the term of the Second Republic of Vietnam (1967–1975) is also a way in which to understand Vietnam from the “peace” side, which has not prevailed in previous research in the same period of study.

Locating in an unstable area, where the Eastern as well as Western powers never hesitated to demonstrate their determination to dominate, not only the Vietnamese politics, economy, and society had to discover their paths to exist and develop but the Vietnamese education also had to create their own way. In the early stages of constructing Vietnamese hegemonic political system, the Buddhist education and later the Confucian education were introduced to cultivate the elites who would be capable to assist the Kings in their ruling mandate. Vietnamese education experienced a breakthrough when it adopted Western culture by following the French educational system in the late nineteenth century. This re-oriented the Vietnamese education to a completely distinctive educational system as compared to the educational system which had existed for centuries. This also prepared the basis for further Western-style penetration into the Vietnamese higher education system, as the Americans committed themselves intensively in South Vietnam from the 1950s to 1970s. While cutting-edge models always intended to assimilate vernacular versions, in some aspects Vietnamese educators responded well in the position of a host to decide which should be inherited from the former and which should be adapted from the later ones. Joseph Buttinger did mention in his book, *The Smaller Dragon*, about the response of Indochina generally, and Vietnam specifically, to external influences.

Religion, philosophy, art, and political organization show the cultural predominance of either India or China over this territory for some two thousand years-without, however, making the cultures of Indochina into mere copies of Chinese or Indian culture. They evolved as individual adaptations of either the one or the other and to a minor degree as adaptations of both, which is precisely what makes them Indochinese and why the territory of their pre-eminence may properly be called Indochina.¹

In the hostilities, nation building was not be disdained by Vietnamese authorities and ordinary people but, to some extent, took advantage of foreign assistance to enhance its strength. In order to compromise the French objective of maintaining their influence and the American objective of dominating in the areas of culture and education, the two countries signed cultural treaties and contracts with the Republic of Vietnam government, which advanced RVN education and gave more privileges to Vietnamese educators as well. The decades of the sixties and seventies witnessed a remarkable growth of South

¹ Buttinger, Joseph, *The Smaller Dragon*, 19.

Vietnamese education. The Vietnamese educators' voices in every manner of education and their proposals of educational projects and initiatives demonstrated their devotion in implementing their duties as well as their determination in advancing the RVN educational system. The autonomy of educators and of higher learning institutions were more or less respected by administrators in this period, which most likely did not have a precedent in the Vietnamese educational history.

One can argue that the twentieth century is one of the most turbulent centuries in the course of the Vietnamese history and the 1967–1975 period was a sliver which represented perfectly those vicissitudes. Within the context of the 1967–1975 period, when many external forces assembled in South Vietnam, RVN education illustrated its diversity in many aspects, including the engaged parties and mutual influences from distinguishing educational models. The Chinese educational model, which officially terminated in the Vietnamese educational history in 1919, still inspired Vietnamese trainers and trainees in many facets, ranging from teaching languages, teaching methods to teacher-student relations. The French educational system germinated in Vietnam in the late nineteenth century, having attained for itself a substantial influence on indigenous educational schools. The U.S. allies in politics and war unintendedly became educational counterparts through the prevailing engagements of German, Japanese, and New Zealand's professors in the higher education area in South Vietnam. And the Americans, the late-coming force in Southeast Asia region, was not reluctant to show their zeal in transplanting and spreading their influences in the sphere of education in South Vietnam. Conventional critics probably would denounce the political plot of conducting educational projects from external forces. That is an undeniable but not a comprehensive perspective. Moreover, in the de facto circumstance of the 1967–1975 period, higher education in Vietnam experienced the most astounding progress in the twentieth century, and to a greater degree, in the whole process of the Vietnamese higher education by 1975.

As other researchers mentioned, the engagement of the United States in RVN higher education could be traced back to the early 1950s. Nevertheless, only from the second half of the 1960s, the South Vietnam higher education was fraught with the American influences, especially in the sector of national universities or public universities, such as

the University of Saigon, the University of Huế, and the University of Cần Thơ. With this in consideration, the question is whether or not the American educational model surpassed the French influences to become a leading system in RVN higher education? Are there proofs for the penetration of American influences in the RVN national universities? To what extent did the U.S exert influence on these three national universities? And, how did South Vietnamese educators deal with the situation of overwhelming external influences in the Republic of Vietnam from 1967 until 1975? The author will do her utmost efforts to clarify those above inquiries in the thesis ***“The American Influences on the Higher Education of the Second Republic of Vietnam: The Case of the National Universities”***.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Literature Review

It could be assumed that the research of Vietnamese education in the last century focused on two study periods. The first was the French educational system in Vietnam in the early twentieth century. The latter was concerning the American engagement in the South Vietnam higher education in the mid- twentieth century to the 1970s.

One of the most prominent authors on the study of Vietnamese education, particularly in the French colonial period was Gail Paradise Kelly. Conducting the thesis of *Franco-Vietnamese Schools, 1918 to 1938*², Kelly clarified organizations, the content of teaching, teaching methods, and teachers in the Franco-Vietnamese educational system. She assumed that colonial schools if they did disrupt Vietnamese culture, did not do so permanently, nor did they alienate the school over the long run from the social fabric. Obviously, the French protectorate government in Indochina had never established and transferred a comprehensive education to Vietnam, rather only partially, or even marginally in part which supported to their “mission” in colonies, such as training interpreters. This was demonstrated in the Vietnamese education system in the first half of the twentieth century, especially in the first decades, in which there were only the existence of a few Lycée and Collège, and not all of them were certificated as equal to French counterparts. In spite of that, the French influence in Vietnamese education was indisputable. This is the first time the Vietnamese education adopted Western-style into its system. The possibility of French education to remove the former education and replace it by a complete French style could happen. In fact, French administrators decided to keep the dual system, practicing the Confucian and French schools simultaneously. This was explained by several reasons, it could be caused by the limited budget for Indochinese education to enhance itself entirely following the French model. One can also assume this shows the aspiration of French who would like to maintain an inferior position of indigenous. Aside from those, one factor should be taken into account, and it was mentioned in the Kelly’s study, was that due to the acculturated characteristic,

² Kelly, Gail Paradise, *Franco – Vietnamese Schools, 1918 to 1938*, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1975.

Vietnamese culture only accepted selected elements from exotic cultures, which were found to be suitable for the native entity instead of importing all patterns. From the conscientious research, Kelly brought us new points of view to re-consider the influences of the colonial schools in Vietnam, repudiating which used-to-believed opinions in previous works. Some findings, which were highlighted in Kelly's study, were that the French did not teach French culture in schools at all, rather, they taught French interpretations of Vietnamese culture and society; French authorities were unable to administer education and its effects in Vietnam; The tendency of refusing the outdated modes of thinking, acting, and approaching knowledge had not originated in colonial schools, but earlier; The demands of Vietnamese elites towards French education were not necessarily indications of their detachment from Vietnamese culture, rather simply, they were demands for a modern education which neither Franco-Vietnamese nor Hán-Vietnamese provided; The schools did not eradicate students' sense of being Vietnamese, nor did they succeed in making their students adhere to the view of Vietnamese culture they promoted. These conclusions destroy former beliefs on the colonial school studies, not only in Vietnam but worldwide, and paved the way to study the colonial schools in multidimensional perspectives. Kelley's work evokes some fruitful ideas for this thesis to research the American influences on higher education in South Vietnam in an assiduously considered approach.

Also in the series of studies of French educational system in Vietnam, Dương Đức Như contributed a dissertation of *Education in Vietnam under the French Domination, 1862–1945*³, which he defended at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. As the title clarifies, the dissertation studied the education system in Vietnam in the course of the French colonial period. Dương identified ten phenomena which occurred in the term of French intervention in the Vietnamese education. First, was the need to communicate with indigenous people and to set up the interpreter training schools. Second, Dương Đức Như's thesis notes the change in the political situation in Vietnam in the early twentieth century when French sought to impose their authority directly without interpreters, that be a reason for the administrative schools were established in Vietnam. Accompanying

³ Duong, Duc Nhu, *Education in Vietnam under the French Domination, 1862–1945*, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1978.

the extending of French education influences in Vietnam, the Chinese language gradually lost its position, shrinking to marginal part before being expelled out of the Vietnamese educational system. In contrast, the Quốc ngữ (the modern Vietnamese language) found conducive conditions to develop, aside from the using of French as a language of instruction in some grades in Vietnam. The above features were also the third, fourth, and the fifth phenomena, which he argued in his thesis. Through statistics and figures, Dương illustrated the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth phenomena of Vietnamese education under the French domination, those were the developed “horizontal tendency” of the Vietnamese education, the number of students was limited and at the same time, the high drop-out rate caused by examinations to reach higher levels. Noticeably, Dương’s thesis shows that the rate of illiteracy under the French educational system was extremely high, it was even higher than the figures of the Hán-Vietnamese system. Last but not least, Dương Đức Nhựt demonstrated a social phenomenon in Vietnamese society in the first decades of the twentieth century, that was the increasing of the social movements and the participation of educational institutions, especially those of higher education. It could be said that Dương Đức Nhựt’s thesis brought us a more comprehensive view of the Vietnamese educational system in the colonial period through clarifying its critical phenomena. This provides the crucial data for this thesis to make a comparison in studying the Vietnamese higher education, both during its development as well as comparing the influences of several educational models, which were imported in Vietnam. In that consideration, it is possible to understand the Vietnamese higher education systematically.

The study of the Franco-Vietnamese schools also attracted the attention of scholar Trần Thị Phương Hoa in her work *Giáo dục Pháp – Việt ở Bắc Kỳ (1884 –1945)*⁴ [The Franco-Vietnamese Education in Tonkin (1884–1945)]. She detailed the principal educational activities in the French educational system in North Vietnam (Tonkin) from 1884 to 1945, within the colonial period in Vietnam. In this study, she depicted the conflicting tendency of French educators in managing the Vietnamese education system. On the one hand, they were overt to implement cultural assimilation to the indigenous version, on the other hand the cooperation factor was paid attention to, evidenced by the name of schools, the

⁴ Trần Thị Phương Hoa, *Giáo dục Pháp-Việt ở Bắc Kỳ (1884–1945)*, Nxb Khoa học Xã hội, 2012.

Franco-Vietnamese schools. As clarified in the title of work, Trần Thị Phương Hoa conducted a study on the entire system of the Vietnamese education, not only higher education. Nonetheless, the shift and enhancement of the Vietnamese higher education from the early twentieth century to 1945 was also remarked by the author. Considerable alterations and innovations of the Vietnamese higher education occurred during that time. First, was the budget for education increased impressively. In the 1920s, the education budget annually accounted for more than 10% in average, especially in 1924, the figure peaked at 15%. These figures were remarkable in comparison to the latter periods, in the RVN regimes (1955–1975), or even presently, in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (SRV). Noticeably, a Directorate of higher education was established in Vietnam for the first time. Since 1932, French university organizational principles were applied to universities in Vietnam, several faculties such as the Faculty of Law, the Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy became affiliated schools of the universities in Paris. These marked a breakthrough on the development of the Vietnamese higher education, which was meaningful in narrowing the gap between Vietnamese universities and Western-style universities.

While the first study group of the Vietnamese higher education in the colonial period has produced a significant number of publications, the studies, which focused on higher education in South Vietnam in the 1950s to 1970s, led to even greater accomplishments. The latter research group split into two shorter terms of study, comprises the periods of the 1950s (or the American initial engagement period) and the period of the 1960s and 1970s (or the intensive penetrating period of the Americans in RVN higher education).

Concerning the term of the 1950s, one could call attention to insightful researches, such as Robert Scigliano and Guy H. Fox with *Technical Assistance in Vietnam, the Michigan State University Experience*⁵, and John Ernst with “Forging a Fateful Alliance: The Role of Michigan State University in the Development of American’s Vietnam Policy”.

⁵ Scigliano, Robert and Guy H. Fox, *Technical Assistance in Vietnam, the Michigan State University Experience*, New York-Washington-London: Frederick A. Praeger Publisher, 1965. Ernst, John, “Forging a Fateful Alliance: The Role of Michigan State University in the Development of American’s Vietnam Policy”, *Michigan History Review*, Vol.19, No.2 (1993): 49-66.

Michigan State University was one of the first and leading institutions engaged in assisting Vietnamese education in initial stages. The contributions of this university to develop higher education and the specific fields of education were examined in several works, including monographs and reports of surveys. However, the book of Robert Scigliano and Guy H. Fox remains, until today, one of the initial and comprehensive works illuminating the Michigan State University role in advancing the Vietnamese higher education. This study sketched historically the Michigan State University Advisory Group activities in Vietnam. Impacts of the Michigan State University operations upon the Vietnamese agencies, which it cooperated with, were analysed. The work displayed the relations of the Michigan State University to other American agencies and Vietnamese educators. Lastly, Robert Scigliano and Guy H. Fox shed light on the weak points of the attempts of the Michigan State University group during its service in Vietnam. Although, they admitted that there were two issues which did not complete in this study, the comparison of two programs, the police and the public administration programs, as well as appraising the effectiveness of the programs as a whole, one can still appreciate all efforts of that publication, which allows one to have insight into activities of one of the most prominent institutions engaging in higher education in Vietnam during the 1950s and 1960s.

In the majority of publications related to the involvement of the U.S. government in South Vietnam in general, and in education specifically, the authors seem to have the focus on illuminating specific activities of the Americans in South Vietnam rather than attempting to identify the reasons which led the American government commitment in Vietnam. Bridging this gap, John Ernst's paper sheds light on the role of Michigan State University in respect to its significance in establishing and developing the American policies in Vietnam. The Michigan State University, as mentioned, was not only a pioneer in assisting the South Vietnam education, but also prominent in its contributions during the time its members serving in Vietnam. In his essay, Ernst did not intend to investigate the activities of this university, instead, he focused on narrating the story of the relationship of President Ngô Đình Diệm with other decisive figures of the United States, such as Wisley R. Fishel, Michael Joseph Mansfield, and President Dwight D. Eisenhower as well as showing its impact on the change of relations between two governments. Notably,

the fluctuation of the personal relationship of President Ngô Đình Diệm and American counterparts set the tone in diplomatic relations as well as the level of engagement in the U.S. educational assistance. The massive American support for the First Republic of Vietnam, since the first days of its establishment, was founded vastly on personal sympathy of American officials for the politician Ngô Đình Diệm. Nevertheless, these relations also drove the support of the Americans away due to the deteriorating relations between President Ngô Đình Diệm and his supporters in Washington. This rift caused the decline of assistance of American experts for South Vietnam, including education development.

The second sub-term study describes the South Vietnam higher education in the 1960s and 1970s, including numerous research from Vietnamese as well as foreign authors. The studies concentrate on two distinctive objectives, which are displayed on specific aspects of the RVN higher education study, one is the American educational activities and organizations in South Vietnam, and the other is the American educational operations connecting to the South Vietnam higher education in the United States.

One author, who is worth to be mentioned, is Đỗ Bá Khê with *The Community Junior College Concept: A Study of Its Relevance to Postwar Reconstruction in Vietnam*.⁶ Đỗ Bá Khê was formerly an eminent educator in South Vietnam in the term of the Republic of Vietnam. In the 1970s, he was appointed to the post of Deputy Minister of Education and later, in the last years of the RVN, he took up the position of president of the Thủ Đức Polytechnic University until that government collapsed in 1975. Working intensively in the education field, he understood well the issues as well as the demands of South Vietnam education, particularly higher education. Therefore, conducting his Ph.D. thesis, he not only tried his best endeavour to fulfill requirements of a scientific work, but also used his research as a chance to propose an educational policy. The thesis was successful in completing both tasks. In his thesis, Đỗ Bá Khê analyzed the problems of higher education in South Vietnam, recommended the solutions for higher education, pointed out the responsibility of higher education in the postwar reconstruction and development

⁶ Đỗ Bá Khê, *The Community Junior College Concept: A Study of Its Relevance to Postwar Reconstruction in Vietnam*, University of Southern California, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1970.

plans as well as the responsibility towards the social requirements by applying the model of community college. Producing examples either in Vietnam or in the United States., he conscientiously explored the feasibility of applying the community college model in South Vietnam, especially in the postwar periods. Concerning the divergence of educational facilities between South Vietnam and the American society, he examined the adaptability of a modern educational model for South Vietnam. This became more feasibly through the advise of American educators and interview results of the Vietnamese student's interests. Though this work intently focuses on the study of community college, this is significant due to a comprehensive view of the structure of the South Vietnam higher education, which was reconstructed in Đỗ Bá Khê's dissertation. It cannot be doubted that grasping a general view of South Vietnam higher education is a pre-eminent factor to acknowledge uncontestedly of the U.S. influences on the higher education in the period of the Second Republic of Vietnam from 1967 to 1975.

In a short essay "Aspect of Recent Educational Change in South Vietnam"⁷, Joseph Dodd presented a view on the development of South Vietnam education, especially pointing out the altered aspects of education in the course of Vietnamese history. The author elucidated and analyzed the changes in both quantity and quality assessments through three prominent educational paradigms, the pre-French educational system, which was deeply influenced by Chinese model; the French system; and the American system in the Independent Period, when the Americans engaged significantly in the educational affairs in South Vietnam. From astute observations, Dodd assumed that the occurrence of changes were most clearly visible in the increasing numbers of students, teachers, and classrooms. Other factors of an educational system, such as teaching methods, contents, the attitude of students and faculty towards the education remained unchanged despite considerable efforts from American advisers. In Dodd's writing, he demonstrated the process of change, which was created on recommendations suggesting several approaches, in which a new and radical arrangement changed an old arrangement. From these approaches, he gave the reasons why the French, to some extent, achieved more than American educators in reforming the Vietnamese education system. In his summary, he

⁷ Dodd, Joseph W., "Aspect of Recent Educational Change in South Vietnam", *The Journal of Developing Areas*, Vol.6 (July 1972): 555-570.

had to admit the fact that in the nature of education system, particularly higher education, the French influences continued to impact and even dominated the American influences. This statement of Dodd meets the agreements of other authors and researchers, who studied the Vietnamese education in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s.

Larry D. Lagow's dissertation, *A History of the Center for Vietnamese Studies at Southern Illinois University, 1969–1976*⁸ is also one of the most prominent works in this study period. Due to an extensive involvement of the United States in South Vietnam, the requirements of understanding Vietnamese became more essential. Thereby, many centers of Vietnamese Studies were instituted in the United States during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. Among those centers, Southern Illinois University proved itself to be outstanding in active engagements in South Vietnamese affairs, both in the study of Vietnamese culture and in cooperation in higher education. Responding to the lack of expertise in rebuilding South Vietnam, the Center for Vietnamese Studies was established at Southern Illinois University in 1969. The activities of this center strove at planning a postwar reconstruction program for South Vietnam. It is reasonable because in 1969, the hope of peace and the cessation of a protracted war in Vietnam climbed high. Especially, the promise of the newly-elected president Richard Nixon to withdraw from the Vietnam war in honor made the vision of peace more possible. From this work, Lagow pointed out specific activities of Southern Illinois University from 1969 to 1976 and realized its achievements. For almost seven years, the Center had tried its best to study and to disseminate Vietnamese knowledge and culture to the Americans. A library collection of Vietnamese Studies was set up. The number of students, who were instructed in Vietnamese language and culture, and broader, Southeast Asian languages and cultures, increased significantly. The task to advance South Vietnam in the postwar period was considered seriously. However, as Lagow concluded in his dissertation, the Center for Vietnamese Studies in Southern Illinois had to face myriad adversaries, which limited the accomplishments of the Center. Despite that, in Lagow's study, one still can perceive a close connection between the United States and South Vietnam in cultural and

⁸ Lagow, Larry Dwane, *A History of the Center for Vietnamese Studies at Southern Illinois University, 1969–1976*, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1978.

educational activities. Undoubtedly, his thesis is fruitful to investigate the American assistance in higher education of Vietnam in an unaccustomed manner.

Thomas Reich in his master thesis, *Higher Education in Vietnam: USAID Contract in Education, Wisconsin State University-Stevens Point, and the Republic of Vietnam, 1967–1974*,⁹ matches in almost the same period of time which author's research conducts. Wishing to explore a little-known facet of the American war in Vietnam – i.e., the U.S. effort and the U.S. cooperation with Vietnamese agencies in reforming higher education system in South Vietnam as a part of nation building process to empower the Republic regimes in South Vietnam, Thomas Reich examined the 6-year service of the Wisconsin State University-Stevens Point in South Vietnam under the authority of the U.S. government. The activities of the Wisconsin State University-Stevens Point started in 1967 with a task of doing an intensive survey of the RVN higher education system. This survey played a leading role to reorient, adjust, and solve particular problems of higher education in South Vietnam from 1967 onwards. By providing numerous archival data and statistics, which are relating to the activities of the Wisconsin State University-Stevens Point, his study contributed immensely to enhance the engagement and influences of the American educators and experts in RVN higher education. Consequently, this thesis is a reliable reference to triumph over challenges of author's research.

Nguyễn Thanh Liêm edited the book, *Giáo dục ở miền Nam tự do trước 1975* [Education in South Vietnam before 1975]¹⁰. He is, moreover, a well-known South Vietnamese educator, who contributed crucially to the advancement of higher education in Vietnam in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. This book comprised a vast number of retrospectives of educators, teachers, and educational managers, who worked under the government of the Second Republic of Vietnam. Aside from illustrating a comprehensive view of the education system of South Vietnam during the terms of the First and the Second Republic,

⁹ Reich, Thomas Charles, *Higher Education in Vietnam: United States Agency for International Development Contract in Education, Wisconsin State University - Steven Point and Republic of Vietnam*, University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point, Master Thesis, 2003.

¹⁰ Nguyễn Thanh Liêm (Ed.), *Giáo dục ở miền Nam tự do trước 1975*, C.A: Le Van Duyet Foundation, 2006.

the authors endeavored to give insights into the fundamental factors of the education system in South Vietnam, including educational leaders, educational concepts and organizations, and lastly educational institutions. Those above matters were the four of the most important points which the authors presented and analyzed in their works. Ostensibly, this study produced a mass of information related to educational activities in South Vietnam before 1975 which was enable to readers and referrers to visualize RVN higher education developments. Even though, this work overestimated the accomplishments of RVN higher education before 1975. Since the book was composed of several personal remembrances, therefore, the fragmentation of the picture of higher education in South Vietnam was unavoidable. Despite those limitations, it cannot be denied that this book is one of the salient publications of the South Vietnamese educators which have been published recently.

Hoàng Thị Hồng Nga's thesis, *Giáo dục Đại học dưới chế độ Việt Nam Cộng hoà (1956–1975)* [Higher Education under the Republic of Vietnam (1956-1975)]¹¹ is one of the most recent works relating to this working topic. This thesis offers a broad view of higher education of the Republic of Vietnam from 1956 to 1975 in varied aspects, including structure, training objectives, content and training methods, lectures and students, facilities, budget, and administration. In regard to the above aspects, she analyzed the effect of the historical context on the transition and innovation of higher education in that twenty-year period. Furthermore, the competition of two educational models, the French and the Americans, were also taken into account in her dissertation. Significantly, the characteristics of the American educational model and its effects on higher education in South Vietnam were discussed in her dissertation. After the re-unification of Vietnam in 1975, due to the limited resources of a country where having not recovered from a protracted war and due to the political reasons, the research topic of higher education in South Vietnam in the wartime experienced a temporary interruption. Recently, after over forty years of the termination of the war, the political tension has been placated, leading to opportunities for Vietnamese researchers to re-examine the history in a less biased perspective. Subsequently, the studies of the Republics in South Vietnam in many aspects,

¹¹ Hoàng Thị Hồng Nga, *Giáo dục Đại học dưới chế độ Việt Nam Cộng hoà (1956–1975)*, Ph.D. dissertation, Hà Nội: University of Social Sciences and Humanities, 2016.

especially higher education during the governing period of these regimes increased. There is a number of works, which were written by Vietnamese students and young researchers. The dissertation of Hoàng Thị Hồng Nga reflects a new-fashion tendency of Vietnamese social scientists.

The essay of Nguyen, Thuy Phuong “The Rivalry of the French and American Educational Missions during the Vietnam War” researched the involvement of French and American in the education of Vietnam in the twentieth century. Her core argument focuses on the question of whether or not the French and American competed against each other to gain dominant influence in the area of education in Vietnam. In previous studies and in the reports of Saigon-based French officials, it was assumed that the cultural enemies of the French were not the Vietnamese Communists, but the Americans. On the contrary, Nguyen, Thuy Phuong indicated that, despite their competition, the French and the Americans shared many similarities in applying their educational models to Vietnam and even complemented each other. French and American educators, for example, consented in using modern and progressive teaching methods; they both recognized the needs of a contemporary Vietnam, notably in the field of technology was discordant with real demands of Vietnam society; and several French professors were willing to teach at American-founded institutions. Albeit, the author admitted that, in general, the French educational model and its effects continued to be eminent in the Vietnamese educational system until the late 1970s. She also elucidated reasons which enabled the French model to achieve more than the American model. Not only did the French have the advantage of a much longer presence, and moreover, the similarities of the French educational model with the conventional model, but also the situation worsened for the Americans as they became confronted with a myriad of obstacles during the wartime. Nguyen Thuy Phuong’s study suggests a multifaceted view for us to reconsider educational phenomena in the development process of education in Vietnam.

Also in the scope of studying South Vietnam, Trần Thanh Nam investigated another education system in *Sơ thảo ba mươi năm giáo dục miền Nam (1954–1975)* [An Outline of the Thirty-Year Education in South Vietnam (1954–1975)].¹² As known, South

¹² Trần Thanh Nam, *Sơ thảo ba mươi năm giáo dục miền Nam (1954–1975)*, Nxb Giáo dục, 1995.

Vietnam after the 1954 Geneva Accord existed in a complicated political situation of the authority of two paralleling governments, the Republic of Vietnam and the other political entity, the National Liberation Front, later named the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Vietnam. Although this government denied the legitimacy of the other, it must be recognized that both entities had their de facto influences in the political, economic, social and cultural activities of South Vietnam. Therefore, studying this system is essential to have a general grasp of the competing systems. The work of Trần Thanh Nam enabled us to approach the educational activities of the other side which was not under the control the Republic of Vietnam.

More broader than above mentioned studies, another research group should not be neglected when conducts this thesis, whose publications drew attention to the long-term development of the Vietnamese higher education instead of regarding a specific period. Abundant existing publications facilitate research of Vietnamese contemporary education. A number of selected works is mentioned in this review to assist readers ascertain a general image of education in Vietnam to date.

Giáo dục đại học Việt Nam: Góc nhìn từ lý thuyết Kinh tế - tài chính hiện đại [Higher Education in Vietnam from the Modern Finacial – Economic Theory], which was authored by Phạm Đức Chính and Nguyễn Tiến Dũng¹³, is one of the latest publications relating to higher education in Vietnam. In the second decade of the twenty first century, the Vietnamese government as well as her people are highly aware of education problems, especially the role of higher education in promoting the position of the country in the international hierarchy. Experts and educators have been searching effective solutions to overcome the crisis of the present higher education system. In the viewpoint of both Phạm Đức Chính and Nguyễn Tiến Dũng, the development of higher education cannot be separated from pragmatic requirements, particularly economic and financial. These authors based their research on the theory of a modern economy and finance, therefore suggested an educational principle and model which could be applied to the current higher education in Vietnam in order to overcome its crisis. Despite this work researches the

¹³ Phạm Đức Chính, Nguyễn Tiến Dũng (co-editor), *Giáo dục đại học Việt Nam: Góc nhìn từ lý thuyết Kinh tế - tài chính hiện đại*, Hà Nội: Nhà xuất bản Chính trị Quốc Gia, 2014.

periphery of our study and only calling attention to the present higher education, nonetheless, it is still useful in several aspects. The authors presented the fundamental knowledge on higher education, regarding higher education in the process of historical development, analyzing the features of a modern higher education, detecting the problems of university administration, and assessing the role of government and its people in developing higher education. These matters are not current, but also appeared in the higher education of the Second Republic of Vietnam as well. Hence, this publication gives an opportunity to create a comparative view in the history of Vietnamese higher education in understanding crucial educational issues.

Kỷ yếu Đại học Humboldt 200 năm (1810–2010), Kinh nghiệm thế giới và Việt Nam [In commemoration of 200 years of Humboldt University (1810-2010), World and Vietnamese Experiences]¹⁴ of Ngô Bảo Châu, Pierre Darriulat, Cao Huy Thuần, Hoàng Tuy, Nguyễn Xuân Xanh, and Phạm Xuân Yêm (co-editor) is another related research for this thesis. Doing research on American higher education and its influences in Vietnam, or elsewhere for that matter, it is crucial to obtain knowledge of the American universities in several aspects, for example, development and cornerstone changes in the course of its history, the acculturation of Western educational models, and also their influences on other foreign universities which they cooperated with, especially in Vietnam. The work of Ngô Bảo Châu et al. partly meets above demands. The conference proceeding included several essays, which examined numerous aspects in the development of American universities. For instance, while the essay of Vũ Quang Việt provides a systematic view of the American universities, which comprised objectives of universities, the system of universities, the training categories, the certificates, the academic issues, and the state administration of universities, the study of Lâm Quang Thiệp illustrates relations among the Humboldt University, American universities, and Vietnamese universities in the historical process. Lâm Quang Thiệp stated that American universities intensively influenced from European education, particularly from German institutions. European educational characteristics endured for centuries in the American higher education system,

¹⁴ Ngô Bảo Châu, Pierre Darriulat, Cao Huy Thuần, Hoàng Tuy, Nguyễn Xuân Xanh, Phạm Xuân Yêm (co-editor), *Kỷ yếu Đại học Humboldt 200 năm (1810–2010), kinh nghiệm thế giới và Việt Nam*, Nhà xuất bản Trí Thức, 2011.

retaining in part in American universities currently. Not only analyzing the characteristics of American universities, Lâm Quang Thiệp also investigated the influences of American universities on Vietnam higher education in order to learn lessons to advance and develop universities. In his work, the crucial problems of Vietnamese universities were pointed out, including the educational background of students, restructuring the fragmented education into a whole, and the matter of abolishing the irrational remuneration. In terms of Vietnam's higher education, the essays focus predominantly on the current situation rather than in the past. Even though, the articles and essays are value in applying a comparative method in considering higher education in Vietnam systematically, and also in comparing with other educational models as well as previous systems in Vietnam.

In *Lịch sử giản lược hơn 1000 năm nền giáo dục Việt Nam* [A Brief History in 1000 Years of Vietnamese Education]¹⁵, Lê Văn Giảng attempted to draw an overarching picture on the Vietnamese educational history from the early eleventh century to the end of the twentieth century. Structuring his work by describing educational systems and commenting on each in his five chapters, Lê Văn Giảng, to some extent, did succeed in his aspiration to provide a brief view on Vietnamese education. This is fruitful for readers who have limited time to read all monographs and publications related to this topic. The extensive study in a long term period prevented the author to go in details of each educational model. Notwithstanding, readers could obtain and be able to compare the similarities and differences among distinguished periods of education development. Moreover, they are able to extract features of Vietnamese education in both, distinctive educational models and an entire development.

1.2 Research Questions

Conducting this research, the thesis has taken upon itself to clarify several questions related to higher education in South Vietnam from 1967 to 1975. These questions are divided into two groups: general and specific issues.

¹⁵ Lê Văn Giảng, *Lịch sử giản lược hơn 1000 năm nền giáo dục Việt Nam*, Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia, 2003.

In order to provide a background of knowledge of Vietnamese education and the American influences in South Vietnam, this dissertation will answer the following general questions: What is Higher Education? How did the Vietnamese higher education change during its historical process? How did the Americans assess the importance of developing higher education in correlation to the U.S. strategies in South Vietnam? And, how did the U.S. government exert its influences on higher education of the Second Republic of Vietnam?

To solve the main tasks of the dissertation, the following specific questions will be explored: What were the higher education policies promulgated in South Vietnam in the 1967–1975 period? What were the U.S. policies of higher education implemented in South Vietnam from 1967 to 1975? How did the Americans compete with other external influences, for instance French? How did the Americans commit themselves to assist and develop three specific affairs of the RVN public universities, ranging from administrative, to academic, and to international cooperation issues? To what extent did the U.S influence national universities, including the University of Saigon, the University of Huế, and the University of Cần Thơ? And, how did the South Vietnamese administrators and educators deal with higher education in the 1967–1975?

1.3 Scope of the Study

Aiming to bring a comprehensive point of view about higher education development in Vietnam, this thesis mentions briefly the entire course of the Vietnamese higher education history. On the contrary, the scope of this study focuses on a much more defined objective, the American influences on three national universities, the University of Saigon, the University of Huế, and the University of Cần Thơ from 1967 to 1975. The study highlights three aspects, comprises administrative issues, academic issues, and international cooperation affairs. Other matters which are beyond this objective will be mentioned in the periphery of the dissertation.

1.4 Methods and Sources

Methods

First and foremost, the author has taken the task to conduct researching visiting several distance archives and libraries in order to collect as many documents as possible which related to the RVN higher education system and the U.S. commitment in this area in the twentieth century.

Combining the archival and published materials as well as applying interdisciplinary studying methods, such as analytical, synthetical, and comparative methods to clarify all questions in the research scope of this thesis.

Consulting the opinions of other authors, researchers, and especially eye-witnesses of RVN higher education is another way to pursue avenues of investigations.

Sources

This dissertation is based on two types of sources which serve to research inquiries of this study.

Primary sources play the most prominent role in this thesis, including thousands of pages collected from diverse collections and fonds located in the National Archives II (Ho Chi Minh City), The Vietnam Center and Archive (Texas), UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (Hamburg), and the French National Library (BnF, Paris). These sources are presented in a variety of forms, including printed papers, handwriting documents, and microfilms. These comprised official and unofficial documents in different languages, Vietnamese, English, and French.

Less prominent, nonetheless important for doing this research are numerous publications related to the study of higher education in South Vietnam. These were of great value for the author to view and examine RVN higher education development in multifaceted perspectives.

1.5 Terms of the Study

Higher Education: In the *A Dictionary of Education*, the term of higher education was defined as follows,

Higher education: Programs of study which lead to advanced qualifications such as those at National Qualifications Framework (NQF) level 5 or 6 and above, such as degrees and diplomas. These are usually offered in **higher education institutions** (HEIs) such as universities, but may also form part of provision of further education (FE), colleges, as in the case of foundation degrees. The higher education sector is largely comprised universities and university colleges, and is distinct from the further education sector in terms of funding and purpose. The *provision* of higher education, however, is an area in which there is some overlap, since HEIs may accredit FE colleges to deliver some higher-level, vocationally related courses.¹⁶

University: “An institution of higher education with the authority to confer degrees and which has been granted university status”.¹⁷

The Second Republic of Vietnam Government: The government which had existed in South Vietnam from 1967 to 1975, legitimized by the Constitution enacted on April 1, 1967.

National Universities: These were also called “Public universities”, established in South Vietnam in the mid-1950s and 1960s, consisted of the University of Saigon (established in 1955), the University of Huế (established in 1957), and the University of Cần Thơ (established in 1966). These universities seized the leading role in the RVN higher education system in South Vietnam, responding to the practical needs of South Vietnam society at that time as well.

South Vietnam: The terminology used in this thesis refers to the South Vietnamese territory which was under the authority of the Republic of Vietnam from 1955 until 1975.

The Autonomy in Universities: According to the 1967 Constitution of the Second Republic of Vietnam, higher education was autonomous. The autonomy of higher education, including universities and educational institution, is described in several aspects. This concept was predominantly applied to South Vietnamese universities since

¹⁶ Wallace, Susan, *A Dictionary of Education*, 134.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 315.

the late of the 1960s, granted more freedom for universities in deciding its scientific and administrative affairs. Albeit, the idea of university autonomy strengthened in the course of the Second Republic of Vietnam, however up till 1975, this did not become dominant for universities in South Vietnam.

Postwar Reconstruction and Development Program: This terminology relates to the plans which were proposed by RVN officers as well as were assisted and advised by American experts in the late 1960s and the early 1970s, focusing on the enhancement and development of RVN civil aspects, such as economy, society, and culture. In the above aspects, education was considered as a critical factor to empower the RVN in the postwar periods.

Educational Policies: The policies, which were enacted and executed by the Second Republic of Vietnam in the years 1967–1975, aimed at developing education, including higher education in South Vietnam.

1.6 Organization of the Study

This thesis focuses on four critical points: (1) a general view of Vietnam's system of higher education up until 1975; (2) American influences on the administrative management of national universities in South Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s; (3) American influences on the academic issues of national universities in South Vietnam; (4) American influences in constructing international cooperation between RVN public universities and other international institutions.

The first point of the thesis is taken up in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, addressing to several questions: how did higher education develop in the course of Vietnamese history in advance of 1967? What was the organized system of higher education in Vietnam from 1967 to 1975? Why did the Americans engage in RVN higher education? How did the American model of higher education influence in the Vietnamese higher education in the term of the Second Republic of Vietnam? How did the American model compete against the French model? And what is the result of that competition?

The second point of the thesis is analysed in Chapter 4. In this part, the American influences on the administrative management of national universities are evaluated by answering following questions: what role did the Americans play in the aspect of shaping higher education policies in South Vietnam, particularly in national universities? How did the Americans assist national universities in South Vietnam in dealing with prevailing and critical issues of higher education, such as the scarcity of teaching personnel, proper infrastructure, and finance? This chapter also considers the process of change in the teacher-student relations and the change in the educative agencies' relations due to the American educational influences.

Chapter 5 elucidates the third core point of this thesis, which answers the questions: To what extent did the Americans engage in shaping educational goals in national universities, in inspiring a new teaching method, in determining the curricula, in training teachers for all educational levels, in setting new criteria in respect to recruitments and accreditations, and lastly, in supporting publication affairs.

The last task of the study is solved in Chapter 6, researching the question: how did the Americans engage in establishing international cooperation among national universities? This question is made clear on several matters, including trainings, student and scholar exchange, research, and educational-assisting projects.

In the dicussion part of this thesis, the author reviews and re-assesses matters, which were assumed to be critical to obtain insights into the RVN higher education system. Aside from that, this study offers recommendations which hope to be useful for Vietnam to overcome the crisis in higher education presently.

Chapter 2: The Vietnamese Higher Education and the American Engagement in Advance of 1967

2.1 Higher Education in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

It is ostensible that higher education is an extremely new terminology in the educational history of Vietnamese people. Although, the Vietnamese are proud of their “first” university, which was founded in 1070 under the Lý dynasty¹⁸, the establishment of an actual university according to the modern concept had to wait for more than ten centuries for the birth of the Indochinese University (*Université Indochinoise*) in the French colonial period.

Concerning the starting point of the Indochinese University, there are numerous dissenting opinions among researchers and scholars. Some scholars claimed that this university was established on May 16, 1906 due to the Decree No. 1514a, signed by Governor General Paul Beau¹⁹, other researchers chose the year 1917 as a time of its establishment owing to its continuous operation from 1917 onwards. Both arguments are plausible and likely to be accepted.

Apparently, the Indochinese University existed only for a short time after its establishment in 1906, ceasing for ten years before re-operating in 1917. Despite that, by considering the legitimacy of the Decree No.1514a, enacted by Governor General Paul Beau for the establishment of the Indochinese University in Hanoi, the time of 1906 is acknowledged as a starting point of the operations of this university in this research work, subsequently.²⁰

¹⁸ Lê Văn Giảng, *Lịch sử giản lược*, 15.

¹⁹ Article 1 stipulated “*Nay thành lập ở Đông Dương, dưới tên gọi trường đại học, một tập hợp các khoá đào tạo bậc đại học cho các sinh viên xứ thuộc địa và các nước láng giềng. Cơ sở đào tạo này có nhiệm vụ phổ biến ở Viễn Đông, chủ yếu thông qua tiếng Pháp, những kiến thức về các ngành khoa học và các phương pháp châu Âu*”.

Translated:

“establishing in Indochina an institution, under the title of a university, which comprised courses at higher education level for colonial students and students of neighboring countries.

This institution is responsible for disseminating scientific knowledge and European methods in the Far East by the French language”.

Centre des Archives d’Outre-Mer à Aix-en Provence - CAOM, GGI, File No. 48.042.

²⁰ This argument is supported by the recent research of Đào Thị Diễm and by Vietnamese and French archive documents.

Reasons for Establishing the Indochinese University

The establishment of the Indochinese University definitely was not a contingent phenomenon but resulted from a multitude of reasons. First and foremost, paralleling with the decisions of the French government to embed itself in the Indochinese affairs to carry out *the mandate of civilizing underdeveloped countries*, education development also was considered as a striking factor to show the French goodwill to the indigenous. As Paul Bert stated: “*French come to Vietnam in order to improve agriculture, industry, economy and also to enhance the mental life by education*”²¹. The sphere of education involvements of French educators and colonial authorities in Vietnam constantly progressed from the basic to higher educational level. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the French colonial authorities initially engaged in Vietnamese education by establishing a few primary and secondary schools in Cochinchina, such as Collège Chasseloup-Laubat (in 1874), Collège de Mỹ Tho (in 1879), École Primaire Supérieure (in 1896), Lycée du Protectorat (1908). Some decades later, the Franco-Vietnamese educational system was formed in Vietnam with diverse levels of training, comprising elementary schools, primary schools (primaire supérieur), secondary schools (secondaire), colleges (écoles supérieures) and a university (université). Three outstanding colleges could be mentioned in the early twentieth century, for instance, the School of Medicine and Pharmacy (École de médecine et de pharmacie), the School of Pedagogy (École supérieure de pédagogie), and the School of Fine Arts and Architecture. These schools were built and located in three parts of Vietnam (Tonkin, Annam, and Cochinchina) rather being centralized in one area.

Aside from that, the political and social situation in Vietnam in the first decades of the twentieth century having a high demand for education, especially for higher education, was also a catalyst to stimulate the emergence of the first university in Indochina. The situation was demonstrated by the rise of educational and social movements. Outstanding activities were the Eastward-Exodus Movement (Đông Du), which was headed by Phan Bội Châu and the opening of free schools by Vietnamese patriotic scholars in Hanoi, Hà

Đào Thị Diễm, “Sự ra đời của Đại học Đông Dương qua tài liệu lưu trữ”, available at <https://vnu.edu.vn/btdhqghn/?C1654/N19219/Su-ra-doi-cua-dai-hoc-dong-Duong-qua-tai-lieu-luu-tru.htm>, accessed on April 5, 2017.

²¹ H. Marc et Corny, *Indochine Française*, Paris, 1946.
Cited in Phan Trọng Báu, *Giáo dục Việt Nam*, 55.

Đông, Bắc Ninh, Sơn Tây, Phúc Yên, Hưng Yên, Hải Dương, and Nam Định. The free schools were known prevalently with the original name of Đông Kinh Nghĩa Thục (the free school of Tonkin). In face of that issue, French authorities feared an adversary situation if they were to allow young Vietnamese to study abroad without being controlled. Governor General Albert Sarraut frankly pointed out that: *“It would be very dangerous to allow the native intelligentsia to go beyond our sphere of control to study in foreign countries, and thus being exposed to the influence of foreign political systems. They would, upon their return to their own country, resort to the propaganda talent they acquired abroad to act against the protectorate government which had denied them the right to study”*²². The Governor General had expressed explicitly the desire of the French government to monopolize education in Vietnam to control the thoughts and minds of Vietnamese people, and to destroy, or at least, limit any potential risks to the existence of a protectorate government in Vietnam.

The fact that French colonial officials were overburdened in handling numerous issues due to the scarcity of local personnel, particularly people who were fluent in both languages, French and Vietnamese, and those qualified in administrative skills as well, added one more motivation to establish a university. The French colonial government was hurried to create a higher educational institution in Vietnam, which would train the needed people to undertake “inferior assignments”, that French personnel were unwilling to do.

Another imminent factor that affected significantly the decision of the French government to open a higher education institution in Vietnam was the dominant influence of Chinese educational model: the Confucian Education, in the Vietnamese education system. Desiring to overtake the Chinese influence in the Vietnamese society and to form a stable and durable regime, the French colonial administration wielded education as a tool to achieve their goals. The heritage of Confucian Education in Vietnam was gradually replaced by French elements. The process of innovating education underwent many changes, ranging from the teaching medium, teaching methods, school infrastructures to

²² Sarraut, Albert, *La Mise en Valeur*, 99.
Cited in Duong, Duc Nhu, *Education in Vietnam*, 179.

teacher-student relations. The innovations occurred in different periods. In the starting stage from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, the French implanted their educational concepts while the Confucian educational system was maintained.²³ The dual system did not exist long. Due to the adaption of Vietnamese people as well as their aspiration to a Western educational model, the operation of the Confucian educational model was terminated officially in 1919, marked by the event of the last Confucian examination in Vietnam in this year.

Not only competing with China to appeal to the attention and minds of the Vietnamese people, the context of the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century elevated a new competitor for the French in this race: the Japanese innovation movement. After defeating Russia and choosing the Western style to develop the country, Japan was considered as an ideal model for some Asian countries such as Vietnam to follow. As mentioned, the flux of Vietnamese students and youths heading to Japan menaced the French power in Vietnam particularly and in Indochina generally. To deal with that situation, or in other words, to lure the attention of Vietnamese as well as Indochinese people back, establishing a higher learning institution was an urgent task.²⁴

The appearing and existing of the Indochinese University also was a subsequent result of the rising number of students in the elementary and secondary schools. In 1909, the number of students from the traditional education registered at 11,000 candidates while the total number of students in all levels in Cochinchina from the French schools amounted to 25,000 students.²⁵ With the operation of several Franco-Vietnamese schools, the number of students who held the Baccalaureates (which became the prerequisite to having the admission to enter the university later) grew gradually. In the local schools, the statistic tripled from 18 to 65 students during the 1922–1923 and 1929–1930 school years. In the same period, the figures experienced for even more impressive rising from

²³ Refer: Đào Thị Diên, “Sự ra đời của Đại học Đông Dương”.
Lê Văn Giảng, *Lịch sử giáo dục*, 82-83.

²⁴ See The Virtual Vietnam Archive, Vu Tam Ich, “A Historical Survey of Educational Developments in Vietnam”, *Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service*, Vol. XXXII, No.2 (December 1959), File 2391104001, Part A, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU. and Duong, Duc Nhu, *Education in Vietnam*.

²⁵ République Francaise, *Discours Prononcé par M.A. Klobukowski*, 43-45.

39 to 192 students at the French schools.²⁶ Obviously, these numbers were extremely modest compared to the percentage of school-age population in Indochina, however, this was an essential foundation for creating and simulating the higher education system.

Interpretations of French Aims in Establishing a University in Indochina

Concerning the roots of forming the Indochinese University in the time of 1906 and its re-opening in 1917, eye-witnesses (Indochinese people) and researchers, who specialized in the study of Franco-Vietnamese education, expressed their interpretations in a multitude of ways. Some twentieth century Vietnamese scholars, such as Lê Văn Giảng and Dương Đức Như²⁷, assumed that a true motivation for French to inaugurate a higher learning school in Vietnam resulted from the educational mobilization of Vietnamese Confucians. Consequently, the forming of a university could be considered as a response to that mobilization, which was necessary to placate the malevolence of Vietnamese Confucians to the French colonial administration.²⁸ Other researchers, for example, Gail Kelly, affirmed the birth of the Indochinese University was motivated by administrative tasks rather than academic purposes. She pointed out that “*Beau and his predecessors considered universities as irrigation works in Mekong Delta, railways, bridges, roads which they built in the transition time of the 19th and 20th century*”²⁹. To some extent, Kelly’s argument could be proved rationally. Since the tenure of Governor General Paul Doumer, in order to build Hanoi as a capital of Indochinese Federation, a variety of aspects of Indochinese development was considered intensively. Subsequently, the infrastructure of roads, railways and bridges, as well as the telegram communication system were subjected to investment and consequently built. Many headquarters of several departments and institutions appearing only in the period of few years, such as the French Protectorate of Tonkin in 1892 (Résidence supérieure au Tonkin), the Customs and Regulatory Service in Hanoi (Service des Douanes et Régies à Hanoi) in 1893, and

²⁶ Indochine Française, *Annuaire Statistique de l’Indochine, 1923–1929*, 89.

²⁷ Lê Văn Giảng, *Lịch sử giáo dục*, 77-83.

Dương, Đức Như, *Education in Vietnam*.

²⁸ Trần Thị Phương Hoa, “Đại học Đông Dương 1906–1945, nỗ lực hiện đại hoá và định hướng ứng dụng”, published on the website of Vietnam National University, Hanoi, available at <https://vnu.edu.vn/ttsk/?C1654/N19244/dH-dong-Duong-1906-1945,-no-luc-hien-dai-hoa-va-dinh-huong-ung-dung.htm>, accessed on November 11, 2017.

²⁹ Kelly, Gail Paradise, “The Myth of Educational Planning”, 28.

Cited in Trần Thị Phương Hoa, “Đại học Đông Dương”, 4.

the Palace of the General Government of Indochina (Palais du Gouvernement général de l'Indochine)³⁰ in 1900, remarkably changed the face of Hanoi.³¹

Regarding this discussions, in a writing on the Vietnamese examinations and education under the French colonial period, Trần Bích San³² mentioned briefly about the French purposes for creating the French educational system to replace the Confucian educational model. He indicated that the French aimed at three central expectations. First, to train cadres who were able to implement the French policies of ruling and exploiting in Vietnam and Indochina, including the administrative, teaching, medical, and constructing fields. Second, the French government wanted to propagate French ideology and to obtain indigenous gratitude as well as their allegiance to France. Third, was the demagogic intent, however, Trần Bích San emphasized that this was not significant. Trần Bích San's arguments were agreed with by other Vietnamese educational researchers, for instance, in the Lê Văn Giảng's book *Lịch sử giản lược hơn 1000 năm nền giáo dục Việt Nam* [A Brief History in 1000 Years of Vietnamese Education], he did illustrate these purposes as explanations for the transferring the French education model to Vietnam in the early twentieth century.³³

The explanations for the actual purposes of French regarding the establishment of a university in Vietnam were various and diverse. However, researchers have a consensus when analyzing the gap between the French announcements and their implementation. It can be seen that, in the beginning, motivations and reasons for the French government to create a university in Vietnam contradicted themselves internally. On the one hand, the French utilized a higher education school as a tool to spread their propaganda in Vietnam and other countries in Indochina in which they claimed not to have any business interest in this area but rather to help indigenous to civilize their countries. They reversed this mission outright, however, when they revealed immediately that the Indochinese University was purposely used as a barrier to halt the overseas studying movements and

³⁰ *The Presidential Palace* nowadays.

³¹ Đào Thị Diễm, “Đại học Đông Dương”, 2.

³² Trần Bích San, “Thi cử và nền giáo dục Việt Nam dưới thời Pháp thuộc”, available at http://cothommagazine.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=278&Itemid=1, accessed on November 18, 2017.

³³ Lê Văn Giảng, *Lịch sử giản lược*, 79.

also to prevent the Vietnamese youth from approaching external radical thoughts, which could threaten the governance of the French colonial government. Governor General Sarraut once said that:

Before the war (World War I), the Vietnamese revolutionaries took refuge in Hong Kong, China, and Japan, and followed their studies in British or Japanese institutions. When being asked why did not stay in Indochina for education, they replied: the French colonial authorities did nothing for their education except for a very low standard of instruction. That was the reason why I opened lycees and higher schools for the Vietnamese so that nobody could repeat the same answer and wriggle out of Indochina to learn subversive lessons elsewhere.³⁴

Due to that intention, which seems not to focus much on the academic desire, the Indochinese University was unable to operate as a full-fledged university as those in France and other developed countries in its initial stages. The inefficiency of the university's organization and training competence explained, in part, the reason why the Indochinese University shut its door shortly after one year of its establishment.

The Use of the Terminology “University” and Its Equivalence in Comparison to the Universal Concept

As mentioned, although Vietnamese people were proud of their educational tradition with the “first” university which was established in the eleventh century, the terminology “university” was definitely not familiar to them in advance of the twentieth century. Additionally, the understanding of the term “university” in the French and the American educational system have little in common. Thus, the realization of the distinctions and the similarities in the usage of the term “university” pertaining to the two educational models is crucial to have insight into the system of Vietnamese education, particularly activities of higher education institutions in Vietnam in the twentieth century.

Tân Phong in his article in *Thanh Nghị*³⁵, clarified that, in France, higher education (enseignement supérieur) was taught in universities (facultés) and the schools (écoles supérieures). These educational institutions were organized and functioned differently.

³⁴ Sarraut, Albert, *Grandeur et Servitude Coloniale*
Cited in Duong, Duc Nhu, *Education in Vietnam*, 179.

³⁵ Tân Phong, “Trường Cao đẳng”.

While universities demanded lower admission requirements, in contrast, students who dreamt to attend the Schools had to take part in challenging examinations, which limited the number of accepted students. Moreover, while the universities focused on principles, the schools concentrated more on disciplines. This study retained its values, confirmed by the consensus of several studies recently.³⁶ M. Montgomery³⁷ presumed in her work that, in France, the higher education system is divided up into two tiers: *Grandes Écoles* and local universities. To some extent, *Grandes Écoles* is roughly to compare to Ivy Leagues in the United States. To be more specific, M. Montgomery provided pieces of evidence of the differences between the two types. To enter *Grandes Écoles*, students are required to take highly competitive national examinations which take place an entire day and focus on the chosen areas of study, while in the branch of local universities, the candidates only need to have completed *the Bac*³⁸ to be accepted as university students. Based on Molly Montgomery's study, it could be seen that *Grandes Écoles* are equivalent to the expression of *Schools* in the study of Tân Phong, and *local universities*, mentioned in Tân Phong's paper, being called a somewhat short name in Molly Montgomery's essay, *universities*. This illustrates that the higher education system in France has remained unchanged since the twentieth century.

Differing from the French system, in the United States, students are not required to take any entrance national examination, however, depending on their graduation notes from high school, they can qualify to appropriate universities. The more outstanding results, the more opportunities for them to become students of prestigious universities. The French students have to decide which subjects they want to study before they commence university, consequently the subjects which they are going to study are fixed and seldomly change during their study duration. Opposed to that, the U.S. students have “*a little to no*

³⁶ Miller, Jeffrey B. and Alain Alcouffe, *A Comparison of the Organization* And “Higher Education in France and the United States”, available at <https://boston.consulfrance.org/Higher-Education-in-France-and-the-United-States>, accessed on January 4, 2018.

Montgomery, Molly, “Higher Education in France and the United States: A Brief Overview”, available at <http://frenchquartermag.com/higher-education-in-france-and-the-united-states-a-brief-overview>, accessed on January 4, 2018.

³⁷ Montgomery, Molly, “Higher Education in France”.

³⁸ The Baccalauréat, often known in French colloquially as Bac, is an academic qualification which French students take after high school.

See <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baccalauréat>.

idea of what they want to study”³⁹, consequently, programs in the U.S. system are more flexible and able to shift compared to the ones in the French system.

Back to the problem of understanding the use of the name of the Indochinese University and its training functions. Even though it was called a university, the Indochinese University was not equivalent and in line with the connotation of a modern university.⁴⁰ Tân Phong emphasized that, prior to 1932, the organization of the Indochinese University was totally distinctive compared to French counterparts.⁴¹ He noticed, after establishing *Grandes Écoles* (in Vietnamese: trường Cao đẳng), so-called *Ecoles supérieures* were also formed but they had no clue to connect to those in France. They focused on cadre training for the ruling purpose which was a dire demand of the protectorate government in Indochina, instead. Since 1932, the principles of the French university level had been applied in Indochina by establishing the School of Law, the School of Medicine, and the School of Pharmaceutics. With the addition of these newly-created schools, the Indochinese University only needed one more school, the School of Literature, to be a full-fledged university as the same to universities in France.⁴² Another noticeable phenomenon, the affiliated schools of the Indochinese University were called *Ecoles supérieures*, yet they followed the principles of French *facultés*.⁴³ This led to the student qualification being equal to the French *facultés* students, not the *Ecoles supérieures* students.

Regarding this phenomenon, it must be noted that the understanding of the Vietnamese people presently concerning the definition of universities and schools (colleges) has changed significantly. Vietnamese universities have been more or less approaching the American model rather than maintaining the style of the educational system which was implanted in Vietnam in the twentieth century by the French. While in the former French

³⁹ Montgomery, Molly, “Higher Education in France”.

⁴⁰ This was argued by Duong, Duc Nhu, Trần Thị Phương Hoa and, Kelly, Gail P. in their works. Duong, Duc Nhu, *Education in Vietnam*.

Trần Thị Phương Hoa, “Đại học Đông Dương”.

Kelly, Gail Paradise, *Franco-Vietnamese Schools*.

⁴¹ Tân Phong, “Trường Cao đẳng”.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ The *facultés* in the French educational system is equivalent to a university (Đại học) in the modern system of the present Vietnam, the Schools (*écoles supérieures*) are called colleges (Cao đẳng).

educational system, the school requirements were more stringent, in the present educational system in Vietnam, universities have better reputation, consequently, to be bestowed admissions, candidates are confronted with more challenges in national entrance exams. In 2015, Vietnam's higher education experienced a remarkable innovation. The admissions of universities are now given according to the results of the National High School Exams. Frankly, even named as universities and colleges, the quality of these institutions is incomparable to those in Western countries.

The Indochinese University (1906–1955)

Although the Indochinese University was located in Hanoi, it held charge of a higher education institution for three Indochinese countries, comprised Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. According to the Decree No.1514a, the Indochinese University was operated with five affiliated schools, comprising the School of Law and Administration (Ecole supérieure de Droit et Administration), the School of Science (Ecole supérieure des Sciences), the School of Medicine (Ecole supérieure de Médecine), the School of Civil Engineering (Ecole supérieure du Génie Civil), and the School of Letters (Ecole supérieure des Lettres).⁴⁴ These affiliated schools were created in the period ranging from 1902 to 1904. These Schools together with the enactment of the Decree No.1514a, paved the way to establish a university for Indochinese people. In late November of 1907, the first opening ceremony was celebrated by the presence of 97 newly-enrolled students, 62 auditing students (sinh viên dự thính), and 37 first-year students of the School of Medicine.⁴⁵

From the five affiliated schools mentioned, this university had continuously broadened its training spectrum by creating many new schools or adding more teaching subjects during the first half of the twentieth century. Up until 1945, the Indochinese University operated with eight affiliated schools, which consisted of the School of Medicine and Pharmacy, the School of Law and Administration, the School of Pedagogy, the School of Fine Arts and Architecture, the School of Agriculture and Forestry, the School of Veterinary Science, the School of Public Works, and the School of Commerce.⁴⁶ During

⁴⁴ Đào Thị Diễm, “Sự ra đời của Đại học”.

⁴⁵ Direction de l'Instruction Publique - C. Mus, *Directeur de l'Ecole supérieure*, 8.

⁴⁶ Duong, Duc Nhu, *Education in Vietnam*, 185-213.

the 1940s, some affiliated schools of the Indochinese University were upgraded from Schools to Facultés.⁴⁷ In 1941, the School of Full Practice Medicine and Pharmacy (École de Plein Exercice de Médecine et de Pharmacie) became the Mixed Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy (Faculté Mixte de Médecine et de Pharmacie), the School of Law (École Supérieure de Droit) was converted to the Faculty of Law (Faculté de Droit), re-establishing the School of Science to be the Faculty of Science (Faculté des Sciences).⁴⁸ In 1944, the School of Public Works (École des Travaux Publics) was elevated to the Higher School of Public Works (École Supérieure des Travaux Publics) to adapt to the requirements of training engineers and deputy civil engineers. Furthermore, in specific schools, new fields of study were added, for instance, the fields of Ethnology, Oriental Studies, and Archeology were merged into the program of the School of Letters.⁴⁹

The infrastructure of the Indochinese University was in part completed in different periods following the administrative decisions of the colonial government. In 1913, the initial buildings of the Indochinese University were built on Bobillot Street⁵⁰, specifically, it was on the cross of Bobillot Street and the end of Carreau Street.⁵¹ This construction was completed in the period of over thirty years from 1913 to 1945 through three periods.⁵² In the 1913–1922 period, the left wing buildings (The School of Medicine) were erected. The right wing buildings were completed during the two years from 1921 to 1923, after that, two new amphitheatres for the Faculty of Law were ready to use after 1937. The other buildings consisted of a large amphitheater, a tennis ground, fences, gates and several sites were considered to be in need in order to assemble the universities and colleges in the same area. The protectorate government promulgated the decision No. 783 of December 31, 1917 to remodel the house of the Debeaux family on Paul Bert Street, No.47 and Rollandes Street, No.22 and No.24 into new affiliated schools of the

⁴⁷ In the French educational system, Grandes Écoles have more reputation than Facultés, however, in terms of administrative management, Grandes Écoles students need to register in one of Facultés if they want to gain doctorate certificate. That's why, some schools of the Indochinese University were recognized to be upgraded from School to University in the 1940s.

⁴⁸ Trần Bích San, “Thi cử và nền giáo dục”.

Đào Thị Diễm, “Đại học Đông Dương”.

⁴⁹ Đào Thị Diễm, “Đại học Đông Dương”.

⁵⁰ Lê Thánh Tông street nowadays.

⁵¹ Lý Thường Kiệt street nowadays.

⁵² Đào Thị Diễm, “Đại học Đông Dương”.

Indochinese University. This also officialized the second phase of the building process of the Indochinese University. In 1942, Governor General Decoux signed the Decree No.223, which facilitated the construction of the dormitories of the Indochinese University. These sites intended to be built for a capacity of 320 students and to be as modern as the dormitories in Paris. Unfortunately, these building were unable to be completed because of Japanese coup d'état in Indochina on March 9, 1945.

From 1906 to 1955 (the time before its separation), the Indochinese University had overcome many ups and downs. Analyzing the changes of the historical circumstances and the operations of this university during five decades, it can be said that the 1932–1945 period marked impressive achievements of the Indochinese University, which enhanced its reputation. In 1932, the School of Law and the School of Medicine became school branches to the universities of Law and Medicine in Paris. In 1941, these two schools were upgraded to facultés.⁵³ Other elements, which illustrated the growth of this university, were its ability to cope with almost all processes concerning training tasks and its authority to inaugurate the certificate of higher levels. For example, before 1932, to be awarded the certificate of Bachelor of Law, students at the School of Law of the Indochinese University were required to go to France. The situation changed in 1932, when the French professors were appointed to Vietnam and to the position of chairman in graduating committees. For students who passed in exams, they would be certificated by the School of Law in Paris. Since 1933, French professors assumed teaching tasks at the School of Law in Vietnam.⁵⁴ Since that year, the School of Medicine was also able to train the major of the national doctor (doctorat de État) and the School of Pharmacy trained first class pharmacist (Pharmacien de 1re-classe).⁵⁵

With regard to teaching staff, lecturers of the Indochinese University were classified into various categories following the French criteria, namely (1) Professors (professeur), who earned prestige certifications, at the least a Doctoral degree, (2) Master of conference (maitre de conférence), who were competent as a professor but having less-scientific

⁵³ See Trần Bích San, “Thi cử và nền giáo dục” and Đào Thị Diên, “Đại học Đông Dương”.

⁵⁴ Trần Thị Phương Hoa, “Đại học Đông Dương”.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

experience than the group 1, (3) Laboratory Superintendents (Chefs de travaux), possessed at least Bachelor certifications, (4) Assistants (Assistants), the norm is similar to the head of work, (5) Lecturers (chargés de cours); and (6) Preparers (préparateurs).⁵⁶

From the initial step anticipated disadvantaged conditions for the Indochinese University on the path of its development. This was not only proved in the event of 1907: its temporary closing, but also evidenced in the long process afterwards. During the economic depression in 1929–1933, this institution was not outside the sphere of adverse impacts. Many affiliated schools under the authority of the Indochinese University had to cease activities or merging into other educational institutions, such as the cases of the School of Pedagogy, the School of Public Work, the School of Commerce, and the School of Agriculture.⁵⁷ Once again, after the August Revolution of 1945 and the announcement of Independence of the Vietnamese people from the French rule, the Indochinese University had to face uncertain conditions due to scarcity of several aspects, ranging from professors, infrastructure, to budget. Moreover, shortly after independence, Vietnam was forced into the First Indochina War (1946–1954), subsequently, the university did not enjoy favorable development conditions. After the end of the nine-year war (1946–1954), the Indochinese University experienced a major change, which divided this institution into two entities, one located in Hanoi, and the other moved to the South with Northern refugees, re-situated in Saigon. This event not only caused an administrative division, but also started competition of two universities in two aspects, educational and political.

Closely examining the operations of some affiliated schools of the Indochinese University in the first decades of the twentieth century allows us to obtain more precise information, which is useful and necessary for making assessments of the efforts and achievements of the Indochinese University in the course of Vietnamese history. In this study, two institutions, *the School of Fine Arts and Architecture* and *the School of Medicine and Pharmacy*, were chosen as epitomes to examine specific activities of the Indochinese University in advance of 1955.

⁵⁶ Phan Quân, “Trường Khoa học Đông Dương”.

⁵⁷ Trần Thị Phương Hoa, “Đại học Đông Dương”.

The School of Fine Arts and Architecture

Among affiliated schools of the Indochinese University, the School of Fine Arts and Architecture became outstandingly due to its achievements in training tasks as well as in its attempts to narrow the gap between educational institutions in Vietnam and the world-wide ones. In fact, the School of Fine Arts and Architecture comprised three schools, which located in Hanoi, Phnom Penh, and Biên Hoà.⁵⁸

In preparing for the creation of a school of arts in Indochina, first of all, the French needed to acquire knowledge of the indigenous traditional art. By several studies, French scholars concluded that Vietnamese people lent from China all its forms of art. This tendency shifted in the early thirteenth century, when the national renaissance emerged, giving a fresh inspiration to Vietnamese artists. Instead of copying the Chinese models rudimentarily, the Vietnamese artisans started to create their own character.⁵⁹ The period of the fifteenth century to the eighteenth century was considered as the most joyous period of Vietnamese artisans and up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Vietnamese were said to have found the most perfect forms of art. As French researchers commented when conducting their studies on the history of art of Vietnamese people: *“Cette expression n'a plus de proprement chinois qu'un air de parenté qui fait penser aux traces de l'influence chinoise dans l'art coréen ou japonais. Elle reste en fait essentiellement annamite et les œuvres qu'elle caractérise se développent d'une manière indépendante”*.⁶⁰

Due to the presence of French in Indochina, the Chinese influence faded day by day in parallel with the process of adopting Western model. Nevertheless, the aesthetic scope of the Vietnamese artists remained internally. This reality evoked the Indochinese protectorate government the idea of establishing a universal-standard school of art in Indochina. In doing so, it not only illustrated the goodwill of the French to indigenous, but it also paved the way to spread the spectrum of the French arts (Western Arts in

⁵⁸ Exposition Coloniale Internationale, *Trois Écoles D'Art De L'Indochine*.

In the French document, the Vietnamese was called by the term “Annamese”. This was specified for people who lived in Central Vietnam, but in this case, it can be understood as Vietnamese in the whole country.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

general), which French officers had recognized this would favor them much in replacing the long lasting Chinese influence in this region.

In 1924, the School of Fine Arts of Indochina was created in Hanoi by the Decree of October 27, 1924, under the control and impulse of the Directorate General of Public Instruction.⁶¹ The school comprised two sections, *The Drawing, Painting, and Modeling Section* and *The Architecture Section*.⁶² In both sections, prep-courses were required before being admitted to the School officially. Candidates had to compete with others to attain a place in the prep-courses. In *The Drawing, Painting, and Modeling Section*, the prep-courses were monitored by the Vietnamese technical teacher of Decorative Arts, Mr. Nam Son. In this course, students spent mornings for drawing after plastering in the gallery of casts and afternoons for the decorative arts. In *The section of Architecture*, students had to pass several tests, comprising a dictation, a French composition, two problems of arithmetic, two problems of algebra, an ornamental drawing after the plaster, a line drawing or wash drawing, and a sketch on the side of a simple motif of architecture. Students, who passed the prep-courses, continued to take part in the programs of *The Drawing, Painting, and Modeling Section* or *The Architecture Section*.

The duration of the two above sections was five years. In *The Drawing, Painting, and Modeling Section*, programs were composed of two cycles: the first cycle (first three years) was compulsory for students to study the subjects of living model, landscape, still life, theoretical and applied decorative art, and archaeological architectural drawing.⁶³ In *The Architecture Section*, the program was designed to be completed in five years with specific subjects for the first four years⁶⁴, the fifth year was reserved exclusively to study

⁶¹ Ibid., 9.

⁶² Ibid., 12.

⁶³ Ibid., 15.

⁶⁴ *In the first year*, students of the Architecture section had to study in the duration of 42 and a half hours with 12 subjects, including French, Descriptive and listed Geometry, Mathematics, Mechanics, Chemistry, Physics, History of Architectural Art, Perspective and Shadows, Imitation Drawing, Architecture, Architectural Decoration, Stereotomy Construction.

In the second year, the duration of study was somewhat longer with 45 hours for 12 subjects. The subjects composed of French, Mathematics, General Topography, Construction (Electricity, Heating), Theory of Architecture, Elements of Construction, Special metric for building, Perspective, History of Architectural Art, Architecture, Architectural Decoration, Imitation Drawing.

projects and to study at Workshop of the School.⁶⁵ Teachers, who in charge of teaching all mentioned subjects, were mostly invited from French colleges and universities. Teachers for *Drawing* and *Painting*, for example, were MM. J. Besson, Legouez, Virac, Mr. Dabadie, Mr. Lièvre, and the teaching of courses in aesthetics, archeology, and history of art was entrusted to Victor Goloubew.⁶⁶ In *The Drawing, Painting, and Modeling Section*, students did not have to compete to advance from one year to another, whereby their notes were recognized during five years of study plus the results of the works, which they produced in the last two years.⁶⁷ For *The Section of Architecture*, to receive their diplomas, the fifth-year students had to submit their ideas of works to a commission of professors before January 1. On March 1, students would be notified the acceptance and then the selected students worked exclusively in the workshop of the School. On September 28, the selected students presented and discussed their diploma projects at the Faculty Council, and they were informed their results on September 30. In the final stage, there was a public exhibition for all students, who passed in the defense, to perform their own works.⁶⁸

The School of Fine Arts and Architecture created significant opportunities for Vietnamese artists to open their mind and approach modern concepts of art. This school cultivated Vietnamese artists, who were pioneers in modern art creations, discovered Vietnamese talented artists, and bonded the Vietnamese art to universal art. Only within few decades of the early twentieth century, Vietnamese artists had obtained considerable achievements, especially in the fields of painting and drawing. Some well-known figures who could be mentioned to display the impressive growth of Vietnamese paintings in the first half of the twentieth century were Bùi Xuân Phái, Nguyễn Sáng, Nguyễn Tư Nghiêm,

In the third year, the duration was fixed at 44 and a half hours for 9 subjects, consisted of Architecture, Theory of Architecture (Elements of Composition), Construction (practice of works, visit of the building sites), History of Architectural Art, Legislation of the building, Special metric for building, Resistance of Materials, Theory of Mechanics, Reinforced Concrete.

In the fourth year, this year students did not spend so much time in class, they just had to fulfill 3 subjects, comprised Administrative Law Competition, Notions of town planning, and Architecture.

See Exposition Coloniale Internationale, *Trois Écoles D'Art De L'Indochine*, 20-21.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 21.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 18.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 15.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 22.

and Dương Bích Liên. These four artists not only applied the model of modern art, more importantly, they applied that innovatively, created an interweaving of Vietnamese art and universal modern motifs of arts in their works and, moreover, they created their own schools of art.

Bùi Xuân Phái (1921–1988), studied at the School of Fine Arts and Architecture in Hanoi in the 1941–1945 course. He specialized in oil painting and achieved the most successful series of Hanoi Old Quarter paintings. Those paintings were named as Phố Phái by a famous Vietnamese writer (Nguyễn Tuân) to highlight the unique style in Bùi Xuân Phái's paintings.

Nguyễn Sáng (1923–1988), another Vietnamese painter, also graduated from the School of Fine Arts and Architecture in 1945. The most important contribution of his artist life was lacquer paintings. He was a pioneer in using new colors, such as yellow, blue, and green, which had not been used before, in creating lacquer paintings.

Nguyễn Tư Nghiêm (1922–2016), studied in the School of Fine Arts and Architecture from 1941 to 1946. In the third year of his study, he won the first prize of the Salon Unique exhibition in 1944 with the painting “Người gác Văn Miếu” [the Guard of the Temple of Literature]. His artist works focused on illustrating Vietnamese traditional themes, such as Thánh Gióng, Truyện Kiều and he also used traditional colors to create his paintings.

Dương Bích Liên (1924–1988), was also a student from the School of Fine Arts and Architecture. The most outstanding of his works were the paintings of young Vietnamese women, especially the portraits on lacquer, oil, and lead-based paintings.⁶⁹

The School of Medicine and Pharmacy

Accompanying *the School of Fine Arts and Architecture*, *the School of Medicine and Pharmacy* was one of the prime examples showing the accomplishments of the Indochinese University in the first half of the twentieth century. This School was instituted in 1902 by Governor General Doumer.⁷⁰ Primarily, the school intended to locate in Saigon, however, the decision was changed and the School of Medicine was to be located in Hanoi, instead.⁷¹ Dr. Yersin was the first Director of this School. The

⁶⁹ Combined sources from the internet.

⁷⁰ Exposition Coloniale Internationale, *L'Ecole de Plein Exercice de Médecine*, 7.

⁷¹ To explain this decision, the report of the 1898 annual meeting of the Summit Committee of Indochina recorded that, Tonkin, not only had the proper conditions to study tropical diseases of Far East generally, but also particular diseases, which occurred in the winter. Additionally, Tonkin was close to China where French medicine was spreading gradually. Because of that, locating a

teaching staff for the School, similar to other affiliated schools of the Indochinese University, mostly came from France.⁷² The name, *the School of Medicine and Pharmacy*, only was formalized after 1914 when the Section of Pharmacy was merged into the School of Medicine.⁷³ Since implementing the Decree of August 30, 1923, this school became the School of Full Practice Medicine and Pharmacy which was equivalent to those in France and other French colonial countries.⁷⁴

Similar to the requirements of the School of Fine Arts and Architecture, only students who successfully passed prep-courses, which comprised French, physics, and natural sciences' subjects, were accepted to study at the School of Medicine and Pharmacy. The duration of study was fixed at four years for medical school and three years for pharmacy students.⁷⁵ To conduct four training missions: (1) Medical doctors and pharmacists following the Decree of August 30, 1923; (2) Indochinese doctors and pharmacists of Medical Assistance; (3) Graduate students from the Asian Foreign Section; and (4) Native Midwives, the school was divided into seven sections of teaching as follows,

1. A section of preparation to the certificate of Physical and Chemical Sciences
2. A full-time Medical School
3. A full-time Service Pharmacy School
4. An Indochinese Medical School of Medical Assistance
5. An Indochinese Pharmacy School of Medical Assistance
6. A Foreign Asian Section

medical university in Tonkin would be the most effective and honoured solution to implant French medicine.

Ibid.

⁷² In the first period of its establishment, the staff of the School of Medicine comprised 8 personnel:

Director:	Yersin
Clinical Teaching:	Degorce and Le Roy des Barres
Atonomy:	Bertin, Capus
Botany:	Jacquet
Chemistry:	Duveigne
History, Geography, Maths, Chemistry, Physics:	Gallois

Ibid., 7-8.

⁷³ Exposition Coloniale Internationale, *L'Ecole de Plein Exercice de Médecine*, 10.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 11.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 9.

And “Lịch sử trường Đại học Y Hà Nội”, Phần 1: Thời kỳ thuộc Pháp (1902–1945), available at https://www.hmu.edu.vn/news/tID1134_Lich-su-Truong-Dai-hoc-Y-Ha-Noi.html, posted on November 2014. Part 1: <http://hmu.edu.vn/LichSu/Lichsu-P1.htm>.

7. A Section of Indigenous Midwifery Students.⁷⁶

In the beginning, it was assumed that one was over-ambitious for the opening this School in 1902 due to its scarcity of resources. After a few years, however, the School experienced trial periods and learnt from its errors, improving itself and so convincing observers that creating a medical school in Indochina was not a utopia. In the second decade of the twentieth century, many new sections were created, such as *the Ophthalmological Clinic (1917)*, *VET Academy Special School (1917)*, *Forensic medicine (1919)*, and *Military section (1920)*.⁷⁷ The requirements to attend the School of Medicine and Pharmacy became stricter gradually. In the first years of its operation, the candidates, who had moderate knowledge of French, could be accepted, and since 1913, admissions were given to whom possessed the certificates of elementary school, or graduated from Chasseloup-Laubat, or passed their Baccalauréat.⁷⁸ This shift contributed to educate a qualified generation of doctors and pharmacists for Vietnam as well as for Indochina.

Although establishing in adverse conditions, the School of Medicine and Pharmacy showed its massive efforts in allowing privileges to their students (before dividing into two branches). To subsidize the cost of living for medical students, the first year, the second year, and the last two-year students, all received a number of scholarships of 5 piasters, 6 piasters and 8 piasters per month, respectively.⁷⁹ Medical students were exempted from paying tax and serving in the military. In the summers and during vacations, they were able to travel once in Indochina without paying. The medical students, additionally, were treated in the protectorate hospital free of charge.⁸⁰ Moreover, the system of practice hospitals⁸¹ was enlarged in the aspect of disciplines and locations as well, facilitating the opportunities for students to practise and to do their internships in order to enhance their skills. Especially, the school recognized the importance of teaching,

⁷⁶ Exposition Coloniale Internationale, *L'Ecole de Plein Exercice de Médecine*, 17.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 10-11.

⁷⁸ “Lịch sử trường Đại học Y”, Part 1, 4-9.

⁷⁹ In the 1930s, this scholarship policy was ended, instead students had to pay the tuition fees of 19 piasters for 3 months, 6 piasters for internships and 26 piasters for examination fees.

⁸⁰ “Lịch sử trường Đại học Y”, Part 1, 9.

⁸¹ The practise hospitals of the School of Medicine and Pharmacy included the Protectorate Hospital (Hanoi), the Eye Hospital and Metal Hospital (Bắc Giang), and the René Robin Hospital (Bach Mai Hospital recently).

researching, and publishing tasks equally. This shortened the path of approaching modern Medicine and of circulating Vietnamese medical achievements.

It is necessary to notice that medical and pharmacy students utilized flexibly the Western theories, which were conveyed in Professor's lectures, to treat local diseases in tropical countries, such as Vietnam and countries alike. All theses were the research of local syndromes and illnesses rather than common diseases in Europe or other Western countries. Below are the titles of 6 theses, which were defended in 1945.

1. Nguyễn Sĩ Dinh: étude clinique du typhus murin à forme épidémique [Nghiên cứu lâm sàng về sốt Rickettsia mooseri thành dịch].
2. Hồ Văn Huê: Contribution à l' étude du liquide céphalo-rachidien des phylitiques tertiaires cutanés Annamites [Góp phần nghiên cứu dịch não tủy các bệnh nhân giang mai da thời kỳ thứ ba người Việt Nam].
3. Nguyễn Văn Liêu: étude clinique des accidents cutanés provoqués par le latex des arbres à laque du Tonkin [Nghiên cứu lâm sàng các tai biến ngoài da do nhựa cây sơn ở Bắc Kỳ].
4. Huỳnh Bá Nhung: La transfusion sanguine dans les anémies infantiles observées au Tonkin [Truyền máu trong thiếu máu trẻ em ở Bắc Kỳ].
5. Lê Văn Phụng: étude de l' ostéomyélite de l' adolescent et des voies d'accès à la diaphyse humérale [Nghiên cứu về viêm xương tủy ở thiếu niên và đường vào thân xương cánh tay].
6. Nguyễn Tử Vinh: Contribution à l' étude des maladies chirurgicales du colon droit [Góp phần nghiên cứu các bệnh ngoại khoa của đại tràng phải].⁸²

The Medical Section seems to be dominant in respect to enrollments compared to the Section of Pharmacy, although both of them retained a growing tendency during their operations (see the Table 2.1). By 1935, after students completed the fourth year and desired to gain certificates, they had to go to France to defend their theses before being conferred their certificates. This situation changed as Prof. Henri Galliard became the Director of the School of Medicine and Pharmacy. He issued a new requirement that all teaching staff of this School needed to have Master Certificates, since then Professors from Paris, were annually dispatched to Vietnam to be Chairman in Defence Committees of the School of Medicine and Pharmacy. From 1921 to 1934, 34 students defended their theses in France, in next ten years (1935–1945), 147 theses were defended successfully

⁸² “Lịch sử trường Đại học Y”, Part 1, 23.

in Hà Nội.⁸³ The number of doctors in Vietnam in the first half of the twentieth century was modest, indeed, with the ratio 1: 50,000 people, nonetheless, it could not be denied that the School of Medicine and Pharmacy contributed a significant effort to training locally-skilled doctors for Vietnam, particularly some well-known figures not only in Vietnam, but moreover in the world, such as doctors Hồ Đắc Di, Đặng Văn Ngữ, and Tôn Thất Tùng.

Table 2.1 Enrollments at the Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy

	1940	1944
Medicine	119	266
Pharmacy	29	44
Dentistry	13	45
Midwifery	26	38

Source: “Lịch sử trường Đại học Y Hà Nội”, available at https://www.hmu.edu.vn/news/tID1134_Lich-su-Truong-Dai-hoc-Y-Ha-Noi.html, Part 1: <http://hmu.edu.vn/LichSu/Lichsu-P1.htm>, posted on November 2014.

By 1943, French professors of the School of Medicine and Pharmacy were still dominating in number, only one Vietnamese doctor, Dr. Hồ Đắc Di, was appointed to the position of professor (*professeur sans chaire*) in December 1943.⁸⁴ After the August Revolution in 1945, Dr. Hồ Đắc Di became the first Vietnamese Director of this School. In 1947, a branch of this School was opened in Saigon under the direction of Prof. Massias. From 1947 to 1954, more Vietnamese professors were recruited as teaching staff at the School of Medicine and Pharmacy, such as Phạm Biểu Tâm (1949), Đặng Văn Chung (1952), Vũ Công Hoè (1952), and Nguyễn Hữu (1952).⁸⁵ Also during that time, 106 theses were defended successfully, the School produced more crucial figures who served in both, civil and military hospitals.

The operation of the Indochinese University in the first half of the twentieth century set a foundation for its further development in later years under the form of its inherited institutions, namely the University of Hanoi and the University of Saigon. The

⁸³ Ibid., 15.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 14.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 24.

inexperience and scarcity in all its resources did not deter its growth, but rather stimulated its best efforts to reach its educational goals. The gradual increase of Vietnamese lecturers, the considerations of local problems displayed in its curricula and research, and the qualified graduates of the Indochinese University, not only assured a promising future of Vietnamese higher education in the following decades, but also reflected the critical characteristics of this higher education system in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s.

2.2 Engagement of the Americans in RVN Higher Education

2.2.1 Educational Penetrated Processes

Penetrated Processes

The Americans, in 1954, assured their French ally that “*the United States did not seek to replace France*”⁸⁶. Nevertheless, the Americans rapid dominance in the formerly French controlled fields in South Vietnam, ranging from military, economy to culture, awakened French towards dubious American promises. The Temporary Equipment Recovery Mission (TERM) initiated the intensive American commitments in South Vietnam’s military affairs, the Commercial Import Program (CIP) and the Food for Peace program (PL 480) advanced the United States to become a leading exporter in the market of South Vietnam. In the sphere of culture, several U.S. organizations and institutions were also made responsible for cultural dissemination, such as the United States Operations Mission (USOM), the United States Information Agency’s Vietnam Center (USIS Saigon), the Michigan State University Group (MSUG), the American Friends of Vietnam (AFV), and the American Vietnamese Association (AVA).

In the initial stages, it was assumed that the United States targeted at two cultural missions in Southeast Asia (South Vietnam in particular). The first was to teach English to mitigate the French influence and the second was to educate technical personnel to fill *the economic and social vacuum*.⁸⁷ While the French considered their language as the tool to retain and preserve their influence in South Vietnam, the Americans and their English-speaking country allies, such as Great Britain, also used English as *a tactic in order to*

⁸⁶ Statler, Kathryn C., *Replacing France*, 183.

⁸⁷ This phrase was used by Statler in her work *Replacing France*.

*bring Southeast Asia closer to the West.*⁸⁸ Through the activities of above-mentioned organizations, the United States engaged gradually and extensively in the cultural affairs of the RVN.

With the annual budget of US\$ 1 million, USOM was responsible for training in the field of technical education, for instance, electricity, radio navigation, and commerce. The scope of activity was broadened due to practical demands. Not limiting itself on training tasks, USOM also engaged in reinforcing the RVN administration and assisting the creation of a medical school. While USOM concentrated on empirical duties, USIS Saigon gave more attention to disseminative tasks. Attaching to the American Embassy, USIS Saigon took advantages of media such as press, films, newspapers, records, radio, to reconstruct a radical and benevolent image of the American people in the eyes of South Vietnamese people. The sufficient budget of US\$ 1,3 million in 1955 and US\$ 2 million in 1956⁸⁹ and its vital position⁹⁰ motivated the USIS Saigon to instill positive images of the Americans into the local people's minds.

In addition to the activities of official institutions, the cultural mission was also conducted by numerous semi-official and non-official organizations, such as the AFV, the AVA, the International Rescue Committee (IRC), the American Women's Association, and the National Catholic Welfare Council (NCWC). Most of these organizations were responsible for teaching English to Vietnamese personnel. This was considered as an emergency measure to help American officers to solve South Vietnam's affairs effectively. Slightly different from the AVA, IRC, and NCWC, the AVA activities aimed at enhancing the capabilities of RVN government's officers, yet this organization concentrated more on the duty of tightening of the United States - the RVN relations and the dissemination of the American culture in South Vietnam.

⁸⁸ Statler, Kathryn C., *Replacing France*, 204.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 206.

⁹⁰ An USIS public affairs officer participated in embassy staff meetings, where he/she was considered one of the principal officers, along with the political officer and the USOM and MAAG chiefs.

In the December meetings of 1954 with the participation of representatives of France, South Vietnam, and the United States, compromises were reached, which guaranteed the continuation of French influence in Vietnam after the Geneva Accord. In those meetings, when General Ély reminded that French was “*the language in Vietnam, that all books were written in French, and that Vietnamese teachers, priests, and many parents all spoke French*”⁹¹, the Americans immediately comforted their ally by an assurance that Washington respected French cultural influence. This affirmation was subverted by the Americans themselves shortly thereafter, which can be seen through the activities conducted by the above-mentioned American organizations and institutions. A number of traditional education fields, which were formerly dominated by French, such as Law, Medicine, Arts, and Letters fell on the influence of the Americans. English and Vietnamese gradually replaced French as the language of instruction. The best Vietnamese students journeyed to the United States for further trainings rather than to France. Moreover, updating pragmatic demands of nation building tasks of the new-born Republic of Vietnam, up-to-date knowledge in the subjects of agricultural, engineering, social welfare education were added to the higher education curriculum, showing the influence of the United States in the area of RVN higher education. They gradually supplanted the positions which formerly belonged to Frenchmen nationals.

Gathering Higher Educational Information

Based on several educational surveys, American educational specialists and authorities acquired a general view of the development of higher education in South Vietnam. The surveys were classified in various categories, which could be regional or national education surveys in terms of geographic scope, or general and specific surveys in respect to studying majors.

In 1955, a series of field studies were planned by the Education Division (USOM) to gather educational data and cultural peculiarity of each of regions of Vietnam: South

⁹¹ Note on Franco-Indochinese cultural problems, July 3, 1953, AN, 457 AP/52; note, 1954, MAE, Asie Océanie 1944–1955, Indochine, vol.83, momerandum of French working group discussion in Saigon, December 3, 1954, SHAT, Fonds Paul Ely, vol. 37, and Franco-American working group meeting, December 15, 1954, MAE, CLV, SV, vol. 47. Cited in Statler, Kathryn C., *Replacing France*, 210.

Vietnam, the P.M.S (Pays Montagnards du Sud)⁹², and Central Vietnam. The survey in Central Vietnam was commenced in November 1955 with the involvement of both, American and Vietnamese educators (see the Table 2.2). Central Vietnam was identified as the most neglected and the most difficult for fieldwork.⁹³ The education in Central Vietnam, as the same as South Vietnam and the P.M.S, was administered by the Ministry of Education and operated upon national budget, provincial, and local funds. Up until 1955, there were no institutions of higher learning in the public school system. The Institute of Oceanography at Nha Trang (also called the Nha Trang Oceanography Institute) was semi-autonomous and acknowledged as a part of the University of Saigon since the 1969–1970 school year in terms of academic management. The Nha Trang Oceanography Institute was established in 1922 by Dr. A. Kremf, who was the first Director of this Institute. This institute operated in some main fields: the Museum; Collection of Fish and Mollusks; Publication of books; Research and Laboratory Work; library activities; and training programs in fishing and ocean sciences.⁹⁴ Differing from the public system, the private tertiary level schools in Central Vietnam gained more achievements with the establishment and operation of many institutes, such as the Benedictine Monastery in Huế, the Christian Brothers Novitiate in Nha Trang and in other ecclesiastical higher schools.⁹⁵

Table 2.2 Personnel Involved in Educational Survey in Central Vietnam in 1955

AMERICAN		
1	Mr. John A. Hackett	Field Representative at Hue
2	Mr. Richard Evans	Field Representative at Nha Trang
3	Mr. J. Gilbert French	Program Officer
VIETNAMESE		
1	Mr. Đỗ Tri Lễ	Regional Director of Education Central Vietnam
2	Mr. Lê Cảnh Đạm	Staff Member of Central Vietnam
3	Mr. Lê Văn Đạm	Chief Regional A.E.A. Service Central Vietnam

⁹² Christie, Clive J., *A Modern History*, 283.

⁹³ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Educational Survey in Central Viet-Nam: Field Study No.4, FY 1956”, April 12, 1957, File 2391103002, Part A, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

4	Mr. Lâm Toại	Chief Popular Education and A.E.A. Service Central Vietnam
5	Mr. Nguyễn Đôn Duyên	Delegate of Central Vietnam, Hue
6	Mr. Nguyễn Hữu Tài	Secodary Education Supervisor Central Vietnam
7	Mr. Võ Hữu Khánh	A.E.A. Representative for South C.V.N
8	Mr. Trần Văn Hương	Assistant Chief of Thua Thien Province
9	Mr. Nguyễn Hữu Lư	Superintendent of Schools, Thua Thien Province
10	Mr. Trương Tiến Dư	Elementary Education Supervisor, Thua Thien Province
11	Mr. Bùi Thúc Duyên	Chief of Youth Service at Hue
12	Mr. Nguyễn Thúc Toàn	Chief, Administration, Youth Service, Hue
13	Mr. Nguyễn Văn Đông	Chief of Quang Tri Province
14	Mr. Nguyễn Hữu Thứ	Assistant Chief of Quang Tri Province
15	Mr. Hồ Đăng Đại	Chief of Public Works for Quang Tri Province
16	Mr. Tôn Thất Dương Thanh	Supervisor of Elementary Education for Quang Tri Province
17	Mr. Nguyễn Văn Toán	Mayor of Tourance
18	Mr. Châu Văn Chi	General Secretary to the Mayor, Tourance
19	Mr. Lê Đức Thịnh	Supervisor of Elementary Education for Tourance
20	Mr. Ứng Oanh	Chief of A.E.A Service for Tourance
21	Mr. Nguyễn Quốc Đán	Chief of Information Service for Tourance
22	Mr. Nguyễn Viên	Chief of Youth Service for Tourance
23	Mr. Nguyễn Tư	Assistant Chief of Quang Nam Province
24	Major Lê Khương	Chief of Quang Nam Province
25	Mr. Phan Tư Thuý	Chief Quang Nam Provincial Schools
26	Mr. Bùi Quang Sơn	Chief of Quang Ngai Province
27	Mr. Trương Canh Nông	Chief of Quang Nam Provincial Schools
28	Mr. Hồ Văn Thuyên	Assistant Chief of Phu Yen Province
29	Mr. Thái Văn Cừ	Chief Education Service, Phu Yen Province
30	Mr. Ngô Bá Thạch	Director, Nhatrang Institute of Oceanography
31	Dr. Raoul Serene	Advisor, Nhatrang Institute of Oceanography
32	Brother Félicien	Director General of Christian Brothers, Novitiate, Nhatrang

33	Mr. Lee Yip Sang	Chief, Chinese Congregation, Nhatrang
34	Mr. Nguyễn Thắng	District Chief, Bangoi
35	Mr. Hồng Dũ Châu	Assistant Chief of Ninh Thuan Province
36	Mr. Bùi Dư	Superintendent, Ninh Thuan Provincial Schools

Source: The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Educational Survey in Central Viet-Nam: Field Study No.4, FY 1956”, April 12, 1957, File 2391103002, Part A, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

Accompanying the regional survey, a comprehensive view to education in Vietnam by the 1950s was made through the results of several reports. All reports had some in common conclusions about the higher education system in Vietnam. In the Central part, there were no higher learning institutes, in the Northern Vietnam, the Indochinese University monopolized the entire higher educational system, in the Southern part only a branch of the Indochinese University was operating. Most of professors graduated from French universities, and the language of instruction was French. The various diplomas, which were awarded by the National University, and registered by the Ministry of Education, were considered equivalent to similar diplomas conferred by institutions of higher education in France and other countries.

To sum it up, the assumption of Vũ Tâm Ích in his study of the history of the educational development in Vietnam, published by College of Education, University of Kentucky, Lexington in 1959, could describe the situation of higher education in Vietnam in the first half of the twentieth century, “(t)he Vietnamese higher education is still in its early stages”⁹⁶. Or to be more detailed, as an educational report stated the situation in the Vietnamese education in the early 1950s was that: “no educational unit in Vietnam can currently provide programs of study with the scope and depth sufficient to afford its graduates the range of skills and the insight equal to programs in a well-developed nation”⁹⁷.

⁹⁶ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, Vu Tam Ich, “A Historical Survey of Educational Developments in Vietnam”, *Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service*, Vol. XXXII, No.2 (December 1959), File 2391104001, Part E, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 124.

⁹⁷ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Student Records From Vietnam: Their Evaluation for Placement of Students in American Educational Institutions”, File 2391105003, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 2.

Following the partition of Vietnam in 1954, a majority (approximately 80%⁹⁸) of the professors and students emigrated to the South and the schools and faculties were resituated in Saigon.⁹⁹ Noticeably, the Americans pointed out that, in the second half of the 1950s, while the numbers of students attending universities in the North and the South of Vietnam were comparable, the level of instruction and the quality of the teaching staff and the student body were far superior to the South.¹⁰⁰ Explaining that phenomenon, American experts had analyzed, while in North Vietnam, the University of Hanoi was undermined and corrupted by the insistence on political indoctrination which led to the depletion of teaching in faculties, in South Vietnam, the United States lent every possible assistance to the University of Saigon in order to extend a favorable trend.

In a report indicating how much the Vietnamese people understood the Americans, the Americans realized that “*Vietnamese ignorance of things American is overwhelming*”¹⁰¹. This resulted from French propaganda and education depicting the Americans in images of being concrete elements, for instance mass-produced, uncultured, unrefined, uncouth, unlettered and unimaginative people. That “fact” became one of the motivations for the Americans to assist and involve extensively in Vietnamese education in order to change the images of the Americans in the minds of Vietnamese people.

2.2.2 The U.S. Commitments in the 1950s and 1960s

As mentioned above, after the partition of Vietnam in 1954 and the withdrawal of the French from Indochina, the Americans took the opportunity to get involved in Vietnam in every aspect of Vietnamese culture. The engagement of the Americans was intensified year by year through productive activities of the U.S. organizations, universities, and other educational institutions. This study will review and clarify the U.S. commitments through the cases of the Michigan State University (MSU), Ohio University, and The Asia Foundation as the examples.

⁹⁸ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, Vu Tam Ich, “A Historical Survey of Educational Developments in Vietnam”, *Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service*, Vol. XXXII, No.2 (December 1959), File 2391104001, Part E, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 124.

⁹⁹ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Notes Concerning Higher Education in Vietnam”, January 6, 1959, File 1780836017, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

Michigan State University

The initial and pre-eminent assistance of the Americans to RVN education in the 1950s and the early 1960s remind one of the contracts and activities of the Michigan State University. Robert Scigliano and Guy H. Fox in the book, *Technical Assistance in Vietnam, The Michigan State University Experience*, affirmed that:

The Michigan State University had conducted the largest technical assistance program of any American University. No other university has sent so many persons overseas at so great expense to engage in so many varied and extensive tasks. No other university has given technical assistance to the police and security service of a foreign country or substituted its resources for entire segments of the American economic aid mission abroad.¹⁰²

The idea of establishing a cooperation between the RVN and the American Universities, specifically the MSU, can be traced back to an intimate relationship between Wesley R. Fishel and Ngô Đình Diệm in the early 1950s. In July 1950, Wesley R. Fishel, an assistant professor of political science at Michigan State College, met Ngô Đình Diệm, a Vietnamese politician in Tokyo, Japan. The professor and the politician stayed in touch since then and made this relationship a decisive element to the emergence of the First Republic in South Vietnam in 1955. As early as 1952, Ngô Đình Diệm was still out of power, asked French to permit Michigan State College to furnish technical aid for the Vietnamese government, the costs of which would be beared by the United States government, but the French refused.¹⁰³ Therefore, the initial cooperation between two governments, the United States and South Vietnam had to be postponed until the day Ngô Đình Diệm took office of the State of Vietnam (in 1954), becoming Prime Minister. In the adverse situation after ending the First Indochina War, the South Vietnam government was eager to seek opportunities to overcome difficulties and strengthen itself with the assistance of external powers. By the considerable efforts of Fishel, the earliest direct cooperation between the two states was set, starting with the U.S commitment of assisting South Vietnam in the technical field. Subsequently, a survey team of four officials from the MSU campus and Fishel were dispatched to Vietnam and stayed two weeks in Saigon to explore demands as well as educational potential development of South Vietnam.

¹⁰² Scigliano, Robert and Guy H. Fox, *Technical Assistance in Vietnam*, V.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 1.

Based on the report of the two-week survey from the MSU, a proposal was offered, focusing on the administrative assistance with a variety of programs, including pre-service and in-service training, personnel administration, budgeting, and land property registration systems.¹⁰⁴ Responding to empirical demands of South Vietnam in the 1950s, the Michigan State University Group (MSUG) contributed their assistance to establish the Constituent Assembly and to formulate the Constitution for the RVN.

The efforts of MSU's professors and experts can be seen in three principal periods. In the first phase from 1955 to 1957, due to the political and social context of South Vietnam, assisted activities to the Ngô Đình Diệm administration concentrated on non-academic fields, such as helping the police services and refugee resettlement. A slight change occurred in 1956, when the police program emphasized more on trainings and the MSUG advisors began thinking about the University's long-range objectives in Vietnam.¹⁰⁵ However, in general, the consultancy activities remained on non-academic rather than academic objects.

In the second phase (1957–1959), the MSUG experts, on the one hand, endeavored to bring their activities into better balance by enlarging the scope of educational programs, on the other hand, because the vital concern of this phase was internal security, the non-academic commitments, particularly in the security field was furthered.¹⁰⁶ This period recognized as the largest-engaged period of Michiganders, reached its peak with 54 full-time American advisors working with RVN officials. The activities of MSUG had extensive and remarkable results in this phase, especially in the collaboration with the National Institute of Administration (NIA). Operating a research program, MSUG researchers undertook studies of the Saigon workforce, various facets of village life, and problems of the Vietnamese administration, the latter serving a case book for use in the NIA teaching program.¹⁰⁷ Consequently, the NIA achieved a large, well-organized collection of books and periodicals of the social sciences, with the emphasis on public

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 2.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 5-7.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 8.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 9.

administration and related areas.¹⁰⁸ An advisor for the NIA library broadened her tasks to include the libraries of the University of Saigon, the University of Huế, and several governmental agencies. A statistics specialist placed his expertise at the disposal of the National Institute of Statistics and the National Bank, and an economist served informally as a consultant to the National Bank. Several persons taught at the University of Saigon and others advised the Center for Vietnamese Studies in survey research methods.

From 1959 to 1962, the MSUG conducted its final contract of assisting the RVN. Despite this stage marking a phase-down of the cooperation of two governments, the team had gained its most impressive accomplishments in academic fields since the initial cooperation had been launched. Based on a critical decision of the University group, in which they were unwilling to continue the relationship with the civil guard after the mid-1959, the public administration part of the MSUG program was decreased in the third phase. In contrast, the MSUG advisors library for NIA reached a stage that it was able to be operated by its MSUG-trained Vietnamese staff.

During the seven years of assistance the RVN, the expenditure of the MSUG allocated in South Vietnam approximately US\$ 25,000,000, with US\$ 5,355,000 for the salaries and transportation of the American staff, and for campus supporting activities, US\$ 5,130,000 spending in Vietnamese currency for the Vietnamese staff and for other expenses in the fieldworks, and US\$ 15,000,000 for its advisory activity equipments and other material aid programs.¹⁰⁹

The MSUG terminated its involvements with the RVN on June 30, 1962. In fact, the MSUG advisors were willing to extend the contract in South Vietnam after its expiration. However, the dissidence between the two governments, the First Republic of Vietnam and the United States in the strategy of building a nation in South Vietnam, caused the deterioration of the relations of the two governments. Additionally, personal relationship between President Ngô Đình Diệm and Fishel, which used to be a bridge to promote the two countries relations, was also broken.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 3-4.

Ohio University

The MSU started the mission of educational assistance in South Vietnam and also paved the way for more involved activities from other U.S. universities. In early 1962¹¹⁰, Ohio University began its contract with the U.S. government to serve the mission of technical assistance to secondary education in South Vietnam, specifically, they worked with the Colleges of Education (Faculties of Pedagogy) at the University of Saigon and the University of Huế to upgrade curricula and educational facilities and to increase materials. The cooperating team engaged in the following activities:

- initiating a modern comprehensive secondary program, utilizing three pilot schools under the direct supervision of the three Faculties of Education;
- introducing new courses of study to these Schools which included guidance counseling, comparative education, school administration, and science education;
- establishing workshops for teachers to give them a minimum background in one of these disciplines, as a first step in this new direction;
- extending the pilot program in comprehensive education to eleven additional schools;
- providing the opportunity for Vietnamese educators to participate in teacher training programs in the United States to prepare them for the new comprehensive high schools, and
- arranging observation tours in the United States for Vietnamese educators who were involved in the comprehensive in the secondary education program.¹¹¹

From a team of six advisors, according to the contract in 1962, the scope of the contract was amended in 1967. The task of Ohio team was not only to cooperate with the Faculties of Pedagogy of the University of Saigon and the University of Huế but also to assist to develop the pilot comprehensive schools. Five additional advisors, who were assigned to Huế project were reassigned to the Wards National School (Trường Quốc Gia Nghĩa Từ) after the Huế project terminated, and later, they were another time reassigned to the University of Cần Thơ, where a similar program was going to be undertaken in the Region IV area.¹¹² Due to the amended contract of February 16, 1967, the Ohio University team

¹¹⁰ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Pamphlet Education Projects in South Vietnam Produced by United States Agency for International Development, Saigon", June 30, 1967, File 12190102001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

¹¹¹ Tuong Vu and Sean Fear (Eds.), *The Republic of Vietnam*, 95.

¹¹² The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Pamphlet Education Projects in South Vietnam Produced by United States Agency for International Development, Saigon", June 30, 1967, File 12190102001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

accepted the responsibility for the development of eleven pilot comprehensive high schools (selected by the Ministry of Education and USAID - the United States Agency for International Development), to design a comprehensive curriculum for these schools.

Table 2.3 Eleven Selected Pilot Comprehensive High Schools

Region I	Region II	Region III	Region IV
1. Gia Hoi School (Hue) 2. Tran Quoc Toan School (Quang Ngai)	1. Ban Me Thuot High School (Ban Me Thuot) 2. Nguyen Hue (Tuy Hoa)	1. Cong Dong School (Saigon, District 8) 2. Wards National School (Saigon) 3. Mac Dinh Chi School (Saigon) 4. Ly Thuong Kiet School (Saigon)	1. Phan Thanh Gian School (Can Tho) 2. Nguyen Trung Truc School (Rach Gia) 3. Kien Hoa School (Kien Hoa)

Source: The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Pamphlet Education Projects in South Vietnam Produced by United States Agency for International Development, Saigon”, June 30, 1967, File 12190102001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

In the first five years of conducting the programs, the Ohio team obtained their initial accomplishments. Demonstration high schools had been established at the University of Saigon and the University of Huế, belonging to the Faculties of Pedagogy. The curricula of the First Cycle was to be completed and the curricula in all areas of the practical arts already had been developed and implemented. Eleven pilot comprehensive high schools had been identified whereby all the principals of these schools participated in a seminar orientating the high school’s curriculum. Several principals and the officials of the Ministry of Education toured the United States to observe comprehensive education schools and to acquire the way in which those schools were organized and operated. This opened an optimistic vision for pilot comprehensive schools and the Vietnamese education in general. Furthermore, this enhanced the qualification of the Vietnamese education to approach the universal criteria.

The Asia Foundation

The Asia Foundation opened an office in Vietnam under the supervision of a resident representative in November 1956, the headquarters were located in 207 Hiền Vương

street, Saigon.¹¹³ This organization was committed to strengthen and develop education, culture, and community, with the annual expenditures of approximately US\$ 100, 000 in the 1950s.¹¹⁴ The expenditures increased in the 1960s, The Asia Foundation operated on an annual budget ranging from US\$ 250,000 to US\$ 300,000.¹¹⁵ Since its commencement, The Asia Foundation endeavored to reduce the isolation of South Vietnam and the barriers to communicate with other non-communist nations of Asia and the West. It also attempted to contribute to the improvement and the extension of the educational system by undertaking numerous projects in the University of Huế, and in the adult education programs and cultural centers.

The Asia Foundation clarified its purposes as follows,

- a. To make private American support available to individuals and groups in Asia who are working for the maintenance of peace and independence and for greater personal liberty and social progress.
- b. To encourage and strengthen active cooperation founded on mutual respect and understanding among voluntary organizations, Asian, American and international, with similar aims and ideals.
- c. To work with other American individuals and organizations for a better understanding of the United States of the people of Asia, their histories, cultures, and values.¹¹⁶

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Asia Foundation engaged in assisting several educational and cultural projects, for example, in the project working with the University of Saigon and the University of Huế. The Asia Foundation assisted higher education institutions in a number of aspects, including the engagement of two foreign professors and conducting services of an American library adviser, providing educational equipment and supplies, supporting the publishing of textbooks, and allotting travel grants for the University of

¹¹³ “The Asia Foundation”, “Cơ quan viện trợ văn hoá Á Châu”, and “Encouraging Local Initiative – The Asia Foundation”, Hồ sơ số 3500, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà, The National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

¹¹⁴ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Brief Summary of Asia Foundation Activities in Vietnam”, File 1780602001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

¹¹⁵ “The Asia Foundation”, “Cơ quan viện trợ văn hoá Á Châu”, and “Encouraging Local Initiative – The Asia Foundation”, Hồ sơ số 3500, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà, the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

¹¹⁶ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “The Asia Foundation: Purpose and Program”, File 1780713010, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

Huế's professors.¹¹⁷ Not only encouraging the public sector of education, the private sector was also in the purview of this organization. The Asia Foundation committed its assistance to a vast number of popular polytechnic institutes and popular cultural centers, which carried out effective private educational efforts in the aspects of adult education and vocational training. Equipping educational facilities, such as libraries, classrooms, and small theaters, and producing scholarships for abroad trainings were also the engaged aspects of the Asia Foundation's activities in Vietnam. Significantly, this institution gave its priorities to stimulate the cultural environment for literature authors by establishing *the Poets, Essayists, and Novelists Clubs* (Vietnamese PEN) and by covering expenses to translate Vietnamese literatures into foreign languages, and the travel grants to attend international meetings. The Asia Foundation also committed to support leader training programs and Buddhism publications (cooperated with France-Asie).¹¹⁸

In vast commitments of the American institutions and organizations in Vietnam, the Asia Foundation differed itself from other institutions by its watchword "*Provide the means*". This was clarified in the interview with Frank Dines, the Chief Representative in Saigon. He emphasized: "*Instead of doing things for people, we provide the means so they can do it themselves*"¹¹⁹. Additionally, existing as a private organization instead of a state entity, The Asia Foundation therefore gained an advantage compared to similar associations which also worked for assisting purposes. This was assumed by Peter S. Glick, the Foundation's assistant representative in Saigon: "*Asians are less reticent with us, less prejudiced against us, and they will approach us for assistance more readily than they will a larger, less personal type of organization*"¹²⁰. Operating in a small frame, The Asia Foundation was flexible to respond to needs and changing situations, and in a direct, personal fashion. Moreover, the operating methods of organization played a principal role in achieving successes in its activities. Glick explained:

¹¹⁷ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Brief Summary of Asia Foundation Activities in Vietnam", File 1780602001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ "The Asia Foundation", "Cơ quan viện trợ văn hoá Á Châu", and "Encouraging Local Initiative – The Asia Foundation", Hồ sơ số 3500, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đế nghị Cộng hoà, the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

Each of our field representatives is kept aware of problems, needs, and programs in countries other than the one he is posted to. We are thus able to foster the useful exchange of ideas, people, and technique among countries in Asia. The small number and the continuity of personnel, many have been with the Foundation since its establishment, enable it to have a good organizational memory. This helps us avoid repeating mistakes we have made in the past. Certain kinds of projects and certain kinds of mistakes have a way of cropping up in other countries after they have occurred in one country. In these cases, our San Francisco office, which provides back-up support to the field offices, is often able to provide guidance, because San Francisco is the center of our organization memory and has personnel with years of accumulated experience. The home office also maintains liaison with American and European based organizations whose work is relevant to ours. This includes a very wide range of groups, from universities to publishers and professional societies.¹²¹

Due to diligent works, The Asia Foundation obtained considerable achievements in every contracted field during the period of the First Republic of Vietnam (1955–1963) and the Military Junta (1963–1967). Operating the program, “*The Books for Asian Students*”, The Asia Foundation shipped a thousand of books to universities, schools and educational institutions in South Vietnam, solving one of the primary problems of Vietnamese education, the scarcity of books and educational materials. In 1959, 13,000 books and 4000 journals were delivered to forty institutions and groups in Vietnam.¹²²

In addition to paying attention to the educational matters of Vietnamese students in their own country, The Asia Foundation did care about Vietnamese students who studied abroad, especially those who were in the U.S. Consequently, a weekly newspaper was published, namely *The Asian Student*. As they announced, *The Asian Student* was published to keep Asian and Vietnamese students informed of major developments in their home countries, which were not normally covered by the American press. Furthermore, it provided a forum for exchanging opinions on important issues, which affected Asia and Asian students’ life, and also promoted closer relationships among

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Books for Asian Students-Project of the Asia Foundation”, August 21, 1959, File 1780713016, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

students from various Asian countries and American students.¹²³ With 25,000 copies for 27,500 students (in 1961) in the U.S, *The Asian Student* roughly met demands and showed its role in the Asian students' life.

Special Courses in Vietnam

In order to decrease the illiteracy in South Vietnam, the USOM and other foreign educators and advisors assisted productively in literacy campaigns. Impressive results were gained after many efforts. Between 1956 and 1962, around 1,6 million people between 13 to 50 years of age were taught to read and write. In 1962, 1,5 million piasters¹²⁴ (equivalent to approximately US\$ 48,857,142 at that time) were earmarked for 236 special literacy centers for Montagnards while the United States contributed approximately 8 million piasters. In 1963, 42,577 people enrolled in more than 5000 literacy centers conducting day and night classes throughout South Vietnam.¹²⁵

Accompanying the literacy campaigns, priority for adult education was given. From 1954 to 1959, with the help of American experts, a group of young Vietnamese educators and officials in Saigon was established as a branch of the Popular Cultural Association (the Popular Polytechnic Institute). This institute provided several courses in languages and in scientific, commercial and vocational subjects to thousands of Vietnamese adults. To be conferred degrees, students, who attended adult-education classes were required to demonstrate their desire to increase their knowledge and acquire new and improved techniques.¹²⁶ In 1963, more than 3000 courses in history, geography, civics, and composition were offered to 69,329 neo-literates, who attended classes, which were held

¹²³ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "The Asia Foundation, Its Programs and Activities, a Newspaper Article", September 16, 1961, File 1780713009, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

¹²⁴ 35 VN\$ ~ 1 US\$.

1 VN piasters ~ 15 French francs

According to The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Education in Vietnam – Review Horizons, Saigon-Vietnam", 1959, File 2322002006, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

¹²⁵ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Education", 1965, File 2321407001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

¹²⁶ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Adult Education in Vietnam, by Edgar N. Pike", October 1959, File 1780614027, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

in the late morning or in the evening. Students studied at village halls, pagodas, churches, factories, various organization headquarters, and schools free of charge.¹²⁷

Through various channels, the U.S government increasingly engaged in higher education of South Vietnam. Moreover, the investment for education development increased considerably. From 1955 to 1966, the U.S government contributed a total of US\$ 17,412,000 to meet the needs of South Vietnam's education.¹²⁸ In cooperation with the Ministry of Education, USIS Saigon provided either a civics or political science course throughout the entire Vietnamese school system.¹²⁹

In the process of conducting educational projects in South Vietnam in the early 1960s, American officials and educators paid a special attention to train the cadres in highland areas, and thus responding to its strategic, historical-geographic, and political values. The goals of this training were not only to help young highlanders to become literate, rather to change the locals' attitudes towards the Americans in more sympathetic ways. In other words, this was a strategy, which the Americans applied in South Vietnam in the periods of the 1950s and 1970s, to "*win the hearts and minds*" of Vietnamese people.

Training Programs in the U.S and Overseas

In line with the training and education projects in South Vietnam, other educational assisting activities were conducted in the U.S. educational institutions. A number of examples will be produced below to illustrate the diversity of educational engagements of the Americans in advance of 1967.

From January 1 to June 30, 1958, the East Lansing staff had arranged training for nine Vietnam project-sponsored participants. These participants were from various offices of the government, differing in their interests. The major areas of concern were as follows,

1. Budget
2. Public Administration

¹²⁷ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Education", 1965, File 2321407001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Statler, Kathryn C., *Replacing France*, 205.

3. Personnel

4. Economics.¹³⁰

In January, two officers, Mr. Huynh Van Dong and Mr. Nguyen Van Son, departed from Saigon for a short stay in the MSU prior to enrolling in special courses in Public Administration in the American University. They participated in several courses: Production Planning, Development Science MGMT, Formulating Personnel Policies & Procedures, Organization & MGMT, Introduction to Public Administration, and English for Foreign Students. During the summer session at American University, they attended other courses: Group Dynamics, Employer-Employees Relations, O & M (Operation and Maintenance), and English training courses. The largest group of participants came to the United States in late March and enrolled during the Spring quarter at Michigan State University, attending several courses: Seminars on Modern International Cartels and Monopolies and on Macroeconomics, Training and Supervision, Social Psychology, Research in Psychology, and Human Relations. During six months of their sojourn, participants had had an opportunity to attend numerous concerts, movies, and lectures, to make a trip to Detroit to attend a folk dance program and to visit nearby farms and to study at first-hand governmental operations in Lansing.¹³¹

Another training program, which operated in the American educational institutions was the summer programs. In 1960, numerous colleges and universities in the U.S committed to such activities (see Appendix 1, Chapter 2). The goal of these programs were to provide nonspecialists with a basic introduction to major Asian civilizations. Attention was also given to the needs of teachers by showing them how to use of classroom materials, films, and other resources.¹³² Differing from other summer programs, which focused on teaching languages, this program varied its subjects of teaching and topics of discussions in most of fields of Asian studies, ranging from history, economics, geography, anthropology, languages to sociology. The year 1960 could be considered as a highly

¹³⁰ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Participant Training Program, Visitors, Misc. Information, 1955-1960", June 6, 1958, File 6-20-100D-116-UA2-9-5-5_003001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Summer Programs on Asia for In-Service Teachers and Other Community Leaders", 1960, File 1781215015, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

successful year for this project. Thereafter, many other educational institutions engaged themselves in this program, such as Harvard University, New York State University, the College of Education at Cortland, and the New School for Social Research (see Appendix 1, Chapter 2). The success of the programs was a result from significant support of several organizations, such as The Asia Foundation, Japan Society, and The Asia Society in which offering scholarships and awards for trainees.

Benefiting from the COLOMBO PLAN¹³³, South Vietnam sent also many candidates to Australia, Japan, Canada, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom for studies. The engaged developed countries of the COLOMBO PLAN assisted underdeveloped countries in Asia in various fields, for example:

The United States has supplied economic and technical assistance and has financed commodity imports through the International Co-operation Administration. It has supplied loans and other forms of credit through the Development Loan Fund and credits for the financing of the dollar cost of capital equipment through the Export-Import Bank. [...] The United Kingdom has provided loans and credits as well as capital aid and technical assistance. Some of this expenditure has been under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. Australia and Canada have provided capital aid, including funds from the sale of agricultural and industrial commodities, and technical assistance. India has provided financial assistance to Nepal and a considerable amount of technical assistance to countries of the area. New Zealand and Japan have provided both capital and technical assistance. Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, Pakistan and the Philippines offered training facilities and some other forms of aid.¹³⁴

According to the statistics of the number of awards on June 6, 1961, 103 Vietnamese trainees and 18 experts received scholarships to study in Australia, while also in the first quarter of that year, 812 Vietnamese candidates and 57 experts were sent abroad under

¹³³ The idea of operating the COLOMBO PLAN was inspired at a conference of Commonwealth Foreign Minister in Colombo in January 1950. This plan aimed at assisting the economic policy in South and South East Asia and considering how countries outside area could help these countries. The RVN government joined this plan in 1951, the same time as the United States. In 1957, the 8th annual Consultative Committee of the COLOMBO PLAN was held in Saigon.

¹³⁴ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Colombo Plan - Progress Report on Australia's Part to 30th June, 1961", June 30, 1961, File 10390316004, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 4.

the COLOMBO PLAN.¹³⁵ The contributions to maintain the COLOMBO PLAN not only came from the members, but also outside organizations and countries, such as the International Bank, Ford Foundation, The Rockefeller Foundation, and The Asia Foundation.

Summary

Until the first half of the twentieth century, the Vietnamese higher education system remained in the preliminary stage of development. In comparison to higher education systems in the developed countries, higher education in Vietnam was not only limited in the scope, but also arguable in its credibility. A few schools of the Indochinese University were admitted as a branch of universities in Paris, France, for example, the School of Medicine and Pharmacy and the School of Fine Arts and Architecture. The other schools, which even called themselves universities, did not meet the university level.

Differing from Western models, higher education in Vietnam was not a monopolized system which presented a single education model, rather it was made up of the traditional and newly-imported versions. This feature was apparent in every aspect of the Vietnamese higher education, from teaching methods, curriculum design, to teacher-student relations. This explained why the French model was implanted into the vernacular educational system for more than a half century, while Hán-Vietnamese was continuing to play a significant role, especially for students in session D.¹³⁶

Achievements of higher education in Vietnam by 1950s were modest compared to those in advanced nations, however, it was significant in the context of a developing country. A new generation of Vietnamese intellectuals was educated to adapt to the changing circumstance in the twentieth century. Due to the French educational model, which

¹³⁵ Ibid., 5.

¹³⁶ There were four sections in secondary schools, commonly referred to as Section A: Experimental Science (which emphasized Physics and Chemistry); Section B: Mathematical Science; Section C: Modern Literature (which emphasized Philosophy, English and French as foreign languages); Section D: Classical Literature (with an emphasis on Philosophy, and Chinese as a foreign language).

See The Virtual Vietnam Archive “The Baccalaureate Examination in the Republic of Vietnam”, July 1972, File 2391104003, Part A, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 5.

focused on elite training, not all of the Vietnamese citizens were offered opportunities to educate themselves and acquire progressive knowledge. Even though, it could not be denied that French educators and schools contributed substantially to cultivate critical figures who took charge of ruling a new political system in Vietnam in the twentieth century. In addition, they qualified employees, and so helping to narrow the gap of Vietnamese fine arts and sciences following the universal standard.

The year 1954 marked a turning point for both, Vietnamese politics and Vietnamese education. Several educational events occurred, starting a new phase of the South Vietnam's higher education, including the Southern Exodus of teachers and students from the Indochinese University, the promotion of the University of Saigon (at that time named the National University) from a branch to an independent higher learning entity, the in-depth commitment of the Americans in the RVN higher education system, and the competition of two external educational models, the French and the American. In other words, higher education in South Vietnam experienced a dynamic period of development since 1954.

Debating the engagement of the Americans in South Vietnam, many varied opinions and perspectives were given. In those, despite the dissimilarity in approaching methods and sources, they found a consensus to declare that the 1950s and 1960s were the foremost periods incorporating the American education style and American influence into the RVN higher education system. Through several channels: the U.S. educational institutes and international organizations, the Americans steadily inserted its educational elements in South Vietnam, becoming a formidable competitor to the existence and the dominance of the French educational model in the area of RVN higher education since the second half of the 1960s.

Chapter 3: The Republic of Vietnam's Higher Education (1967-1975)

3.1 Policies and Alternatives in the 1960s and 1970s

The two world wars created an unpredicted opportunity for the United States to empower itself. Furthermore, it became the most decisive figure in a polar world and a leader of a bloc to contain the expanding power of the communist bloc and even subdue them. The confidence of the Americans towards their power and their mission was unconcealed: *"For most of this era, especially the periods following World War II and the end of the Cold War, the United States was far more powerful than any other country- more powerful, even, than its only superpower rival, the Soviet Union. The strength and endurance of American power lay not only in its military might, important though it was; in addition to arms, America had few real challengers in terms of economic, political, diplomatic, and cultural power."*¹³⁷ However, the international political situation since the late 1960s shifted remarkably, threatened the American influence and American interests, especially in strategic areas like in Southeast Asia and the Middle East. This led to the re-evaluation of the United States for these areas in its foreign policy.

Designing the National Security Council (NSC) as a "little State Department" and doubling the staff of this office, the NSC took charge of decision making headed by Henry Kissinger. To respond to complex problems in the late 1960s from many directions, capitalist allies, and socialist opponents; and from numerous aspects, ranging from politics, military, economy, to culture also, the Nixon's administration set up an unprecedented foreign policy and implemented it with extremely high ambition to put all things in the U.S. order. Obviously, the U.S. foreign policy aimed at nothing else except the halt of the erosion of American power and maintain American position as one of the world's indisputable superpowers as President Nixon's speech in 1969 exclaims: *"any hope the world has for the survival of peace and freedom will be determined by whether the American people have the moral stamina and the courage to meet the challenge of free world leadership."*¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Logevall, Fredrik and Andrew Preston, *Nixon in the World*, 3.

¹³⁸ Nixon, Richard, "Address to the Nation on the War in Vietnam," November 3, 1969, available at <https://www.nixonfoundation.org/2017/09/address-nation-war-vietnam-november-3-1969/>.

Adapting to a new situation in the late 1960s, in the Kissinger era, American traditional values of formulating foreign policies were altered. The policies defining the allies and adversaries were not based on ideology or a political system, but on utility, instead. This policy reoriented the U.S. relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the People's Republic of China (PRC). As the consequence of changing of U.S. foreign policies, the Second Republic of Vietnam experienced a new phase in the relations to the United States. Vietnamization, and as a part of the Nixon Doctrine, was carried out in South Vietnam, replacing the previous strategy: the Americanization. The schedule of the withdrawal of the American soldiers from the South Vietnam's battlefields started in 1969. In parallel, the Americans were eager to take up contact through many channels, either public or private, in order to promote the negotiating front, which germinated the hope of peace for the engaged-war parties. Discussing the Vietnamization, many South Vietnamese people took this as a reason to denounce the abandonment of the United States to its ally: South Vietnam. This is still a controversial debate. Although, to be an independent state as they announced, the RVN should have had the most responsibility for their collapse in 1975. Despite, the withdrawal of the American Army in the battlefield, which affected deeply to the fighting competence and determination of the RVN's military forces, it was not and should not be a justification for the collapse of the Republic of Vietnam in April 1975. In fact, during the Vietnamization period, the Republic of Vietnam had received the highest amount of military and economic aid from the U.S. government.¹³⁹ Paraphrasing this phenomenon, the Republic of Vietnam had a better chance to empower itself and exist independently rather than to be sacrificed as a pawn on the American chessboard. The condition to reach self-determination of the Second Republic of Vietnam was to do nothing else but to intensively and extensively implement nation building programs during the 1960s and 1970s.

It is undoubted that the idea of implementing nation building programs in South Vietnam, including advancing the higher education system, was not a newly-created concept. However, the context of the 1960s and 1970s provided the Americans and South

¹³⁹ The U.S military aid for South Vietnam in the years 1973, 1974, and 1975 were US\$ 2,27 billion, US\$ 1,126 billion, and US\$ 1,450 billion, respectively. Nguyen Anh Tuan, *South Vietnam Trial and Experience*, 325.

Vietnamese a chance to re-examine the efficiency of this policy. In response to that re-examination, the appraisers realized that this policy maintained its values. Moreover, the major shift in international relations among superpowers during the Cold War gave favorable conditions to conduct civil projects instead of military ones. In doing so, the Americans saw education as a productive means which could help to modernize Vietnamese society and improve the life of the indigenous people. They (the U.S government) believed that introducing an American-style system to Vietnam offered significant-strategic benefits that would promote support and loyalty to the government of the Republic of Vietnam.¹⁴⁰

At the Honolulu conference in 1966, the improved-needed sections which the Americans should aid the Republic of Vietnam were discussed and detailed. As one of four principal fields of preferences (three others being agriculture development, medical programs and the control of the inflation in South Vietnam), education received the most attention from participants.¹⁴¹

Table 3.1 Honolulu Participants in 1966

The U.S. Participants	<i>State Secretary.</i> Dean Rusk <i>Defense Secretary.</i> Robert S. McNamara, General Earle G. Wheeler <i>Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, HEW Secretary.</i> John W. Gardner, <i>Agriculture Secretary.</i> Orville L. Freeman, <i>Commander of U.S naval forces in the Pacific Admiral.</i> Ulysses Simpson Grant Sharp Jr <i>U.S Ambassador-to South Vietnam</i> Henry Cabot Lodge, <i>Commander of U.S forces in South Vietnam</i> General. William C. Westmoreland <i>Ambassador -at -Large</i> W. Averell Harriman, <i>Agency for International Development Director</i> David E. Bell <i>Presidential Assistant.</i> McGeorge Bundy, <i>State Undersecretary (for political affairs)</i> U. Alexis Johnson <i>White House Press Secretary.</i> Bill D. Moyers and <i>Presidential Adviser</i> General. Maxwell D. Taylor
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¹⁴⁰ Elkind, Jessica, *Aid Under Fire*, 175.

¹⁴¹ *South Vietnam, U.S.- Communist Confrontation*, 156.

The RVN's Participants	<i>Lieutenant General Nguyễn Văn Thiệu</i> <i>Prime Minister Nguyễn Cao Kỳ</i> <i>Foreign Minister Trần Văn Đỗi,</i> <i>Defense Minister Lieutenant General Nguyễn Hữu Cồ</i> and <i>Economy & Finance Minister Trương Thái Tôn</i>
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Source: *South Vietnam, U.S – Communist Confrontation in Southeast Asia*, Volume 2, 1966–1967, A Fact on File Publication, New York, 1966, 156.

Aside from new policies of the United States for South Vietnam, which focused on accelerating the ruling competence of vernacular administration, the circumstances of South Vietnam in the 1960s also created good conditions for more civil elements, for instance, education development attracted more attention of the authorities. From November 1963 to February 1965, as mentioned in the research of Trần Trọng Trung¹⁴², more than ten coups occurred on the South Vietnam political stage. And in line with these, the same number of administrations were erected and then collapsed. Only in the four year period (1963–1967), South Vietnam's society was shaken by competition among different groups. Exhausted in dealing with coups and political plots, the White House and South Vietnamese junta met in a tremendous effort to re-shape the South Vietnam's politics and re-instate the stability of the South Vietnam society. Answering those demands, the Republic of Vietnam felt obligated to pay more attention to civil issues rather than to continue primarily allocating funds to military affairs.

Being structured and designed as a democratic government to replace a junta regime (lasted from 1963 to 1967), subsequently, the leaders of the Second Republic of Vietnam were asked to show their goodwill to deal with South Vietnam's civil affairs. This was not only the way in which the RVN's leaders proved their competence in ruling a political institution, but also it was a solution to respond to the crucial strategy: “*win Hearts and Minds*” of South Vietnamese, in competing against the credibility of the National Liberal Front (NLF). Furthermore, this was in accordance with the change of the U.S foreign policies in South Vietnam and was able to ensure the maintenance and extension of the U.S financial aid for the government of the Republic of Vietnam. Responding to the

¹⁴² Trần Trọng Trung, *Nhà trắng với cuộc chiến tranh*, 436-471.

wishes of his American supporters, President Nguyễn Văn Thiệu emphasized in his inaugural address that the Second Republic of Vietnam was established “to set up democratic institutions, to find a solution to the war and to improve social conditions”¹⁴³. Also in this speech, he stated that the national policy includes three guidelines: “Democracy Building; Peace Restoration; Social Improvement”¹⁴⁴. Those guidelines were legitimated and detailed in the Constitution, specifically in the aspects of the social and cultural development policies. The 1967 Constitution stipulated that:

- (1) Culture and education must be considered matters of national policy, on a national, scientific and humanistic basis.
- (2) An appropriate budget must be reserved for the development of culture and education.¹⁴⁵

Noticeable and unprecedented, during the regimes of the Republics in South Vietnam, the priority of authorities to develop higher education was specified and constitutionalized. According to Article 10 of the 1967 Constitution, “University education is autonomous”¹⁴⁶. This paved the way for higher education to broaden the sphere of operation and also enhance itself further as an indispensable factor in nation building projects of the Republic of Vietnam.

As an offspring of social development, the effects of external circumstances on higher education development were unavoidable. South Vietnam’s higher education not only adapted itself to the social vicissitude, it also took opportunities to develop during the changing context in the 1960s and 1970s, nonetheless. This phenomenon was initiated in the late 1950s. As Nguyễn Hữu Phước stated in his work, the context of South Vietnam society in the late 1950s facilitated the realization of one of three philosophies of education in South Vietnam. To be specific, that was the philosophy of *Open Mind for Changes*.¹⁴⁷ In other words, it could be said that South Vietnam’s education found a fertile environment for its development since the late 1950s. Nguyễn Hữu Phước emphasized

¹⁴³ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Inaugural Address by President Nguyen Van Thieu - October 31, 1967”, File 2390803001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Article 11, “The Constitution of the Second Republic of Vietnam”, issued in April 1967. Available at http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Vietnam_South_1967, accessed on April 21, 2018, 7-8.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 7.

¹⁴⁷ Tuong Vu and Sean Fear (Eds.), *The Republic of Vietnam*, 94.

the factors which greatly furthered education in South Vietnam at that time. These consisted of the intensification of the war after 1959, the continuity of French efforts to perpetuate their cultural and educational influence in South Vietnam, the U.S assistance to Vietnam with the primary focus on educational projects, the efforts of Vietnamese educators to modernize the national education to meet the requirements of country, and finally the involvement of the U.S Mission Operation through various educational contracts with American universities to assist and cooperate with RVN universities.¹⁴⁸ Those factors did not disappear, on the contrary, becoming more highlighted in the 1960s and 1970s.

Today in Vietnam there is such a hunger for education on the part of the people that it is the single most powerful weapon in the pacification program, and the teachers have become combatants in the ideological war against communism. The government in Saigon is under enormous pressure to meet the increasing demand for more and better schools and teachers.¹⁴⁹

3.2 Premises to Advance Higher Education in 1967-1975

3.2.1 Higher Education Achievements in the 1950s and 1960s

To promote a higher education system, first and foremost, that system needs to have already attained at a certain level which includes basic prerequisites. Accordingly, significant prerequisites of higher education in the late 1950s and early 1960s could further the development of higher education under the administration of the Second Republic of Vietnam (1967-1975).

After 1954, the partition of Vietnam sowed various problems for education in general, and higher education in particular. Schools were built in insufficient numbers, and curricula and teaching methods did not meet the developing requirements of South Vietnam. Technical education, which was almost non-existent in Vietnam during the colonial regime, had to be established on all levels to deal with the pressing problems of reconstruction and development of the country.¹⁵⁰ In addition, the general

¹⁴⁸ Tuong Vu and Sean Fear (Eds.), *The Republic of Vietnam*, 94.

¹⁴⁹ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Vietnam Feature Service Report (Pubs-016): Forging a New System of Education in Vietnam", File 1070323001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

¹⁵⁰ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Information on Education in Vietnam", December 4, 1959, File 1780839028, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

underdevelopment of Vietnam's higher education, including the lack of teaching staff, the scarcity of teaching and learning materials, the imbalance between student numbers and available seats in universities and colleges, required urgent solutions. Despite the difficulties, a number of factors encouraged the development of higher education in South Vietnam due to the 1950s and 1960s' circumstances.

Committed extensively and intensively to higher education in Vietnam from the second half of the 1950s, American educators and experts assisted productively, enabling Vietnamese educators to attain preliminary successes. The weaknesses of the new-born higher education in the developing country were solved partly and step by step by implementing progressive education policies. This is indicated through a variety of examples.

The first achievement in higher education's activities in the years 1955–1966 can be seen on the construction of fundamental principles which were derived from realistic requirements of South Vietnam and adapted from cutting-edge models of higher education. These educational principles were proposed at the first National Education Convention in 1958, and in 1964, at the second National Education Convention, those principles were re-affirmed. The principles provided a vision of the RVN higher education's characteristics which emphasized three concrete segments as follows,

1. Education in Vietnam must be a humanist education, respecting the sacred character of the human being, regarding man as an end in himself, and aiming at the full development of man.
2. Education in Vietnam must be a national education, respecting the national values, assuring the continuity of man with his natural environment (his family, profession, and country), aiming at safeguarding the nation, its prosperity, and the collective promotion of its people.
3. Education in Vietnam must be an open education, respecting the scientific mind as a factor of progress, attempting to develop the social and democratic mind, and welcoming all the authentic cultural values of the world.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

Those principles set the frame for all aspects of higher education, setting the crucial foundation for RVN higher education to further itself on the path of development. Those principles were not only emphasized in educational speeches, but moreover were rapidly applied to the administration of higher education institutions. To propagate the national characteristic in education, in programs of almost all faculties, the requirements to acquire knowledge of Vietnamese culture, history, and reality were compulsory and considered as a prerequisite to earn degrees. In the Faculty of Letters at the University of Huế, for instance, regardless of fields of study: English literature, French literature, or Vietnamese literature, all were obliged to possess the certificate of Vietnamese literature.¹⁵² Other examples could be presented, such as, in parallel to teaching Roman and French Codes, was to research of Chinese and Vietnamese Law; Western knowledge of economic theories were imparted together with social-economic processes in Vietnam; and a main task of students in the School of Medicine was to study tropical medicine rather than accepting Western theoretical knowledge from their professors uncritically.

RVN educators intended not only to instruct but also to humanize, to promote the emergence of free people. Following the above-mentioned educational objectives, the curricula were determined both, to enrich students with boundless culture and to guide them towards specialization in higher education. To that purpose, the curriculum was designed following the five guidelines below:

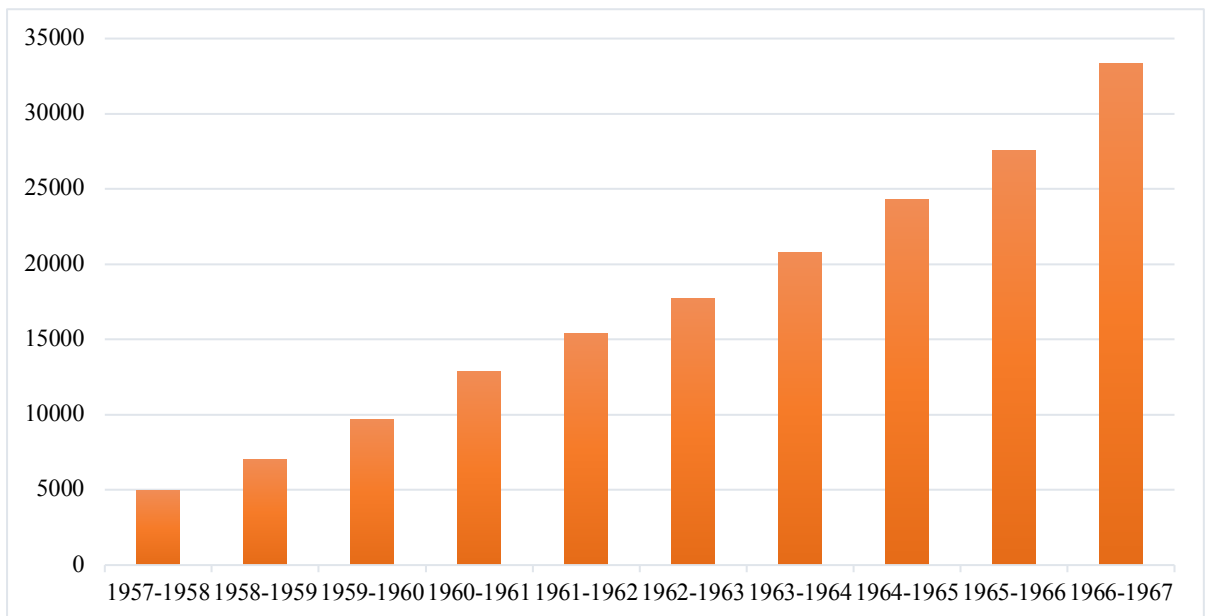
1. Lighten the course of study to avoid cramming. [...]
2. Favoring general education but at the same time promoting specialization.[...]
3. Bring the national culture into honor, the Vietnamese languages and literature are a basic subject taught in lower secondary schools and have an important place in the upper secondary schools. In addition, oriental philosophy is one of the main subjects taught in the philosophy classes.[...]
4. Giving students a fair knowledge of a basic foreign language as a cultural factor and a key to the external world.[...]
5. The new curriculum reserve a large place for morals and civics.[...] ¹⁵³

¹⁵² Nguyễn Đình, “Hồi ức về trường Đại học Văn khoa Huế”, posted on July 4, 2012, available at <https://nguyendinhchuc.wordpress.com/2012/07/04/hoi-uc-ve-truong-dai-hoc-van-khoa-hue/>.

¹⁵³ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Information on Education in Vietnam”, December 4, 1959, File 1780839028, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

Fulfilling educational principles and adapting to the requirements of the reality, higher education experienced rapid growth after the partition Agreement in 1954. Before 1954, the University in Saigon was only a branch of Indochinese University, being the single institution of higher learning in South Vietnam. Since 1955, not only did the University of Saigon become an independent entity, but also many other universities were founded, including public and private universities, among those, the University of Huế (1957), the Đà Lạt University (1958), the Vạn Hạnh University (1964), and the University of Cần Thơ (1966). The increasing number of universities led to a surge of student numbers. In 1954, merely 3000 students enrolled in the university, by 1967, this figure reached approximately 34,000 enrolments, multiplied 11 times in somewhat more than a decade. The graph below shows the growth of student enrollments in RVN universities from 1957 to 1967.

Graph 3.1 Student Enrollments in Universities (1957–1967)



Source: The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Decade of Expansion for Higher Education in Vietnam”, April 1971, File 2322018001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

In respect to the administration, the universities in Vietnam marked a turning point when they reduced the leading positions of French, thus empowering Vietnamese in the university system. Vietnamese educators were given exclusive power to monitor the higher education system in South Vietnam, differing from the periods before 1955, when

most of the time, Frenchmen were appointed to the positions of Rectors in all higher learning institutions. Since the term of the First Republic of Vietnam, a transition was started whereby Vietnamese educators were designated to be Rectors. Looking closely at RVN universities in the 1950s and 1960s, both public and private, one can see that all rectors were Vietnamese replacing French or any other foreign professors. Mr. Nguyễn Quang Trình was the Rector of the University of Saigon, Priest Cao Văn Luận was the Rector of the University of Huế, Bishop Ngô Đình Thục was the Rector of the Đà Lạt University, and Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ was the Rector of the University of Cần Thơ.

The expenditures for education increased annually, in the 1954–1955 school year, the Ministry of Education allocated VN\$ 293,538,430 (~ US\$ 8,386,812¹⁵⁴) for educational development, in the next school year, the number reached to VN\$ 402,812,100 (~ US\$ 11,441,250¹⁵⁵). In 1956–1957, the increasing tendency had continued, whereby the amount increased to VN\$ 533,000,000 (~ US\$ 7,154,362¹⁵⁶).¹⁵⁷ In 1960, the budget for Education climbed significantly to VN\$ 900,000,000 (~ US\$ 24,459,688)¹⁵⁸, which accounted for circa 6% of the National Budget. This portion was modest in comparison with the allocation for South Vietnam’s national defense budget. Albeit, this indicated the growing attention of the RVN’s authorities for educational development.

To further opportunities for qualified students who yearned to attend universities, the tuition of national universities was nominal around VN\$13 (~ US\$ 0,16) per year in 1968.¹⁵⁹ Even at private universities such as Đà Lạt University, the tuition fee was VN\$

¹⁵⁴ According to *Việt Nam niên giám thống kê*, in 1954, 1 US\$ ~ 35 VND. Việt Nam Cộng hoà, Bộ Kinh tế Quốc gia, *Việt Nam niên giám thống kê*, Quyền thứ năm, 1954–1955, 219.

¹⁵⁵ According to *Việt Nam niên giám thống kê*, in 1955, 1 US\$ ~ 35,207 VND. Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ According to *Việt Nam niên giám thống kê*, in 1956, 1 US\$ ~ 74,50 VND. Việt Nam Cộng hoà, Bộ Kinh tế Quốc gia, *Việt Nam niên giám thống kê*, Quyền thứ sáu, 1956, 168.

¹⁵⁷ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Education in Vietnam - Review Horizons, Saigon-Vietnam”, 1959, File 2322002006, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

¹⁵⁸ According to *Việt Nam niên giám thống kê*, in 1960, 1 US\$ ~ 35,350 VND. Việt Nam Cộng hoà, Bộ Kinh tế Quốc gia, *Việt Nam niên giám thống kê*, Quyền thứ chín, 1960–1961, 271.

“Education in the Republic of Vietnam”, 211.

¹⁵⁹ According to *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam*, in 1968, 1 US\$ ~ 80 VND.

500 (~ US\$ 6,25)¹⁶⁰, which was higher than those in public universities but only accounted for an extremely small portion of the actual training cost for each student. In addition, to improve the opportunities to attend universities, 5,000 governmental scholarships were made available to students who were children of disabled veterans, faculty members, or refugees.¹⁶¹

The scarcity of teachers, one of the most egregious problems of RVN higher education, was solved gradually. By calling for the return of Vietnamese students from overseas, by inviting foreign professors, and by conducting more teacher training programs, the number of teachers grew steadily at almost all levels and in all types of training in universities and colleges. At the university level, there were 465 lecturers for three universities: the University of Saigon, the University of Huế, and Đà Lạt University in 1960–1961. The number rose slightly to 521 teachers in the 1964–1965 school year for five universities in South Vietnam (the three above and two additional universities: Vạn Hạnh University and the University of Cần Thơ).¹⁶² Also in the 1964–1965 school year when it opened, the Agricultural College in Cần Thơ employed 49 teachers.¹⁶³ This figure was modest, yet significant for a brand-new agricultural education institution in South Vietnam. For unclear reasons, the number of lecturers in the technical colleges decreased from 172 to 129 between 1960 and 1965.¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless, this trend rapidly reversed and showed a growing tendency in the following years.

When considering the language teaching as a primary instructing medium to convey the knowledge, the improvement of Vietnamese students in using English or French should be acknowledged as an achievement in the RVN education system in the 1950s and 1960s. Until that time, the education materials for Vietnamese students were insufficient, most of resources came from the international organizations. As a result, almost all

Việt Nam Cộng hoà, Phủ Thủ tướng, Nha Tổng giám đốc Kế hoạch, *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam 1967–1968*, 206.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Education in South Vietnam”, September 1, 1968, File 0720510017, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

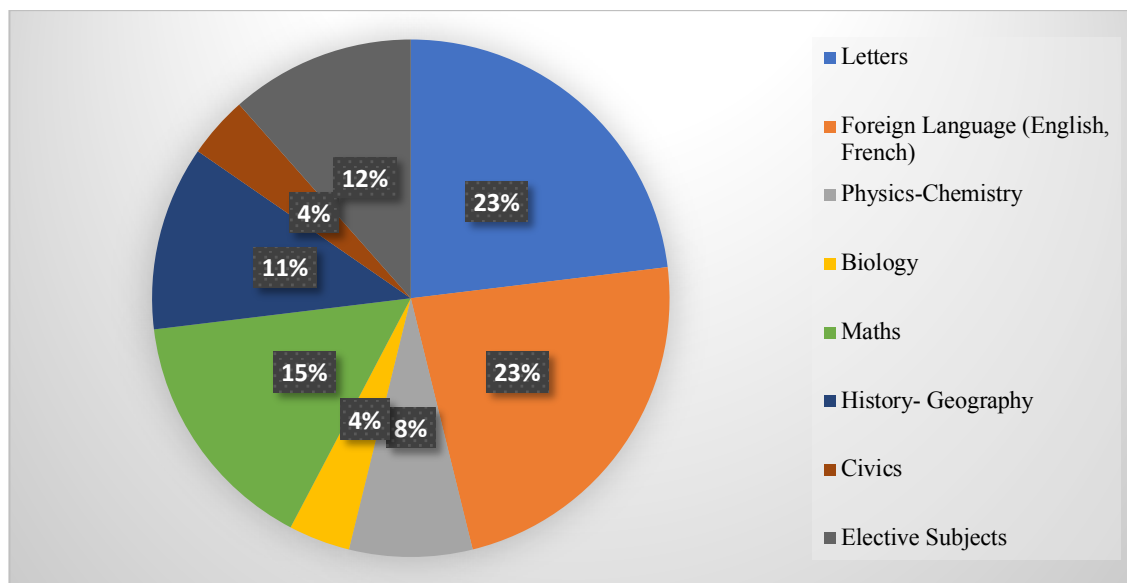
¹⁶² “Education in the Republic of Vietnam”, 214.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

teaching and learning materials were published in English and French. To refer those materials, students were required to have an adequate knowledge of those languages. Focusing on teaching English and French as a necessary medium had broadened the way to interact with the universal academic world, thanks to the secondary curriculum in Vietnam in the first half of the 1950s. The distribution of subjects in the secondary program in the below chart points out the importance of foreign languages in the South Vietnam educational curriculum.

Graph 3.2 Secondary School Curriculum - Level 1 (Grade 10-Grade 11)



Source: Nguyễn Thanh Liêm (Ed.), *Giáo dục ở miền Nam tự do trước 1975*, C.A: Le Van Duyet Foundation, 2006, 30-31.

Regarding teaching and learning methods, because of the profound and longlasting effects of French education, as well as the shortages of learning materials, in the 1950s, the typical method for students to learn was to memorize the professors' lectures.¹⁶⁵ Professors hardly ever changed their lectures for years. Students rarely had chances to refer to other published books and articles related to their studying topics. Up until the late 1960s, new methods of teaching and learning were applied to universities thanks to the open-minded Vietnamese educators, who were trained abroad, returning from the United States, New Zealand, Japan, Australia, and Germany. In addition, numerous donated sources of educational materials and investments for university publishing

¹⁶⁵ Ngô Bảo Châu et al., *Kỷ yếu Đại học Humboldt*, 545.

houses contributed to institute new methods of teaching and learning in universities. Students equipped themselves with the method of self-learning, based on instructions of their teachers and lecturers to discover more related documents, which enable them to debate with other students and teachers. Lê Xuân Khoa asserted that since the late 1960s, instead of memorizing the professors' lectures, students searched for related-documents and steadily grew accustomed to self-learning as a method to sharpen their critical thinking.¹⁶⁶

Summarily, the course of educational elements in a progressive direction, including the educational principles, the number of universities, the curricula, the educational allocation, the matter of educational management, the teaching language medium, the increasing number of South Vietnamese teachers created an obvious momentum for the development of RVN higher education in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

3.2.2 The Development of Public Universities

The University of Saigon

The University of Saigon was previously known as a branch of the Indochinese University at the beginning stages and only after the 1954 incident, did this university begin to operate as an independent higher education institution. Inheriting many factors from the former organization, the University of Saigon in the 1950s and 1960s exhibited numerous features of the French educational model. For instance, in the aspect of the organization, the University of Saigon was headed by a Rector appointed by a presidential decree. The system of a University Council, which consisted of several deans, was presided over by a Rector. The Deans of Faculties were authorized by the Secretary of State for National Education (except for the Faculty of Medicine). Another example that could be taken was the modus of the admission of this university. To enter the University of Saigon, generally, the candidates needed to have earned the baccalaureate certificates. Except the Faculties of Pedagogy, Medicine, Pharmacy, Dentistry, and Architecture, there were no entrance examinations, instead, the baccalaureate certificates were considered as a sufficient prerequisite.

¹⁶⁶ Lê Xuân Khoa, "Đại học miền Nam trước 1975, hồi tưởng và nhận định", In Ngô Bảo Châu et al., *Kỷ yếu Đại học Humboldt*, 548.

Curricula varied according to faculties and sections. For example, *the Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy* comprised three sections, Medicine, Pharmacy, and Dentistry. The Faculty of Medicine required premedical courses, in which during the first year, the students were required to complete courses in Physics, Chemistry and Biology (P.C.B) at the Faculty of Science. After passing the first year examinations, they were allowed to continue pursuing six years of medical education before being qualified to submit their thesis.¹⁶⁷ The programs in the Faculty of Pharmacy lasted five years, the first year was spent in an apprenticeship in a pharmacy, the following four years, the students were required to complete subjects of Botany, Chemistry, Cryptogram, Hydrology, Geology, Hygiene, Drug Legislation, Mineralogy, Pharmacodynamics, Microbiology, Toxicology, and Zoology.¹⁶⁸ In the Faculty of Science, the program was divided into many segments: a mixture of Physics, Chemistry, and Biology for premedical students; a merger of Physics, Chemistry and Natural Sciences for freshman programs; a pattern of Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry for Science majors; and there was also a general course which consisted of all natural science subjects for all students. In the Higher School of Architecture, the regular curriculum comprised a theoretical part (sculpture, design, drafting, projection) and a practical part (mechanical drawing, applied arts, and sciences). In most of the faculties, the duration of study was from three to four years to obtain a licentiate and an additional four years for a doctorate. In the Faculties of Medicine, Pharmacy, and Architecture, the studying time could be longer.¹⁶⁹

According to the 1959 educational report, the University of Saigon consisted of five faculties: Law, Letters, Science, Medicine and Pharmacy, Architecture and Education with 138 professors and 4038 students in total.¹⁷⁰ In those faculties, the students of the Faculty of Law amounted to a half, the students of the Faculties of Medicine and Sciences were also a considerable portion and ranked the second and third respectively, the Faculty of Letters with around 500 students, occupied the fourth position. Generally, the student-professor ratio appeared to be favourable. The number of students at this University grew

¹⁶⁷ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Higher Education in Vietnam by Nguyen Dinh Hoa, University of Saigon", 1960, File 2322004002, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 4.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁷⁰ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Notes Concerning Higher Education in Vietnam", January 6, 1959, File 1780836017, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

rapidly in the 1960–1961 academic year, reaching 10,000 students.¹⁷¹ In 1963, the enrollments at the University of Saigon were 14,854 students in the Faculties of Law, Letters (languages, literature, history, geography, sociology, psychology), Medicine (which included dentistry), Pharmacology, Education, Science, and the Higher School of Architecture.¹⁷² This increasing tendency continued to show in the following years, with the number of enrollments reaching 19,032 in the 1964–1965 school year, 22,619 students in the 1965–1966 school year, and in the 1966–1967 school year, the figure climbed to the peak within 10-year period (1957–1967) with 26,730 students.¹⁷³

Noticeably, at the University of Saigon, the number of female students shows a growing tendency, becoming a significant portion in comparison with the number of female students in the past. In the 1957–1958 school year, 51% of the Faculty of Pharmacy’s students were female. In the Faculty of Pedagogy, the number of female students was also notable at 40%. In the same year, the portion of female students at the Faculty of Letters and the Faculty of Dentistry was considerable with 27% and 24%, respectively. Female students exhibited a less interest in the Faculty of Architecture, where the female students only accounted for 4,5%.¹⁷⁴

However, the lack of teachers and professors in other universities and colleges caused difficulties for the University of Saigon’s professors because they were required to divide their time to teach in many places. This situation was mentioned in many retrospective writings of former RVN’s educators and learners. Võ Kim Sơn did describe this situation in her paper:

¹⁷¹ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Saigon University Rector speaks on ‘Role of University in a Society of Rapid Evolution’”, June 3, 1960, File 1780937032, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

¹⁷² The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Education”, 1965, File 2321407001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

In another document, the enrollments in this school year of the University of Saigon were 14,761 students, a slight difference compared to above number.

The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Decade of Expansion for Higher Education in Vietnam”, April 1971, File 2322018001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 41.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Higher Education in Vietnam by Nguyen Dinh Hoa, University of Saigon”, 1960, File 2322004002, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 6.

My students of natural sciences prepared the experiments with their collection of locally grown plants and animals. Sadly, Dean Trần Văn Tấn did not attend the exhibit's opening ceremony. Fortunately, however, Dr. Nguyễn Duy Xuân, Cần Thơ University President, and later minister of education, happened to visit our science exhibit. He later sent me an invitation to join his faculty. I became a "suitcase professor" for his new Cần Thơ University.¹⁷⁵

Teaching tasks were served inefficiently because of the lack of concentration of RVN professors for their teaching mission, "*most of the professors have other jobs outside the University, and some of the professors are only able to spend a few hours per week teaching*"¹⁷⁶. As assumed, the reason for taking outside jobs was mainly rooted in improper salary. University professors were paid circa 18,000 piasters a month (about US\$ 470).¹⁷⁷ This led to a prevalent phenomenon in universities in South Vietnam, called "the flying professors" or "suitcase-professors" because they had to fly from Saigon to Huế, Cần Thơ, Đà Lạt and used the airplane as a necessary means to impart their skills among campuses.

Another phenomenon, which was represented the characteristics of higher education in the 1950s and 1960s, was that almost all deans and professors were young men, for instance, the deans of the Faculties of Law and Letters were in their thirties, the Rector and the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine were in their early forties.¹⁷⁸ Being young was not a reason to underestimate their competence in teaching. American experts paid many compliments to professors of the University of Saigon, "*(a)ll of these men are brilliant, capable, and highly personable. Vietnam is fortunate in having such an exceptional group of educators*"¹⁷⁹. In other words, their young age allowed Vietnamese teachers and

¹⁷⁵ Tuong Vu and Sean Fear (Eds.), *The Republic of Vietnam*, 109.

¹⁷⁶ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Notes Concerning Higher Education in Vietnam", January 6, 1959, File 1780836017, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

¹⁷⁷ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Vietnam Feature Service Report (Pubs-016): Forging a New System of Education in Vietnam", File 1070323001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

The currency was converted based on the statistics which was produced in Nguyen Xuan Thu's dissertation. According to that statistics, in the beginning June 18, 1966, 1 US\$ ~ 38 VNS\$.

Nguyen Xuan Thu, *Organization Structure and Governance*, 103.

In fact, it could not be said that salary was low. This will be debated further in Chapter 4.

¹⁷⁸ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Notes Concerning Higher Education in Vietnam", January 6, 1959, File 1780836017, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

educators to be more courageous and open-minded in approaching and receiving unconventional education ideas. This proved to be a decisive factor to reform the education system in South Vietnam in the late 1960s.

The re-establishment and the division in 1955 could not deter the University of Saigon in its accomplishments. With a convincing growth, the University of Saigon affirmed assuredly its fame and reputation among RVN universities. This university's reputation was partly demonstrated in its appeal to the South Vietnamese students.

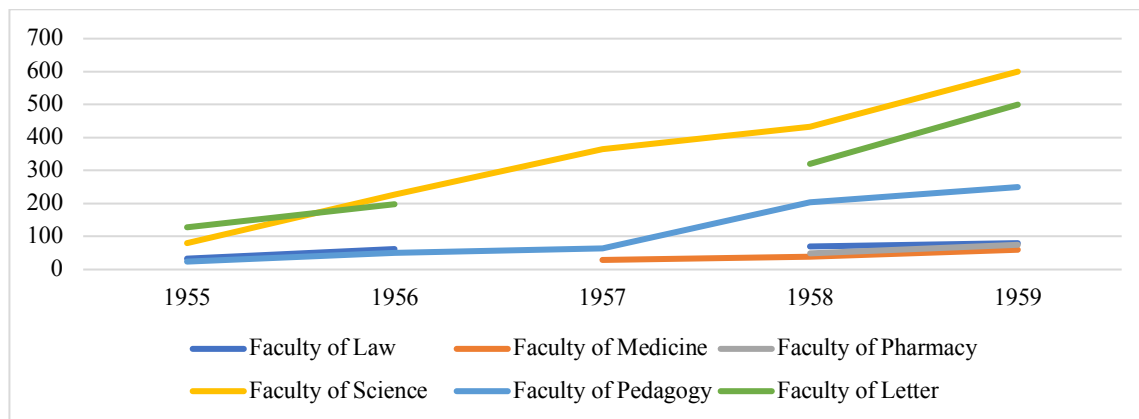
Table 3.2 Number of Graduates in Each Faculty of the University of Saigon in the Years 1955–1959

	Faculty of Law	Faculty of Medicine	Faculty of Pharmacy	Faculty of Science	Faculty of Pedagogy	Faculty of Letter
1955	33	15	30	80	24	128
1956	63	X	X	227	50	198
1957	X	29	X	365	65	X
1958	69	38	49	433	203	320
1959	80	60	75	600	250	500

X: has no statistics

Source: The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Saigon University Rector speaks on ‘Role of University in a Society of Rapid Evolution’”, June 3, 1960, File 1780937032, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

Graph 3.3 Number of Graduates in Each Faculty of the University of Saigon in the Years 1955–1959



Source: The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Saigon University Rector speaks on ‘Role of University in a Society of Rapid Evolution’”, June 3, 1960 File 1780937032, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

As depicted on the above table and graph, despite missing statistics for certain years, one can, nonetheless, observe the rising tendency of the graduate figures in all faculties of the University of Saigon. In several faculties, such as the Faculties of Science, Pedagogy, and Letters, the figures were remarkable, because these schools required less-strict criteria for admission and these fields were urgently needed to fulfill the tasks of RVN higher education.

The University of Huế

The initial idea of establishing a university in the central area of Vietnam germinated from the edict of Emperor Bảo Đại of 1933. At that time, Ngô Đình Diệm, as being the Minister of the Ministry of Personnel, was responsible to implement that edict. However, unsuccessful negotiations between the Huế Court and the French protectorate government of Annam leading to this idea was unable to be realized.¹⁸⁰ Twenty years later, at the highest position of South Vietnam political stage, President Ngô Đình Diệm, after being convinced by passionate Vietnamese intellectuals, issued the Decree No.45/GD of March 1, 1957, founded in Huế a national university.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ “Bốn mươi năm (1957–1997)”, *Dòng Việt*, 2.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

In the Fall of 1957, the first opening ceremony, the University of Huế welcomed 670 students to four faculties, the Faculty of Pedagogy, the Faculty of Letters, the Faculty of Law, and the Faculty of Science.¹⁸² On August 21, 1959, the Education Minister Trần Hữu Thế signed a decree to set up the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Huế. In October 1961, the first class was opened with 27 students. On October 8, 1959, the Decree No. 389-GD was issued to establish the Sinology Institute as an affiliation.¹⁸³ Another Faculty, which was created after the establishment year at the University of Huế, was the School of Fine Arts.

With massive efforts of influential establishers and the productive negotiations of Rector Cao Văn Luận with international universities and educational organizations, the central problems of a newly-created university, such as the lack of teaching staff and materials were partially solved. *Mission Culturelle Française au Vietnam* (Cơ quan viện trợ văn hoá Pháp) dispatched two professors to the University of Huế to teach the French Literature and French linguistics; The Asia Foundation appointed a professor in charge of teaching English Pragmatics and American Literatures; the largest group of international professors came from the University of Freiburg, Germany, which was responsible to assist the Faculty of Medicine.¹⁸⁴ The University of Huế benefited from many resources to enrich its teaching and learning materials. Thousands of microfilms, particularly in Nôm and modern Vietnamese (Quốc ngữ) were donated by several libraries from France, Italy, and Portugal. *Mission Culturelle Française au Vietnam* supported a printing machine and a printing expert to set the University Printing and Publishing House at the University of Huế.¹⁸⁵

Being established as a principal higher learning center in Central Vietnam, the University of Huế fulfilled its obligation successfully, demonstrated by considerable achievements

¹⁸² The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Decade of Expansion for Higher Education in Vietnam”, April 1971, File 2322018001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 41.

In another document, the number of students enrolled the University of Huế in the first established year was 250.

The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Higher Education in Vietnam by Nguyen Dinh Hoa, University of Saigon”, 1960, File 2322004002, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 6

¹⁸³ Nguyễn Tuấn Cường, “Giáo dục Hán học”, 135.

¹⁸⁴ “Bốn mươi năm (1957–1997)”, *Dòng Việt*, 4-5.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

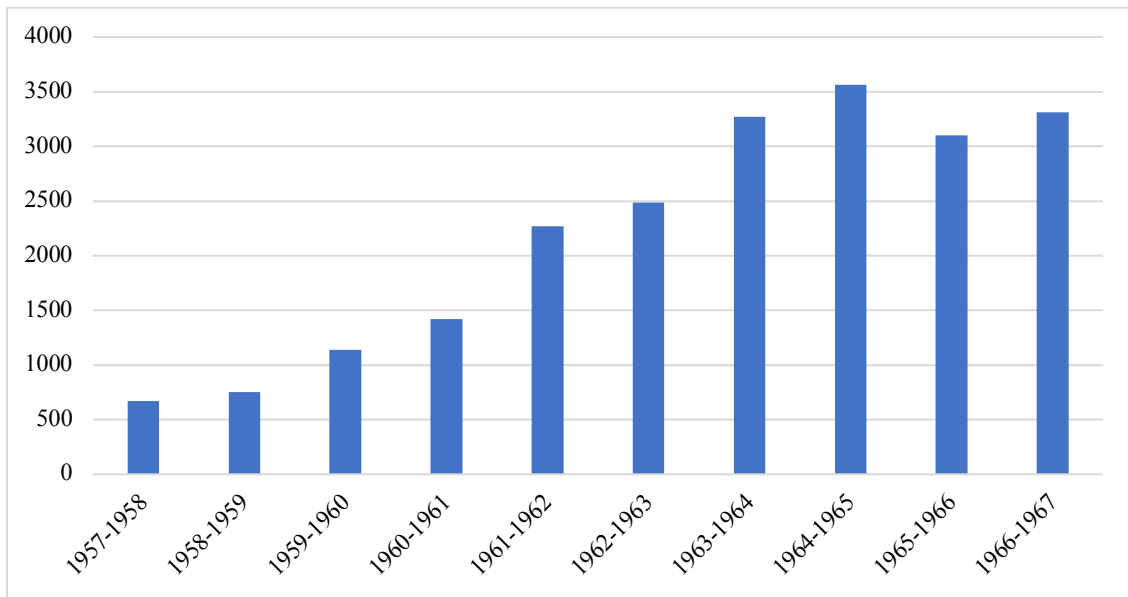
in its initial stages. The university was a pioneer in using Vietnamese as an instructing medium instead of using French or English. In 1957, New Algebra was the first time, taught in Bachelor programs of Mathematics. In the process of applying new pedagogical methodologies, this university was chosen to examine the project of pilot comprehensive schools.¹⁸⁶

In the very early stages of establishment, the University of Huế faced numerous objections of professors of the University of Saigon. They assumed that there were not sufficient conditions to establish a university in Huế and the existence of the University of Saigon was ample to conduct higher education trainings in South Vietnam. Paraphrasing the above opinions gave us evidence to reveal the fact that the professors of the University of Saigon were unwilling to have a competitor in the area of higher education where they were exclusive until 1957. Their discomposure was understandable, proved by the growing number of students attending the University of Huế year by year. Starting with a modest number of 670 enrollments in the years 1957–1958, the number of students gradually increased in the next terms and multiplied circa five times in the 1966–1967 school year to 3314 students¹⁸⁷ (see the graph below). In comparison to the number of the University of Saigon, it was minute, however, to some extent, that number was proof for the appeal of the University of Huế.

¹⁸⁶ “Vài điểm tiên phong”, *Dòng Việt*, 49.

¹⁸⁷ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Decade of Expansion for Higher Education in Vietnam”, April 1971, File 2322018001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 41.

Graph 3.4 Student Enrollments at the University of Huế in the Years 1957–1967



Source: The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Decade of Expansion for Higher Education in Vietnam”, April 1971, File 2322018001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 41.

A striking training field of the University of Huế was Medical Education with the operation of the Faculty of Medicine. By enormous assistances from professors of the University of Freiburg and other support of resources, such as laboratory equipments, the School of Medicine overcame difficulties of a newly-created institution to achieve successes. In the early stages, the Faculty of Medicine considered profoundly the importance of training Vietnamese professors, preparing these professors to take charge of teaching tasks in this university. By recruiting Vietnamese doctors to work as assistant professors or instructors and dispatching them to short-course trainings in the United States, Germany, and France, the Faculty of Medicine rapidly acquired skilled forces of teaching staff. Therefore, this university was able to handle its tasks when the assistance of German professors terminated abruptly. During the training process, terminologies of Medical Education field were steadily supplemented in the Vietnamese dictionary, facilitating conditions to use Vietnamese in Medical trainings and diagnostics. In a book, named *Saigon Medical School, an Experiment in International Medical Education*, C.H William, M.D. Norman, W. Hoover, and Ira Singer of the School of Medicine in Saigon appraised the School of Medicine in Huế, giving many compliments. “... *The University*

*of Hue had a vigorous school of medicine with a majority of young faculty providing excellent instruction to approximately 60 students in each class. In many ways, the school at Hue seemed likely to surpass the school at Saigon in moving forward with modern techniques of medical education.*¹⁸⁸

The University of Cần Thơ

In the category of public universities in South Vietnam, the University of Cần Thơ was the youngest institution, which was established according to the Decree 62-SL/GD, signed on March 3, 1966 by Mr. Nguyễn Cao Kỳ, Chairman of the Central Executive Committee.¹⁸⁹ The Decree 62-SL/GD stipulated training fields which were opened in the University of Cần Thơ in the 1966–1967 school year, including preparation programs in the Faculty of Letters, the Faculty of Science, and the first year programs in the Faculty of Law. However, the amendments were passed following the Decree 148-SL/GD, which extended the scope of trainings in the University of Cần Thơ by adding programs of Social Sciences, Pedagogy, and Agriculture Faculties.¹⁹⁰ Despite adverse conditions in the early periods, the University of Cần Thơ tried its best to fulfill tasks of a strategic university in the Mekong Delta area, particularly in the field of Agricultural Education.

The first opening ceremony of the University of Cần Thơ took place on September 30, 1966 and the first classes were organized shortly after, attracting an attendance of students from 16 provinces in the Mekong Delta.¹⁹¹ In the 1966–1967 school year, 975 candidates registered¹⁹², distributed in five faculties, the Faculty of Letters, the Faculty of Science, the Faculty of Pedagogy, the Faculty of Law and the Faculty of Social Sciences. Except for the Faculty of Pedagogy with requirements of entrance examinations, the other faculties required the Baccalaureate Certificate as the prerequisite to get the admission of the University.

¹⁸⁸ Từ Nguyên Nguyễn Văn Thuận, “Trường Đại học Y khoa Huế”, *Dòng Việt*, 91.

¹⁸⁹ “Hồ sơ v/v thiết lập và hoạt động của Viện Đại học Cần Thơ năm 1966–1972”, Hồ sơ số 30935, Phòng Phủ Thủ tướng Việt Nam Cộng hoà, the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, 1.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁹¹ Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 56.

¹⁹² Viện Đại học Cần Thơ, “Tài liệu thống kê, phúc trình, tờ trình về tình hình nhân viên và sinh viên Viện Đại học Cần Thơ”, Internal Archive, the University of Cần Thơ.

A staff of 92, comprised 29 lecturers and 63 administrative personnel¹⁹³ in the first opening year - an inadequate number to implement its tasks, nonetheless, the University of Cần Thơ obtained remarkable accomplishments. An example, which addressed the initial achievement of the University of Cần Thơ was its success in experimenting with IR8- an improved rice in Vietnam¹⁹⁴. In 1966, due to being established as a regional strategic university in the Mekong Delta, the University of Cần Thơ was assigned to conduct compatibility tests of a new rice variety in Vietnam, called IR8. At that time, the Faculty (College) of Agriculture at the University of Cần Thơ lacked sufficient infrastructures for training, researching, and teaching. To implement above tasks, the studying group used the facilities of High school of Agriculture, Forestry, and Husbandry. The seeds of the IR8 rice were delivered to agricultural engineers in the University of Cần Thơ from the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) and were planted on 1ha field. When harvest this, this field yielded a productivity of 5 tons/1ha, far exceeding the previous productivity of traditional rice (peaked at 3 tons/1 ha).¹⁹⁵ This sheds light on the potential of agricultural economy of South Vietnam in a long term national building program.

By the mid-1960s, the three RVN public universities impressed people by its own achievements. Regardless how young they were, they all showed their confidence to implement tasks of higher learning institutions in respond to requirements of South Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s.

3.2.3 Educational Surveys and Contracts

Educational Surveys

¹⁹³ “Tập bản tin Việt Tấn xã về hoạt động của Viện Đại học Cần Thơ, Trung tâm Giáo dục Y khoa Sài Gòn năm 1966”, Hồ sơ số 3281, Phòng Phủ Thủ tướng Việt Nam Cộng hoà, the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, 22.

¹⁹⁴ Improved rice is a terminology used to indicate varieties that have been traditional bred and then selected for stable breeding. This term is used to distinguish hybrid rice from hybrid rice F1, therefore, the improved rice is also called pure line.

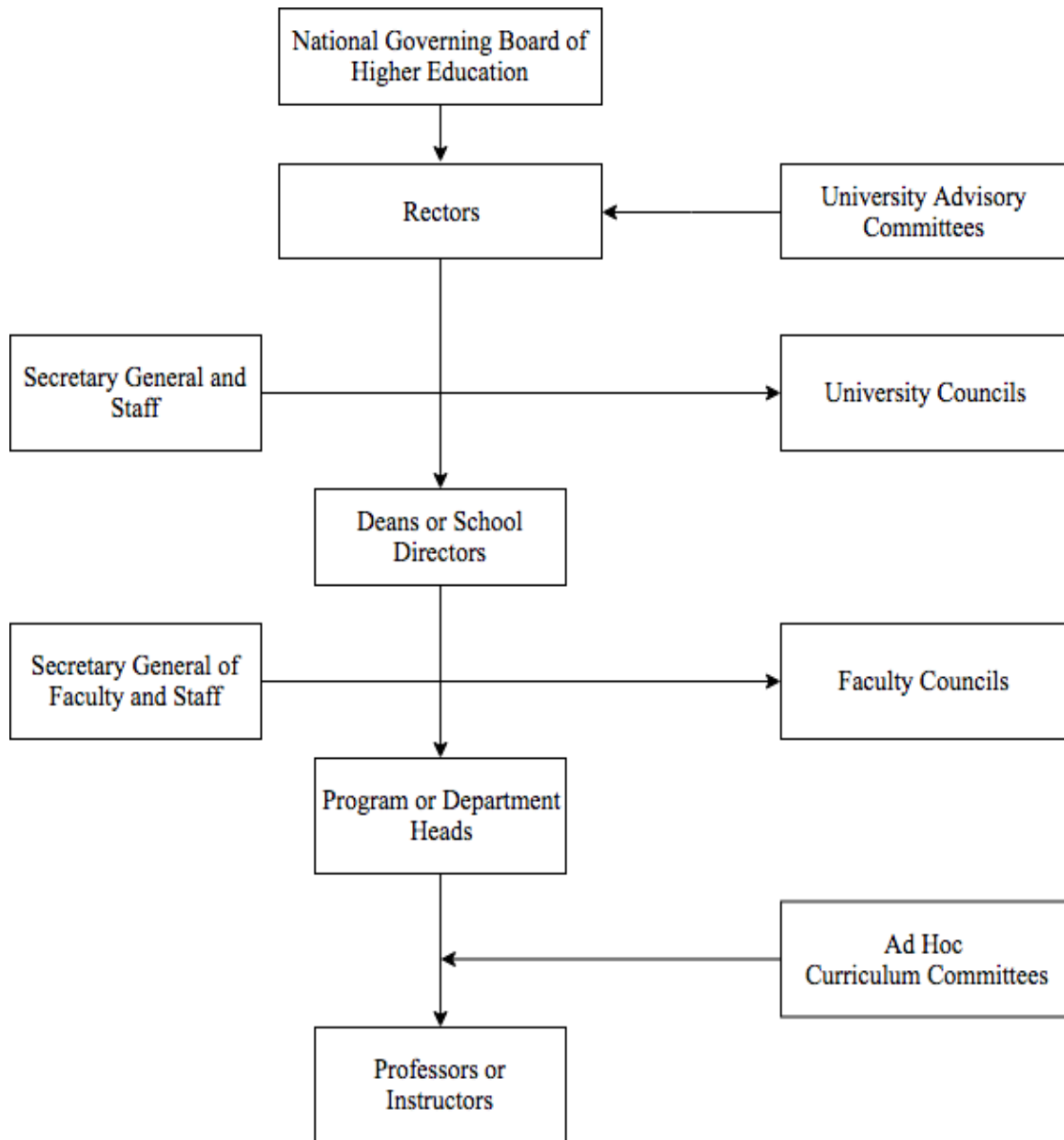
¹⁹⁵ “Bước ngoặt lịch sử lúa gạo thế giới, lúa Thần Nông nhiệm màu - IR8”, available at <http://www.daihocsuphamkythuat-thuduc.org/forums/showthread.php?tid=2284>, accessed on April 21, 2018.

In 1967, a comprehensive educational survey on public universities was carried out by a team from the Wisconsin State University Stevens Point with the assistance of some experts coming from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Washington State University, Harvard University, University of Illinois, and Colorado State University. Based on multidimensional approaches, including the reviews of the higher education's literatures in Vietnam, the observation tours in several universities, the analyses of demographic data, extended dialogues with Vietnamese colleagues, officials and students, interviews with the American and other foreign officials and advisors, results of questionnaire surveys, the Wisconsin State University team investigated specific problems of RVN higher education and offered solutions.

The first problem, which was to be figured out, was relations of higher education to government. As mentioned in the report, the development of higher education in each country was the condition to assure the permanence and stability in the practice of governing powers. Up until 1967, in South Vietnam had no active units of the national government, which were responsible for “*continually setting goals for higher education and [...] for readily interpreting the people's needs into higher education programs*”¹⁹⁶. In other words, the Republic of Vietnam government did not give enough attention to develop higher education. Subsequently, higher education in South Vietnam was unable to implement its tasks. The big gap between the needs of the country and the productions of higher education was perceived. To solve that issue, the American experts suggested to reform the system, which helped to accumulate productive activities of higher education (see the diagram below).

¹⁹⁶ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Public Universities of the Republic of Vietnam”, April 1967, File 0720510011, Part A, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

**Graph 3.5 Recommended Organization Structure
for Higher Education in Vietnam**



Source: The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Public Universities of the Republic of Vietnam”, April 1967, File 0720510011, Part A-B, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

Newly-emerged accounts appeared in the recommended system, such as the Governing Board and Advisory Committees, advancing conditions to develop higher education. The needs of country were considered thoroughly, the facilities for higher education were provided efficiently, and the relationships among government, schools, and society were

tightened up. Furthermore, strengthening the roles of Rectors and Deans permitted more space in practicing rights and prerogatives of education which indicated, to some extent, the independence of education from politics and governmental supervision.

Finding that only 5% of the total enrollments graduated in almost all faculties in RVN universities¹⁹⁷, the survey team stated this was a waste of manpower. They also figured out reasons for that waste, which were rooted mainly in educational policies and programs. Seeing urgent needs and basing on the potential strengths of South Vietnam, American experts recommended a re-orientation of the programs of South Vietnam's universities, especially in three fields, Agriculture, Engineering, and Administration. In terms of a general solution for all faculties and universities, the preference should have been given to the matter of centralization of student registration in a common academic program.

All students should be admitted to a balanced program of studies, including some electives at the beginning of their university careers. One possible way to accomplish this is to combine the present Faculties of Letters, Science and some of the functions of the Faculty of Law into a common program combining humanities, social sciences, foreign languages, mathematics, and natural sciences. Professional faculties should then establish criteria in terms of numbers of years to be required as preparation for specific programs to take place in their faculties. The individual programs of students in the preparatory years should be planned in view of their ultimate career aspirations, in short, to make them eligible for admission to the professional faculty of their choice.¹⁹⁸

Ostensibly, the American educational model was transferred to South Vietnam by the American educators and officials. With the flexibility of the program, American experts assumed that students would have more time to decide which fields they were eager to pursue according to their strengths. The meet of aspiration and ability promised a reasonable number of graduates and reduced the waste of manpower, consequently. Paralleling given solutions, the survey team also suggested ways to apply those solutions effectively. Once again, collaborations of engaged parties were emphasized. Conducting the re-orientation of programs was not only the duty of universities and the Governing

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 14.

¹⁹⁸ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Public Universities of the Republic of Vietnam", April 1967, File 0720510011, Part A, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

Boards of RVN universities, but also mass media, such as newspapers, periodicals, radio, and television, was responsible for sharing burdens.

The teaching-learning process in higher education was another educational problem, which was recognized in the 1967 survey. Due to the severe circumstances of the protracted war, resources for teaching and research were deficient. Additionally, teaching methods, which remained unchanged in Vietnamese schools and universities for decades, led to students' excitement deteriorated in every lesson. Accomplishments of students were recognized only by results of examinations, once again, reducing the motivations of study. To remedy that matter, academic freedom was recommended as a solution to change significantly the teaching-learning process in RVN universities. Numerous suggestions for particular matters were given, for instance, granting more space for teachers to decide what they intend to present in their lectures; paying more attention to the life of professors and accepting privileges for lecturers in civil services; having critical actions to change the teaching - learning process; innovations and self-criticism in teaching methods needed to be encouraged by institutions; establishing for each university a curriculum committee which was responsible for the effectiveness of teaching methods in specific topics and themes; teaching activities should not be framed only in the scope of school buildings, rather field experiences gaining from practicums and field trips ought to be considered adequate, and the program of faculties and universities needed to be transferable and flexible to create the best opportunities for students finding their best competence.¹⁹⁹

The survey team also identified the shortages of physical facilities for teaching and learning in all of higher education institutes and universities in South Vietnam. An inadequate annual budget for education and the sabotage causing by the war led to the insufficiency of training conditions. Material resources of RVN universities, which were donated by foreign organizations, could not meet the requirements of a standard university. Moreover, existing books and materials in libraries, which were published in English, French, Chinese, and other foreign languages, limited the number of users

¹⁹⁹ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Public Universities of the Republic of Vietnam", April 1967, File 0720510011, Part A, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU

because not all university students were fluent in foreign languages. Besides the lack of material resources, infrastructures, for instance, buildings for classes, libraries, and laboratories, were in meager status. Once again, the modest amount, which was invested in higher education, was unable to meet practical demands. Delayed construction sites and uncompleted buildings were prevalent in the RVN universities. Additionally, the maintenance stage was neglected, leading to the quality of constructions deteriorated rapidly. To deal with those problems, the most effective solution was to increase the allocation for higher education from two capital resources. The first was to at least double Vietnam's public higher education budget and the second was to conduct the campaigns to generate assistances from the Americans and other governments and foundations, particularly assistances to prioritized aspects, for example, teacher's salaries, publications, and applied research (engineering, agriculture, and administration).²⁰⁰

Educational Contracts

It could be said that the year 1968 was an amended and extended year of many educational contracts between the Republic of Vietnam and the U.S. government which covered the various respects of higher education development in South Vietnam. After 12 years (1955–1967) of conducting the nation building projects, the administration of Republic of Vietnam and their mentors, the U.S. experts, acknowledged more the importance and the necessity of advancing higher education. They emphasized “*the recognition of higher education as the keystone to high level manpower development for Nation's political, social, and economic future*”²⁰¹.

In January 1968, a new higher education project, No. 730-11-660-367, was signed and conducted by USAID, which was anticipated to last for a 10-year term (1968–1978).²⁰² With the target of assisting an effective and a relevant higher education program rooted in the Vietnamese society to meet urgent and long-range needs of South Vietnam, a

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Report – USAID/Vietnam Office of Education Briefing Material”, 1969, File 12190115003, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

²⁰² Ibid.

The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Pamphlet, U.S. Agency for International Development, Saigon – Education Projects in the Republic of Vietnam”, January 1, 1968, File 12190102002, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

significant amount of money was allocated to this project annually. In the fiscal year 1969, US\$ 1,549,000 was invested for this project.²⁰³ The operating sphere of the project focused on various segments, comprised teacher education, engineering education, the formation of a university governing board, the credit-based system, the revision of curriculum, and the use of the libraries. To gain more empirical experience to operate this project, the Rectors of five universities in Vietnam (the University of Saigon, the University of Huế, the Đà Lạt University, the Vạn Hạnh University, and the University of Cần Thơ) attended a six-week observation tour in the United States to study the way in which the American universities were organized and administered. Thereafter, arrangements of sending secretary generals of five universities and twenty-two selected deans to three or four-month study tours in the United States were undertaken. In very initial steps, the project produced the promising results.

Aside from the above general projects for developing higher education in Vietnam, in the specific fields which were considered as core elements in the nation building projects, such as Agricultural Education and Leadership Training or auxiliary sections to stimulate higher education, for instance, Instructional Materials, Library Development, and Teaching of English, contracts were also extended and amended to meet urgent needs.

Agricultural Education as the important role it played in national economy of the Republic of Vietnam attracted a significant attention as did the budget of administrators and educators. In consequence, this field achieved considerable accomplishments in a variety of aspects. A number of examples could be listed: A one-year teaching course, which not only assured the output of training: skilled farmers, but it also likely promised to train teachers for first cycle vocational agricultural schools and upper elementary agricultural courses in community schools, was commenced. Agricultural Education was financed mainly by the budget of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Revolutionary Development. Several well-educated participants, who returned from the United States, assumed positions of leadership: Director of the Cần Thơ school, Director at Bảo Lộc, Director of Teacher Training and Assistant Director of Agricultural

²⁰³ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Report - USAID/Vietnam Office of Education Briefing Material", 1969, File 12190115003, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

Education.²⁰⁴ Nine teachers and officials sojourned two months in the United States during 1967, observing agricultural education activities; twelve students departed for long term or degree training in the United States. The number of schools increased from three in 1966 to five in 1967, and accordingly, enrollments rose from 1200 to 2400 in the same period.²⁰⁵ These achievements and the signing of the contract No. 730-11-620-323 in 1968 furthered the development of Agricultural Education in the 1960s and 1970s.

The Leadership Training project was issued according to the request of Prime Minister of Vietnam to USAID through the Directorate General of Plan. After negotiations between USAID and the government of Republic of Vietnam, on November 15, 1966, the first round to choose candidates for this project was started. Approximately 180 candidates were selected among nearly 1000 applicants. In February 1967, 127 Leadership Scholarship Participants were dispatched to the United States.²⁰⁶ These participants took a six-month orientation and an intensive English course under the USAID contract with the California State College System before entering courseworks in colleges. With the new contract No. 730-11-690-325, signed in 1968, more candidates were scheduled to send to the United States to fulfill the following objectives of the project,

1. To provide a pool of technically trained manpower which will be instrumental in Vietnam's development.
2. To provide a broader knowledge, above specific skills, which will result in the development of leaders for Vietnam.
3. To promote increased understanding between the two friendly countries.²⁰⁷

The operation of this project was significant for higher education in South Vietnam, especially for whom were eager to transplant the American educational model into the South Vietnam's education system. In addition, this project trained prospective leaders for South Vietnam. In other words, it created advantages to tighten relations between two countries based on understanding each other.

²⁰⁴ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Pamphlet, U.S. Agency for International Development, Saigon - Education Projects in the Republic of Vietnam", January 1, 1968, File 12190102002, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 32.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 33.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 39.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 38.

A very new aspect, which had not been included in any contract in pre-1967, was the assistance for Research and Planning. USAID signed the contract No. 730-11-690-368 “in order to develop within the Ministry of Education the capability to gather, process, tabulate, and sound management information in the making of decision relative to the development of the education system and program in Vietnam”²⁰⁸. This contract was considered a vital program for South Vietnam, especially in the field of education, to empower itself, to surmount its weakness, and to close gaps without external assistances.

3.2.4 Personal Relationships of Leaders

Officially, relations of countries are determined by diplomatic treaties and legitimate charters. On the contrary, an intangible element, which is unable to be estimated, however can have an extraordinary impact on establishment as well as sustaining relations of countries, is the personal relationships of countries’ leaders. This phenomenon epitomizes in relations of the U.S. government to the Republic of Vietnam from the mid-1950s to the early 1970s.

The time when the U.S. government started its engagement in Vietnam was much earlier than the prevailing belief, the year 1965. It is reasonable to assume that the mid-1950s was the initial period, which marked deeper involvements of the U.S. government in South Vietnam as a protagonist instead of playing a supporting role for France as situations in the late 1940s and the early 1950s.²⁰⁹ Going back to the time when the United States committed their assistance to establish a new government in 1955 - the First Republic of Vietnam, the birth of this administration was based on several elements. Among compound factors, which encouraged the Americans to intervene intensely in South Vietnam affairs, personal relationships between Ngô Đình Diệm and American crucial figures, for instance Wesley R. Fishel, and later Francis Cardinal Spellman, Mike Mansfield, William O. Douglas, Edward Lansdale, especially with the U.S. Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy, contributed tremendously to promote and tighten relations of two governments.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 50.

²⁰⁹ Lawrence, Mark, *Assuming the Burden*, 3.

Due to massive support from the Americans, Ngô Đình Diệm was gradually recognized as an essential figure on the political stage in South Vietnam in the early 1950s. Regardless if the U.S. assistance rooted in their sympathy with Vietnamese nationalists or rooted in a political intention to replace the French position in South Vietnam, nonetheless, this benefited Ngô Đình Diệm and his government explicitly. The credibility, which had been built on close-knit relationships with American officials, paved the way for President Ngô Đình Diệm to maintain his power and mobilize more supports from the U.S. government. This narrative is not an unusual interpretation for those who have a deep concern on studying the Republic of Vietnam in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. Therefore, in this research, the focus will be drawn more to the effects of two governmental leaders' relationships on advancing education rather than discussing on their political lives.

In order to construct a dynamic political institution in South Vietnam, the U.S. government not only enhanced political, economic, and military competence of the Republic of Vietnam, but also drew a considerable attention to the areas of educational and cultural development. The U.S. intention met the aspiration of Ngô Đình Diệm in developing education of South Vietnam, helping to create a fundamental stage for next productive activities of both countries in terms of educational cooperation in the second half of the 1950s. It could be said that the personal relationships among officials and leaders were a groundbreaking stage to build the educational collaboration of two countries. Discussing this phenomenon, Robert Scigliano and Guy H Fox did agree, shown by a specific example, the cooperation of Michigan State University and South Vietnam educational institutions.

Michigan State University's role in Vietnam was envisaged on a grand scale in part because Ngo Dinh Diem, having confidence in Fishel, had confidence in the University... The University's initial ambitions, its important role in Vietnamese public and police administration, and its intimate association with Ngo Dinh Diem were to be sources of friction in its relations with USOM and other American agencies.²¹⁰

After assuming office as the President of the First Republic in South Vietnam, President Ngô Đình Diệm advanced his reputation by conducting trips and meetings in the United

²¹⁰ Scigliano, Robert and Guy H. Fox, *Technical Assistance in Vietnam*, 4.

States. Based on the personal relationships with several American friends, who held pivotal positions in the U.S. government, President Ngô Đình Diệm was, to some extent, convenient to ask the Americans for assistance to develop education in South Vietnam. He experienced warm greetings in every place he visited in the 1957 itinerary, especially in Michigan State University, laid the premises for further engagements of Michigan State University in South Vietnam.

The personal relationships of leaders could offer advantages for higher education development in Vietnam or could make obstructions for education cooperation progress. As seen above, up until the early 1960s, the relationships of President Ngô Đình Diệm with President Dwight D. Eisenhower, and later his successor, President John F. Kennedy, as well as with American officials, were maintained well because the two sides benefited. Subsequently, the U.S. government was willing to nourish the Republic of Vietnam in several aspects, including educational projects. During the term of President Eisenhower, the Republic of Vietnam was assured by some official commitments. In the letter to President Diệm on October 15, 1954, President Eisenhower affirmed: “*We have been exploring ways and means to permit our aid to Vietnam to be more effective and to make a greater contribution to the welfare and stability of the Government of Vietnam*”²¹¹. This assurance was repeated in another letter of President Eisenhower on the fifth anniversary of the birth of the First Republic of Vietnam occasion: “*I want to assure you that for so long as our strength can be useful, the United States will continue to assist Vietnam in the difficult yet hopeful struggle ahead*”²¹². Inheriting U.S foreign policies towards the Republic of Vietnam from its predecessor administration, President Kennedy continued confirming strong support of the U.S government for the administration of the Republic of Vietnam. He stated in his letter to President Diệm in 1961: “*We shall promptly increase our assistance to your defense effort as well as help relieve the destruction of floods which you describe*”²¹³.

²¹¹ “Aid to the State of Viet-Nam”, 735-736.

²¹² “Message to President Diem on the Fifth Anniversary of the Independence of Viet-Nam”, available at <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=11993>, accessed on November 11, 2017.

²¹³ Department of State Bulletin, January 1, 1962, 13-14. Available at <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1961-63v01/d322>.

By 1961, relations of two governments in general, and personal relationships between two presidents in specific, were more or less close. Since 1962, the consensus of two leaders declined steadily due to the contradiction of their perspectives in governing South Vietnam. The U.S. government claimed that Ngô Đình Diệm was aiming to run a dictatorial administration instead of a democratic government which American supporters expected. As a result, the Americans stated their priority, seeking a new political figure who was able to replace the being-disgraced president, Ngô Đình Diệm. Accompanying that, assisting commitments of two states were loosened, the development of higher education suffered unavoidably severe effects. Many American experts and educators terminated contracts in South Vietnam and departed home.

Similar to the term of the First Republic of Vietnam, higher education in South Vietnam from 1967 to 1975 experienced ups and downs and was also affected significantly by relationships of leaders between two governments, the Second Republic of Vietnam and the United States.

In the Johnson administration, President Johnson remained skeptical to any South Vietnamese leader, detaining cooperating opportunities between two governments. The situation shifted dramatically when President Nixon took office. The U.S. President himself became a staunch ally of the newly-created government, being an assurance to maintain the Nguyễn Văn Thiệu regime from any dissenters.

Nguyễn Văn Thiệu reached the highest position in the South Vietnam's political system and so became the most important political figure in a brief time. Tracing back to the South Vietnam turbulence in 1963–1966, which was truly a tragedy for South Vietnamese people, but in the second glance, that was an opportunity for some young military officials such as Nguyễn Cao Kỳ and Nguyễn Văn Thiệu. After the Ngô Đình Diệm's assassination in 1963, the search for prominent leaders for South Vietnam seemed to be a challenge. Many candidates were nominated, namely Nguyễn Khánh, Trần Văn Hương, Dương Văn Minh, and Phan Khắc Sửu, but none of them were able to re-establish the stability of South Vietnam as well as to rule a long-standing regime. In that situation, Nguyễn Văn

Thiệu and Nguyễn Cao Kỳ had attracted attention of the Americans and became promising nominees for the South Vietnamese politics.

It is necessary to keep in mind that Nguyễn Cao Kỳ was the first candidate for the highest position of the South Vietnam political institution. Until 1966, even up until the run-off election in 1967, Nguyễn Cao Kỳ received overwhelming assistance and support from the Americans.²¹⁴ However, the “hooligan” and risky character either fostered him on the path of fame or detained him to rank the first on the political competition in South Vietnam. Therefore, at the last minute, Nguyễn Văn Thiệu became a better choice to be the RVN president. For the White House, especially in the Nixon administration, massive supports for Thiệu’s ruling were explicit. Moreover, it is not a challenge to find American praises for President Nguyễn Văn Thiệu and his ability. After the reaction of President Thiệu to the Tết Offensive (1968), for instance, Ellsworth Bunker, the American Ambassador in South Vietnam sent a telegram to the U.S Department of State and stated that: *“President Thieu is continuing to take an increasingly active and decisive role in the government, providing more effective and more visible leadership than any time in the past. [...] he has shown increasingly a desire to take hold of the reins and I think he is doing better in both American and Vietnamese eyes.”*²¹⁵

Having massive support from the Americans, particularly prominent figures, such as President Nixon, Ambassador Bunker, and the United States Secretary of State Kissinger, it cannot be doubted that President Nguyễn Văn Thiệu was guaranteed assistance from the United States during his regime. Similar to the power of Governor Generals in the French colonial periods, the American Ambassadors had the most influence to control the political stage of South Vietnam. This statement was even more applicable to Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker in Vietnam. Enjoying unprecedented priorities, Ambassador Bunker had a direct channel to contact Mr. President without any intermediaries. This allowed the Ambassador and the leaders of the Republic of Vietnam

²¹⁴ See McCoy, Alfred W., *The Politics of Heroin*.

Trần Trọng Trung, *Nhà trắng với cuộc chiến*.

Lovell, Joshua K., *See It Through*.

²¹⁵ Document 124, *Telegram from the Embassy in Vietnam to the Department of State, Saigon, March 14, 1968*, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964–1968, Volume VI, Vietnam, January-August 1968, Department of State, Washington.

to discuss South Vietnam's affairs and to solve them more effectively. Fortunately, Ellsworth Bunker had a good impression with the Second Republic of Vietnam since the first days of his arrival. In the first year serving in Vietnam as the American Ambassador, Bunker expressed an optimistic viewpoint of progress of South Vietnam under the regime of the Second Republic.

I discussed the situation with Vietnamese at management level and was impressed with their capability and willingness to accept advice. I am already convinced that the key to most of our problems here is motivation toward better performance on the Vietnamese side and the generation of real GVN desire to solve problems.²¹⁶

During the term of the Second Republic of Vietnam, the relationships of Nguyễn Văn Thiệu and crucial political figures of the U.S. administrations could not avoid the deteriorating years, such as during the negotiating periods of the Paris talks in the 1960s and 1970s. However, as the nickname "the Great Tacker", he maintained relationships with his allies and kept their aids until the last days of the Second Republic of Vietnam.

3.3 Higher Education in South Vietnam (1967-1975)

3.3.1 Requirements for a New Model of Higher Education in South Vietnam

As mentioned, until the 1950s and 1960s, the French educational model continued to influence heavily in the educational system in South Vietnam. Nonetheless, Vietnamese leaders and educators realized that the French model was unable to respond to the new requirements of South Vietnam. Especially, in view that, this model had already shown its backwardness. A Vietnamese educator once said that in Vietnam "*we have the French system of education, but it is not the French system of today, rather it is the French system of 1890*"²¹⁷. Desiring to alter the outdated and inappropriate educational model by a more practical one, the leaders of the First Republic of Vietnam accepted the offer of the U.S. government's assistance in the area of education.

During two decades, the 1950s and 1960s, the Americans had gradually transferred their educational model into South Vietnam to replace the French model. In the late second half of the 1960s, South Vietnam was shaken in all aspects, ranging from the military, to

²¹⁶ Pike, Douglas (Ed.), *The Bunker Papers*, 6.

²¹⁷ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Decade of Expansion for Higher Education in Vietnam", April 1971, File 2322018001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

the economy, and to society in general as a result of the shift of the U.S foreign policies towards the Republic of Vietnam. Under those circumstances, the Republic of Vietnam had no choice but to reinforce its internal prowess to prepare for a foreseeable future of independent development without enormous assistances from the Americans. This explained why the postwar plans for South Vietnam were designed by both Vietnamese and American experts in the second half of the 1960s. In those plans, education played a central role and was a key solution to cope with issues of developing South Vietnam in the transition from the wartime to the postwar period. To adapt to new requirements, education, especially higher education, which was directly responsible for the quality of human resources, was asked to innovate. In an interview with Carl Howard from *Horizons Magazine*, Minister Nguyễn Lữ Viên emphasized “*South Vietnam is modernizing its entire education system. The main goal of the ‘new education’ in Vietnam will be practicality and relevancy – relevancy to the country’s postwar needs and to Vietnam’s relationship with its neighbors in Asia.*”²¹⁸

As Rector Lê Thanh Minh Châu (the University of Huế) affirmed, *the ultimate goal of higher education is to meet the changing needs of the country.*²¹⁹ The role of higher education became more important in the context of the first half of the twentieth century, when Vietnam had to stand firm in confronting the forcible influences from external powers. In the competition between French and American educators to preserve and prolong their influence in the areas of culture and education, Vietnamese educators took an opportunity to perform their role as the host, deciding which elements and educational models would be appropriate for the South Vietnamese aspirations. The enhanced competence of Vietnamese educators in the 1960s and 1970s, in addition, facilitated the alteration in the RVN higher education system.

Despite the existence of the five full-fledged universities of South Vietnam, which were established from 1955 to 1966, namely the University of Saigon (1955), the University of Huế (1957), the Đà Lạt University (1961), the Vạn Hạnh University (1964), and the

²¹⁸ Nguyễn Thanh Liêm (Ed.), *Giáo dục ở miền Nam*, 177.

²¹⁹ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Decade of Expansion for Higher Education in Vietnam”, April 1971, File 2322018001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

University of Cần Thơ (1966), higher education in South Vietnam did not meet the practical requirements of South Vietnamese society yet. As the 1967 educational report from the survey team of the Wisconsin State University-Stevens Point addressed, the higher education of the Republic of Vietnam was facing with four crucial problems in the mid-1960s: the relations of higher education to government, educational programs, the learning process in higher education, and the scarcity of material resources for higher education.²²⁰ Recognizing the ineffectiveness of higher education, the Second Republic of Vietnam turned to pay more attention on this field in its ruling term.²²¹

Another factor which contributed to attract the interest of RVN officials in developing higher education and paved the way to allocate more resources to this aspect was the effects of youth movements. Experiencing the influx of student movements in Huế, Sài Gòn, Đà Nẵng in the 1960s, especially the unforgettable accident which overthrew the Ngô Đình Diệm regime in November 1963, the Second Republic of Vietnam was able to foresee the disadvantages and profound influences of youth movements. To manage these forces, advice of the U.S. educators and lessons from worldwide student movements suggested the leaders of the Republic of Vietnam government to send them (youths) to large communities of fellow youths on campuses. The experts supposed that, as the phenomena of many developing countries on the way of modernizing, the Vietnamese youths were restless and revolted because they passionately searched for a self-identity.²²² In this situation, education, particularly higher education was an effective instrument to cope with potential rebellion of youths.

Finally, in the mid-1960s, expectations for peace was rising high, many initiatives for peace and proposals for negotiations were given by both sides which were involved in the Vietnam War. In the meetings of the United States and the Republic of Vietnam, the

²²⁰ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Public Universities of the Republic of Vietnam”, April 1967, File 0720510011, Part A-B, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

²²¹ Phạm Cao Dương, “Nền giáo dục của miền Nam thời trước 1975”, available at <https://nhatbaovanhoa.com/a3673/gs-pham-cao-duong-nen-giao-duc-cua-mien-nam-vn-thoi-truoc-1975>, posted on March 3, 2016.

²²² The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Decade of Expansion for Higher Education in Vietnam”, April 1971, File 2322018001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

matter of developing South Vietnam in a postwar period started to debate widely.²²³ Being utilized as an instrument to propagate the goodwill of the French and the Americans during their presence in Vietnam, once again, the cooperation of two governments, the Second Republic of Vietnam and the United States in reforming South Vietnamese higher education was no doubt, would be a good evidence to show the American desire to end the protracted war and to assure the American support for independent developments of the Republic of Vietnam.

3.3.2 Reform Proposals of RVN Higher Education

Belonging to the scope of forming a new favorable policy for education development, which was monitored by the Ministry of Education, (later called the Ministry of Culture, Education and Youth²²⁴), many initiatives to empower higher education in South Vietnam were proposed. Among those, three outstanding projects were the educational innovation program of the Ministry of Culture and Education, the project of higher education development by Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trung, and the project of reforming higher education by the Wisconsin delegation.²²⁵

Innovative projects of the Ministry of Culture and Education were presented and discussed in several meetings, especially the idea of reforming of the RVN education system was debated at the 32nd International Education Conference, held in Geneva in

²²³ See Taylor, Keith.W., *Voices from the Second Republic* and The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Pamphlet, U.S. Agency for International Development, Saigon – Education Projects in the Republic of Vietnam”, January 1, 1968, File 12190102002, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

²²⁴ According to the Decree 143-SL/GD, October 1969 and the Decree 144-SL/GD, October 6, 1972, the Ministry of Education was placed under the direction of the Ministry of Education with a Deputy Minister who was responsible for the affairs of Universities and Technological Education, and two Special Assistants ranked as Deputy Minister, one was in charge of Secondary, Elementary, and Mass Education, and the other in charge of Study for Educational Development.

Furthermore, as indicated by Decree 490-TT/SL of May 26, 1973, the Ministry of State for Culture was abolished and annexed to the Ministry of Education which was thus renamed *Ministry of Culture, Education, and Youth*.

“Bảng kê tình hình chi ngân sách quốc gia năm 1973–1974”, Hồ sơ số 4442, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID) (1955–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, 526.

²²⁵ Nguyễn Ngọc Huân, *Cải tổ Đại học*.

1970.²²⁶ The RVN delegation heading by Deputy Prime Minister and also the Minister of Culture and Education, Dr. Nguyễn Lưu Viên, attended the conference and discussed the vision of education development in South Vietnam. As the name of the project indicated, this project targeted on a range of educational aspects of South Vietnam concerning different training types. In those, a critical segment of the RVN education system, the development of higher education was given a substantial focus. Responding to the requirements as well as specific issues of RVN higher education, the project of the Ministry of Culture and Education suggested a model of community colleges to apply in South Vietnam.²²⁷

Differing from the project of the Ministry of Culture and Education, Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trung offered a proposal to develop entire higher education. He claimed that reforming higher education in South Vietnam was a dispensable task and the reform should be based on principles, such as, considering higher education development in a whole plan of nation building and fulfilling higher education tasks comprehensively. He stated three roles and responsibilities of RVN higher education. The core roles of higher education represented three aspects, training teaching staff for Secondary and University level; educating experts and skilled manpower for several fields in order to stimulate South Vietnam economy; and spreading as well as preserving national cultural values together with conducting the duty of scientific research. The responsibilities of higher education were to undertake a mass, selective minority and long-life higher education.²²⁸

Based on those principles, Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trung proposed an image of a new higher education system in South Vietnam. He stated that RVN higher education should not be an elite education, only serving a minute group of people, higher education must open study opportunities to all people in a distinct social hierarchy. In addition, the project of Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trung paid special attention to a particular group, who suffered mental

²²⁶ “Hồ sơ trình của Hội đồng Văn hoá Giáo dục v/v các phái đoàn Việt Nam đi tham dự hội thảo, hội nghị Quốc tế về Giáo dục năm 1970”, Hồ sơ số 217, Phòng Hội đồng Văn hoá Giáo dục (1969–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Nguyễn Ngọc Huân, *Cải tổ Đại học*.

and physical diseases, and recommended a higher education model which was able to meet the needs of that special group.

The most specific plan to advance the RVN higher education system was the project of the Wisconsin delegation. The project of this group concentrated on three principal issues of RVN higher education, which were the scarcity of teaching staff, the inefficiency of higher education administration and curriculum, as well as the outdated structure of the university administration and its operation. To solve those problems, the Wisconsin team produced specific solutions for each issue. For example, to respond to the shortage of teaching staff, the RVN universities and the U.S operators needed to work closely in order to ascertain which fields were eager to be supplied with more teachers. In terms of the administration, the RVN higher education was required to employ capable personnel, who specialized in the administrative field, then improving their competence by sending them to training courses in Vietnam or abroad. The administrative innovation of higher education was suggested to start in a faculty before expanding to a scope of the whole university. The American advisors were divided into different groups according to specific matters, such as Agricultural Education, Administrative Education, and Private Universities. In parallel to the administrative issue, the task of constructing a fundamental and common curriculum in all universities was also mentioned in this project. In the dispute related to this topic attracted many suggestions and initiatives from universities. To solve this problem, experts suggested South Vietnamese educators to consider programs of advanced educations. In the third issue of higher education, attention was drawn to the structure and activities of South Vietnamese universities. This matter should be solved by establishing a university council, which was to be responsible for the transparent and proficient operation of universities.

The three above mentioned projects had both, strengths and weaknesses. Even though the first one was designed as an educational model which was in accordance to a developing country as South Vietnam, it was however unable to be implemented due to the financial deficiencies. The project of Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trung revealed his extreme attitude by removing the former higher educational system, in spite of that, this initiative favored a pragmatic and mass education, based on progressive and democratic principles. The last

one was proposed by Wisconsin team, which provided a comprehensive view regarding the reform of higher education. Subsequently, this was considered as the most feasible solution for RVN education. However, one can easily see that to conduct this project, massive efforts of Vietnamese and American educators were prerequisites.

3.3.3 Operations of RVN Higher Education

The priority, which was given by administrators and scholars to higher education in South Vietnam and the favorable conditions in the 1950s and 1960s produced opportunities for higher education to obtain considerable accomplishments. This was a momentum for RVN higher education to further itself and to adapt to the contemporary demands in the 1967–1975 period. In the term of the Second Republic of Vietnam, higher education experienced the glory days since the first university was formed in Vietnam in 1906. This were resulted from many factors: the changes of the social-political context in South Vietnam, the good preparation of educators, both the Americans and Vietnamese, and the emergence of fashionable educational policies in these years.

As well-known, in the late 1960s, the war in Vietnam escalated to a comprehensive regular war, nevertheless, the desire of peace to terminate the protracted war also arose. This was revealed in many negotiations among war-committed parties (the Paris negotiation, which discussed the matter of ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam, started in 1968). In that context, Vietnamese both in the North and South turned their efforts to civil developments rather than continuing to give their attention to only military affairs. Subsequently, higher education, a key factor for countries to develop in the era of technology, was allocated more finances than in previous periods. This was demonstrated clearly by the policies of nation building of the Second Republic of Vietnam. (the concrete policies of developing higher education will be presented later in Chapter 4).

A more generous budget to develop higher education not only revealed a wider concern of the government of the Second Republic of Vietnam for this field, but was an evidence to prove its advantages compared to previous periods. From 1968 to 1973, the budget for higher education amounted to more than 10% of the total budget of the RVN education,

peaking to 17,16% in 1973.²²⁹ In 1968, the allocated portion for higher education was 0,55%, and in 1973, the percentage nearly doubled to 1,04%. This represented a very tiny percentage of the national budget, nevertheless, this displayed a rising tendency or in other words, it pointed to an optimistic vision for the future of higher education in South Vietnam. The Second Republic of Vietnam, moreover, used the national treasury to grant scholarships, creating more opportunities for young talented people to attend universities.

Accompanying financial investments, the government promoted the RVN higher education in many other facets, for instance, rewards to recognize the accomplishments of educators. In March 1971, Dr. Nguyễn Lữ Viên, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Culture and Education, awarded Cultural and Educational Service Medals to 27 of the university's faculty members for their outstanding performances, comprised two French, one Belgian, and 24 Vietnamese professors.²³⁰ This action might not have been so significant in the number of rewards, but expressed the acknowledgement of the government regarding the efforts of educators in South Vietnam. Thus, it encouraged their further devotion on the path of educational development.

Another achievement of the RVN higher education in this period was to promote the diversity in the training types and levels at higher learning institutions. In terms of quantity, in advance of 1967, there were only five universities operating in South Vietnam, with three national and two private universities. Thereafter, to meet the practical and particular requirements of certain areas as well as the different groups, regional and religious universities were established in South Vietnam provinces. For example, the Phuong Nam University in 1967 (Saigon, Buddhist), the Minh Đức University in 1970, the Tiền Giang Community College in 1971 (Mỹ Tho), the Duyên Hải Community College in 1971 (Nha Trang), and the Thủ Đức Polytechnic University in 1974.²³¹ In

²²⁹ Nguyễn Thanh Trang, “Đại học tư lập”.

²³⁰ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Decade of Expansion for Higher Education in Vietnam”, April 1971, File 2322018001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

²³¹ Ibid.

Nguyễn Thanh Liêm (Ed.), *Giáo dục ở miền Nam*, 167-174.

And “Giáo dục Việt Nam Cộng hoà”, available at

https://vi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Giáo_dục_Việt_Nam_Cộng_hòa#Các_viện_đại_học_công_lập, accessed on April 22, 2018.

respect to training types, it is ostensibly the RVN higher education had operated in a variety of forms in the period of 1967–1975, for instance, national universities, regional universities, community colleges, and private universities.

A new principle of the educational administration, which was imported into South Vietnam and initially conducted at the higher education level in the 1967–1975 period was the autonomy of universities. In the Constitution of the Second Republic of Vietnam (issued in April 1967) the Article 10, Chapter 2 stipulated clearly that higher education is *autonomous*.²³² The autonomy of universities was considered as an indispensable factor of higher education in democratic nations. Practicing the autonomy in the RVN universities was also in line with an educational principle, which the RVN practiced and followed, that is *of openness*. However, the matter to what extent the autonomy was fulfilled in the RVN universities before 1975 remained controversial.

According to Lê Xuân Khoa, a South Vietnamese educator, who committed himself to several education tasks of higher education in the years of the 1960s and 1970s, recalled that by 1975, the RVN education was still in the transition stage, from the elite educational model of France to the pragmatic (or mass) educational model of the United States.²³³ The consequence of French influences was also felt in the management of higher education. The RVN higher education was not autonomous in any of three manners, comprised finance, personnel, and academy. The final and the most important decisions relating to higher education activities were always made by the Minister of Education, and accompanying by the signatures of Rectors was the following wording: “the commissioner of the Ministry of Education”. Notwithstanding above condemnations, in his essay, Prof. Lê Xuân Khoa also indicated that South Vietnam’s higher education, to some extent, benefited from autonomy. The proposals of the University Council concerning personnel and finance were approved promptly. In respect to academic issues, acceptances of the Ministry of Education were formalities because, in fact, the Ministry

²³² “The Constitution of the Second Republic of Vietnam”, issued in April 1967, available at http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Vietnam_South_1967, accessed on April 21, 2018, 7-8.

²³³ Lê Xuân Khoa, “Đại học miền Nam trước 1975, hồi tưởng và nhận định”, In Ngô Bảo Châu et al., *Kỷ yếu Đại học Humboldt*, 540-542.

did not intervene in any aspects of curriculum, examination or teaching tasks as long as these followed the RVN educational principles.

In the 1960s and 1970s, some newly-suggested policies were discussed in South Vietnam, among which was the localization of education. This policy was expected to facilitate a more productive educational management by saving worktime, matching empirical requirements in each area to teaching tasks, and sharing financial burdens. This policy was introduced in the postwar educational plan in March 1969.²³⁴

Địa phương hoá giáo dục là gì?

Là chia toàn quốc ra vài khu vực học chính.[...] Mỗi khu vực được tổ chức như sau:

Trên hết có một ông Trưởng khu được tuyển chọn “hầu đại diện Bộ Giáo dục. Nhiệm vụ của ông là thực thi đường lối chính sách do Bộ Giáo dục đề ra, và thiết lập kế hoạch phát triển trường sở trong khu vực của ông”.

“Phía dưới có một ban Thanh Tra hùng hậu để thanh tra thật sự các Trường Sở tiểu học và Trung học, Công lập và Tư thực”.

“Ngoài ra mỗi khu học chính, trong những ngày đất nước thanh bình sẽ có: 1 trường sư phạm đào tạo cả giáo sư trung học đệ I cấp. – 1 trung tâm tu nghiệp. – 1 trường tiểu học và trung học kiểu mẫu để giáo chức địa phương có dịp quan sát các phương pháp giảng dạy mới”.

“Cũng trong chiều hướng đó, việc tổ chức các kỳ thi sẽ giao dần cho các học khu, Học sinh ở khu nào sẽ đi thi trong khu ấy”.

“Việc địa phương hoá còn tiến dần đến việc chia ngân khoản cho mỗi học khu, rồi mỗi học khu sẽ lo liệu điều hành cho kinh phí”.

“Để cho dân chúng tích cực tham gia vào các công tác giáo dục, Bộ Giáo dục nên nghiên cứu phương thức xây cất thật dễ dàng, ngân khoản từ trung ương giao thẳng cho Hội phụ huynh học sinh lo liệu. Khi cần họ sẽ kêu gọi dân chúng địa phương đóng góp thêm”.²³⁵

(translated:

What is the localization in education?

It means dividing whole country into some educational areas. [...] Each educational area is organized as follows,

²³⁴ Nguyễn Duy Chính, “Vấn đề địa phương”, 92.

²³⁵ “Tài liệu của các hội viên thuyết trình về vấn đề địa phương hoá tổ chức giáo dục năm 1971”, Hồ sơ số 11, Phòng Hội đồng Văn hoá giáo dục (1969–1975), the National Archive II, Tp. HCM, Vietnam, 2.

“First, one chief will be selected as a representative of the Ministry of Education. His task is to implement the policies, which the Ministry of Education promulgated, and he institutes the development plans for his managed area”.

“Subordinate to him is an inspection committee to inspect all the activities of primary schools, secondary schools, both publics and privates”.

“Aside from that, each educational area in the peace time will have: one School of Pedagogy where trained teachers for secondary schools. One vocational School. One Pilot Primary and Secondary School for local teachers to observe and learn new teaching methods”.

In that way, the organization of examinations will be assigned according to educational areas. Students attend exams at their locals instead of moving elsewhere.

“The localization in education also applies to the aspect of budget distribution, each area receiving their own budget and being responsible for all related expenses”.

“In order to encourage engagement of people in educational activities, the Ministry of Education should implement a simple procedure in which the national budget could be sent directly to the Parents’ Students Association and they are free to manage and to expend. In case of need, they will mobilize local people for more contributions”.)

As indicated, the policy of localization in education emphasized the role of local administrators and ordinary people to schools which situated in their territory. This policy reflected a new tendency in advanced education where educational-engaged parties share burdens and responsibilities in operating the educational system. Acknowledging the rationality of this policy, President Nguyễn Văn Thiệu made a speech on this topic in a meeting of both Houses on October 6, 1969.²³⁶ Some months later, a Circular No.510-GD/PhTT of June 26, 1970, issued by the Ministry of Education, was sent to admirals, mayors, and provincial chiefs to explain the regulations of implementing the policy of localization.²³⁷

A topic, which was argued and mentioned in many retrospective writings of South Vietnamese educators, was the independence of higher education from politics. With the aspiration of building a purely educational environment, where the most powerful people were educators and the ultimate purpose was to train helpful citizens, educational

²³⁶ Ibid., 3.

²³⁷ Ibid.

managers exerted efforts to prevent political influences, which distracted the concentration of students away from learning. To some extent, the RVN education in general and higher education in particular, built its privileges, which required people to respect and follow its rules. Some examples could be given concerning that phenomenon. All students had an equal chance to attend schools, freedom in their political choices, and little to no impact from their families' status. Another story relates to General Cao Văn Viên, a crucial figure of South Vietnam's politics and military. He registered to study in the Faculty of Letters of the University of Saigon, majoring in French Literature. Unfortunately, he failed the final oral exams and the examiner was a Vietnamese young man of the military age. Nonetheless, nothing adverse happened to that young man.²³⁸ This reveals, to some extent, the independence of education and how much people respected educators in South Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s.

A critical factor, which contributed to the growth of higher education was the increasing number of graduates from high schools (Baccalaureate). Since 1973, the secondary level merged two examinations into one. The Baccalaureate I and Baccalaureate II became the Baccalaureate of General Education (sometimes also called the Baccalaureate of General Secondary Education), and this was equivalent to the former Baccalaureate II.²³⁹ This certificate was required in applying for admission to the RVN universities and also was required for Vietnamese applicants to be admitted to study in the U.S. colleges and universities. In given faculties and universities, which were competitive and had a strict criteria, in addition to the Baccalaureate certificate, the students were required to pass entrance examinations. Notwithstanding above requirements, in special cases when students lost their certificates or records of notes of their secondary schools, they still had opportunities to be accepted by colleges, for instance, the California community college might admit non-high school graduates (Baccalaureate II), who were at least eighteen

²³⁸ Trần Anh Tuấn, “Giáo sư Nguyễn Thế Anh và Ban Sử Đại học Văn Khoa Sài Gòn”, available at <http://daihocsuphamsaigon.org/index.php/bienkhao/193-trananhluan/3040-nguyentheanhvadhvk>, posted on April 12, 2016.

²³⁹ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Guidelines on the Admission and Placement of Indochinese Refugee Students in Postsecondary Education”, 1975, File 2244509001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

years old. Vietnamese students without academic records could be considered for admissions on an individual basis.²⁴⁰

In the 1970s, a new higher education model was adopted in South Vietnam, community colleges. This model rapidly became accepted as a necessary training type to respond to the practical requirements of Vietnam. An educator, who was a pioneer of transplanting the community college model to the RVN education system, was Dr. Đỗ Bá Khê. According to him “*the community colleges may be able to provide the skill training for the returning veterans so that they can find a productive position in the community [...]* Also, since the community may share the costs, the new institutions will not place too much more burden on the nation's treasury, and they can ease the enrollments pressures on the universities”²⁴¹.

The first community colleges were established in Nha Trang and Mỹ Tho to train teachers for lower secondary schools, to prepare and instruct students for further learning in national universities, to produce more opportunities for students to choose appropriate fields of study, and to diversify the cultural and social activities in order to reinforce the mental life of people.²⁴² The duration of community colleges was two years. In advance of 1975, there was no Ministry of Higher Education in South Vietnam, instead of higher education was authorized by an Executive Vice Minister of Education.²⁴³

Summary

Changes in the context of South Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s created a favorable motivation for the development of RVN higher education. Other elements, such as the achievements, which this education had obtained in the years from the 1950s to the early 1960s, were the decisive prerequisites for RVN higher education to continue achieving

²⁴⁰ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Guidelines on the Admission and Placement of Indochinese Refugee Students in Postsecondary Education”, File 2244509001, Part B, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

²⁴¹ “Hồ sơ về hoạt động của Hội đồng Văn hoá Giáo dục năm 1973”, Hồ sơ số 3834, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

²⁴² “Hồ sơ nguyên tắc v/v thiết lập, tổ chức điều hành và quản trị các Viện Đại học Cộng đồng năm 1971–1972”, Hồ sơ số 5943, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

²⁴³ Nguyễn Thanh Liêm (Ed.), *Giáo dục ở miền Nam*, 168.

accomplishments during its operation in the term of the Second Republic of Vietnam (1967–1975). All three public universities of the Republic of Vietnam, including the newly-established one - the University of Cần Thơ, displayed an impressive growth in many aspects. The attraction of these universities to South Vietnamese students was demonstrated on the rising number of student enrollments yearly. Moreover, their ability in solving problems contributed highlighted their strengths in specific fields of education, which enhanced their reputation.

The RVN higher education, furthermore, had an opportunity to experiment with many novel educational ideas, such as the idea of localization in higher education, which promoted the establishment of regional universities, and the model of community colleges, which bestowed more opportunities for South Vietnamese students to pursue higher levels of learning. The development of the RVN higher education during the term of the Second Republic of Vietnam was the continuation of the previous higher education systems, particularly that of the First Republic. This was shown in the aspect of educational philosophy, which kept the RVN higher education on track to a scientific, national, humanity, and open education. The freedom of this higher education from the politics, or in other words, the autonomy of the university was an ideal principle which RVN higher education endeavored to pursue.

Regarding the achievements of RVN higher education in the years 1960s and 1970s, the United States was a crucial contributor if not the main influencer. As discussed in the general view of RVN higher education from 1967 to 1975, the Americans involved themselves in every manner and aspect of this higher education system. The engagement of the Americans was not only official through state organizations, but also unofficial through the presence of non-governmental institutions and individuals. Thus, their assistance was implemented, both at macro and micro levels, in the undertaking of the RVN higher education. According to the educational surveys, American educators aided to detect critical weaknesses of RVN higher education. Among many proposals to improve RVN higher education, the American initiative surpassed others to be chosen. The strengthening relations among leaders, experts, and educators of two countries in the field of education were visible through numerous observation tours which were intended

for leading figures of RVN universities to the United States, the increasing awareness of the Americans for the RVN educational issues, and long term contracts to promote almost all manners of RVN education, ranging from educational fields (such as Agricultural Education and Medical Education) to educational resources (such as instructional materials and libraries). With above contributions, the Americans became a prominent force, who gradually replaced the French influences in the area of RVN higher education in the 1960s and 1970s. To be able to evaluate precisely the engagement and influences of the United States in the development of RVN higher education, the next chapters will examine the cases of three public universities concerning specific affairs of administration, academic activities, and international cooperations.

Chapter 4: Administrative Issues

4.1 Education Policies

As mentioned, in comparison to the terms of the government of the First Republic of Vietnam and the Military Junta period, the authorities of the Second Republic of Vietnam paid more attention to the development of higher education. The premises for advancing higher education were legitimized by legal documents, i.e. the Constitution of the Second Republic of Vietnam and the decrees of the Ministry of Education. Especially, during this period, the education policies were adjusted to follow plans of nation building and the urgent needs of the country. First and foremost, the Article 10 in the 1967 Constitution, which legalized the autonomy of the university education, created great hopes for Vietnamese educators to empower themselves and to be free from the obstacles of administrative red tape. Even without discussing the extent of the effectiveness of this policy on the higher education development in the 1967–1975 period, it could not be denied that this idea was modern and up-to-date, indeed.

Regarding education policies, generally, proposals needed to be determined on the principles of *scientific, national-orientated, moral, and mass education*. These elements were widely known to educators in Vietnam in the second half of the twentieth century. These principles served as a foundation to formulate the educational principles for both, the First and Second Republic of Vietnam. Dr. Nguyễn Lưu Viên, the Vice President for social and cultural affairs and Minister of Education of the Second Republic of Vietnam government from 1969 to 1971, emphasized that in order to create an education with above characteristics, the RVN government was required to:

- a/ Có một kế hoạch trường kỳ gồm cả hai khía cạnh: gia tăng về lượng và tăng gia về phẩm chất giáo dục, trong ấy có vấn đề soát xét lại quan niệm giáo dục hiện tại.
- b/ Phát triển nền giáo dục kỹ thuật và chuyên nghiệp đến mức tối đa.
- c/ Bành trướng nền giáo dục căn bản có thể được mở rộng cho mọi công dân và nếu được, cường bách giáo dục tiểu học, vấn đề này nằm trong kế hoạch trường kỳ.
- d/ Chú trọng đến giáo dục tráng niên, vấn đề này sẽ cần liên lạc với Bộ Thông-Tin.²⁴⁴

(translated:

²⁴⁴ Nguyễn Lưu Viên, “Chính sách Văn hoá Giáo dục”, 11-12.

- a/ Have a long-term plan which promote both, the educational quality and educational quantity, in those, the educational intellection is also re-examized.
- b/ Maximize the development of the technical and professional education.
- c/ Spread the basic education to all citizens. If it is possible, conducting the compulsory education in the primary level, this matter is a long term plan.
- d/ Focus on adult education, this matter needs to contact the Ministry of Information.)

To concretize the above educational ideas, Dr. Nguyễn Luru Viễn also produced a number of suggestions for RVN education. The first and the most important recommendation was to increase the educational budget. The humble amount of 4% of the national budget²⁴⁵, which allocated to education in the first half of the 1960s, could not tackle many problems which RVN education had been facing. Additionally, he stated that the mistaken attitude, in which an over emphasizing the importance of examinations needed to be changed. Dr. Nguyễn Luru Viễn believed that students should play the central role in the educational activities. In doing so, the educational system was designed to promote individual competence. Regarding the relationship between schools and society, Dr. Viễn pointed out that schools could not and should not be separated from social activities. As a miniature model of society, the schools prepared necessary skills and knowledge for students to be able to apply them in social activities after their graduation. Continuing the idea that education was not only the responsibility of schools, Dr. Viễn considered the participation of many agencies and representatives at different levels involving in the educational operation. The participants not only contributed ideas to develop education, but also took part in the educational management process. Equally important was an effective and flexible curriculum, which fostered the interchangeability from the general education to the professional education and in reverse. In doing so, it required trained and skilled teachers and educators to design and conduct that curriculum.

The Educational and Cultural Policy Issued in 1972

Concentrating on education development, in 1969, the Cultural and Educational Council was established and worked actively to accelerate the development of the RVN higher education system. In line with the four-year program (1971–1975) to develop the country

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 12.

(mentioned below), the Cultural and Educational Council proposed a new cultural and educational policy to adapt to new requirements.²⁴⁶ The 1972 education policy was based on five fundamental principles. First, attending the compulsory education was both a right and a duty of all South Vietnamese citizens to improve their skills in order to serve national and international tasks. Second, each individual was free to choose subjects, curriculum, and schools according to their interests and their ability. Third, the country aspired to create equal chances for all citizens to pursue their studies. Fourth, the nation needed to allocate appropriate resources for educational development, at least 10% of the national budget. Lastly, university education had to be autonomous in order to facilitate teaching, researching, creativeness, and inventive activities. Based on these general orientations, appearing in chapter III, Part II of this document, the Cultural and Educational Council specified the missions of university education as follows:

- 1/ Phát huy nền văn-hoá dân-tộc.
- 2/ Đào tạo những lớp lãnh đạo và chuyên viên cho mọi ngành hoạt động.
- 3/ Định giá, nghiên-cứu, sáng-tạo và quảng-bá các loại kiến-thức về văn-hoá và khoa-học kỹ-thuật cần-thiết cho sự phát-triển và tiến-bộ.
- 4/ Hợp-tác với các giới Đại-học và khảo cứu quốc tế để văn-hoá dân-tộc góp phần thích-dáng vào kho tàng văn-hoá nhân-loại hầu tạo sự đối-thoại thực-sự giữa các nền văn-hoá của thế-giới, đi đến việc xây-dựng một nền hoà-bình thực-sự và bền-vững.²⁴⁷

(translated:

- 1/ Promoting the national culture
- 2/ Educating leaders, specialists, and experts for all fields
- 3/ Estimating, researching, creating, and advertising the cultural, scientific and technical knowledge which were crucial for development and progression.
- 4/ Cooperating with international universities and researchers in order to contribute appropriately to human knowledge, and to interact with different cultures in the world in order to obtain the ultimate purpose of a sustainable peace.)

The principle of the university autonomy mentioning initially in the 1967 Constitution of the Second Republic of Vietnam was once again emphasized in this document. The South

²⁴⁶ Hội đồng Văn hoá Giáo dục, *Chính sách Văn hoá Giáo dục*.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 37.

Vietnamese and American experts analyzed the need of granting autonomy to universities. This was the prerequisite for South Vietnam's universities to undertake their tasks. The autonomy of the universities, especially apply to administration, finance, and academy, meant educators, lecturers, and professors were obligated to manage their own university affairs independently. To practise this principle, the educational experts suggested that a decree should be issued immediately to define the obligations of universities, the connotation of an autonomous university, the relations of universities with the entities beyond them, and to affirm the urgency of an appropriate investment for developing both, public and private universities. Until April 1975, when the RVN government collapsed, in spite of this recommendation being given, there was no such kind of decree promulgated to further the implementation of the university autonomy. This could be considered as one of reasons which limited the success of RVN universities in their operations in the terms of the administration of the Second Republic of Vietnam.

The Four-Year Education Development Plan (1971–1975)

The significant development of higher education in the 1967–1971 period, when more and more universities being established, both public and private, the remarkable growth of the student numbers from 33,062 students in 1967–1968 school year to 56,608 students in the 1970–1971 school year (an increase of 71,2%), as well as the rise of the university professors during that time, from 749 to 1273 (an increase of 69,9%)²⁴⁸, set the stage for a new development of higher education in South Vietnam. In addition, the RVN also recognized the change in the interests of the RVN's supporter - the United States, in the 1970–1975 period "*which emphasized the elimination of hostilities in the region, the realization of a peace which was durable and honorable for both the US and South Vietnam, and the promotion of South Vietnam's self-reliance in defending its own national interests and objectives*"²⁴⁹. Subsequently, South Vietnam's administrators placed more emphasis on civil projects, such as education to approach a durable and sustainable development. Moreover, in spite of RVN higher education experiencing an unprecedented improvement in the twentieth century, especially within the 15 years of

²⁴⁸ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Republic of Vietnam Ministry of Education Educational Four-Year Development Plan (1971–1975)", File 2391102005, Part A, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

²⁴⁹ The BDM Corporation, *A Study of Strategic Lessons*, 1-34.

1955–1970, the percentage of university students just merely amounted to 0,2%²⁵⁰ of the South Vietnamese population. This figure was so humble to meet the requirements of the RVN in its development plans after the war. Responding to that situation, the Ministry of Education determined a new educational policy for South Vietnam in the 1971–1975 period, pertaining to the education system as a whole, ranging from the elementary, secondary, technical and vocational education, higher education, adult education, to women’s education in a multitude of educational matters, such as the educational objectives, the developing programs, and finance. Having an insight into the new educational policy, it is plain to figure out some common concerns were voiced in this document and the 1972 education policy, as mentioned above, especially in the section of higher education. In general, the Ministry of Education clarified the educational objectives of South Vietnam in three main points: first was the development of individual talents, second was the adaptation of the individual to the social requirements, and third was the development of the national spirit. To carry out those objectives, both a mass and practical education should be applied in South Vietnam.

a. Mass Education: Education being a common advantage for everyone should be consistent with the trend and the basic needs of the majority. In addition, education is also a duty for all citizens, the mass, especially students and parents should have the duty to participate in the local educational activities and realise their important role in the support of educational operation.

b. Practical Education: To keep close to the country situation, Vietnamese Education should be one of a practical nature too.²⁵¹

In agreement with the general educational objectives, RVN higher education also bolstered its specific objectives for the 1971–1975 period, which focused on several aspects, namely *Setting up of Community Colleges*, *Expansion of Advanced Studies in National Universities*, *Setting up of Basic Studies in Higher Education*, and *Preparation of Higher Education Regulations*.²⁵² In particular, the idea of *Setting up of Community*

²⁵⁰ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Republic of Vietnam Ministry of Education Educational Four-Year Development Plan (1971–1975)”, File 2391102005, Part A, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 3.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁵² The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Republic of Vietnam Ministry of Education Educational Four-Year Development Plan (1971–1975)”, File 2391102005, Part C, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 47-48.

Colleges was inspired in the early 1970s following the American model to accelerate Technical and Agricultural Education. This training task responded to the need for manpower, especially for the aspect of local economic development in the postwar development plan of South Vietnam. To the *Expansion of Advanced Studies in National Universities*, RVN higher education aimed at increasing the number of university professors with the intention to narrow the gap of teacher - students ratio. In 1970, the teacher (professor) - student ratio was 1:42.²⁵³ This was supposed to make the teaching-learning process become more effective. Considering this requirement, the Ministry of Education encouraged the expansion of advanced study programs at national colleges so that students, who excelled, could enrich their technical knowledge to become instructors at the university level. To better prepare for students before entering in the university programs, the objective of *Setting the basic studies in higher education* was given priorities. The last emphasis, the *Preparation of Higher Education Regulations*, was not mentioned initially, however, discussed widely by South Vietnamese scholars and educators throughout the years. The regulations for public and private universities' activities were considered as a means to secure the educators' privilege and to facilitate the expansion of higher education.

Educational Policies in 1974

The annexation of the Culture domain into the Ministry of Education in 1973 (see Chapter 3) led this Ministry renamed itself as the Ministry of Culture, Education, and Youth. The policy of Culture, Education, and Youth Ministry was inherently built on a common basis defined under the Constitution of the Republic of Vietnam which followed three principles: *Humanist, Of the People, and Emancipatory*.²⁵⁴ Following the signing of the 1973 Paris Agreement, which brought about a new orientation to South Vietnam, new tasks for education were drawn up to prepare the 1975–1980 Educational Development Program. Among those tasks, higher education development was a priority. This was stated in a report of RVN higher education made by USAID.

²⁵³ Ibid., 48.

²⁵⁴ “Bảng kê tình hình chi ngân sách quốc gia năm 1973–1974”, Hồ sơ số 4442, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID) (1955–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, 526.

The 1973–1974 phase in particular, this Ministry’s central task is focused on meeting adequately the educational requirements of the students and pupils, under the plan for normalization of the war victims’ life, rehabilitation of infrastructures and for the restoration of production activities being slowed down during wartime.

The Ministry of Culture, Education and Youth shall [...] give priority order to the following branches of education:

1. Development of the Pedagogy Branch
2. Expansion of the Agriculture - Forestry - Animal Husbandry and Technology Branches.
3. Development of higher education
4. Impedite and improve the publication of textbooks.²⁵⁵

Summarily, in adapting to the shifting context of South Vietnam in the 1970s, all above-mentioned policies emphasized on conducting a practical education which responds to the urgent needs of South Vietnam. Thus, the ideas of applied and pragmatic fields were approved and given a priority. Each policy expressed different levels of their considerations on educational issues, such as the 1972 policy, which seemed to be general in promulgating an oriented policy addressing all cultural and educational matters, the four-year plan narrowed itself to the development of education alone, and specific emphases in improving RVN education were initiated in the 1974 policy. All of them were in line to facilitate the development of RVN education, particularly higher education.

Higher Education Law

As widely known, RVN authorities granted the autonomy to the South Vietnam’s universities and this was considered as a far-reaching in their perception. It was even more significant in the context of a developing country like South Vietnam. Nonetheless, by October 1973, no legal decrees were promulgated to detail the scope of these autonomous rights and their legalizations. Confronted this matter, a debate arose among educators and educational experts to clarify, if the delay in promulgating a legislative document could detain the progress of RVN higher education. The solutions were found by studying higher education in South Vietnam from the late 1960s to the early 1970s. The growth in the number of students and teachers yearly, the diversity of educational institutions, the expanding in the number of training centers, and the most importantly

²⁵⁵ Ibid., 527.

was the impressive enhancement of the higher education's curriculum were astounding (see chapters 3 and 5). How were those achievements gained without the existence of a higher education law? That was not a contradiction to have these results, as the USAID report stated: "*While it is highly desirable that sound and adequate legislation be adopted at the earliest possible date, it does not follow that progress is not being made in the absence of the legislation*"²⁵⁶. The achievements of RVN higher education could be explained by several reasons. Although, no legislation was promulgated, the proposals had been thoroughly discussed and approved by the Rectors of the universities, the Cabinet, and the President, thus creating an informal basis for a constructive action.²⁵⁷ The postponing of legislators for a proposed law was not a peculiar to Vietnam but occurred in other places. Citing one example, in the State of Florida, despite the backing of the university Presidents and the members of the Board Regents, a proposed law to give a greater autonomy to universities took 10 years.²⁵⁸ In spite of that, in the meantime universities continued to advance and make an excellent progress. Albeit, the requirements of passing a Higher Education Law remained an urgent task for South Vietnamese educators and administrators as the recommendation of American educational experts: "*It will be very beneficial if the Higher Education Law is passed.*"²⁵⁹

To sum it up, all related documents of education policy, specifically those dealing in higher education, which were proposed and issued in the 1967–1975 period, concentrated on four critical matters of higher education. The first was the autonomy and the actualization process of this right for RVN universities. The second orientation was the heading to a mass education which extended the chances of higher learning to all citizens. The third was the focus of higher education in 1967–1975 on practical goals. In other words, higher education needed to fulfill all current and long-term requirements to develop South Vietnam. And the last point, which attracted much attention of South Vietnamese educators and administrators, was how to promulgate a higher education law as a legislative basis for a rapid development of higher education.

²⁵⁶ "Hồ sơ kiểm tra toàn lĩnh vực giáo dục năm 1973", Hồ sơ 3916, Phòng Cơ quan phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (1955–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, 14.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Ibid., 15.

Applying Higher Education Policies in National Universities

The establishment of the Second Republic of Vietnam in 1967 as a civil administration ended the turbulent period (which lasted for 4 years, 1963–1967), giving the hope to South Vietnamese people for a stable period of development. This was not an over optimistic perspective for South Vietnam in the late 1960s in considering that new administrations proposed many progressive ideas. The new concept of the higher education management, which encouraged the autonomy of universities was a prominent example. The autonomy of university was detailed in some respects, comprised the process of student selection, the staff recruitment, the design of curricula and courses, the assessment and certificate conferment, the distribution of resources to required sectors, and lastly the improvement of institutions.²⁶⁰

Concerning the effectiveness of university activities and their vital contribution to the nation building programs of South Vietnam, in the 1967–1975 period, higher education was a central concern of RVN administrators. With the support from the government, many proposals to advance the South Vietnam’s higher education were submitted (see Chapter 3). Among the various aspects which were discussed, the administrative reform of the higher education system to allow the independence of educators and universities from the dominant management of the authorities was constantly on their mind and was highly expected by educators. To answer the question of how the autonomous right of universities was legitimized and actualized and in which level this policy was applied to national universities in the 1967–1975 period, several concrete examples pertaining to situations of national universities will be clarified.

Criticizing the dominant involvement of the government in higher education, the Rector of the University of Saigon, Trần Quang Đệ stated in a letter to the Secretary of President Office in 1969: “*Qua các chính phủ liên tiếp, nhiều điều khoản trong qui chế được sửa*

²⁶⁰ “Hồ sơ v/v Hội đồng Giáo dục tham gia ý kiến soạn thảo dự án Luật Ấn định Qui chế các Viện Đại học Quốc Gia năm 1971”, Hồ sơ số 224, Phòng Hội đồng Văn hoá giáo dục (1969–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

*đổi hoặc được tu chỉnh lại, theo ý kiến riêng của mỗi chính phủ. Thiểm Viện nhận xét những sự sửa đổi đó hướng về quyền lợi cho Chính phủ hơn là quyền lợi Đại học*²⁶¹.

(translated: Through consecutive governments, many articles in the regulation was amended according to the different perspective of each administration. In my opinion, the amendments were based on the governmental benefits rather than the higher education benefits itself).

As indicated above, in 1967, the Wisconsin Stevens Point University Team presented a proposal to reform higher education of the RVN. It was strongly recommended to give more autonomous rights to universities. Nonetheless, two years after this recommendation was given, the authorities of the RVN committed little effort to legalize and practise the autonomy of South Vietnam's universities. This situation was inscribed in numerous activities of the University of Saigon. During the process of the election of Deans and Vice Deans in the Faculties of the University of Saigon in 1968, the University saw itself compelled to postpone the election following the Dispatch No.728-P.Th.T/PC.3./M, issued on August 14, 1968 by Prime Minister of the Second Republic of Vietnam government without any explanations. As usual process demanded, Deans and Vice Deans were selected from the candidates who were nominated by the faculty staff. The Rectors were responsible for forming the regulations of the election. Summarily, the election of Deans and Vice Deans was an completely internal activity without the necessity of informing the government and the Ministry of Education. In that respect, the Dispatch of the Prime Minister illustrated the intense involvement of the government in the univeristy's activities and gave the universities a limited space to decide internal matters.

This phenomenon occurred not once but continued for years in the national universities. This created passivity in the actions of the university leaders and educators when being required to decide any crucial problem. To take an example, science education professors at the Faculty of Pedagogy at the University of Huế refused to make changes to their

²⁶¹ “Phúc trình của Viện trưởng Đại học Sài Gòn về tình hình hoạt động của Viện năm 1969”, Hồ sơ số 3469, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, 6.

curriculum without explicit orders from the Ministry of Education. They were also hesitant to make any suggestions for changes for fear of offending their superiors at the Ministry. It was not until the National Conference in 1971 that educators at all levels of the educational system were encouraged to share their ideas about the future of the national educational system.²⁶²

However, looking at the bright side of practising of autonomy among public universities, some events gave evidence that the policy of autonomy had a beneficial impact on the activities of RVN universities. One salient point was the independence of the professors in terms of political perspectives which could not be imposed by administrators. In reminiscing about the life of South Vietnamese professors before 1975, Nguyễn Tuyết Lộc recalled a story related to Prof. Nguyễn Đình Ngọc, a Mathematics professor at the University of Saigon. In a meeting of the University of Saigon, Prof. Nguyễn Đình Ngọc suddenly asked all attendees to stand up one minute silence to commemorate. Thereafter, he explained that commemoration was to honor the contribution of President Hồ Chí Minh to the country's liberation and independence.²⁶³ Despite he performed supporting a person who was in opposing to the RVN, this government could not use this as an excuse to fire him.

In recalling events of RVN educators and students, the university autonomy was acknowledged proudly many times as an accomplishment of the South Vietnam's higher education.²⁶⁴ The autonomous spirit, to some extent, affected the attitude of the university administrators in management affairs in order to protect the university's power against the imposing power of the government. Even among faculties in each public university, the requirement of respecting the autonomy also claimed. A case in point, in the early

²⁶² Byron, Michael Cragin, *An Historical Study*, 222.

²⁶³ Nguyễn Tuyết Lộc, “2- Lê Lợi (Huế) – Địa chỉ khó quên”, available at <https://dutule.com/a6593/nguyen-tuyet-loc-2-le-loi-hue-dia-chi-kho-quen->, posted on May 7, 2015.

²⁶⁴ See Nguyễn Thanh Liêm (Ed.), *Giáo dục ở miền Nam*.

Lê Bá Vận, “Các Khoa trường Đại học Y Khoa Huế”, available at http://ykhoahuehaingoi.com/ky/k_CacKhoaTruongDHYKHue_LeBaVan.html, posted on June 2010.

Nguyễn Quang Duy, “Ưu việt của giáo dục miền Nam”, available at https://www.bbc.com/vietnamese/forum/2014/04/140424_giao_duc_mien_nam, posted on April 24, 2014.

1970s, after the deep intervention of the Rector Lê Thanh Minh Châu in the personnel affair the Faculty of Medicine, the University of Huế, he had to confront with the dissidence of the faculty staff. They supposed that the election of dean and vice deans should be decided by the Faculty Council instead of the Rector's engagement.²⁶⁵

In short, the appearance of ideas of the university's autonomy produced a more free space for RVN university educators to implement their duties. However, the lack of a legalizing document as well as the short term applying period (only eight years from 1967 to the collapse of the Republic of Vietnam in 1975), hindered the effectiveness of this policy in the implementation of RVN higher education. An overoptimistic or overpessimistic perspective regarding the results of the autonomy of RVN universities, in my opinion, is pointless. Despite the imperfect implementation of the RVN higher education system, the idea of granting the autonomy to universities and educators continues to be progressive and retains its entire value for the present Vietnamese education.

The American and Japanese Models of Autonomy in Higher Education

American Universities

One could certainly say that the idea of autonomy applying to RVN universities was adapted from the American education model. Based on the principle of accepting all the differences and similarities in pursuing the equality in education, American scholars and professors presumed that the university should operate as an academic community where the knowledge is exchanged and the truth is explored rather than subjected themselves to the political orientations of the government. The American university system was divided into three types, comprising the state universities, the private universities, and the city colleges. Private universities and city colleges financed their operations by collecting tuition fees and obtaining sponsorships of private organizations. The amount of fees per student per year ranged from US\$ 2000 to US\$ 4000 (in 1972).²⁶⁶ These fees were much more higher than the fees which South Vietnamese students paid (see the section 4.4.2). In U.S. public universities, the tuition fees were considerably lower because they were

²⁶⁵ Lê Bá Vận, "Các Khoa trường Đại học Y Khoa Huế", available at http://ykhoahuehaingoai.com/ky/k_CacKhoaTruongDHYKHue_LeBaVan.html, posted on June 2010.

²⁶⁶ Trần Bạch Thu, *Tự Trị Đại học*, 46-48.

subsidized from the state and federal budgets. Even though, the fees, which students were required to pay were high, ranging from around US\$ 500 to US\$ 1000 per semester²⁶⁷ (Appendix 2, Chapter 4). Annually, the tuition fees contributed 22,9 % to the revenue of the American public universities and roughly 61,9% to the revenue of the American private universities.

Table 4.1 Revenue from Tuition and Other Fees as a Percentage of Educational Expenditures, the United States (1971–1972)

Type	Tuition as a percentage of educational expenditures		
	Public	Private	Ratio
Universities	23,1	47,0	2,0:1
Comprehensive colleges and universities	22,8	81,0	3,6:1
Liberal arts colleges	19,5	73,1	3,7:1
Two-year institutions	16,7	70,3	4,2:1
All universities, comprehensive colleges, and liberal arts colleges	22,9	61,9	2,7:1

Source: Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, *Tuition*, 46.

In the case of state universities, they received the greater part of their expenditures from the state budget, which was distributed more advantageously and flexibly than the finances from the federal government. Financial autonomy is, undoubtedly, a premise for the American universities to decide their activities independently from governmental control. By defining well the sphere of the operation of related agencies, there was almost no overlapping of power occurring in the American higher education. The Americans presumed that universities had decisive power in their internal activities, the board, which included state-citizen representatives from all fields, would decide on the general policies and regulation.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁷ Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, *Tuition*, 53-60.

²⁶⁸ Trần Bạch Thu, *Tự Trị Đại học*, 51.

In addition, the tradition of practicing autonomy of American universities was empowered by the resistance movements of students and professors to any intentions of either government or capitalist groups who intended to exploit universities as military-industrial complex, and moreover, considered universities as a means to brainwash young people.²⁶⁹

Japanese Universities

The universities in Japan were organized diversely depending on demands of each faculty or major. In spite of the differences in their organizations, Japanese universities operated uniformly because all of them were based on the general principle of serving academic goals and following a general curriculum which was issued by the Ministry of Education. With the argument that “*centralization was not necessarily undemocratic*”²⁷⁰, Japanese education aimed at ensuring that every child from Okinawa to Hokaido enjoyed equal opportunities. The university system in Japan was organized centrally in its modus of its functioning, which was set out by national laws and ordinances. The uniformity was present in several aspects, such as the objectives of universities, the terms of study, the academic degrees, the academic staff and their duties, and the curricula. These aspects differed compared to the operation of the university system in the United States.

However, similar to American universities, Japanese also divided their universities into a variety of types, including the Royal universities (national universities), the public universities (local universities), and the private universities.²⁷¹ The government supplied the finances only to the Royal universities, which were established by government and under the authority of the Ministry of Education. The public universities which were formed by local administrations, and private universities which were created by social and religious organizations or by intellectual groups, were financed themselves and were independent from the supervision of the Education Ministry. The way in which Japan organized its higher education system had resemblances with the American one. This could be expected because before 1952, the Americans influenced profoundly in shaping

²⁶⁹ Ibid., 52.

²⁷⁰ Beauchamp, Edward R., “The Development of Japanese”, 307.

²⁷¹ Trần Bạch Thu, *Tự Trị Đại học*, 54-57.

the Japanese education system, including higher education. After 1952, the Japanese authorities and educators conducted several reformations to adapt the education system to the Japanese social and economic development needs.

According to the school Educational Law of the Japanese government, the founders were also the administrators. That means,

The faculty members of a university are employed by its founder. School building and grounds are the property of the founder. Likewise, the university's education and research programs are operations of the founder.

[...]

The "founder" in the case of national universities is represented by the Minister of Education, in the case of private universities by the head trustee of the school corporation, and in the case of local public universities by the head of the local public bodies, that is, the governor or the mayor.²⁷²

The autonomy of universities in Japan was also guaranteed by the constitution as in the case of RVN higher education. University presidents (rectors) and faculty councils played a decisive role to award degrees, to discipline students, in appointments, in dismissals, in disciplining presidents, heads of faculties and individual faculty members, finally in the matters of student admission and graduation.²⁷³ Among all units of the university, the Faculty Council played a central role in the internal administration. It provided an integrated program of education and research in the specific academic fields, executed its authority over the administration of academic personnel, student affairs, curricula, and operations.²⁷⁴ The authority of Faculty Council was accepted without question. At the university level, no decisions could be made without the consensus of the faculty councils.

Differing from the South Vietnam's university system, when majority of students attended public universities, in Japan, the number of students of private universities and colleges amounted to 75% of the total enrollments.²⁷⁵ Subsequently, Japanese private universities enjoyed more privileges than the ones in South Vietnam. They were free from

²⁷² Osaki, Hitoshi, "The Structure of University Administration", 152.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Ibid., 152-153.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., 153.

the government intervention, and the Ministry of Education was only authorized in the forms of guidance, counsel, and assistance.

In summary, the autonomy of universities was an accomplishment for governments of the Republic of Vietnam, the United States, and Japan. Among these higher education systems some similarities and some differences could be discerned. Nevertheless, while American and Japanese universities took advantage of a great freedom from the central authority, RVN universities were hindered by the overlapping power of higher education managers. The uniformity in the system of higher education was not an unique situation of South Vietnam. As in the case of Japan, Japanese administrators also practiced centralization in their education system. Albeit, by defining precisely and clearly the authority of each engaged party helped the Japanese higher education system to operate efficiently. The independence of local universities and private universities gave the Japanese more space and freedom from the intervention of the government.

4.2 Organizations of National Universities

The University of Saigon

As examined in the report of JUSPAO Saigon sent to USIA Washington in August 23, 1969, the organization of the University of Saigon was seen as inadequate and outdated, and it was thought to be under the influence of the former French model²⁷⁶ in many matters, for instance, the university was headed by a rector and the rector were assisted by engaged parties, including the vice rector and university council. Additionally, the way in which the university was organized, following the hierarchical system of the French education system. This phenomenon could be understandable because the University of Saigon was detached from the Indochinese University in 1955, and until the 1960s, the university continued to adhere to the statutes of the Indochinese University with little change, not adapting to new requirements.

The University of Saigon lacked of Boards of Trustees or coordinating mechanism as in the American model and the university was directed by a rector.

²⁷⁶ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Higher Education in Vietnam - U.S. Information Service", August 23, 1969, File 2322002007, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 4.

Board of Trustees: Authorized by a state legislature, public college and university boards of trustees determine the objectives and policies of their institution [...] The board, in order to carry out its business, has specialized committees on finance, development, investment, educational policy, student affairs, physical plant [sic], and executive committees. Only board members sit on these committees. The board also is responsible for choosing a chief executive and charging him with the responsibility and authority to operate the institution.²⁷⁷

Coordinating Mechanism: All states (in the United States- TTD), in order to coordinate all higher education activities, have a coordinating mechanism. Each state has a different type of coordinating agency [...]. The essential functions of the Committee are: (1) to make the various institutions relevant to the needs of the people of the state; (2) to recommend changes in programs and faculties; and (3) to provide for a single, consolidated, biennial budget request for all of the institutions. The committee is assisted by a special research and planning staff headed by a commissioner.²⁷⁸

The Rector was responsible for directing university administration, academic affairs, finances, public relations, and discipline.²⁷⁹ The rector was assisted by a secretariat, called the Rectorate. The Rectorate was headed by a Secretary General who was selected from the faculties by the Rector, however, appointed by the Minister of Education.

Table 4.2 Rectors of the University of Saigon

Nr	Rector	Term
1	Trần Quang Đệ	1964 – 1968
2	Trần Anh	1968
3	Trần Văn Tấn	1969 – 1973
4	Nguyễn Ngọc Huy	1974 – 1975

Source: “Hồ sơ v/v bổ nhiệm chức vụ Viện trưởng Viện Đại học Sài Gòn năm 1968–1973”, Hồ sơ số 6259, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

The Rectorate was divided into six functional bureaus (see below), headed by bureau chiefs who were civil servants.

²⁷⁷ Viện Đại học Sài Gòn, *Chỉ nam sinh viên*, 23.

Cited in Nguyen Xuan Thu, *Organization Structure and Governance*, 23.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 21-23.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 117.

1. The Rector's Office and Correspondence which directly serves the Rector
2. The University Affairs office which is responsible for "higher learning" including such areas as curriculum, scheduling, examinations, diplomas, scholarships, sports.
3. The Accounting and Foreign Aid Office which has responsibility for budget development, purchasing, payments, property management, collection of fees, and dealing with foreign assistance.
4. The General Management and Personnel Office which handles administrative matters and discipline concerning the faculty and civil service employees.
5. The Liaison and Social Affairs Offices which deals with foreign visitors and conferences and works some with student affairs.
6. Guidance and University Statistics, a new office that develops information on student services, guidance, testing, and placement.

All of those offices are small, no more a than dozen employees.²⁸⁰

The University Council was composed of senior professors and deans representing the Faculties, being responsible for general interests. The Council was the highest policy making body of the university. It was chaired by the Rector. Although the authority of the Council was not clearly defined, it was accepted as the collective voice of the decentralized faculties.

The Secretary General: This person was responsible for the offices of rector and mail service, personnel and administration, accounting and foreign aid, academic affairs, liaison and social welfare, and guidance and statistics. The student health center and the residence halls were also under the supervision of Secretary General.

The Faculty: The University of Saigon comprised eight faculties, the Faculty of Architecture, the Faculty of Dentistry, the Faculty of Law, the Faculty of Letters, the Faculty of Medicine, the Faculty of Pedagogy, the Faculty of Pharmacy, and the Faculty of Science. To some extent, the operation of these faculties were autonomous to the university administration. Each faculty determined its own academic programs, appointed new teachers, managed students and faculty disciplines, and developed its own budget. It

²⁸⁰ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Higher Education in Vietnam - U.S. Information Service", August 23, 1969, File 2322002007, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 5.

also scheduled classes, registered students, and maintained its own academic records. There were no central registrars or record-keeping offices. The organization of each faculty varied, but in general it included a dean, a faculty council, an assembly, and a secretariat headed by a secretary general.²⁸¹

Dean and Director: Each faculty and center were headed by a dean or a director, this position was appointed by the Minister of Education after the recommendation of the university council. The Dean served on the tenure of three years. However, with the exception of Deans of Law and Sciences Faculties, deans could be removed prematurely by the Rector before the expiration of their tenure. Assisting deans were vice deans, who were appointed according to the same procedure as the dean.

The Faculty Council: The faculty council was an elite body of each faculty. Its members comprised all faculty senior professors, the dean, the vice dean, one representative of the assistant professors, and one representative of the teaching assistants. The Dean was also the chairman of the council. As described in the 1970 Guidebook of the University of Saigon, the faculty council undertook the obligations as follows:

To propose matters related to recruitments, appointments, and promotions of all teaching staff members.

To propose candidates for training or official mission abroad.

To propose matters related to academic affairs.

To decide disciplinary measures to be applied to students.

To propose faculty budgets.²⁸²

The Faculty Assembly: In the University of Saigon, in addition to the Faculty Council, the Faculty Assembly also assisted the Dean in his duties. Unlike the Faculty Council, the assembly included all teaching staff of the faculty. It rarely met, only discussed problems in general, and therefore was an insignificant factor in the decision making process.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Nguyen Xuan Thu, *Organization Structure and Governance*, 125.
Cited in Viện Đại học Sài Gòn, *Chỉ nam sinh viên*, 19.

The University of Huế

The Rector: The rector of the University of Huế was appointed by the Minister of Education with Senate approval based on the recommendation of the RVN Presidents. The rector to fulfill his duties was assisted by a university council and a vice rector.

Table 4.3 Rectors of the University of Huế

Nr	Rector	Term
1	Nguyễn Thế Anh	1966 – 1968
2	Lê Thanh Minh Châu	1969 – 1975

Source: “Hồ sơ v/v bổ nhiệm chức vụ Viện trưởng Viện Đại học Sài Gòn năm 1968–1973”, Hồ sơ số 6259, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

The University Council: This council was made up of rector, vice rector(s), assistant rectors, chiefs of divisions, deans, vice deans, assistant deans, and one tenured professor from each faculty.²⁸³ Through the university council, the faculties at the University of Huế worked together to solve numerous problems instead of each going on its own separated way.²⁸⁴

The Secretary General: This position at the University of Huế took care of several services, such as academic affairs, accounting, mail service, public relations, student health, athletics, the linguistics laboratory, and library. The Secretary General was appointed by the Minister of Education following the proposal of the Rector.

The Administrative Center: This center was chaired by the secretary general, managing four specific offices and a library.

- a) Phòng Văn-Thư phụ trách.
 - tiếp nhận và phân phát công văn
 - lưu trữ hồ-sơ
 - nhu-cầu và phân phối giáo sư
 - đề-nghị giáo sư dạy giờ, dạy giờ phụ,

²⁸³ Nguyen Xuan Thu, *Organization Structure and Governance*, 117-118.

²⁸⁴ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “New Horizons for The University of Hue”, October 1969, File 2321827009, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 7.

- lập hồ-sơ và đề-nghị: tuyển dụng, tái tuyển, hội ngạch, biệt-phái bổ-nhiệm, thuyên-chuyển, nhập ngạch, và lưu-dụng các nhân-viên hành-chánh và các giáo-sư.
 - đề-nghị: thăng-thưởng, trừng phạt, nghỉ dài hạn, gia hạn, hộ sản, dưỡng bệnh v.v...
 - ngoại viện
 - Các việc mật và linh tinh.
- b) Phòng Học-vụ phụ-trách:
- về sinh-viên: ghi tên học, lập hồ sơ, học bạ, thẻ sinh viên, cấp phát chứng-chỉ học-trình, chứng-chỉ tạm về thi cử, các vấn-đề kỷ luật.
 - về học-vụ: soạn-thảo chương trình, thời khoá-biểu, trang bị các phòng thí-nghiệm, tổ-chức thi-cử.
- c) Phòng Kế-Toán và Vật-liệu phụ trách:
- đề-nghị về dự-án Ngân sách (one sentence missed)
 - thu nhận học phí, tiền dự thi
 - lập hồ-sơ và đề-nghị: học bổng, trợ cấp sinh viên
 - cấp phiếu đặt hàng
 - bảo tu động sản và bất động-sản của Viện.
- d) Phòng Liên-Lạc, Y-Tế Xã-hội và Thể-Thao phụ-trách:
- liên-lạc với các giáo-sư và sinh-viên
 - giao-dịch với các Đại-học-đường ngoại-quốc.
 - giao-dịch với các cơ-quan hay nhân-vật ngoại quốc quan tâm đến nền Đại học Huế.
 - các vấn-đề thể-dục, thể-thao, sức khoẻ sinh-viên hướng-dẫn sinh-viên, giúp đỡ sinh-viên.
- e) Thư-viện Đại-Học phụ-trách:
- tổ-chức điều hành và bảo thủ Thư-viện.²⁸⁵

(translated:

- a) The Mail Services Office
 Receiving and distributing the dispatches and documents
 Storing all documents
 Managing the faculty requirements and distributions of professors' tasks
 Proposing the teaching hours for professor, including over-time.
 Determining all the problems related to recruitment, and appointments.

²⁸⁵ “Hồ sơ hoạt động của Viện Đại học Huế năm 1963–1969”, Hồ sơ số 30296, Phòng Phủ Thủ tướng Việt Nam Cộng hoà (1954–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

Proposing promotions, the forms of disciplines, vacations, maternity leave, and illness treatments.

Taking charge of foreign aids and funds.

Responsibility for the confidential issues and others.

b) The Academic Office

In terms of Student Affairs: Several matters were under the authority of this office, such as enrollment, creating files, producing student cards, bestowing the certificates, the temporary certificates, the disciplines.

In terms of Academic Affairs: drafting curricula and schedules, equipping laboratories, organizing examinations.

c) The Accounting and Material Office

Proposing the financial projects

Receiving tuition fees and fees for examinations

Taking the responsibility for scholarship and allowance procedures

Producing the order forms

Overseeing all the assets and real estate belong to the university

d) The Liaison, Social Health, and Sport Office

Maintaining liaison with professors and students

Contacting foreign universities

Contacting organizations and people who are associated with the University of Huế

Helping all students' matters of sports and health.

e) The Library

Operating and maintaining the library.

Dean: the Faculties of the University of Huế were headed by Deans. The faculty deans were approved by the Minister of Education after the appointment of the rector or an election by the Faculty Council.²⁸⁶ The vice deans played a significant role to assist deans implement their duties and they served substitutes for deans in the absence of the deans.

The Faculty Council: As in other public universities' structures in South Vietnam, the Faculty Council was also a part of the organization system of the University of Huế. This

²⁸⁶ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "New Horizons for The University of Hue", October 1969, File 2321827009, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 7.

council was responsible for nominating deans for all faculties, ranking members of the teaching staffs²⁸⁷, and all related faculties affairs.

The University of Cần Thơ

The Rector: Similar to the organization of the University of Saigon and the University of Huế, the University of Cần Thơ was headed by a Rector, who was assisted by a university council, a general secretary, and a vice rector.²⁸⁸ The first Rector of the University of Cần Thơ was appointed by the President of the National Leadership Committee and the second Rector assumed this position according to a decree of the President of the Republic of Vietnam.

Table 4.4 Rectors of the University of Cần Thơ

Nr	Rector	Term
1	Phạm Hoàng Hộ	1966–1970
2	Nguyễn Duy Xuân	1970–1975

Source: “Hồ sơ v/v tổ chức bộ máy của Viện Đại học Cần Thơ năm 1965–1968”, Hồ sơ số 6034, Phòng Phủ Thủ tướng Việt Nam Cộng hoà (1954–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam and “Hồ sơ v/v thiết lập, đề cử, bổ nhiệm các chức vụ tại các Viện Đại học Cần Thơ, Huế, Duyên Hải (Nha Trang), Tiền Giang năm 1968 – 1974”, the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

The University Council: Following the model of the University of Saigon, in other words, the model of the French universities, the University Council was also the highest advisory agency for all activities of the University of Cần Thơ. This council comprised the Rector, the Deans, the Director, the General Secretary, the Advisory Academic (Đặc trách học vụ), the Student Affairs Management Department (Đặc trách sinh viên vụ), and the Director of the Library (Quản thủ thư viện). The university council convened twice a year by the Rector and to discuss important problems relating to the development of university. A number of main tasks of the Council were:

1. Cứu xét việc tuyển dụng các giáo chức Đại học từ cấp Giảng nghiệm viên và Phụ khảo trở lên, theo đề nghị của Khoa trưởng phân khoa liên hệ.
2. Nghiên cứu và đề nghị việc thăng thưởng các giáo chức Đại học theo đề nghị của Khoa trưởng.

²⁸⁷ Ibid., 7.

²⁸⁸ Phòng Tâm lý và hướng nghiệp Đắc Lộ, *Chi nam giáo dục*, 312. Cited in Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 70.

3. Nghiên cứu và đề nghị thiết lập cùng sửa đổi quy chế Đại học và các học chế của phân khoa cao đẳng.
4. Nhận các sinh tặng và di tặng, và quyết định sử dụng các tặng vật ấy.
5. Lập các đề nghị về ngân sách liên hệ tới Viện.
6. Đề nghị những biện pháp có mục đích gây tài chính riêng cho Viện ngoài các khoản trợ cấp của chính phủ.²⁸⁹

(translated:

1. The matters of the recruitment of the university staff following the nominations of the Deans.
2. Proposing the promotions of university staff members based on the nomination of Deans.
3. Establishing and amending the statutes of the university and the regulations of each faculty.
4. Receiving the donations as well as deciding the use of these donations for specific purposes.
5. Managing the financial issues of the university.
6. Proposing solutions to raise funds for the university beyond the government budget.)

The Council of Higher Education Reassessment: This Council was responsible for the teacher-training program, dealing with the shortages of teaching staff. Moreover, as the special activities, the Council organized graduate courses for people to pursue the doctoral programs.

The Advisory Council: The purpose of operating the council was to reinforce the relationship between the University of Cần Thơ and the local people in respect of considering opinions to develop the university; hence, the members of this council were not only the university staff, such as the rector, the general secretary, but also local scholars and the representatives of the Parent Student Associations from provinces in the Mekong Delta region.

²⁸⁹ Viện Đại học Cần Thơ, *Chỉ nam*, 9-10.
Cited in Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 70-71.

The Patron (Bảo trợ) and Development Council: This Council took charge of advancing the knowledge, culture, and morality of the community of the University of Cần Thơ; facilitating favorable conditions for the university's development; and attending the social, economic, cultural, educational activities in local and national events.

The Secretary General: The secretary general of the University of Cần Thơ was appointed by the Ministry of Education based on the nomination of the Rector. This person took charge of controlling all related issues of the university's finances and administration.

Aside from above councils, the University of Cần Thơ entailed other specialized offices for specific tasks. The five first offices in the list below were formed at the time of the University establishment in 1966, the others created later in 1969.

1. Phòng Hành chánh và Văn thư
2. Phòng Nhân viên
3. Phòng Kế toán và Ngoại viện
4. Phòng Học vụ
5. Phòng Sinh viên
6. Phòng Y tế sinh viên
7. Thống kê, Hướng dẫn và Liên lạc Quốc tế
8. Phòng Ấn loát và Trợ huấn cụ.²⁹⁰

(translated:

1. The Administrative and Mail Service Office
2. The Personnel Office
3. The Accounting and Foreign Relation Office
4. The Academic Office
5. The Student Affairs Office
6. The Student Health Office
7. The Statistics and Information Office
8. The Publishing and Educational Materials Office.)

²⁹⁰ “Hồ sơ v/v thiết lập và hoạt động của Viện Đại học Cần Thơ năm 1966–1972”, Hồ sơ số 30935, Phòng Phủ Thủ tướng Việt Nam Cộng hoà, the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. Bộ Giáo dục, Nghị định số 1503-GD/PC/NĐ ngày 02/07/1967 thiết lập Phòng thống kê, hướng dẫn và liên lạc quốc tế tại Toà Viện trưởng Viện Đại học Cần Thơ, Kho lưu trữ thuộc phòng Tổ chức Cán bộ, Đại học Cần Thơ. Cited in Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 72-75.

Regarding at the organization of RVN public universities in the 1967–1975 period, one could point out several characteristics. First, as mentioned, RVN public universities lacked a coordinating mechanism to control the general affairs of these universities, to coordinate all activities of each university, to form a universal curriculum for all, and to decrease the duplication or overlapping courses among the faculties and universities. By 1975, the Ministry of Education got involved directly in all university's activities rather than working through a representative agency of RVN universities. This attribute of the public institutions differed compared to the organization of RVN private universities. The five earliest private universities of South Vietnam, comprised the Đà Lạt University, the Vạn Hạnh University, the University of Hoà Hảo, the University of Minh Đức, and the University of Cao Đài, founded a coordinating structure called *the Council of Vietnamese Private University* in 1973 with the main purposes as follows:

To increase the quality of higher education by coordinating educational activities among the private universities.

To protect the interests of professors, students, and administrators of all private universities.

To work with the ministry of education, public institutions, and other related groups to improve higher education throughout the country.²⁹¹

This Council was chaired by each rector of the five private universities in the first five years and thereafter, the chairman would be voted by *the Council of Vietnamese Private University*.

A second point could be noticed in regard to the organization of RVN public universities was the establishment of a governing board for each university, which highly recommended in the educational proposal of the Wisconsin Stevens Point University team in 1967, but which was never actualized and legalized.

The Governing Board [...] should have the authority to direct all public higher education in the country [...]

Primarily the task of the Governing Board of the University of Viet-Nam should be one of setting the goals of higher education for the country, reinforced by the power to recommend new institutions and programs and to appoint officials for the implementation of goals. The Governing Board should have the responsibility periodically to review present programs and

²⁹¹ Hội đồng Đại học tư lập Việt Nam, *Nội qui*, 8.

Cited in Nguyen Xuan Thu, *Organization Structure and Governance*, 136.

propose new ones, to appoint rectors and other administrative heads of university and independent units in the system, and to approve the appointment of all life members of the teaching and administrative staffs of the various institutions. The Board should also review and approve the annual budget requests of each institution before the submission of an overall budget for higher education to the legislative and executive authorities of the national government.

The Governing Board of the University of Viet-Nam should include nine or ten members to be appointed by the legislature for terms of six years [...] No more than three members should be residents of the city of Saigon and minimum of two members should represent of each of the present Corps Areas of Viet-Nam or regions coterminous with the present under any district change to be made by the government hereafter. Members should represent a number of social, economic and political strata, as well as the regions of the country [...]

The Governing Board should have the services of a secretary general and staff, as well as the right to include in its annual budget for higher education funds for consultation and special research projects.²⁹²

In contrast to public universities, each private university had its own governing board which was named differently.²⁹³ For instance, the Đà Lạt University had the Đà Lạt University Association which consisted of all bishops in the Vietnamese Catholic Bishop Council. This Council appointed a governing board and a chancellor to oversee the university's activities. At the University of Hoà Hảo, the governing board comprised the ten foremost religious leaders of the Hoà Hảo religious orders. At the University of Minh Đức, the Minh Trí Association, a private cultural and educational association, was the governing board. The University of Cao Đài was governed by those members, who were appointed by the leaders of Cao Đài religion. Albeit, these governing boards of the South Vietnam's private universities seemed not have a full-function, contrary to the expectation of educational experts. The governing board of the University of Hoà Hảo attended solely to financial matters, the governing board of the University of Cao Đài was responsible for more aspects, such as *“to formulate policy and plan the development of the university; to design the university's structure; to find financial sources and raise*

²⁹² The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Public Universities of the Republic of Vietnam”, April 1967, File 0720510011, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 7-8.

²⁹³ Nguyen Xuan Thu, *Organization Structure and Governance*, 127-131.

funds; to control the university's budget; to design the university statute"²⁹⁴. However, the main tasks of a university, academic and research affairs, were not attended to properly by the governing board. The non-existence of a governing board for public universities along with the insufficient function of the governing boards in the section of private universities hindered the progress in higher education of South Vietnam in the 1967–1975 period. As in the study of Nguyễn Xuân Thu about the organizations of public universities in South Vietnam assessed: *"Each faculty is almost completely independent from the university on academic affairs, student personnel services, and budget"*²⁹⁵.

By comparing the organizations of public universities, including the University of Saigon, the University of Huế, and the University of Cần Thơ, an observation could be made that they were similar in terms of structure and the main functions of each agency and office. All universities were headed by a rector, who was assisted by several subordinate agencies: vice rector, the university council, and the secretary general. From a wider perspective, it could be summarized that the organizations of public universities in South Vietnam were constructed as a bureaucracy.

The bureaucratic model was first developed and made famous by Max Weber. Weber found that organizational structure vertically rigid and decisions are made from top to bottom. It is formal, relying little upon informal personal relation of individual within or between organization level.²⁹⁶

To some extent, the way in which these public universities were organized was a hinderance to the progress of the universities' operation in the 1960s and 1970s. Apparently, the bureaucratic model did not work well on specific situations of universities in different regions. Moreover, this caused a prevalent problem in the RVN administration - red tape. As mentioned in the section 4.1, the unclearly defined functions of positions and agencies led to an overlapping power situation in universities and between university staffs and state officials.

²⁹⁴ Viện Đại học Cao Đài, *Chỉ dẫn*, 12.

Cited in Nguyen Xuan Thu, *Organization Structure and Governance*, 131.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 126.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 27-28.

However, in analyzing the operation of each agency, one detects differences among RVN public universities. For instance, at the University of Cần Thơ, aside from having the University Council, it also had other specialized councils for specific purposes (*the Council of Higher Education Reassessment, the Advisory Council, and the Patron and Development Council*). Noticeably, only at the University of Cần Thơ existed a body which comprised both university members and local representatives (The Advisory Council), highlighting the close relationship between the university and the local demands. Another point should be clarified was the power of the governing bodies in each university. While at the University of Saigon, *the Rectorate* exercised the highest authority for all matters of academic, accounting, personnel, liaison, and student affairs, whereby at the University of Huế, these tasks were assigned to in *the Administrative Center*, and lastly the University of Cần Thơ had its University Council to undertake all these affairs.

4.3 Infrastructure

Inefficiencies

In 1955, a part of the Indochinese University followed the Southern exodus to settle in South Vietnam and thereby created an independent higher education institution in Saigon. The South Vietnamese society and government had not anticipated this situation. Subsequently, the establishment of a university in South Vietnam was challenged by many obstacles. First and foremost was the inefficiency of the university infrastructure in all faculties of the University of Saigon.²⁹⁷ Faculties had to locate in different areas, for instance, the Faculty of Medicine and Dentistry placed in a French villa on Trần Quý Cáp Street, the Faculty of Law located in two blocks of a former kindergarten, the Faculty of Architecture used an old office of the French military, the others, included Faculties of Science, Letters, and Pedagogy were settled on the campus sphere of the Pétrus Trương Vĩnh Ký Secondary School.²⁹⁸ The difficulties of the University of Saigon in the early stage were obvious. This situation continued for more than ten years, deeply affecting the

²⁹⁷ As mentioned, in 1955, the University of Saigon was only one university in South Vietnam and it was named the National University. Up until 1957, when the second university was installed in Huế with the name the University of Huế, since then the name of the University of Saigon was used officially to replace the former name, the National University.

²⁹⁸ “Sách giới thiệu về Cộng hoà Việt Nam năm 1974”, Hồ sơ số 215, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, 10.

productiveness of the training and learning process of the University of Saigon. The deficient status of classrooms and amphitheatres consequently prevented students from attaining optimal results of their studies.

To deal with the insufficiency of infrastructure in learning and teaching, the University of Saigon felt forced to implement a temporary solution, that was to limit the number of student enrolments. In the 1950s, the requirements to be accepted as a university student appeared to be not so stringent. The faculties of Medicine, Pharmacy, Dentistry, and Architecture, where students had to take a competitive exam to get a place at the preparatory courses, were exceptions. In the other faculties, students were only required to pass the *Bac II* exams before entering university classes.²⁹⁹ This undemanding requirement led to a remarkable increase in the number of students year by year. As the shortages of classrooms as well as learning and teaching facilities became more serious, the staff of faculties recommended that all faculties should have required entrance examinations to limit enrolments. Nevertheless, this recommendation brought drawbacks rather than advantages. Therefore, improving the infrastructure to adapt to requirements of the university and to meet demands of students who were eager to acquire knowledge of higher education became a permanent solution for not just the University of Saigon but for all national universities in South Vietnam.

Two years after the establishment of the National University (the University of Saigon), the University of Huế was created in 1957 to meet the needs in the central area of Vietnam. Despite the enthusiasm and support from prominent figures, such as President Ngô Đình Diệm and Priest Cao Văn Luận - who was later appointed the first Rector of the University of Huế, the establishment of this university also experienced visible challenges, especially in terms of infrastructure.

Shortly after the Decree to establish the University of Huế (March 1, 1957) was promulgated, two meetings were held on March 2-3, 1957, focusing on the matter of finding the location for this University. The meetings determined that, to prepare for the

²⁹⁹ “Sách giới thiệu về Cộng hoà Việt Nam năm 1974”, Hồ sơ số 215, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đế nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, 3.

first opening ceremony, the University of Huế expropriated a number of buildings from other departments to serve their training purposes. As examples, the headquarters of the University of Huế would use the building of the Government Delegation at the Central Coast (Toà Đại biểu Chính phủ tại Duyên hải Trung phần) as its headquarters, the private house of Hồ Đắc Trung became a dormitory for lecturers, who worked at the University of Huế, the School of Art took the former building of the Officers' Club, later this building was re-transferred to the Sinology Institute, and the Indochinese National Bank building at Huế was taken to build the library of the University of Huế and this building used in part for the temporary staying of some lecturers and professors from the University of Saigon flying to Huế.³⁰⁰ Apparently, the infrastructure of the University of Huế was spread out and not conducive for the training purpose. Despite financial insufficiency and the urgent needs to establish a university, the attempts to supply infrastructure for the University of Huế at the beginning stage displayed the great efforts of both South Vietnamese educators and politicians of the Republic of Vietnam.

The University of Cần Thơ faced the same problem as two other national universities in its foundation. The poor infrastructure comprised few buildings, an amphitheater of six rooms accommodating of 600 students, a library, and a tiny office for the Rector. Being flexibility in dealing with the condition, the University temporarily used the laboratory of the Secondary School Phan Thanh Giản and the practice room at the Health Center of Phong Dinh province³⁰¹ for its students in practising sections before it was able to support its own.

American Engagements

In 1967, higher education experienced a breakthrough of development in terms of infrastructure facilities based on an accurate investigation of South Vietnam's practical needs. A significant attention of the Vietnamese government, the U.S organizations, and other international education institutions were also given to this matter.

³⁰⁰ Lê Cung, "Những địa điểm đầu tiên", 468-472.

³⁰¹ "Hồ sơ v/v tổ chức bộ máy của Viện Đại học Cần Thơ năm 1965-1968", Hồ sơ số 6034, Phòng Phủ Thủ tướng Việt Nam Cộng hoà (1954-1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, 4.

It is necessary to be reminded that the education survey in 1967, which could be recognized as a premise to accelerate the university building process. Emphasizing the insufficient infrastructure of South Vietnam's national universities, American experts unequivocally pointed out that the inefficiency of the infrastructure was one of the deep-rooted problems of South Vietnam's higher education. At the same time, they searched for solutions to deal with this issue. As mentioned in the report, the central problem for all the national universities was visible in the shortage of campus facilities. Consequently, the preference was given to campus buildings, whereby less priority categories were defined according to specific requirements and status of each university. For instance, to centralize university campuses, single sites were proposed for the University of Saigon campus at Thủ Đức and several adjacent or nearby sites were offered at the University of Huế.³⁰²

In the case of the University of Saigon, the earliest and the best reputed university in South Vietnam, its campus facilities were more or less equipped but not yet sufficiently. To accelerate the entry into service of this university, the delayed constructions of a new Pedagogy building needed to be completed. The government of the Republic of Vietnam and the University Rectorate should have implemented a long term plan for their campus development. The areas for some faculties, such as faculties of Letters, Science and Law, were suggested to be a high priority. Completion of the Thủ Đức campus allowed it to vacate its inappropriate facilities which were remained for such a long time in this institution.

At the University of Cần Thơ, the latest-established one among public universities in South Vietnam, established in 1966, had almost no facilities. Subsequently, the construction task addressed in the beginning stage. Despite the difficulties, in some points, there were several opportunities to build the infrastructure of the University of Cần Thơ systematically. The tract of 80 hectares was designated to build accommodations, including laboratories, libraries and classrooms. In those, the American experts recommended to start the construction of a centralized library, and thereafter, to construct

³⁰² The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Public Universities of the Republic of Vietnam", April 1967, File 0720510011, Part A, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 33.

the Basic Arts and Sciences Faculty according to the form of the professional schools in Saigon.

In difference of the two cases above, the University of Huế took the role of an ideal higher education institution in the northern area of the Republic of Vietnam's territory, in order to highlight the cutting edge model of higher education in South Vietnam in contrast to the ones in North Vietnam. In the initial steps, the University of Huế had drawn immense attention to the medical school development. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the preference remained for this field. As a result, the unfinished wing of the medical school was suggested to be completed and the new medical school buildings were suggested to be built near the existed sites. Moreover, to facilitate the activities of the Medical School, more resources were invested for the hospitals and clinics.

In the turbulence of the Tết Offensive in 1968, while most of faculties of the University of Huế following the instruction of the president to stay put, the Faculty of Medicine departed to Saigon and remained there for nearly two years.³⁰³ During that time, the Faculty had received the appreciable assistance from Saigon professors, and the American Medical Association (AMA - who supported mainly for the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Saigon). Under the trustworthiness of the Dean Bùi Duy Tâm, some quarters and private houses were borrowed to use as the learning and living quarters for medicine students from Huế.³⁰⁴ In 1972, once again the University of Huế had to evacuate temporarily to Đà Nẵng in order to combat adverse effects caused by the military assaults. Due to those military events, damages were unavoidable, however, the administrators and professors of the University at Huế quickly found solutions to keep all functions running.

In a report which the University of Huế sent to the President, the Prime Minister, and the Education Minister of the Republic of Vietnam, the dire situation of the University caused

³⁰³ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "New Horizons for The University of Hue", October 1969, File 2321827009, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 18.

³⁰⁴ Lê Bá Vận, "Các Khoa trường Đại học Y Khoa Huế", available at http://ykhoahuehaingoi.com/ky/k_CacKhoaTruongDHYKHue_LeBaVan.html, posted on June 2010.

by the Tết Offensive was emphasized. Almost all of the laboratories of the University were devastated, other buildings also were impaired.³⁰⁵

[...] “The events of Tet were truly our darkest hours” say Rector Chau. “The physical plant of the university suffered nearly 90 percent damage. The handful of buildings left standing spilled over with refugees living behind blistered walls punctured by rocket and mortar rounds. We lost millions and millions in piasters. Almost all of our scientific equipment and laboratories were lost” [...] ³⁰⁶

To deal with the situation, the educators and professors at Huế required more financial assistance from the authorities and all other donators. Thereafter, the University of Huế received 15 million piasters from the government of Republic of Vietnam and the USAID mission to rebuild. In those amount, the Faculty of Medicine spent 3,200,000 piasters, the Faculties of Pedagogy, Science, and Letters used 10,500,000 piasters, 3 million piasters were consumed by the Faculty of Law for their rebuilding purpose.³⁰⁷

The Americans not only assisted the University of Huế in re-building, but also in re-furnishing its library and producing educational materials. The Ohio University helped to reconstruct and aided in the purchase of new books, and The Asia Foundation and CORDS (the U.S agency for Civil Operations and Revolutionary Development Support) granted the funds to employ students to type new index cards for library. The USAID library consultants helped to rebuild the list of books.³⁰⁸

As the 1972 cultural and educational policy indicated, the significant growth of student number led to requirements to improve the university infrastructure. It comprised several categories such as libraries, canteens, and dormitories other than classrooms. Additionally, the educational instruments which supported for teaching-learning process, also needed to be strengthened. In the early 1970s, in order to empower the higher education system and sharing the teaching burdens of the University of Saigon, the Thủ Đức Polytechnic

³⁰⁵ “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về hoạt động của Viện Đại học Huế năm 1968–1972”, Hồ sơ số 3745, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

³⁰⁶ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “New Horizons for The University of Hue”, October 1969, File 2321827009, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 17.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 18.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 19.

School was built in the suburban area of Saigon. Some other higher learning institutions, such as the National Administration Institute and the Nha Trang Oceanography Institute were annexed to the academic management of the University of Saigon.

4.4 Educational Budget

4.4.1 Educational Allocations and Expenses

Educational Allocations

The allocations for education were taken from the national budget annually for the payments of several aspects of education, such as teachers' salaries, educational materials, operational services, scholarships, infrastructure construction, and infrastructure maintenance. During the 1960s and 1970s, the budget which the RVN government allocated to the educational development had shown an upward trend. When in 1965, the budget amounted to VN\$ 2,5 billion (about US\$ 70,721,357), and increased approximately 4,5 times to the amount of VN\$ 11,3 billion in 1971 (around US\$ 95,762,711).³⁰⁹ Only in three years, the 1974 allocation for education climbed dramatically to the peak of 45 million³¹⁰ (around US\$ 80,357,142), 4 folded compared to the statistics in 1971. Even though, the budget invested in the education development was so minimal, only around 6%³¹¹ of the national budget compared to the government allocation to its security affairs, with approximately 70%. This matter was lamented many times by South Vietnamese educators. Seeing its improper, Mr. Trần Quang Đệ, the

³⁰⁹ “Hồ sơ kiểm tra toàn lĩnh vực giáo dục năm 1973”, Hồ sơ 3916, Phòng Cơ quan phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (1955–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

According to Niên giám thống kê [The Statistical Yearbook],

In 1965, 1 US\$ ~ 35,35 VN\$ (see Việt Nam Cộng hoà, Bộ Kinh tế, *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam 1964–1965*, 263).

Beginning November 15, 1971

1 US\$ ~ 118 VN\$: Transfers on behalf of the Government and foreign countries, transfers to student abroad. (see Việt Nam Cộng hoà, Bộ Kế hoạch và Phát triển Quốc gia, *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam 1971*, 170).

Beginning January 1, 1974, 1 US\$ ~ 560 VN\$ (see Nguyen Xuan Thu, *Organization Structure and Governance*, 103 (footnote)).

³¹⁰ To conduct all educational projects and programs, the Ministry of Culture, Education and Youth required a total expenditure of VN\$ 45,336,400,000. The national budget distributed VN\$ 45,000,000,000 to this Ministry, the left amount of VN\$ 336,400,000 came from foreign aids. “Bảng kê tình hình chi ngân sách quốc gia năm 1973–1974”, Hồ sơ số 4442, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID) (1955–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, 9, 540.

³¹¹ The education budget for entire system increased from 5,18% in 1968 to 6,04% in 1973.

Rector of the University of Saigon, once expressed in his report to the Prime Minister and the Education Minister of the Second Republic of Vietnam that: “*Tôi thiết nghĩ, xứ sở phải dành một phần lớn ngân khoản cho chiến tranh, và cũng phải dành một phần nào đó để củng cố hậu phương, đặc biệt là vấn đề giáo dục*”³¹² (translated: In my opinion, the nation needs to invest a massive part for the war, and also needs to allocate a reasonable amount for reinforce the rear, especially for the field of education).

Corresponding to the increase of the educational budget, the invested amount for higher education also rose: it comprised 10,62% from the entire education budget in 1968 and grew significantly to 17,16% in 1973. However, in comparison to the national budget, the allocation for higher education merely accounted for a modest amount, 0,55% in 1968 and 1,04% in 1973.³¹³ (see the Table 4.5 for details)

Table 4.5 Budget for Higher Education in the Years 1968–1973

Unit: VNĐ 1000

Budget	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
Total National Budget	111,000,000	145,534,224	197,062,000	272,069,818	324,231,619	435,132,987
Budget for Education	5,751,455	6,703,399	8,367,783	12,937,875	18,810,225	26,300,000
Budget for Higher Education	612,516	678,356	907,023	1,758,762	2,748,024	4,514,054
Ratio Education Budget/National Budget	5,18%	4,60%	4,25%	4,75%	5,80%	6,04%
Ratio Higher Education Budget/Education Budget	10,62%	10,12%	10,84%	13,59%	14,61%	17,16%

³¹² “Sách giới thiệu về Cộng hoà Việt Nam năm 1974”, Hồ sơ số 215, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đế nhệ Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, 20.

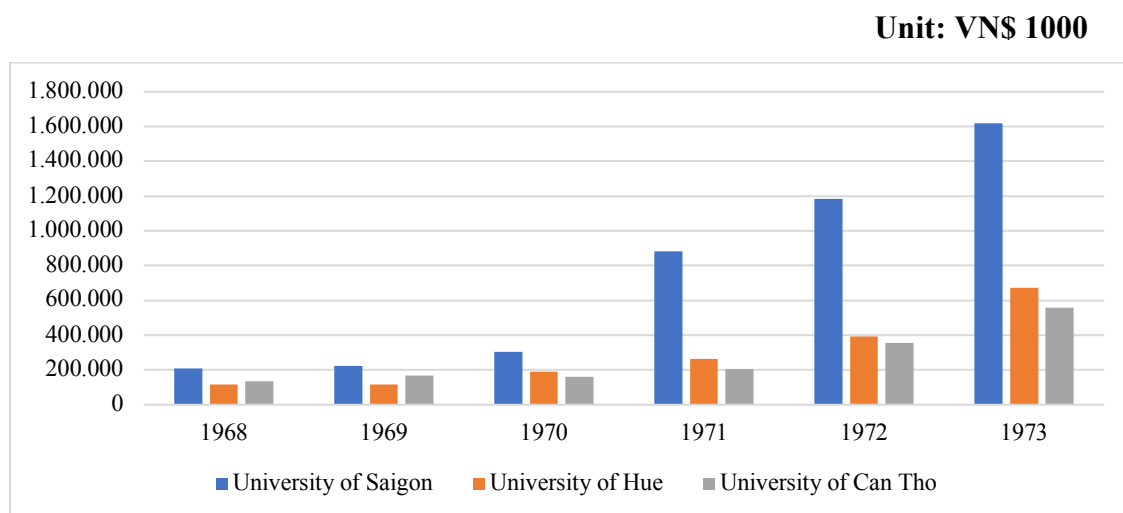
³¹³ Nguyen Xuan Thu, *Organization Structure and Governance*, 105.

Ratio Higher						
Education/National Budget	0,55%	0,47%	0,46%	0,65%	0,85%	1,04%

Source: Green, B. Charles, *Some Current Observations*, 38. Cited in Nguyen Xuan Thu, *Organization Structure and Governance*, 106.

In each public university, the upward tendency of investment was also observed. Analyzing the Graph 4.1, it could be seen that from 1968 to 1973, the allocations in three universities increased exponentially, especially in the case of the University of Saigon. Only in a five year period, the budget for the University of Saigon multiplied roughly eight times from VN\$ 207,099,000 in 1968 and to VN\$ 1,620,000,000 in 1973. The budget of two other universities also grew impressively with around a six-fold increase at the University of Huế, from VN\$ 117,966,000 in 1968 to VN\$ 674,000,000 in 1973 and the University of Cần Thơ approximately increased 5 times, from VN\$ 134,287,000 in 1968 to VN\$ 559,000,000 in 1973. Ostensibly, the budget of the University of Saigon was much higher than the other universities. This could be understood easily because this university was the largest university in South Vietnam at that time, where receiving approximately 80% of the South Vietnam university enrollment annually.³¹⁴

Graph 4.1 Budget of Public Universities in the Years 1968–1973



Source: Green, B. Charles, *Some Current Observations*, 37. Cited in Nguyen Xuan Thu, *Organization Structure and Governance*, 104.

³¹⁴ For example, in the 1972–1973 academic year, the enrollments of the University of Saigon were 63,798 students in the total enrollments of 87,608 students in all South Vietnam universities. Green, B. Charles, *Some Current Observations*, 13.

In 1974, in parallel to the escalation of the education budget, the investment for three public universities: the University of Saigon, the University of Huế, and the University of Cần Thơ, rose to the amount of VN\$ 2,391,000,000, VN\$ 744,000,000, and VN\$ 924,000,000, respectively.³¹⁵ Showing the same trend of 1973, all public universities continued to register an upward tendency. In spite of that, the University of Saigon and the University of Cần Thơ marked a considerable increase, the invested amount for the University of Huế rose slightly, adding only VN\$ 70,000,000 to its budget. According to Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh, a former Rector of the University of Huế and a former professor at the University of Saigon, he explained that this meager sum added to the budget of the University of Huế was due to the presumption that this university had already received massive assistance from the Americans.³¹⁶

The Ministry of Education was authorized to distribute national budget to universities. To receive the budget, the universities were required to submit a financial-expense proposal yearly. Not all types of expenses were accepted, therefore, the allowed amount was usually considerably lower than what universities had proposed. As an example, in 1967, the University of Saigon requested VN\$ 38,681,000, which was lessened to VN\$ 23,866,000. See the Table 4.6 below.

Table 4.6 The Financial Proposal for Operating Service and Equipment Expense of the University of Saigon (1966-1968) - Unit: VN\$

Year	Operating Service		Equipment Expenses	
	Proposal	Accepted	Proposal	Accepted
1966	28,269,000	11,597,000	23,059,000	8,563,000
1967	38,681,000	23,866,000	32,330,000	14,000,000
1968	60,000,000	30,016,000	57,349,000	12,000,000
Total	126,950,000	65,479,000	112,738,000	34,563,000

Source: “Sách giới thiệu về Cộng hoà Việt Nam năm 1974”, Hồ sơ số 215, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, 17.

³¹⁵ “Bảng kê tình hình chi ngân sách quốc gia năm 1973–1974”, Hồ sơ số 4442, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID) (1955–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, 9.

³¹⁶ The author consulted Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh’s opinions via email.

This occurrence was not a peculiar to the University of Saigon but experienced in other public universities. Dr. Lê Thanh Minh Châu, the Rector of the University of Huế did complain that “*We have asked for 260 million piasters for the forthcoming years [...]. We don’t know if we will be fortunate enough to receive that amount. But our argument is that we need the additional funds for our new programs*”³¹⁷.

Educational Expenses

As stated, the educational budget was spent on a diversity of purposes of each university. Some common expenses could be listed, such as personnel salaries (this matter will be clarified in the next section), materials and managing services, ordinary transfers, transfers of capitals, direct investments, and financial investments (see the Table 4.7 below to have a look at the detail expenditures of each public university in a year). The amount for the category of direct investment was always a massive part which accounted for nearly one-half of the total budget. Ranking the second was the payment for the staff salary of universities. From these categories, the budget was split into much smaller parts for specific purposes and payments during the school year operation. For instance, in 1972, from the total amount of VN\$ 1,185,955,000³¹⁸, the University of Saigon devoted VN\$ 3,994,650 for teaching hour allowances, VN\$ 672,000 for directorates’ salaries, and VN\$ 300,000 for materials and managing services in the category of training secondary teachers.³¹⁹

Table 4.7 Expenditures of Public Universities in 1973

Unit: VN\$ 1000

Nr.	Category of Expenditures	University of Saigon	University of Huế	University of Cần Thơ
1	Salaries and Allowances for Civilian Personnel	571,000	264,000	138,500

³¹⁷ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “New Horizons for The University of Hue”, October 1969, File 2321827009, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 15.

³¹⁸ Green, B. Charles, *Some Current Observations*, 37.

³¹⁹ Hồ sơ số 27291, Phòng Phủ Thủ tướng Việt Nam Cộng hoà (1954–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

2	Salaries and Allowances for Military Personnel	30,000	x	500
3	Materials and Managing Services	200,000	70,000	78,000
4	Interests, Reimbursements and Funds for Contribution	x	x	x
5	Ordinary Transfers	81,000	54,000	22,000
6	Transfers of Capitals	x	x	x
7	Direct Investments	738,000	286,000	320,000
8	Financial Investments	x	x	x
9	Non-Categorized Expenditures	x	x	x
Total		1,620,000	674,000	559,000

x: No statistics

Source: “Bảng kê tình hình chi ngân sách quốc gia năm 1973–1974”, Hồ sơ số 4442, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID) (1955–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, 546-552.

In order to facilitate the study of all students, particularly the talented students, the universities allotted scholarships and allowances for students from their budgets. For instance, the University of Huế awarded from 350 to 1000 piasters for each student/month.³²⁰ Compared to the allocation for overseas students, this amount was extremely minute (see Chapter 6), albeit it demonstrates the policy of RVN authorities and educators to encourage higher learning. On the average, the expenditure for each student was VN\$ 26,000 per academic year.³²¹ In the education development plan for the 1971–1975 period, the estimated allocation for each student in higher education rose considerably. The Table 4.8 illustrates this tendency.

³²⁰ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “New Horizons for The University of Hue”, October 1969, File 2321827009, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 15.

³²¹ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Republic of Vietnam Ministry of Education Educational Four-Year Development Plan (1971–1975)”, File 2391102005, Part C. The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 50.

Table 4.8 Estimated Common Expenditures for Higher Education

Unit: VN\$ 1000

School Year	Estimated Number of Students	Expenditures
1971–1972	57,857	1,504,300
1972–1973	68,765	1,788,000
1973–1974	81,727	2,125,000
1974–1975	97,132	2,526,000
1975–1976	115,441	3,002,000

Source: The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Republic of Vietnam Ministry of Education Educational Four-Year Development Plan (1971–1975)”, File 2391102005, Part C, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 50.

Despite there was an average amount for student expenditures, the figure varied from university to university. In 1973, the University of Huế allotted VN\$ 100,000 per student (approximately US\$ 200)³²², the University of Cần Thơ spent somewhat more for their students to the amount of VN\$ 125,000, and the students of the University of Saigon were provided the lowest amount with VN\$ 26,000 per person.³²³ It is not a contradiction that the University of Saigon received the highest amount of the national budget, while their students were granted an average amount of expenditure which was much lower than the allocations for students of the University of Huế and the University of Cần Thơ. As emphasized, 80% of South Vietnamese students enrolled in the University of Saigon every year, the remaining 20% were to be found in other higher learning institutions, including public and private universities. Therefore, the budget of the University of Saigon needed to be divided into much smaller sectors for their expenditures as compared to other universities.

4.4.2 Fees and Salaries

Fees

The fees that South Vietnamese students were obligated to pay for the public universities were nominal. Each student of the University of Saigon just paid an minimal amount, less

³²² Beginning January 1, 1974, 1 US\$ ~ 560 VN\$

See Nguyen Xuan Thu, *Organization Structure and Governance*, 103 (footnote).

³²³ Green, B. Charles, *Some Current Observations*, 36.

than US\$ 2 per year as an enrollment fee.³²⁴ A slightly higher amount was contributed by the students of the University of Huế, annually paying 1036 piasters (VN\$)³²⁵, which was equivalent to around US\$ 8/student. Aside from the enrollment fees, the students also paid an insignificant amount for the other fees, such as library fees, internship fees, and health insurance fees. Some students who were the national scholarship holders, the children of fallen soldiers, the descendants of university staff, and the siblings of those who were already studying, were exempted to pay tuition fees.³²⁶

As pointed out in the previous sections, the expenditures for public universities came in the most part from the national budget. This caused the dependence of universities on the government decisions. Subsequently, it seemed to be impossible to exercise the autonomy of universities. Therefore, the discussion of tuition fees varied markedly among university leaders.

Because of the financial model of foreign higher learning institutions, in which the tuition fees of students composed a decisive portion of university budgets, most public university rectors agreed to collect tuition fees.³²⁷ Nonetheless, the matter of collecting tuition fees was not an easy task. The Republic of Vietnam desired to exercise mass education, which meant the opportunity of participating at all levels of training for all citizens. However, not all South Vietnamese families could afford to finance for their children's studies if they needed to pay high tuition fees. In the second look, the benefit from higher education training was not only for the students themselves but favoring other social entities directly and indirectly. To respond to this matter, South Vietnamese educators found it necessary to define whom benefited from education. If the student benefited from higher education, they should pay for those fees. If both society and students benefited, both should pay.

Benefits take many forms. Some individual and accrue to the direct recipients of education; among other advantages are a higher income, a more satisfying job, greater effectiveness as a consumer, greater ability in allocating time as well as money, direct enjoyment of the

³²⁴ Ibid., 40.

³²⁵ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "New Horizons for The University of Hue", October 1969, File 2321827009, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 15.

³²⁶ Phòng Tâm lý và Hướng nghiệp Đắc Lộ, *Chỉ nam giáo dục*, 320.
Cited in Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 83.

³²⁷ Nguyen Xuan Thu, *Organization Structure and Governance*, 114.

educational process and its related activities, and lifetime enhancement of cultural and other experiences. Some benefits are social and accrue to nonrecipients as well as to direct recipients of education; among the gains are greater economic growth based on the general advancement of knowledge and elevation of skills and on the higher proportion of the population in the labor force and the enhanced mobility of members of the labor force; greater political effectiveness of a democratic society based on the more adequate knowledge and more active participation of citizens; greater social effectiveness of society through the resultant better understanding and mutual tolerance among individuals and groups; the more effective preservation and extension of the cultural heritage; the greater ability of individuals and groups to accept and adjust to rapid change; and the greater potential contribution of educated parents to the welfare of their children.³²⁸

In a study of the Carnegie Commission on the issue of higher education tuition fees, based on the responsibility of each engaged party and the benefits which these parties could gain, it envisaged a scenario of tuition fee contributions in the American universities in the 1970s and forwards. In that scenario, the federal government was expected to share approximately 50% of total governmental funding of higher education; the state government still played a vital role in any gradual redistribution of the burden of college costs and contributed the largest resource of institutional support for higher education; colleges and universities were urged to contain their expenditures and redouble efforts to assure the most effective use of resources consistent with the maintenance of quality; students and parents varied their contributions in specific cases, tuition charges in public institutions would rise more rapidly than in the past, tuition charges in private institutions would rise at about the rate of increase in per capita disposable income, and students and their parents, who could afford to pay, would have to shoulder a larger proportion of educational costs, but low-income students would be enabled to meet subsistence as well as tuition costs.³²⁹ The scenario of American tuition fees somehow could give a suggestion for higher education in South Vietnam. However, until 1975, generating tuition fees as a major contribution to public universities' revenue was not actualized.

³²⁸ Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, *Higher Education*, 2-3.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 124-127.

As depicted, the American universities, particularly public universities functioned in dependence on the national budget. This point was not different compared to the public universities in South Vietnam or elsewhere. The core problem is that the American higher education system was allocated 2,5% of the U.S. total national production³³⁰, the South Vietnam government only spent 0,5% to 1%, which obviously was inadequate.

Salaries

According to the Decree 042-SL/Th.T/CV of March 27, 1969 pertaining to the amendment of allowances and scholarships in the field of education³³¹, the salary for teaching staff varied depending on the positions of teaching staff. For instance, state professors, lectures and officials (giáo sư, giảng sư, giảng viên công chức và nhân viên ngoại ngạch) were paid VN\$ 260/hour; private professors and lecturers were paid VN\$ 330/hour; instructors were paid only VN\$ 800/month.³³² The salary was also different between the theory section and the practical section (see the tables below).

Table 4.9 University Salary for Theory Teaching (Unit: VN\$)

The teaching staff hierarchy	Whole year subjects (salary/total teaching hours)	Half year subjects (salary/total teaching hours)
Titular Professor (Giáo sư thực thụ)	11,200	8,600
Deputy Professor (Giảng sư), Agrégé Professor (Giáo sư thực sĩ), Lecturer (Giảng viên),	9,600	7,200
Titular Professor at the talented classes of Law (Giáo sư thực thụ tại các lớp năng lực luật học)	6,400	x
Other teaching staff (Nhân viên giảng huấn khác)	5,300	x

x: No statistics

Source: “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng và du học năm 1969”, Hồ sơ số 3473, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

³³⁰ Ibid., 1.

³³¹ “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng và du học năm 1969”, Hồ sơ số 3473, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

³³² Ibid.

Table 4.10 University Salary for Practical Teaching**Unit: VN \$**

Nr	The teaching staff hierarchy	Salary/hour
1	Titular Professor (Giáo sư thực thụ)	270/ 2 hours
2	Other teaching staff (Nhân viên giảng huấn khác)	220/ 2 hours
3	Operating assistant (Phụ tá điều khiển công tác)	170/ 2 hours
Over-teaching time		
1	State professor and lecturer (Giảng viên và giáo sư công chức)	360/hour
2	Private professor and lecturer (Giảng viên và giáo sư tư nhân)	480/hour

Source: “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng và du học năm 1969”, Hồ sơ số 3473, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

The above data shows that professors and lecturers of the private section tended to receive a higher salary as those in the public section. As calculated, the standard of living of 10% of the total population in South Vietnam in 1974 was over the average (over US\$ 480), of 20% was above the average (over US\$ 120), of 40% was over three-fourth of the average (over US\$ 90), of 70% was over one-half of the average (over US\$ 60), and of 30% was below half of the average (below US\$ 60).³³³ Compared to the average income of the South Vietnamese population, having the salary of VN\$ 240,000/year (around US\$ 500), the professors could afford all the expenses by their salary.

However, the complaints of university professors occurred commonly: “*University professors find their talents so much in demand and are so poorly paid, an average of 18,000 to 20,000 piasters a month*”³³⁴. The poor payment might not mean a specific salary but extensive tasks which South Vietnamese professors needed to fulfill in the

³³³ Nguyen Anh Tuan, *South Vietnam Trial*, 348.

³³⁴ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “New Horizons for The University of Hue”, October 1969, File 2321827009, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 14.

1967–1975 period. The scarcity of teaching staff meant that each professor handled overloaded tasks. Moreover, they had not only many classes at single university but at many universities in South Vietnam. Only the issue of transferring from one to another place costed much time of professors.

4.5 Relations of Education Agencies

4.5.1 Teacher - Students Relations

Teaching Staff

The attention of teachers to several aspects, ranging from their duties, their missions, to their rights were briefly presented in the Chapter V, Part II of the cultural and educational policy issued in 1972.³³⁵ With the decisive role in the teaching and learning process, the teachers were not only asked to possess an extensive knowledge acquired from serious and consecutive trainings but also always had to have acute awareness of their responsibilities to the individual, the society, and the youth. Teaching and researching were parallel tasks. It is obvious that the teachers engaged in an arduous work, therefore one needed to be thoughtful in recruiting those who fully meet all criteria in terms of morality, knowledge, and physique. Teachers were encouraged to attend training courses in Vietnam and abroad in order to update their knowledge and improve their teaching methods. Engaging in such hard works, teachers had to be treated worthy showing on their salary and other allowances. The teachers had the teacher association which was responsible to protect their rights and served as conduit to transfer their interest to the government.

The scarcity of teaching staff and professors led to the phenomenon of “suitcase professors”³³⁶ which was popular in South Vietnam’s higher education in the years between 1967 and 1975. Many professors at the University of Saigon took charge of lecturing at the University of Huế and University of Cần Thơ. This also explained above

³³⁵ See Hội đồng Văn hoá Giáo dục, *Chính sách Văn hoá Giáo dục*, 62-64.

³³⁶ This mentioned in Tuong Vu and Sean Fear (Eds.), *The Republic of Vietnam*, 105-116, see Chapter 2.

They were named “suitcase professors” because the professors always flew with Vietnamese airlines to be convenient in transferring from Saigon to Huế, and their belongs for few days there, of course was a suitcase.

information why the University of Huế and the University of Cần Thơ considered the plan of constructing lecturer houses for the professors from Saigon. Trần Văn Sơn (his penname is Trần Bình Nam), formerly a visiting professor at the University of Huế, reminisced in his essay, when he flew from Nha Trang to Saigon for next flight to Huế, that he met many professors from the University of Saigon, such as, Dr. Nguyễn Ngọc Huy, Dr. Bùi Duy Tâm, and Architect Tôn Thất Cảnh also flew to Huế for teaching.³³⁷ The case of Dr. Bùi Duy Tâm was special. He was appointed to the Dean of the Medicine School at the University of Huế in December 1967, however, he continued to fulfill the teaching tasks at the University of Saigon, and only flew to Huế once a month to solve the affairs there.³³⁸

In the study of Thomas Reich, he argued that the emergence of suitcase professors was due to the inadequate salaries. In order to supplement their income, they needed to teach at other universities and also sold their lecture notes.³³⁹ To some extent, this interpretation was not perfectly accurate. The phenomenon of suitcase professors resulted more from the lack of professors for university teaching rather than financial shortages. Moreover, as the analysis and comparison of the income of professors and lecturers to the average income of the South Vietnamese residents, obviously the salary of professors was not in the low-income group (see the section 4.4.2).

In public universities, professors often switched from one university to the next. For example, Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trung used to be a professor at the University of Huế, later he moved to the University of Saigon for a permanent position there. Another case, Doctor of Physics Nguyễn Văn Thạch and his wife - Dr. Đào Ngọc Bích after their abroad trainings in France, they came back to the University of Huế before moving to Saigon in 1967 and later assumed professorships at the University of Cần Thơ.³⁴⁰ Prof. Phạm Hoàng

³³⁷ Trần Văn Sơn, “Vui buồn với Đại học Huế”, 2016, available at <https://hung-viet.org/a22517/vui-buon-voi-vien-dai-hoc-hue>, posted on February 10, 2016.

³³⁸ Lê Bá Vận, “Các Khoa trưởng Đại học Y Khoa Huế”, available at http://ykhoahuehaingoi.com/ky/k_CacKhoaTruongDHYKHue_LeBaVan.html, posted on June 2010.

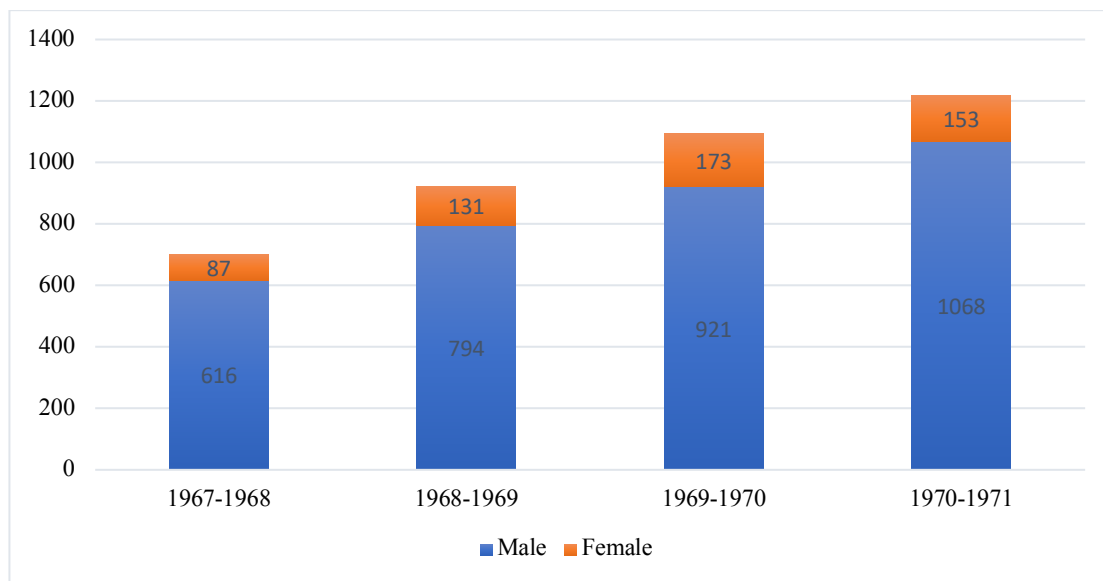
³³⁹ Reich, Thomas C., “Reforming Higher Education”, 1-23.

³⁴⁰ Nguyễn Tuyết Lộc, “2- Lê Lợi (Huế) – Địa chỉ khó quên”,

Hộ worked at the University of Saigon before being appointed the Rector position at the University of Cần Thơ.

In the years 1967 to 1975, dealing with the core problem of the universities: the shortage of teaching staff, many teacher-training programs were conducted in South Vietnam as well as abroad. To some extent this effort obtained certain successes, which were evidenced in the rapid growth of teaching staff at all universities.

Graph 4.2 The Number of University Teaching Staff (1967–1971)



Source: Việt Nam Cộng hoà, Bộ Kế hoạch và Phát triển Quốc gia, *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam 1972* [The Statistical Yearbook], Viện Quốc gia thống kê, 77.

The graph illustrates a dominant number of the male teaching staff in comparison to the female group. Even though both experienced a gradual increase during four years of 1967–1971, two groups showed a big gap in terms of quantity. In the 1970–1971 school year, the total number of teaching staff amounted to 1068 males and 153 females, of those, 1170 were Vietnamese and 51 were foreigners.

Contributing to increase the number of teaching staff at the public universities were the returning of overseas students. Noticeably, most were American-trained professors. To name some examples of faculties and schools of RVN public universities, the School of

available at <https://dutule.com/a6593/nguyen-tuyet-loc-2-le-loi-hue-dia-chi-kho-quen->, posted on May 7, 2015.

Medicine at the University of Huế formerly had massive assistance from German doctors and professors from the University of Freiburg. After 1963, when the Rector Cao Văn Luận was removed from his position (because of the internal conflict at the University of Huế and also personal disagreements between him and President Ngô Đình Diệm³⁴¹), the relations with German professors, which were based on the personal relationship of Rector Cao Văn Luận worsened. Most of German professors returned to Germany and a few of them stayed on at the University of Huế to conduct the teaching task. To overcome that situation, many Vietnamese professors were appointed to the teaching and managing positions at this faculty. Two deans of the Faculty of Medicine from 1967 to 1975, Dr. Bùi Duy Tâm and Dr. Lê Bá Vận, were both trained at American universities.³⁴² The training background could have been a convenient element for these professors to procure the American assistance after the departure of German professors.

Students

In line with the establishment of the statute for teachers, South Vietnamese educators also had deeper thoughts on the matter of the rights and obligations of students.³⁴³ Students needed to be educated not only in basic knowledge, but also to obtain other skills which enabled them to be compatible to the requirements of the recruiters after their graduation. To develop fully the potential of each student, the schools were asked to instruct students in the most initial steps when choosing their study majors. Meeting the new trend of universities in advanced countries, South Vietnamese educators were attracted to a dual education system which permitted students to study and work in parallel. Moreover, a broader point of view was given, which was the educators' assessments were made according to the skills of individual student. This created more chances for them to develop their abilities. Students were also required to play a more active role in the teaching - learning process. In order to advance the opportunity for students to raise their

³⁴¹ See Cao Văn Luận, *Bên giòng lịch sử*.

And Trần Văn Sơn, "Vui buồn với Đại học Huế", 2016, available at <https://hung-viet.org/a22517/vui-buon-voi-vien-dai-hoc-hue>, posted on February 10, 2016.

³⁴² Lê Bá Vận, "Các Khoa trưởng Đại học Y Khoa Huế", available at http://ykhoahuehaingoi.com/ky/k_CacKhoaTruongDHYKHue_LeBaVan.html, posted on June 2010.

³⁴³ Hội đồng Văn hoá Giáo dục, *Chính sách Văn hoá Giáo dục*, 40-41.

voices, students needed to have their own representatives. These people represented students' opinions and informed problems to the faculty councils.

The expansion of universities and the enhancement of university infrastructure created more opportunities for students to attend the classes at RVN universities. As a result, the enrollment figures at the national universities grew steadily during the school years 1966 to 1971 in all faculties.

Table 4.11 Enrollments in National Universities (in Saigon, Huế, Cần Thơ)

School Year	Pedagogy	Law	Letters	Sciences	Medicines	Dentistry	Pharmacy	Architecture
1966–1967	1.307	8871	6945	6043	1378	172	2880	924
1967–1968	1320	9367	6904	6730	1403	211	2577	558
1968–1969	1440	12009	7641	7321	1682	239	2264	554
1969–1970	1519	13673	13246	7302	1652	266	2119	689
1970–1971	2156	16772	15821	9500	1546	235	1837	663

Source: The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Republic of Vietnam Ministry of Education Educational Four-Year Development Plan (1971–1975)”, File 2391102005, Part D. The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

The above number of 48,530 students enrolled in the 1970–1971 school year at three public universities (including the University of Saigon, the University of Huế, and the University of Cần Thơ) was so humble in respect to the size of the South Vietnam's population in 1970 (17,000,000 people³⁴⁴), accounting for approximately 0,3%. When tracing back to the situation of Vietnam education in the mid-nineteenth century as 80% of Vietnamese people were illiterate³⁴⁵, and even more recently up to the 1950s when no

³⁴⁴ Việt Nam Cộng hoà, Bộ Kế hoạch và Phát triển Quốc gia, *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam 1972*, 357.

³⁴⁵ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Vietnam Feature Service Report (Pubs-016): Forging a New System of Education in Vietnam”, File 1070323001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 2.

college-level instruction existed in South Vietnam³⁴⁶, it was proper to acknowledge that this was the achievement of RVN higher education system. The figure of 0,3% university students demonstrates the great efforts of RVN educators.

Teacher - Student Relations

Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trường, who was formerly the Minister of Education of the Republic of Vietnam, and also was a professor at the University of Huế, the University of Saigon, and the University of Cao Đài, represented an unconventional perspective on the aspect of the relationship between students and teachers.

Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trường was born in 1930 at Vĩnh Long. He was appointed to the Director of the Elementary and Popular Education Department in 1963 and was invited to be the Minister Education of the Republic of Vietnam in 1966. It was well-known that he was a forcible educator who desired to separate the educational activities from the political influences. Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trường was also acknowledged for his great contribution to establish the University of Cần Thơ.³⁴⁷

In thousand years of traditional education, Vietnamese had always respected gratefully their teachers and followed all teaching and saying from their teachers without question. This created a common phenomenon for Vietnamese education, in which teachers were the monologists and the students were the passive listeners. This status gradually changed in the second half of the twentieth century. Evidence is an opinion of Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trường about the role of teachers in the teaching-learning process. Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trường emphasized that teaching was not a simple imparting of knowledge, was not a propaganda, and definitely not a brain-washing process. According to him, “*the learner plays the main role and the teacher plays the supporting role*” (Người học là chính và người dạy là phụ³⁴⁸). Therefore, the teachers could not force their students to follow teacher’s values and criteria but rather to inspire them to explore their own solutions. To doing so, the teachers needed “*to silence their own ego*” (làm im lặng cái tôi của người thầy) and encouraged students raise their voices, to strengthen the confidence of students,

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 9.

³⁴⁷ Information was cited selectively from the source Nguyễn Thanh Liêm (Ed.), *Giáo dục ở miền Nam*, 55-57.

³⁴⁸ Ibid., 64.

subsequently to pave the way for the creation and success of the individual student. The best result that could be obtained in the teaching-learning process was not to be found in the knowledge of that lecture, of the understanding of students about the specific lessons, but moreover, the way in which students grasped knowledge. In other words, the goal was to find methods to obtain knowledge rather than knowledge itself. Interestingly, Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trường argued that students could be teachers in the teaching-learning process by producing good feedback to help their teachers conducting the teaching tasks effectively.³⁴⁹ Agreeing with these arguments and perspectives of Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trường pertaining to the teacher-student relationship, Prof. Lê Thanh Minh Châu clarified that the teachers, in order to fulfill their teaching role, were not only performing the task of indoctrinators but rather being instructors for students, understanding the students' abilities, and teaching students with affection.³⁵⁰

4.5.2 Relationships Among University - Society- Family - Social Organizations

The age of universities, as an ivory tower, was over. In the twentieth century, updating the new higher education tendencies, which focused on practical purposes, each university was required to consider comprehensively their productivity and effectiveness for social development. Subsequently, the university teaching activities were not separate but closely engaged in other non-academic parties, such as families and social organizations. Researching the relationships among the educative agencies of RVN higher education is an arduous work. Not many official documents or archival documents mentioned this aspect of education. In order to develop a clearer view of these relationships, this study gathers and extracts the information from memoirs and essays of RVN former educators and professors at that time.

Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trường, once stated that the operation of one certain university was not only affected by the internal factors but also was subjected to a complex network of relationships of university, other institutions, students, parents of students, and government.³⁵¹ In this respect, the University of Cần Thơ could be considered as a good

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 91.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., 350.

³⁵¹ Nguyễn Thanh Liêm (Ed.), *Giáo dục ở miền Nam*, 59-60.

example of the close relationships among educative agencies. At the initial stage of its establishment, the combined efforts of educators and local people were evidently demonstrated. The initial idea to establish a university in Cần Thơ province received wholehearted support from the local people, especially the parents' student associations from the Mekong Delta region. As a result, a committee was formed, comprised of the extensive engaged parties of educators, professors, administrators, parents' students, and officials. This committee was responsible for proposing a plan of the long term development of the University of Cần Thơ and drafting the financial requirements for the University. See the table below.

Table 4.12 Members of the Research and Planning Committee for the Organization and Development of the University of Cần Thơ

Participants	Career	Position
Dr. Trần Quang Đệ	Member	Chairman
Lê Công Chất	The Administrative Assistant of the Military Region IV	Vice-chairman
Phạm Hoàng Hộ	Professor at the Faculty of Science	Member
Nguyễn Văn Bông	Professor, Director of the National Administration Institution	Member
Trần Văn Tấn	Dean of the Faculty of Pedagogy	Member
Đặng Quang Điện	Director of the Agriculture and Forestry Department	Member
Bùi Xuân Bào	Professor at the Faculty of Letters	Member
Lâm Thanh Liêm	Secretary General of the University of Saigon	Member
Nguyễn Văn Phương	The President of the parents' student association of An Giang Province	Member
Vương Kỳ Nam	Member of the provincial Board of Ba Xuyên	Member
Trần Phương Nhứt	Retired Official	Member
Võ Văn Giới	Member of the provincial Board of Châu Đốc province and the vice president of the	Member

	parents' student association of Châu Đốc Province	
Bùi Văn Mạnh	Retired professor from Định Tường province	Member
Phạm Văn Hợi	Retired inspector of the elementary schools from Gò Công province	Member
Nguyễn Tấn Cường	The President of the parents' student association of Kiên Giang Province	Member
Nguyễn Đình Hiếu	The President of the parents' student association of Kiên Hoà Province	Member
Trần Quang Hạo	Scholar, Phong Dinh province	Member
Phạm Lương Báu	Agricultural Engineer	Member
Lê Văn Thuận	Doctor, Phong Dinh province	Member
Lâm Quang Khương	Scholar, Vĩnh Bình province	Member
Nguyễn Minh Tâm	Retired ?, Vĩnh Long province	Member

Source: the Decree No.876-GD/PC/NĐ on April 26, 1966 on establishing of the Research and Planning Committee for the Organization and Development of the University of Can Tho and “Hồ sơ v/v thiết lập và hoạt động của Viện Đại học Cần Thơ năm 1966–1972”, Hồ sơ số 30935, Phòng Phủ Thủ tướng Việt Nam Cộng hoà (1954–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

Another aspect, the close-knit relationships of educative agencies could be detected in the discussions of South Vietnamese educators in the 1960s and 1970s concerning the responsibility for the payment of the university tuition fees. As mentioned, the problem raising tuition fees and who would pay the fees were debated widely.

Summary

In order to create a foundation for the development of RVN higher education, many educational policies were promulgated in the 1967–1975 period, especially in the early 1970s. All of the policies aimed at solving critical problems of RVN education. This paved the way to advance this education to implement its tasks.

Observing all aspects of RVN public universities in terms of administrative affairs, it could be said that these universities achieved much on the path of development. In all

three universities, in Saigon, Huế, and Cần Thơ, their organizations were consolidated into a hierarchical system. In examining this part, one can clearly recognize to what extent the U.S influenced the organization of RVN public universities. As compared and analyzed, although having their influences on all three institutions, the Americans gained various results in spreading their influences. The University of Saigon maintained multiple features of the French educational model in its organization, while the University of Huế tended to adapt more to the American style than the French, and the latest-established university in Cần Thơ was passionate about practising the American pattern, such as the idea of socializing educational activities in which all entities should shoulder the burden and responsibility for educational development.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Americans engaged more intensively in the infrastructure of public universities in South Vietnam. The assistance of the Americans for RVN universities can be seen in a range of activities, such as building and maintaining infrastructures, and re-building damaged ones. From the stage of defining the problems of infrastructure of RVN universities to the engagement as a financial and labor provider, the Americans proved that they were a vital force in aiding the RVN overcome its infrastructure inefficiency, especially during the turbulent years of 1968 and 1972.

In respect to the educational budget, although the American influence was less clear, one could assume that, more or less, the United States shared the burden of financing the Ministry of Education of the RVN through massive aid which they offered in the 1960s and 1970s. In contrast, the relationships among teachers, students, universities, society, families and social organizations show that the American educational model being followed. This was illustrated on the central and active role of students in the teaching-learning process and also in the socialization of all parties to the educational problems.

Chapter 5: Academic Issues

5.1 Training Purposes

At public universities in South Vietnam in pre-1975, many fields were taught. Each university had its own training strategy and focused on different strengths, although, a situation of duplication was unavoidable. For example, the Faculties of Pedagogy operated in all three public universities in Sài Gòn, Huế, and Cần Thơ, and the Faculties of Medicine were run in both places, the University of Saigon and the University of Huế. This section is going to clarify the necessity to operate duplicated training fields in RVN public universities and which are the distinctions of training purposes among Faculties in the three higher learning institutions.

The University of Saigon, as known, had eight affiliated schools (faculties), comprised the Faculty of Law, the Faculty of Science, the Faculty of Letters, the Faculty of Pedagogy, the Faculty of Medicine, the Faculty of Pharmacy, the Faculty of Dentistry, and the Faculty of Architecture. In the 1969–1970 school year, the Nha Trang Oceanography Institute was annexed to the University of Saigon in terms of academic management. Yet, the Nha Trang Oceanography Institute exclusively produced graduate programs for master and doctoral students.³⁵² In the initial stages, the University of Huế operated with four affiliated schools, comprised the Faculty of Science, the Faculty of Letters, the Faculty of Law, and the Faculty of Pedagogy. The Faculty of Medicine and the Institute of Sinology were created and added later to the University of Huế. However, due to the termination of the Institute of Sinology in 1965, this Institute will not be mentioned in this part. The University of Cần Thơ had five affiliated schools and one center, namely the Faculty of Science, the Faculty of Agriculture, the Faculty of Pedagogy, the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, the Faculty of Letters, and the Foreign Language Center.

The Faculty of Law: In Saigon, this Faculty aimed at training specialists who were capable to work in legal professions, such as lawyers, judges, economists, politicians, professors, or legal mentors in commercial and industrial activities.³⁵³ In Cần Thơ, the

³⁵² Khánh Uyên, “Viện Đại học Sài Gòn”, 122.

³⁵³ Ibid., 111.

Faculty of Law and Social Sciences addressed its training purposes on some critical fields and subjects, such as International Relations, Social Sciences, Economics, and Statistics in considering that subjects of economics and statistics would support local people in their agricultural activities.

The Faculty of Science: In the University of Saigon, the target of this school set on producing qualified labors, who owned a sound multi-disciplinary knowledge.³⁵⁴ However, to avoid overlapped teaching, this school announced to take charge of supporting trainings to other faculties instead of intensive trainings as did at professional schools. In Huế, the Faculty of Science started its operation in the 1969–1970 academic year. The Faculty of Science at the University of Huế took charge of educating in three levels: preparation, bachelor, and graduate programs. In the preparation level, students were able to educate a ground knowledge, which was necessary for them to upgrade to higher learning levels at the Faculty of Science or to continue pursuing higher education programs in different faculties, such as the Faculty of Pedagogy and the Faculty of Medicine.³⁵⁵ In Cần Thơ, the Faculty of Science was established to support national agricultural and technical developments. Nonetheless, this Faculty called a special concentration on the field of applied science, which could serve daily life demands of people.

The Faculty of Letters: The Faculty in Saigon did not intend to train experts, rather it focused on delivering general knowledge of interdisciplinary studies, for instance Philosophy, Literature, History, Geography, and Humanities.³⁵⁶ In Cần Thơ, the Faculty of Letters aimed to conduct both, studying the diversity and the unique of the Vietnamese culture and conducting research and studies on vernacular languages, such as Khmer and Cham. Besides, this faculty targeted in other tasks, comprised collecting cultural and historical remains; studying the process of Southward exodus of Vietnamese people, and

³⁵⁴ Ibid., 113.

³⁵⁵ “Hồ sơ hoạt động của Viện Đại học Huế năm 1963–1969”, Hồ sơ số 30296, Phòng Phủ Thủ tướng Việt Nam Cộng hoà (1954–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

³⁵⁶ Khánh Uyên, “Viện Đại học Sài Gòn”, 114.

researching the interaction of two civilizations, Chinese and Indian, in this area.³⁵⁷ The Faculty of Letters in Huế educated students in several disciplines: Vietnamese Literature, French Literature, English Literature, Philosophy, and History. Compared to the Faculty in Saigon, the school in Huế seemed to be more specialized.

The Faculty of Medicine: The task of this Faculty was to educate special and general practitioners for South Vietnam.³⁵⁸ Both Faculties of Medicine, in Saigon and in Huế, pursued this task. Despite the lack of an official document mentioned the task of the Faculty of Medicine in Huế, however, as stated by Từ Nguyên Nguyễn Văn Thuận, the Faculty in Huế modeled the curriculum design from Saigon.³⁵⁹ The resemble in curriculum design could depict the similarity in their training purposes.

The Faculty of Pharmacy: This Faculty was formerly a section of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Saigon. This Faculty did not appear in Huế or elsewhere. The training purpose of this Faculty was to educate pharmacists, who had competence of making up medicines (bào chế) following prescriptions and ability of distributing personalized medicine (thuốc đặc chế). Additionally, these pharmacists had to be able to instruct patients to take medicine correctly and safely; to warn unexpected symptoms, which could occur after taking medicine and instruct the way to deal with that situation; to inform the restrictions when take a specific medicine.³⁶⁰

The Faculty of Dentistry: This Faculty experienced the same situation as the Faculty of Pharmacy, consequently, it existed only in Saigon. As depicted in its name, this Faculty took charge of educating specialists for the field of Oral and Maxillofacial Surgeon (Răng-Hàm-Mặt).³⁶¹

³⁵⁷ “Hồ sơ v/v thiết lập và hoạt động của Viện Đại học Cần Thơ năm 1966–1972”, Hồ sơ số 30935, Phòng Phủ Thủ tướng Việt Nam Cộng hoà (1954–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

³⁵⁸ Khánh Uyên, “Viện Đại học Sài Gòn”, 117

³⁵⁹ Từ Nguyên Nguyễn Văn Thuận, “Trường Đại học Y khoa Huế”, 81-91.

³⁶⁰ Khánh Uyên, “Viện Đại học Sài Gòn”, 119.

³⁶¹ Ibid., 120.

The Faculty of Architecture: Similar to two above cases, this Faculty existed only in Saigon. It was expected to educate architects, urban design specialists, and architecture cadres. In contrast, since the 1969–1970 school year, due to the lack of teaching facilities, the school only focused on the section of Architecture.³⁶²

The Faculty of Pedagogy: This Faculty in Saigon was the oldest one in comparison to two other universities in Huế and Cần Thơ. It was established upon reforming the former College of Pedagogy. Similar to other pedagogical schools in Huế and Cần Thơ, this faculty aimed at training secondary and high school teachers in several fields, for example, Mathematics, Chemistry, Geography, Vietnamese Literature, English Literature, and French Literature.³⁶³ Although, three Faculties of Pedagogy operated simultaneously, this was considered as a necessity for RVN education in order to deal with the scarcity of teaching staff in all levels.

The School of Agriculture: This Faculty operated only in Cần Thơ and took charge of training agricultural officials and experts as well as researching methods and techniques to promote agricultural developments.

The Foreign Language Center: The establishment of the Foreign Language Center in Cần Thơ followed the Decree No. 282-VHGD/PD/NĐ of February 20, 1968.³⁶⁴ The tasks of this Center were to research methods of teaching foreign languages at university level; to organize practising sections for Pedagogy and Letters students; to open foreign language classes for students, who were selected to attend abroad training programs; and to organize re-train courses for foreign language teachers.³⁶⁵ The operation of this Center made the distinction of the University of Cần Thơ to others and also highlighted the desires of professors and educators in Cần Thơ pertaining to improving competence of students in foreign languages.

³⁶² Ibid., 121.

³⁶³ Ibid., 115.

³⁶⁴ Ministry of Culture and Education, Decree No.282-VHGD/PC/NĐ of February 20, 1968 on establishing the Foreign Language Center at the University of Cần Thơ, Internal Archive, University of Cần Thơ.

Cited in Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 105.

³⁶⁵ Lý Ngọc Lương, *Viện Đại học Cần Thơ*, 28.

In short, the three RVN public universities shared many in common in operating their affiliations. Notwithstanding, depending on particular demands and capacity of each university, they placed their priorities differently. In three universities, the University of Cần Thơ emphasized and responded to local needs and developments - Mekong Delta area in specific, more than others.

5.2 Admissions

At RVN public universities the requirements for student enrollment were significant: students generally were required to have earned the *Bac II* certificate (Baccalaureate Second Part Examination) in advance of being admitted for enrollment. As a report from that time states the *Bac II* “[...] is a very significant turning point in the lives of Vietnamese students. To be certified as a *Bac II* graduate is to be eligible for higher education [...] Graduates of the twelfth grade who do not pass the *Bac II* are not considered high school graduates. They are subject to the military draft and opportunities for higher education are not open to them.”³⁶⁶

Students usually had two chances, the last week of both in June and August to take the *Bac II* examination. The scoring and reporting procedures took about a month, so students who failed in their first attempt in June would have the opportunity to re-register for the August exam.³⁶⁷ Depending on the time it took to get the results of the August test, universities postponed the opening of their fall term to the first week in October or even as late as mid-November.³⁶⁸ Another requirement was that according to RVN university regulations, each student was allowed to enroll in only one university at a time, never simultaneously in two institutions. If a student enrolled at the University of Saigon wished to then study at the University of Huế, they had first to prove that they had formally withdrawn from their former university.³⁶⁹

The University of Saigon

³⁶⁶ The Virtual Vietnam Archive “The Baccalaureate Examination in the Republic of Vietnam”, July 1972, File 2391104003, Part A, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 4-5.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 11.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

³⁶⁹ Phòng Tâm lý và hướng nghiệp Đắc Lộ, *Chi nam giáo dục*. Cited in Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 81.

At the University of Saigon admission requirements varied from Faculty to Faculty, some similarities being seen among the schools which made up of the University of Saigon. Among its eight schools, the Faculties of Law, Science, and Letters appeared to have relatively easier admissions. All students, who had earned the *Bac II*, were qualified to enroll in these schools with no limitation on age. While creating more opportunities for students to enroll in Saigon, this policy resulted in the considerable problem of insufficient classroom capacity to accommodate all enrolled students. Statistics of these Faculties indicate, there were 13,000 students registered in the Faculty of Law in 1970.³⁷⁰ This overwhelm at school and, as a result, so as to balance class size with the facilities of the school, the faculties so affected raised their admissions criteria from the early 1970s. The Faculty of Science, for example, from the 1973–1974 school year, as set forth in Decree No. 2275/VHGD TN/KHPC/HV/NĐ of September 9, 1973, the Rector of the University of Saigon was authorized to set the annual admissions, limit this depending upon the facilities capacity. To attend prep-courses at the Faculty of Science from the 1973–1974 school year, beyond the *Bac II* credential and a foreign-language certificate, students had also been required on the 20 point high-school scale, above 10 for subjects related to their intended majors.³⁷¹ Certain exemptions which ease requirements were extended to students who were ethnic minorities, veterans, or the children of those killed in action.³⁷²

In contrast to the three faculties mentioned above, the Faculty of Pedagogy had relatively higher admission prerequisites both as regards qualifications and age. Candidates for admissions needed to be age 18 to 30 and take entrance exams, organized by the Faculty of Pedagogy, which included a written part and an applicant interview exams, were designed on the knowledge which was taught in grades 10 through 12; after passing both parts, then students underwent further a general health check up. Students who could not meet the health criteria for admission were rejected even if they had already passed all other qualifying exams.³⁷³

³⁷⁰ Khánh Uyên, “Viện Đại học Sài Gòn”, 112.

³⁷¹ “Hồ sơ về tổ chức bộ máy và nhân sự của Bộ giáo dục năm 1968 -1974”, Hồ sơ số 7826, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

³⁷² Ibid.

³⁷³ Khánh Uyên, “Viện Đại học Sài Gòn”, 115.

In the Faculty of Medicine, from the 1963–1964 through 1969–1970 school years, applicants possessing the *Bac II* were able to qualify to attend the prep-course (Année Prémédicale or APM³⁷⁴) prior to becoming the first-year students of Medicine. From the 1969–1970 school year this prep-course was abolished, students needing to acquire the P.C.B (Physics, Chemistry, and Biology), S.P.C.N (Physics, Chemistry, and Natural Sciences), or M.P.C (Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry) certificates in the Faculty of Science before being nominated as students of the Medicine officially. In the Faculty of Pharmacy prospective students were subjected to a two-cycle examination, in the second cycle of which candidates took a multiple-choice exam testing their knowledge of Physics, Chemistry, and Biology. They, furthermore, had to pass a foreign language qualification by translating written Vietnamese into either English or French.³⁷⁵ Exceptions were for students had earned the certificates medicine, dentistry, and veterinary, and for graduates of Science and Engineering Bachelors programs.³⁷⁶

In the Faculty of Dentistry, as the same requirements of the Faculty of Medicine, the applicants had to earn certificates S.P.C.N or P.C.B, conferred by the Faculty of Science. In addition, they had to pass several exams in writing, in interviewing, and sculptures. Content of this written exam focused on certain topics of Physics, Chemistry, and Animal Biology (Zoology), and English language competence. Only students who passed the initial writing test section were eligible to continue on with the sections of sculpture and interview.³⁷⁷

Candidates for the School of Architecture were similarly required to pass an entrance exam beyond possession of their *Bac II* certificate. While the new students' admission to the Faculties of Medicine and Pharmacy averaged 200 students annually, enrollments in the Dentistry and Architecture graduate programs were more modest perhaps 60 students for Dentistry, and 50 students for Architecture (merely auditing classes not included).³⁷⁸

³⁷⁴ Khánh Uyên, “Viện Đại học Sài Gòn”, 117.

³⁷⁵ Ibid., 119.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³⁷⁷ Ibid., 120.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., 117-121.

The University of Huế

To enroll in the Bachelor courses in the Faculty of Science the candidates were required to proffer the certificate of prep-course completion to the University at least 40 days in advance of the academic year opening ceremony. The applicant acceptance being announced two weeks before the ceremony.³⁷⁹ In the application process, students proposed which degree they intended to pursue, the Admission panel could advise candidates to reconsider their choice.³⁸⁰

The University of Cần Thơ

Given the important role of pedagogy schools in RVN public universities, where they took main charge of generating the next generation of teaching staff for South Vietnam, admissions of these schools were decided and given to candidates through austere evaluations. Students were required to pass a specialized entrance examination. At the Faculty of Pedagogy in Cần Thơ, applicants ranged from 19 to 29 years old and only Vietnamese citizens could sit for the entrance examinations. Depending on their particular interests and desire specialization, there were sometimes more detail requirements. Students desiring their studies in History, Geography, English, and French had to have been on the same training sections at their high school studies. Students who dreamt to be the teachers of the first cycle Secondary Schools (grade 6 to grade 9) had to complete several exams including essays and multiple-choice exams in English, French, History, Geography, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and Hán-Vietnamese.³⁸¹ Maximum annual class size in this Faculty was 40. In the case the students could not meet the criteria of entrance examinations, the student figure for each section was probably lower.

Similar to the Faculty of Pedagogy, those seeking entrance to the School of Agriculture in Cần Thơ also needed had to pass the usual entrance examinations and satisfy requirements of age, nationality, and the pre-college education. These included two-part exams in Biology, Chemistry, Physics, and English both multiple-choice and essay.³⁸²

³⁷⁹ “Hồ sơ hoạt động của Viện Đại học Huế năm 1963–1969”, Hồ sơ số 30296, Phòng Phủ Thủ tướng Việt Nam Cộng hoà (1954–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Phòng Tâm lý và hướng nghiệp Đắc Lộ, *Chỉ nam giáo dục*, 328-329. Cited in Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 87-88.

³⁸² Phòng Tâm lý và hướng nghiệp Đắc Lộ, *Chỉ nam giáo dục*, 353.

Entrance examinations for this School were organized annually in September or October. Despite this School was inaugurated at the same time with the establishment of the University of Cần Thơ (following the Decree No.148-SL/GD of August 2, 1966), it took further two years for the school to build their necessary equipment and infrastructure, the first entrance exams for Agriculture not taking place until 1968.³⁸³

Before 1973, the students who wished to study in the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, the Faculty of Science, or the Faculty of Letters did not have to sit for any entrance examinations. From 1973, to manage enrollment numbers and ensure the quality of new students, entrance examinations testing general knowledge and foreign language competence were required by the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences; with an additional essay and a foreign language test required by the Faculty of Letters; a scientific knowledge test covering Biology, Physics, Chemistry, and Mathematics and a foreign language test required by the Faculty of Science.³⁸⁴ Students at the University of Cần Thơ were required to learn a selected foreign language at *The Foreign Language Center*. Freshman students were permitted to choose their languages but having take a placement test to determine their existing proficiency level before being assigned to an appropriated class. Due to the lack of teaching staff and course materials, most students studying at the University of Cần Thơ chose English or French for their foreign language subject.³⁸⁵

In spite of the gradually rising number of university students from 1967 to 1975 (from 32,611 to 71,893), the ratio of university to high school students remained unchanged during this period, at about 7%.³⁸⁶ This figures was not a contradiction but showed a fact that the growth of high schools and university students was proportionate and also that the entrance examinations to enter RVN universities in South Vietnam remained competitive. Although admissions criteria at RVN public universities varied from institution to institution, one can see that all universities had more requirements for their

Cited in Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 102.

³⁸³ Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 101.

³⁸⁴ Phòng Tâm lý và hướng nghiệp Đắc Lộ, *Chi nam giáo dục*, 334-345.

Cited in Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 91-97.

³⁸⁵ Lý Ngọc Lương, *Viện Đại học Cần Thơ*, 27.

³⁸⁶ The Ministry of Education, *The Postwar Development Group*.

Cited in Nguyen Anh Tuan, *South Vietnam Trial and Experience*, 373.

prospective students in comparison to previous years (in the 1950s and early 1960s) when students only showed the *Bac II* to be admitted. Diversification of examination designs, components of essay, interview and multiple-choice indicates the seriousness of RVN educational administrators in evaluating their prospective students' ability. In the 1960s and 1970s, the quality of students increasingly occupied the major attention of RVN authorities and educators. This evidenced in particular requirements for specific curriculum tracks and the fact that not all new enrollments at all universities reached their annual limit.

5.3 Teaching Methods

It is reasonable to claim that the teaching method played a central and pivotal role in the educational process, deciding on the effectiveness which education brings to students and social development. If simplifying all engaged factors in the process of education, one could extract two entities who are the key elements in this activity; those are teachers and students. Through the prism of John Dewey, these two entities were discussed in the images of child and adult. In the early twentieth century, John Dewey did state a critical and radical point of view emphasizing that *"The child is the starting-point, the center, and the end"*³⁸⁷ and *"Learning is active. It involves organic assimilation starting from within. Literally, we must take our stand with the child and our departure from him"*³⁸⁸. Therefore, *"the only significant method is the method of the mind as it reaches out and assimilates"*. In this respect, Dewey also emphasized: *"The fundamental factors in the educative process are immature, undeveloped being; and certain social aims, meanings, values incarnate in the matured experience of the adult. The educative process is the due interaction of these forces. Such a conception of each in relation to the others as facilitates completest and freest interaction is the essence of educational theory."*³⁸⁹

Since the early twentieth century, the active role of students was studied and emphasized by many educators. While in Vietnam, the passive role of students and the monologue of teachers, an educational heritage from the Confucius-model education and the French-

³⁸⁷ Dewey, John, *The Child*, 9.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 4.

model education remained unchanged. A report of the Faculty of Letters at the University of Saigon partly depicted problems of teaching methods at RVN universities and the sequel of these methods as follows,

Lối giảng dạy hiện nay hầu như duy nhất là giảng bài: Sinh viên hoàn toàn thụ động, lớp học chết, vì giáo sư đọc thoại, thiếu hướng dẫn, làm bài trong năm, làm việc riêng (đọc sách, thảo luận, thuyết trình). Sinh viên chỉ học bài đã ghi chép hay được in ronéo.

Lối giảng dạy này không có kết quả: không đề ra được phương pháp nghiên cứu. Điển hình là số tiểu luận Cao học đệ trình rất hiếm: số đó là 10 Cao học Triết so với 153 Cử nhân Triết. Văn chương Pháp: 9/237. Văn chương Mỹ Anh: 1/80. Sử Địa: 11/53. Nhân chủng: 7/70. Việt Hán: 8/97.

Lối giáo huấn cổ điển này khiến giáo sư cách biệt với sinh viên, không kiểm soát được sự lĩnh hội và chuyên cần của sinh viên.³⁹⁰

(translated:

Teaching methods are presently almost focusing on teacher's performance, the students play a passive role, the class is "dead" because it is only the monologue of teachers. The students only learn the notes from teachers' lectures rather than doing homeworks, reading books, discussing with other students, and presenting their opinions.

These methods are inefficient and cannot help students in studies and research. Therefore, a few students in each section were able to submit Master theses, only 10/153 Bachelor students of Philosophy, 9/237 Bachelor students of French Literature, 1/80 Bachelor students of American English Literature, 11/53 Bachelor students of History-Geography, 7/70 Bachelor students of Anthropology, and 8/97 Bachelor students of Hán-Vietnamese. This method creates a gap between teachers and students and this gap was wider and wider. The teachers are unable to understand the comprehension (sự lĩnh hội) and diligence of the students.)

Prof. Lê Xuân Khoa in his essay mentioning the activities of RVN universities in the early 1960s described an improper phenomenon of the learning and teaching process.³⁹¹ In his remembrance, the professors did not change their lectures through years or they altered them insignificantly. They also did not consider their duty of instructing students to read

³⁹⁰ "Tài liệu nghiên cứu về phát triển giáo dục, bảo tồn di tích lịch sử, phát triển văn hoá và dự án thiết lập Hàn Lâm Viện Quốc gia năm 1968 – 1972", Hồ sơ số 236, Phòng Hội đồng Văn hoá Giáo dục (1969–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

³⁹¹ Lê Xuân Khoa, "Đại học miền Nam trước 1975, hồi tưởng và nhận định", In Ngô Bảo Châu et al., *Kỷ yếu Đại học Humboldt*, 545.

more research documents as well as encouraging students to discuss matters relating to lessons. Therefore, the results, which students achieved in the final examinations, presented their memorability of professors' lectures rather than showing their skills and competence of critical thinking and independent learning.

Due to context of the 1960s and 1970s, the RVN required to have more active people engaging in the development plan. As a result, the old methods showed its improponess. Breaking the traditional thoughts which teachers shouldered all tasks in the teaching-learning process, South Vietnamese educators at the University of Saigon suggested that the role of teachers was primarily subjected to instruct their students to rethink, research, and work independently. In this scenario, the teachers should be instructors, and the lectures (*cours magistral*) could be given to the students in advance. In doing so, the teachers were able to explain unclear points of lessons to further the understanding of students and to encourage their discussions during lectures. To join the discussions, students had to read more books and participated in groups of study. This teaching method was legalized by the Decree No.2661/GD/PC/NĐ, issued on November 28, 1967.³⁹² The Decree instructed students to organize into the groups of 15 to 30 which considered to be ideal for them in reviewing knowledge, in practicing which they had learnt, in helping each other to overcome inefficiency of education facilities, and in enhancing their presenting skills.

South Vietnamese educators acknowledged profoundly the ineffectiveness of old teaching methods and aspired to change those. Since the late 1960s, when South Vietnamese abroad-trained educators returning home after their studies in the United States, England, Germany, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan paved the way for many innovations in the RVN higher education system, including the change of teaching methods and the idea of academic freedom spread among RVN universities. Students of Medicine and Pharmacy Faculties were excited to approach up-to-date research and works from the United States. Students at the Faculty of Law were taught new subjects adopting from the American curriculum, such as Statistics, Methods of Social Sciences, Politics, and International Relations. At the Faculty of Letters, discussions became regular activities among

³⁹² Lý Ngọc Lương, *Viện Đại học Cần Thơ*, 17-18.

professors both American-trained and French-trained. They discussed and criticized philosophical theories, such as the Existentialism of Kierkegaard, Heidegger, Sartre, and Merleau Ponty.³⁹³ Instead of committing to memory, students acquired knowledge effectively by consulting auxiliary documents and references which were suggested by professors. This was not only useful to practise their critical thinking but also was decisive for them to own crucial skills in order to pursue a long life education.

5.4 Curriculum

As stated by D. A. Breault and J. D. Marshall, the work of defining the connotation of curriculum is a complex, conflicted and sometimes contradictory project because “*the definitions not come from the scholars alone but every pedagogue, parent, pundit, policy maker, and politician has one, too.*”³⁹⁴ Based on their certain points of view, each scholar builds their own definition of the curriculum. According to John Dewey, Curriculum means “*the entire instructional offering of a college or university. The word is also equated with ‘course of study’, meaning the pattern of subjects proposed for students who pursue a stated specialization. The word ‘course’ will be used to connote a unit of instruction in a particular subject.*”³⁹⁵

Due to the lack and the fragmentation of documents, this study is unable to portray a comprehensive picture of all affiliations of RVN public universities. Instead, several curricula of specific faculties were selected and displayed, giving some suggestions of the way in which curricula of RVN public universities were designed and implemented.

The University of Saigon

The Faculty of Law

Before 1967, the curriculum for Bachelor programs of this Faculty was for three years and identical for all students.³⁹⁶ Subject-specific tracks began only with the Masters

³⁹³ Lê Xuân Khoa, “Đại học miền Nam trước 1975, hồi tưởng và nhận định”, In Ngô Bảo Châu et al., *Kỷ yếu Đại học Humboldt*, 545.

³⁹⁴ D. A. Breault & J. D. Marshall, *Definition of Curriculum*, Cited in Kridel, Craig (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Curriculum Studies*, 197.

³⁹⁵ Brown, James W. and James W. Thornton, *College Teaching: Perspectives*, 85.

³⁹⁶ In the first two years, the curriculum was the same for all students with some subjects as follows,

programs, were divided curriculum into three sections: Public Law, Private Law, and Economics.³⁹⁷ From 1967, the Law students had to complete a four-year program to earn the Bachelor degrees. In the third year, students had some in common subjects - Civil Law, Administrative Procedural Code, and Economics. In the fourth year, however, students from three sections had no classes in common. The Law curriculum subsequently was changed slightly. The table below visualized this situation.

Table 5.1 Bachelor Curriculum for Law Students, the 1968–1969 School Year

Year of Study	Subjects	Professor	Duration
Year One	1. History of Law	Prof. Vũ Quốc Thông	Two Semesters
	2. Civil Law	Section A: Prof. Vũ Văn Mẫu Section B: Prof. Trần Văn Liêm	Two Semesters
	3. Economics	Section A: Prof. Phan Tấn Chúc Section B: Prof. Châu Tiến Khương	Two Semesters
	4. International Law	Section A: Prof. Lưu Văn Bình Section B: Prof. Tăng Kim Đông	Two Semesters
	5. Processes of Social Economic	Prof. Nguyễn Cao Hách	Two Semesters
	6. Constitutional Law	Section A: Prof. Lê Đình Chấn Section B: Prof. Nguyễn Văn Bông	Two Semesters
	7. Comparative Law (in French)	Section A: Prof. Nguyễn Xuân Đẩu Section B: Prof. Trịnh Xuân Ngan	One Semester

The first year curriculum had seven subjects: Civil Law, Constitutional Law, Economics, International Public Law, History of Law, Economic Terminology in English, and Judicial Terminology.

The second year curriculum had eight subjects: Penal Law, Civil Law, International Relations, Economics, Finance, Administrative Law, Economic Terminology in English, and French Comparative Law.

From the third year, the majors (divisions) students pursued determined curriculum, focusing on specific subjects. For instance, the Division of Economics had to study the subjects of Statistics, Econometrics (Kinh Toán học hay Kinh tế lượng).

See Nguyễn Văn Cung, Nguyễn Văn Thắng, “Giới thiệu lịch sử đại cương”.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

	8. Economic Terminology	Section A: Prof. Hồ Thới Sang Section B: Prof. Trịnh Đình Khải	One Semester	
Year Two	1. Economics	Prof. Vũ Quốc Thúc	Two Semesters	
	2. Administrative Law	Prof. Nguyễn Độ	Two Semesters	
	3. Civil Law	Prof. Nguyễn Tấn Thành	Two Semesters	
	4. Criminal Law	Prof. Nguyễn Huy Chiêu	One Semester	
	5. Public Finances	Prof. Lê Đình Chấn	One Semester	
	6. International Relations	Prof. Lưu Văn Bình	One Semester	
	7. Comparative Law (in French)	Prof. Trịnh Xuân Ngan	One Semester	
	8. Economic Terminology	Prof. Trần Thiên Vọng	One Semester	
Year Three	1. Civil Law	Prof. Nghiêm Xuân Việt	Two Semesters	
	2. Administrative Procedural Code	Prof. Nguyễn Độ	Two Semesters	
	3. Economics	Prof. Trần Thiên Vọng	Two Semesters	
	Private Law Track			
	1. Trade Law	Prof. Nguyễn Tấn Thành	Two Semesters	
	2. Civil Procedural Code	Prof. Nguyễn Huy Chiêu	One Semester	
	3. Social and Labor Laws	Prof. Nguyễn Quang Quynh	One Semester	
	4. Ancient Vietnamese Judicial Law	x	One Semester	
	5. Practice of Civil Law	Prof. Hà Như Vinh	One Semester	
	6. Special Criminal Law	Prof. Hà Như Vinh	One Semester	
	7. International Judiciary	x		
	8. Electives Subjects	Prof. Nghiêm Xuân Việt	One Semester	
	a) Droit Romain (in French)			
	b) American Jurisprudence (in English)	Prof. Merrilat		
Public Law Track				
1. Methodologies of Social Sciences	Prof. Tạ Văn Tài	Two Semesters		

	2. Sociology and Politics	Prof. Lê Quế Chi	Two Semesters
	3. Administrative Affairs of Vietnam	Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trương	One Semester
	4. Public Freedom	Prof. Bùi Phan Quế	One Semester
	5. Administrative Law	Prof. Nguyễn Độ	One Semester
	6. American Jurisprudence	Prof. Merrilat	One Semester
Economics Track			
	1. Vietnamese Economy	Prof. Hồ Thới Sang	Two Semesters
	2. Trade Law	Prof. Nguyễn Tấn Thành	Two Semesters
	3. Mathematics	Prof. Phạm Tấn Chức	One Semester
	4. Statistics	Prof. Nguyễn Như Cường	One Semester
	5. Banking	Prof. Trịnh Đình Khải	One Semester
	6. Business Terminology (foreign language)	Prof. Mai Văn Lễ	One Semester
Public Law Track			
Year Four	1. National Policies	x	One Semester
	2. History of Political Theories	Prof. Vũ Quốc Thông	Two Semesters
	3. Modern Political International Affairs	Prof. Tăng Thị Thành Trai	One Semester
	4. Diplomatic Policies of the Free-World Countries	Prof. Nguyễn Phú Đức	One Semester
	5. Diplomatic Policies of the Communist Countries	Prof. Nguyễn Văn Bông	One Semester
	6. Comparative Constitutional Law (in English)	Prof. Merrilat	One Semester
	7. Civil Law	Prof. Bùi Tường Chiêu	Two Semesters
	8. Trade Law	Prof. Vũ Văn Mẫu	Two Semesters
	9. International Judiciary	Prof. Nguyễn Đẩu	One Semester
	10. Social and Labor Law	Prof. Nguyễn Quang Quynh	One Semester
	11. International Economics and Finance	Prof. Phan Văn Thuyết	Two Semesters
	12. Monetary and Tax Policy	Prof. Trịnh Đình Khải	One Semester
Private Law Track			

1. Civil Law	Prof. Bùi Tường Chiêu	Two Semesters
2. Practice of Civil Law	Prof. Hà Như Vinh	One Semester
3. Comparative Trade Law Trade Bills Bankruptcy	Prof. Vũ Văn Mẫu Prof. Trần Văn Liêm	Two Semesters
4. International Law and Criminology	Prof. Nguyễn Văn Lương	One Semester
5. International Judiciary	Prof. Nguyễn Duy Đầu	One Semester
6. Maritime Law	Prof. Mai Văn An	One Semester
7. Aviation Law	Prof. Vũ Tam Tư	One Semester
8. Methodologies of Practice	Prof. Nguyễn Văn Hào	One Semester
9. Insurance Law	Prof. Trịnh Đình Khải	One Semester
10. Tax Law	Hoàng Xuân Tho	One Semester
11. Enterprise Economics	Prof. Hồ Thới Sang	One Semester
12. Modern Political Affairs	Prof. Lê Quế Chi	One Semester
13. Anglo-American Law	Prof. Merrilat	One Semester
14. Comparative Law (in French)	Prof. Nguyễn Mạnh Bách	One Semester
Economics Track		
1. Comparative Trade Law	Prof. Vũ Văn Mẫu Prof. Trần Văn Liêm	Two Semesters
2. Enterprise Economics	Prof. Hồ Thới Sang	Two Semesters
3. International Economics and Finance International Economics International Finance	Prof. Nguyễn Như Cương Prof. Phạm Văn Thuyết	Two Semesters
4. Civil Law	Prof. Bùi Tường Chiêu	Two Semesters
5. Mathematics II	Prof. Phan Tấn Chúc	One Semester
6. Commercial Accounting	Prof. Lê Quế Chi	One Semester
7. Statistics	Prof. Mai Văn Lễ	One Semester
8. Financial Management	Prof. Nguyễn Văn Ngôn	One Semester
9. Social and Labor Laws	Prof. Nguyễn Quang Quýnh	One Semester
10. Monetary and Tax Policy	Prof. Trịnh Đình Khải	One Semester

	11. Econometrics	Prof. Phạm Văn Thuyết	One Semester
	12. Price and Market Issues	Prof. Nguyễn Trường	One Semester

x: No statistics

Source: “Hồ sơ v/v mở các kỳ thi của Trường Đại học Luật khoa Sài Gòn năm 1969”, Hồ sơ số 3468, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đế nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

Comparing the above curriculum, it could be observed that the requirements for students grew steadily from year to year. If in the freshman and sophomore years, students had to complete 8 subjects in total. From the third year, depending upon different sections, the number of subjects ranging from 9 to 11. In the fourth year, the number of subjects increased to 12 in the sections of Public Law and Economics, and 14 in the section of Private Law. The shift of the curriculum design started in 1967, illustrating the innovations were in mind of South Vietnamese educators. It is inappropriate to educate students for various employments by the same curriculum. Thus, regarding practical demands and considering the qualification of training outputs, in the third year of the Bachelor program, a specialized curriculum was began to apply instead of postponing until the master level as in pre-1967 curriculum design. This produced better chances for students to advance their strengths in the early stages. Subsequently, they became more competitive in the job market after their studies.

Finishing Bachelor programs, due to the aspiration of students and their ability, students were able to pursue the master programs, which lasted for two years. The curriculum of the master program was divided into two levels. In Level I, students reviewed several subjects which they had already learnt in the Bachelor level. For example, the master students of the section of Public Law needed to study Administration Law, Constitutional Law, International Public Law, Civil Law, and French Comparative Law. In Level II, other subjects were added, such as Political Theories, Public Administration, International Organizations, Temporary International Political Affairs, and British Comparative Law.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁸ Nguyễn Văn Cung, Nguyễn Văn Thắng, “Giới thiệu lịch sử đại cương”.

Table 5.2 Master Curriculum for Law Students, the 1968–1969 School Year

Section	Level	Subject	Professor
Private Law	I	International Judiciary	Prof. Vũ Văn Mẫu
		Trade Law in Intensive Studies	Prof. Nguyễn Văn Thành
		Civil Law, in General and Intensive Studies	Prof. Bùi Tường Chiếu
		Criminal Law, in General and Individual Studies	Prof. Nguyễn Độ
		Procedure Administration	Prof. Nguyễn Độ
		American Jurisprudence	Prof. Merrilat
	II	Criminal Law, Intensive Studies	Prof. Nguyễn Độ
		Civil Law, Intensive Studies	Prof. Vũ Văn Mẫu
		Civil Liabilities	Prof. Vũ Văn Mẫu
		Comparative Trade Law	x
Ancient Vietnamese Law	Prof. Vũ Văn Mẫu		
Public Law	I	Administrative Law, in Intensive Studies	Prof. Vũ Quốc Thông
		Constitutional Law, in Intensive Studies	Prof. Lê Đình Chấn
		Civil Liabilities in Civil Law	Prof. Vũ Văn Mẫu
		International Public Law	Prof. Tăng Kim Đồng
		International Institutions	Mrs. Hoài Chân
		Comparative Constitutional Law	Prof. Lưu Văn Bình
	II	History of Political Theory	Prof. Vũ Quốc Thông
		International Political Affairs	Prof. Vũ Quốc Thông
		International Public Law, in Intensive Studies	Prof. Nguyễn Văn Bông
		Public Administration	Prof. Tăng Kim Đồng
		Politics	Prof. Lê Quế Chi
		Democratic Institutions	Prof. Bùi Phan Quế
Economics	I	Economics, in Intensive Studies	Prof. Vũ Quốc Thúc
		Mathematics for Economists	Prof. Phan Tấn Chúc
		Enterprise Finances	Prof. Nguyễn Cao Hách
		History of Economic Theory	Prof. Châu Tiến Khương
		Agricultural Economics	Prof. Trần Thiên Vọng
		Demographics	Prof. Hồ Thới Sang
	II	Economic Theory	Prof. Nguyễn Cao Hách
		Economic and Financial Affairs	Prof. Nguyễn Cao Hách

		Monetary and Banking Affairs	Prof. Lê Đình Chấn
		Statistics	Prof. Phan Tấn Chúc
		National Accounting	Prof. Mai Văn Lễ
		Economic Technology	Prof. Trần Đình Khải

x: No statistics

Source: “Hồ sơ v/v mở các kỳ thi của Trường Đại học Luật khoa Sài Gòn năm 1969”, Hồ sơ số 3468, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đế nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

Beyond master programs, students had opportunities to further their studies at the doctoral programs. Students, usually took four years minimum to complete their doctoral programs and dissertations. At this level of study, each student was supervised by a professor during the whole four years, the professor was also a main reviewer for students in his/her dissertation defense. In contrast to Bachelor and Master programs, doctoral students did not have to collect credit points or grades but rather focusing on their specific research and writing their dissertations. Typically, the exam committee comprised three people - one was the student’s supervisor, playing the role of the main reviewer, and two other professors.³⁹⁹ This committee had a decisive power to evaluate research results of doctoral candidates. Therefore, these professors were the most critical people, who decided whether or not those students could be conferred doctoral certificates. In this respect, the way in which doctoral students working with their Faculty supervisors was similar to the European model seen in Germany, the candidate’s supervisors were also their reviewers. In comparison to the present higher education system of Vietnam which incorporates many characteristics of the former Soviet educational model, this motive has disappeared, however.

The Faculty of Science

In the Faculty of Science, according to different tracks and specific fields, the curricula were designed distinctively in the subjects and also in the number of subjects. See the table below.

³⁹⁹ “Hồ sơ v/v mở các kỳ thi của Trường Đại học Luật khoa Sài Gòn năm 1969”, Hồ sơ số 3468, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đế nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

Table 5.3 Requirements for Bachelor of Science, the University of Saigon

Bachelor Degree in Natural Sciences			
Track 1	Track 2	Track 3	Track 4
Common to all tracks: Certificates of SPCN or MPC ⁴⁰⁰			
Animal Physiology Plant Physiology Zoology I Zoology II Botany I Geology I	Botany I Botany II Animal Physiology Geology I Zoology I Zoology II	Geology I Geology II Plant Physiology Animal Physiology Botany I Zoology I	Geology I Botany I Zoology I Animal Physiology Biochemistry I Biochemistry II
<p>II. Bachelor in Degree in Physical Sciences</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Preparatory year: Certificate of MPC and MP⁴⁰¹ 2. Optics 3. Electricity 4. Thermodynamics 5. Mathematical Physics 6. Theoretical Physics 7. Electives: Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry 			
<p>III. Bachelor Degree in Mathematics</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Preparatory year: Certificate of MP or MPC 2. Mathematics I 3. Mathematics II 4. Mechanics I 5. Mechanics II 6. Electives: Two certificates in Physics, or one certificate in Advanced Mathematics I. 			
<p>IV. Bachelor Degree in Physics and Chemistry</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Preparatory year: Certificate of SPCN, MPC, or MP 2. Optics 3. Electricity 4. Thermodynamics or Physical Chemistry I 5. Inorganic Chemistry 6. Structural Organic Chemistry 7. One elective: Electronics, Geophysics, Biochemistry, Mathematics, Physics, any certificate in Mathematics, Physics, or Chemistry 			
<p>V. Bachelor Degree in Chemistry</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Preparatory year: Certificate of MPC 2. Physical Chemistry I 3. Structural Organic Chemistry 4. Inorganic Chemistry 			

⁴⁰⁰ SPCN = Physics, Chemistry, and Natural Sciences.

MPC = Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry.

⁴⁰¹ MP = Mathematics and Physics

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Biochemistry I 6. Descriptive Organic Chemistry, Biochemistry II or Physical Chemistry II 7. One certificate: Physics or Chemistry
VI.	<p>Bachelor Degree in Biochemistry</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Preparatory year: Certificate of SPCN or MPC 2. Biochemistry I 3. Biochemistry II 4. Physiology I 5. Physiology II 6. Structural Organic Chemistry or Zoology II or Botany I 7. Mathematical Physics, Physical Chemistry I, or Physical Chemistry II
VII.	<p>Bachelor Degree in Geology</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Preparatory year: Certificate in SPCN or MPC 2. Geology I 3. Geology II 4. Geophysics 5. Zoology I 6. Botany I 7. Zoology II, or Botany II, or Crystallo, geochemistry or Applied Geology.

Source: *Chỉ nam sinh viên Đại học Sài Gòn* [Student Handbook, University of Saigon], 1970, 213–215. Cited in Nguyễn Văn Thuỳ, *Proposal for a Model*, 171.

The University of Huế

The Faculty of Science

At all levels of training: preparation, Bachelor, and graduates, the Faculty of Science centered its training activities on three training aspects, namely theory, instruction, and practice. Each aspect was equivalent to one module (học phần) or 15 class hours. Depending on which level students attended, requirements were varied. The students fulfilled the practicing section in laboratories or by taking part in outside activities. For the instruction section, students finished their exercises under the supervision and instruction of professors or they could go to the library, or even stayed at home to read documents as requirements of professors.⁴⁰²

The prep-course was completed in three semesters with the duration of ten teaching weeks and one examination week for each semester.⁴⁰³ The first semester, students reviewed the high school knowledge and focused on some subjects like Chemistry (three modules),

⁴⁰² “Hồ sơ hoạt động của Viện Đại học Huế năm 1963–1969”, Hồ sơ số 30296, Phòng Phủ Thủ tướng Việt Nam Cộng hoà (1954–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

Physics (six modules), Mathematics (eight modules), and foreign languages (three modules).⁴⁰⁴ After finishing the first semester, a committee of judges and advisors decided in which section, section A (Mathematics and Physics) or section B (Physics, Chemistry, and Biology) students were admitted to continue their studies. Decisions were made basing on the attendance of students, their score of all exams, and the result of final exam.⁴⁰⁵ If students did not want to study in the section which was decided by the committee, they could quit their study. In the last two semesters, students were divided to study in two sections. The subjects for section A and B were mostly the same, yet different in the number of modules. To be precise, in the section A, students were asked to complete five subjects of Physics (six modules), Mathematics (eight modules), foreign languages (three modules), History of Science (three modules), and Philosophy of Science (three modules); In section B, the curriculum for students included Physics (three modules), Chemistry (three modules), Mathematics (four modules), Biology (four modules), foreign language(s) (three modules), History of Science (three modules), and Philosophy of Science (three modules).⁴⁰⁶ As one can see, the curriculum of section B had two additional subjects, Chemistry and Biology in comparison to section A. Albeit, the total number of modules, which students had to complete in their last two semesters in both sections, was the same, amounted to twenty modules. Possessing the certificate of prep-course was a general requirement for students to enter higher training levels. In the case students failed to obtain the certificate, they could retake the exams for subjects they had failed in three months later. If they were still not successful, they had to re-learn in the prep-course according to the permission of the committee.

At the Bachelor level, the curriculum was designed for six-semester duration⁴⁰⁷, each semester lasted for fifteen teaching weeks. Aside from that, the school organized two summer courses with the duration of ten weeks for each course. In summer courses, students attended scientific conferences, supplementary trainings, and executed probations (tập sự) at workshops (xưởng) and sites (công trường).⁴⁰⁸ The Bachelor

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ The semester also called *Tam cá nguyệt* which is equivalent to a period of three months

⁴⁰⁸ “Hồ sơ hoạt động của Viện Đại học Huế năm 1963–1969”, Hồ sơ số 30296, Phòng Phủ Thủ tướng Việt Nam Cộng hoà (1954–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

curriculum included both, the general and specialized sections, with a total number of modules ranging from 204 to 220 for a three-year duration.⁴⁰⁹ In average, students must register at least 34 modules for each semester.

From the 1969–1970 academic year, the University of Huế opened a new discipline of applied science.⁴¹⁰ Differing to other disciplines, the applied science at the University of Huế followed the yearly examination model (niên chế). That means students had to study continuously in four years to obtain Bachelor degrees. A new concept, which was applied in this discipline was the participation of skilled engineers accompanied with professors in teaching tasks to help students in practicing parts.⁴¹¹

Each student who participated in the graduate programs of the Faculty of Science had one supervisor. At the graduate level, students did not have to complete many modules as they did in the Bachelor level. Following recommended subjects of their supervisors, students completed circa fifteen models during their studies. More importantly, results of all modules needed to be A and above. Besides these modules, students presented and discussed several topics according to requirements of professors.⁴¹² To receive the master certificate of science (Tiến sĩ Đệ tam cấp - Thạc sĩ), graduate students had to present their theses to a committee. Three months before submitting and defending their theses, students conducted a viva voce which tested their general and specialized knowledge. Passing oral examinations were prerequisites for students to be allowed defending their theses. If they failed in oral exams, their defenses had to be postponed.

The Faculty of Medicine

Từ Nguyên Nguyễn Văn Thuận assumed that in the early 1960s, the year one curriculum of the Faculty of Medicine modeled the curriculum, which was taught at the Faculty of Medicine, the University of Saigon.⁴¹³ He also emphasized that the faculties of Medicine

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về hoạt động của Viện Đại học Huế năm 1968–1972”, Hồ sơ số 3745, Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² “Hồ sơ hoạt động của Viện Đại học Huế năm 1963–1969”, Hồ sơ số 30296, Phòng Phủ Thủ tướng Việt Nam Cộng hoà (1954–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁴¹³ Từ Nguyên Nguyễn Văn Thuận, “Trường Đại học Y khoa Huế”, 81-91.

in Vietnam had been profoundly influenced by the curriculum of French medicine. The case of the Faculty of Medicine in Hué was somewhat different. This institute is a late-created entity when the French influence had already faded. In addition, this Faculty received massive assistance from German professors, specifically the professors from the University of Freiburg. Therefore, external influences on the operation of this Faculty was not one but several: from French, German, and the Americans.

During its operation, by effective assistance of foreign professors and unceasing efforts of Vietnamese professors, the Faculty of Medicine in Hué did obtain the remarkable accomplishments in the field of Medical Education. In the book, *Saigon Medical School, an experiment in international medical education*, written by C.H. William Ruhe, Norman W. Hoover, and Ira Singer, published in 1988, did claim that “[...] *the University of Hue had a vigorous school of medicine with a majority of young Faculty providing excellent instruction to approximately 60 students in each class. In many ways, the school at Hue seemed likely to surpass the school at Saigon in moving forward with modern techniques of medical education. This was due to partly to the presence of a young and vigorous Faculty in Hue and partly to the lack of resistance to change by traditional, entrenched Faculty and political structure*”⁴¹⁴. In the first years of operation, due to the lack of teaching staff, the foreign professors took charge of teaching in almost subjects.

As stated in a research concerning the operation of the University of Hué, the 1969–1970 school year was considered as a breakthrough for this university which drove it to the path of achieving practical targets.⁴¹⁵ In doing so, the Faculty of Science was a pioneer in showing its renovations and educational initiatives. For example, due to the opening of applied science at this Faculty, the first post-graduate course commenced as well as its science curriculum was shifted with many engagements of “*engineers, civil servants, people working in the Ministries of Economy and Agriculture and-- most important-- the people who otherwise would remain isolated from the academic community: business*

⁴¹⁴ Ibid, 91.

⁴¹⁵ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “New Horizons for The University of Hue”, October 1969, File 2321827009, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

people, shopkeepers, parents of students”⁴¹⁶. Moreover, the idea of innovation not only prevailed at the Faculty of Science but extend itself to all units of the University of Huế. The image of the University of Huế in the late 1960s and early 1970s was detailed in a report below:

In the 1969–70 academic year, students for the first time will be given a chance to study science and letters in a one-year basic course before choosing a faculty in which to specialize.

A third year of instruction in economics has been added, making Hue the only Vietnamese university teaching beyond the second year of economics.

An in-service training center for prospective teachers is being planned.

The release of talented medical graduates now in the military service is being discussed with government officials so they can travel abroad for advanced training and return to teach at the university.

The Faculty of Pedagogy is devising a curriculum for the future that will include such practical courses as home economics, business education, practical arts, and sciences taught in modern laboratories.

The Faculty of Law is discussing with Saigon officials an on-the-job training program at the Ministry of Labor so students can learn the practical side of law.

The Dean of Law this fall will open a Bureau of Legal Studies that will do research into the legal systems of South Vietnam, the Republic of China, Indonesia, Japan and Malaysia.⁴¹⁷

The University of Cần Thơ

The Faculty of Pedagogy

In advance of the 1972–1973 school year, this Faculty exclusively trained teachers for the first cycle of the secondary schools (grade 6 to grade 9). This program followed the Decree No.1806-GD/PC/NĐ of September 15, 1966, which emphasized on the matter of producing secondary teachers for Mekong Delta area.⁴¹⁸ In the 1973–1974 school year, the second cycle teacher training program was added in this Faculty, yet limited to the section of Physics and Chemistry teachers.⁴¹⁹ The first cycle training program focused on

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., 22.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 9-10.

⁴¹⁸ Lý Ngọc Lương, *Viện Đại học Cần Thơ*, 24.

⁴¹⁹ Phòng Tâm lý và hướng nghiệp Đắc Lộ, *Chỉ nam giáo dục*, 329.

Cited in Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 88.

six specific sections: section of Hán-Vietnamese, section of French, section of History-Geography, section of Mathematics-Physics-Chemistry, section of English, and section of Physics-Chemistry-Biology. The duration for the first cycle teacher training was two years and for the second cycle was four years. By 1973, the first two year students of the second cycle teacher training and the year one students of the first cycle training studied at campuses of other Faculties of the University of Cần Thơ. They used the facilities of the Faculty of Pedagogy in their final phase of their studies.

Training programs divided into two parts, theoretical and practical sections. In the theoretical sphere, students were taught subjects related to the field of education and their specialties. The education subjects, such as Educational Psychology, General Education, Education Administration, and Guiding of Teaching Methods, were useful to build a general view on educational matters. In order to provide a wide range of knowledge for students on subjects of the secondary schools, students in the Pedagogy Faculty learnt Hán-Vietnamese, History, Geography, English, French, Mathematics, Physics, Biology, and Civic Education.⁴²⁰ The practical section was designed to promote students in practicing theories which they had learnt, in adapting to the inefficient facilities of laboratories of secondary schools in South Vietnam, and in applying their teaching skills to real situations.

The Faculty of Law and Social Sciences

In the first two years, students studied together. From the third year, they were able to decide which majors they preferred to follow, Laws or Economics. The common subjects for the first two years were Civil Law and International Institutions, Constitutional Law and Political Institutions, History of Legislation, Economics, Sociology, Political Studies, Administrative Law, Financial Law, and Methodology of Social Studies.⁴²¹ In the last two years, depending on which majors they selected, Laws or Economics, students had different subjects to study. In the major of Laws, there were subjects of Trade Law, History of Political Theories, Civil Procedure Code, Administrative Litigation Act, Criminal Law, Public Freedom Rights, Criminology, Maritime Law (Admiralty Law),

⁴²⁰ Lý Ngọc Lương, *Viện Đại học Cần Thơ*, 24.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, 20.

International Judiciary, Aviation Law, International Relations, Vietnam’s Administrative Affairs, and International Political Affairs. Students, who registered the major of Economics, had to attend classes of General Accountancy, Entrepreneurial Accountancy, Microeconomics, Macroeconomics, Statistics, Mathematics, Banking Technology, Agricultural Economics, Market Studies, International Economics, Banking Accounting, Enterprise Administration, Financial Administration, Economic Development, and Economic Regulations. In spite of that, students from two distinctive majors had some in common subjects, such as Trade Law, Vietnamese Economics, Labour Law, Insurance Law, and Tax Code.⁴²²

Following the instruction of the Decree No.2661/GD/PC/NĐ (see the section 5.3), students in the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences not only took part in theoretical lessons but also prepared essays and referred documents before starting their classes. In doing so, they were able to join discussions with professors and other students. In addition, they prepared specific topics, which were suggested by professors, and presented them in the class. For Law students, the university invited notable figures of South Vietnam (who were lawyers and politicians) to have some talks on issues related to contemporary national and international law.⁴²³

The Faculty of Science

At the Bachelor level, students had to complete a duration of four years. A given curriculum was designed for students depending on which section they selected. For instance, the first year students of the Biology program (which was equivalent to the Physics - Chemistry - Biology certificate) and the first year students of the Applied Science program needed to fulfill a range of distinguished subjects as follows,

Table 5.4 The First Year Program for Bachelors of Biology and Applied Science

Category	Bachelor of Biology	Bachelor of Applied Science
<i>Theoretical Part (15 credits)</i>	General of Chemistry Geology Inorganic Chemistry	General Chemistry Geometry and Mechanics I Organic Chemistry

⁴²² Ibid., 21.

⁴²³ Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 92.

	Organic Chemistry Animal Physiology I Physics I (Thermodynamics) Animal Physiology II Physics II Botany I General of Mathematics Botany II Foreign Languages (English or French)	Probability and Statistics I Inorganic Chemistry Physics (Mechanics and Thermodynamics) Algebra I Physics (Electromagnetism) Mathematical Analysis I, II Physics (Optical Physics) Mathematics Foreign Languages Selected Branches of Mathematics Mathematics
<i>Practical Part</i> (5 credits)	1. Geology 2. Botany 3. Zoology 4. Physics 5. Chemistry	Chemistry Physics Mathematics

Source: Phòng Tâm lý và hướng nghiệp Đắc Lộ (1974), *Chỉ nam giáo dục*, 344-345. Cited in Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 97-99.

At the University of Cần Thơ, because the number of students was not so large as one at the University of Saigon, therefore, the students there had a better chance to practice in laboratories. After finishing bachelor programs, students were able to pursue master programs. At that time, this was called Tiến sĩ Đệ tam cấp - Docteur de Troisième cycle.⁴²⁴ The master programs were at least three years long and split into two periods. In the first period which focused on basic theory, students had to fulfill six hours in theoretical subjects and four hours for their practicing and presenting exercises. The second period was the time to prepare and write theses under the supervision of a deputy professor (giảng sư), appointing by the Faculty Dean.⁴²⁵ Two years after passing the theory section, students were allowed to submit their theses.

⁴²⁴ Nguyễn Thanh Liêm (Ed.), *Giáo dục ở miền Nam*, 174-175.

⁴²⁵ Lý Ngọc Lương, *Viện Đại học Cần Thơ*, 24.

The Faculty of Agriculture

The program of this Faculty lasted for four years, each school year had two semesters. At the end of every semester, students of the Agriculture Faculty had to do their one-month internships at a farm of the University of Cần Thơ or they were able to do their internships at other places following university decisions. Each year, students completed from 19 to 24 credits, in those, some were compulsory, some were elective.⁴²⁶ For students of the Agriculture School, before becoming the first year students, they had one week to get to know each other and also to know agricultural works. Regarding these purposes, students took part in several works of farmers, such as cleaning cowsheds, clearing conduits of dirty water from pigsties, and recasting ponds.⁴²⁷ These were considered as initial challenges for Agricultural students. If they were absent in the first week, they lost their chance to become students in this Faculty.

The curricula for students were different yearly. In year one, students of the Agriculture Faculty studied several subjects at the Faculty of Science, such as Botany, Zoology, General Physics, Chemistry, and Mathematics. Aside from those, students also attended the English class at the Foreign Language Center. Other subjects, which related to agriculture, for instance, Introduction to Agriculture, Internships at the farms, Agricultural Guide, were also learnt.⁴²⁸ From year two to year four, more specialized subjects were added and students focused on agricultural issues: Botany Physiology, Animal Husbandry, Agrogeology (Agricultural Geology), Entomology, Biochemistry, Mechanics, Pedology, Plant Nutrition and Soil Fertility, Agricultural Mechanics, Zoology, Crop Protection, Agricultural Economics, Agricultural Society, and Agricultural Administration.⁴²⁹ For the fourth year students, besides attending the above subjects, they had to conduct 30 seminar hours. Students at the Faculty of Agriculture not only took part in the theoretical lectures but doing their fieldworks in some provinces of Mekong Delta region, such as Long Xuyên, Châu Đốc, Sóc Trăng, and new-established cays. In the final year, students had to write theses, reporting results they obtained on their internships or their fieldworks.

⁴²⁶ Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 103.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁴²⁹ Lý Ngọc Lương, *Viện Đại học Cần Thơ*, 27.

The Foreign Language Center

As mentioned, students at the University of Cần Thơ had to possess a foreign language certificate. Following the Decision of the University Council, since the 1973–1974 school year, the first and second year students had to complete programs of foreign languages before upgrading to the third year of study.⁴³⁰ The curriculum designing by this Center was divided into four increasing difficulty levels. In the level I, the curriculum was designed with 75% for the grammar comprehension section, 25% for the grammar intelligence of the text; In the level II, 50% for the grammar comprehension and 50% for the grammar intelligence of the text; In the level III, the grammar comprehension section amounted to 25% and another part was 75%; In the level IV, the portion for section of grammar comprehension was so minute with merely 10% and most of time, students studied grammar intelligence of the text.⁴³¹ Each level took place in a four-month duration with 6 class hours/week.⁴³² The Center also organized summer courses for students who failed in the previous tests and for those, who had not completed required credits. From the 1972–1973 school year, the curriculum at this Center was somewhat changed. Subsequently, the first year and the second year students attended general programs with 4 class hours/week, equivalent to 3 credits/semester.⁴³³ In the third year, students studied academic programs which were specialized according to main majors of students.

American Universities' Curriculum

The primary purpose of each undergraduate curriculum is intellectual - to educate students to think for themselves: to analyze, to apply appropriate standards, to arrive at their own judgments. In the process, students should gain knowledge and sharpen their ability to communicate, both in standard prose and in the symbolism of mathematics, logic and the arts [...]

⁴³⁰ Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 107.

⁴³¹ Phòng Tâm lý và hướng nghiệp Đắc Lộ, *Chỉ nam giáo dục*, 360.

Cited in Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 107.

⁴³² Ibid.

⁴³³ Lý Ngọc Lương, *Viện Đại học Cần Thơ*, 27.

Secondly, each undergraduate curriculum tries to lead the student to sufficient depth in a field of learning so that he can understand its central concepts, some of its methodology in examining problems, the standards of truth, value and relevance which it employs.⁴³⁴

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As the review of Nguyễn Văn Thuỳ to several curricula of the American universities and colleges, despite varying in many patterns of course distributions and groups, all curricula met at the basic of a curriculum design as well as the length of time of undergraduate curricula. The premises or basic factors to create any curriculum departed from the desires and abilities of students. The structure of reviewed curricula presented the same pattern: (1) basic or university requirements, (2) major or college and/or departmental requirements, (3) departmental and/or free electives.⁴³⁵ The agreement in designing core course for freshman and sophomore students led to the consensus among universities and colleges to start professional education at year three. Nguyễn Văn Thuỳ through examining selected institutions indicated other characteristics of American university curricula. Two manners, which seemed to be contradicted in essence, existed simultaneously in the higher education system of the United States, namely fragmentation and duplication, and both were unavoidable.⁴³⁶

Comparing curricula of RVN universities in the 1950s with ones in the 1960s and 1970s, some changes could be observed. C. Falk pointed out in his field study on RVN higher education in the 1956 that,

The curricula are so distinct and specialized that there is no possibility of the sharing of the professional staffs by the various schools - for example, the sharing of biology and chemistry professors (and laboratories) by the schools of Science and Medicine and the Higher School of Pedagogy. Thus, where professional staffs are short-handed on all sides, there can be no coordination of activities to save laboratory costs and professional manpower.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁴ University of Hawaii, Manoa Campus, Honolulu, Hawaii, Catalog 1970–1971, 57f.

Cited in Nguyễn Văn Thuỳ, *Proposal for a Model*, 69.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁴³⁷ Falk, Charles J., *Higher Education in Vietnam*, 62.

Cited in Nguyễn Văn Thuỳ, *Proposal for a Model*, 85.

This issue had been gradually improved in the 1960s and 1970s. Several examples could be provided pertaining to cooperations and teaching task sharings among faculties. An outstanding case was the Faculties of Science in the three universities: the University of Saigon, University of Huế, and University of Cần Thơ. These Faculties took charge of educating natural sciences, such as Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics for students in Pharmacy and Medicine Faculties. The curricula of the same disciplines, more or less, were connected and agreed among higher education institutions. As mentioned, the phenomenon of “suitcase” professors was popular in RVN higher education (see chapters 3 and 4). This, on the one hand, reflected the scarcity of teaching staff in public universities in South Vietnam, on the other hand, could promote collaborations in shouldering teaching tasks at higher learning institutions.

Noticeably, as concrete curricula presented, RVN professors positioned in almost all subjects of faculties for all distinct training requirements, either general or specialized (see the Table 5.1 and the Table 5.2). This demonstrates a significant progress of Vietnamese higher education in the 1960s and 1970s compared to the status of Vietnamese university and colleges in the early twentieth century. At that time, foreign professors were the majority and played a decisive role in the Indochinese University (see Chapter 2). Until the late 1950s, the number of foreign teachers at the University of Saigon remained sizable, e.g. foreign professors amounted to a half to the total number of teaching staff (20/42) at the Faculty of Letters (see Appendix 3, Chapter 5). The growing number of South Vietnamese professors, more or less, illustrated the effectiveness of teacher training programs in the pedagogy schools in the 1950s and 1960s. Another group, abroad trained professors, who returned to South Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s, contributed in part to mitigate the domination of foreign professors at RVN universities. Regarding this achievement, other elements should be taken into account: the efforts of RVN educators in using Vietnamese as language teaching medium instead of using French or English; the steady completion of Vietnamese terminologies in all disciplines, which benefited for both, RVN professors in conveying and RVN students in acquiring knowledge.

From 1967 onwards, in most of faculties of RVN public universities, duration for the Bachelor programs was four years (except the Faculty of Science at the University of Huế in pre 1969–1970 school year). This curriculum design was similar to the undergraduate curricula at the American universities and colleges. This could be seen as an adaptation of RVN higher education from the American education model in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In conducting this curriculum, general knowledge of all disciplines was trained in the first two years of Faculties. Therefore, some subjects could be the same for students who studied in different majors. The specialized programs only started from the third year of Bachelor programs. Moreover, a recommendation of American advisors, “*to combine the present Faculties of Letters, Science and some of the functions of the Faculty of Law into a common program combining humanities, social sciences, foreign languages, mathematics, and natural sciences*”⁴³⁸ attracted the attention of RVN educators. Combined courses commenced in the 1969–1970 academic year at some higher education institutions, such as in applied science section at the University of Huế (mentioned above) and the School of Mechanical Engineering at the National Technical Center in Saigon. Commenting on the effectiveness of applying combined courses at the School of Mechanical Engineering, Riley stated in his report: “*these curriculum changes would not burden the teaching loads of the engineering Faculty and will decrease the hours of contact the students has with the technology level labs. They will also encourage the development and use of practical engineering level laboratories*”⁴³⁹. The interest and competence of individuals were aware of, as a result, the electives subjects were added to programs. By implementing this new designed curricula, students not only fulfill general requirements of class hours (and later were credit points) but also had opportunities to enhance their strength in their favorite subjects. The flexibility which allowed students to take courses in other faculties in the in common subjects, the implementation of combined courses, and the elective subjects, to some extent, reflected the educational model of the Americans and its influence on RVN higher education.

⁴³⁸ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Public Universities of the Republic of Vietnam”, April 1967, File 0720510011, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 17.

⁴³⁹ Riley, Myrne R., *Report on the School*, 27.

As in the 1973 report of the USAID on the whole development of the South Vietnam education highlighted main concerns of South Vietnamese educators,

The insertion of a key element of quality into the educational system in Vietnam is now the primary development task which lies ahead; quality institutions, instruction, and products of the system in terms of relevance to manpower needs. This work is essential and must be pursued using new initiatives and resources in a changing Vietnamese context.⁴⁴⁰

From Yearly Examinations to Credit-Based System

In pre 1960s, RVN universities exercised the yearly examinations. The University of Huế and the University of Cần Thơ were pioneers in applying credit-based system. However, the University of Huế only applied in part in its certain affiliations, the credit-based system replaced completely the use of yearly examinations in the University of Cần Thơ. The credit system was applied in the University of Cần Thơ in 1968 following the decisions of two official dispatches, the Decree 1841-GDTN/PC/NĐ of November 6, 1968 and the Decree 41-VĐH/HC of November 21, 1968.⁴⁴¹ One theoretical credit was equivalent to 30 class hours and one practical credit was two and a half hours/week of working at laboratories. The minimum credits which students at the University of Cần Thơ had to gain during Bachelor degree were 60, in those, 5/6 credits were compulsory and 1/6 credits was electives.⁴⁴² This model applied in the Faculty of Science and the Faculty of Letters of the University of Huế. Practicing this system, RVN higher education allowed their students to collect compulsory credits and complete their studies in proper duration depending on their abilities. The change from the yearly examinations design to the credit system reflected the open-minded perspective of RVN educators to new and progressive ideas of higher education. Nevertheless, this idea remained on the experimental stages and was not applied systematically in all RVN universities until the early 1970s.

⁴⁴⁰ “Hồ sơ kiểm tra toàn lĩnh vực giáo dục năm 1973”, Hồ sơ 3916, Phòng Cơ quan phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (1955–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁴⁴¹ Lý Ngọc Lương, *Viện Đại học Cần Thơ*, 17.

⁴⁴² Ibid.

The Graduate Teacher Education

The scarcity of teachers, as mentioned, was one of vital problems, which attracted the most attention of South Vietnamese educators and foreign experts in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1960s, the priority of educators was to develop the teacher education program for the secondary level. In the 1970s, the preference was changed to a higher level of teaching staff. As reported, the objective of this program was “*to develop graduate programs for the preparation of instructors and professors for the institutions of higher learning in Vietnam*”⁴⁴³.

Thủ Đức Polytechnic University was subjected to undertake this task. However, until the early 1970s, the University of Saigon took the largest portion of charge to educate higher education staff for RVN universities. The graduate teacher training programs were conducted in the University of Saigon for few years, at least in the school year 1974–1975 before the Thủ Đức School would be well-prepared for this task,

This project aimed at advancing capability of RVN educators in preparing teachers of teachers, and thus, not have to waste critical foreign exchange to send professors and instructors abroad for further trainings. The initial success of this program allowed Master and Ph.D. programs starting in those disciplines most relevant to the national needs of Vietnam.

5.5 Outstanding Educators of RVN Higher Education

In the efforts to re-construct a comprehensive view of RVN higher education and indicate the American influences on this area, all aspects of higher education in terms of administrative (chapter 4), academic (chapter 5), and international cooperation affairs (chapter 6) are mentioned. Nevertheless, regardless details were produced in those parts, the stories of people, who worked in RVN education system, will be more vivid and lively for those who desire to investigate RVN education. The limitation of the length of a thesis and also disadvantages in gathering data prevent us to tell stories of South Vietnamese educators. Hence, few educators mentioned below are a selection, based on their

⁴⁴³ “Hồ sơ kiểm tra toàn lĩnh vực giáo dục năm 1973”, Hồ sơ 3916, Phòng Cơ quan phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (1955–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

outstanding and significant contributions to academic development in South Vietnam in the last century. It should be noted that all information of these former educators of the RVN is fragmented. Except the memoir of Priest Cao Văn Luận - *Bên giòng lịch sử*, other professors wrote nothing about themselves. Most of information producing here were gathered from writings of their former colleagues and students. Subsequently, it could be too ambitious to expect an entire image of these professors' lives.

The Priest Cao Văn Luận - the Father of the University of Huế

Selecting Prof. Cao Văn Luận in this section might not be in line with the study sphere of this thesis, which focused on the term of the Second Republic of Vietnam. In spite of that, due to his contributions to establish the University of Huế, to his role in ruling this university during the late 1950s and early 1960s, and to his lasting impact to activities of the University of Huế after his leave in 1964, it is supposed to be a major shortcoming not to mention his name here.

As indicated in the Chapter 4, Priest Cao Văn Luận was the first Rector of the University of Huế. This detail is prevalent to people, who concerned on the establishing process of the University of Huế in 1956 and 1957. Albeit, someone might confuse when search the general information of the University of Huế on wikipedia and even in a writing of Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trường in "*Huế, Viện Đại học, Cha Luận và chúng tôi*" [Huế, the University, Priest Luận and us], both sources state that Prof. Nguyễn Quang Trình was the first Rector of the University of Huế.⁴⁴⁴ In order to avoid prospective confusions, explanations will be given here. Prof. Cao Văn Luận in his memoir, *Bên giòng lịch sử*, narrated very detail of the stage of preparing for the establishment of a university in Huế. According to him, although President Ngô Đình Diệm wholeheartedly supported for the establishment of a higher learning insitution in Huế, only one branch of the University of Saigon, which included some faculties, was settled in Huế instead of an independent university.⁴⁴⁵ This result was made due to the survey trip of the Saigon delegation, comprised Educational

⁴⁴⁴ "Viện Đại học Huế", available at https://vi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Viện_Đại_học_Huế
And Nguyễn Văn Trường, "Huế, Viện Đại học, Cha Luận và chúng tôi", available at <https://thanggianhome.wordpress.com/2014/08/22/hue-vien-dai-hoc-cha-luan-va-chung-toi/>, published on August 22, 2014.

⁴⁴⁵ Cao Văn Luận, *Bên giòng lịch sử*, 280.

Minister Nguyễn Dương Đôn, Rector Nguyễn Quang Trình, and some other professors who claimed that Huế had not yet enough conditions to run a university. After two months since that decision was promulgated, Priest Cao Văn Luận, as a representative of Rector Nguyễn Quang Trình in the Huế branch, realized that the development of the higher learning institution in Huế was detained by the delays of administrative procedure due to the distance between Huế and Saigon. Therefore, he re-proposed to President Ngô Đình Diệm the plan of founding an autonomous and independent university in Huế. The proposal was approved and the establishment of the University of Huế was officially issued by a decree in paralleling with the act to appoint Priest Cao Văn Luận to be the first Rector of this university.⁴⁴⁶ To sum it up, in a logical way, one could understand that, in the first decision mentioned above, the University of Huế in a manner of an independent university was not yet established, instead that was a branch of the University of Saigon. Therefore, considering Rector Nguyễn Quang Trình as the rector of this branch was absolutely rational. However, it was not until the issue of the Decree No.45/GD of March 1, 1957, that the University of Huế was legalized as a national university. Corresponding to this event, Priest Cao Văn Luận became the first rector of the University of Huế. I discussed this confusing matter with Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh, also a former Rector of the University of Huế from 1966 to 1969 (more details about this educator is going to produce in a later part). My point of view and my explanations received his agreement. Moreover, in *Dòng Việt*, a special publication on the occasion of 40th year establishment of the University of Huế which assembled many essays, written by the former educators and students from this university, confirmed the list of rectors without mentioning the name of Prof. Nguyễn Quang Trình.⁴⁴⁷

Priest Cao Văn Luận was born on December 20, 1907 in Đông Tràng village, Hương Sơn district, Hà Tĩnh province, in a Catholic family. From 1921 to 1939, he studied at several Catholic educational institutions in Vinh (Nghệ An province), Huế, and Hà Nội. In 1939, he passed the Baccalauréat exam for local people and ordained a priest. October 1939, he started his abroad study in France. First, he studied the literature and philosophy programs at Sorbonne Université, and later pursued a foreign language program at École de

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., 280-281.

⁴⁴⁷ “Viện Đại học Huế 1957–1975”, *Dòng Việt*, 22a-b.

Langues Orientales de Paris.⁴⁴⁸ After eight years living in France, he returned to Vietnam in August 1947. From this time to the year 1975, when he left Vietnam after the collapse of the RVN, it is no doubt to say that he dedicated myriad of his time for Vietnamese educational development. He taught Philosophy at the Huế High school for the Gifted (Quốc học Huế) from 1949 to 1953, and during the time there, he was trying to create more opportunities for South Vietnamese students to go abroad for further studies. In 1950, for instance, some outstanding students from his philosophy class were selected to send to the United States, namely Âu Ngọc Hồ, Nguyễn Văn Mừng, Nguyễn Thị Quýt, Võ Thị Hồng Phúc, Phạm Đăng Tải, and Phùng Việt Xuân.⁴⁴⁹ Also since the first years of his educational career, he did take care much on the aspect of educational materials. Once seeing that the high school students of the Section C did not have textbooks of Philosophy in Vietnamese, he wrote and printed a volume of four books, comprised Psychology, Logic, Ethics, and Metaphysics.⁴⁵⁰ These books were re-printed many times for using at the South Vietnamese high schools until 1975. He was one of the first professors who taught Philosophy in Vietnamese instead of in French or in English.⁴⁵¹

Despite he himself published a memoir and there are also many tributes to his devotion to higher education development, it could not be easy to draw his portrait with educational achievements he did gain. Some initial years after his return to Vietnam, Priest Cao Văn Luận did not have much time. Instead, these years could be seen as the period of building his influence with prospective critical figures in South Vietnam. Nevertheless, this period played a decisive role to his educational career thereafter. The relationships with political and religious figures in the United States, France, and Vatican gave him advantages. He was an intermediary to connect many channels in order to support Ngô Đình Diệm to reach the highest position of the political stage in South Vietnam in 1955 - became the President of the First Republic of Vietnam.⁴⁵² Having a close-knit relationship with the president was a convenient factor, which facilitated him much on the path of mobilizing for the establishment of a university in Huế and also in the activities of this university.

⁴⁴⁸ Vũ Lục Thủy, “Tuởng niệm Linh mục”, 23-24.

⁴⁴⁹ Cao Văn Luận, *Bên giòng lịch sử*, 178.

⁴⁵⁰ Vũ Lục Thủy, “Tuởng niệm Linh mục”, 27.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

⁴⁵² Cao Văn Luận, *Bên giòng lịch sử*.

As mentioned above and also in previous chapters, the idea of creating an institution of higher education in Huế received not many approvals of South Vietnamese educators, especially from academic community in the University of Saigon. There were many difficulties for Huế in almost all aspects, such as infrastructure, teaching staff, and educational budget. However, President Ngô Đình Diệm was convinced by the enthusiasm of Priest Cao Văn Luận and believed in his capability to overcome initial challenges. The decree to establish the University of Huế was signed at the time that Huế had almost no facilities to operate a university. Despite the risk of approving this plan, President Ngô Đình Diệm did not have to be regretted due to the accomplishments, which the University of Huế obtained during its operation from 1957 to 1975. These achievements not only proved the right trust of President Ngô Đình Diệm and some educators in Huế pertaining to the possibility of establishing a higher learning institution, but also showed the serious endeavor of Priest Cao Văn Luận and his colleagues. In spite of being founded as a national university, the University of Huế still faced the shortage of finance. In that context, without hesitation, Priest Cao Văn Luận called for assistances from foreign foundations, organizations, and institutions. The outside supports were not offered immediately, he was refused by almost all organizations where he came to ask for help. Only the sincere desire to develop education could keep him in patience and continue trying all possibilities. Being aware of the role of international cooperation in dealing with the inefficiency of a young higher education and also the importance of integration, he regularly had abroad trips to search potential partners and sponsors for the University of Huế.

Another example could be given here to prove his devotion to educational development was his works of producing educational materials. As a rector, his time was occupied by many tasks of administrative matters, even though he wrote and translated many books to supply essential sources to South Vietnamese university students. Some books could be named here, such as *Công dân giáo dục* [Civil Education], co-authored, published in 1960 by the Ministry of Education; *Phương pháp luận* [Discours de la Méthode, by Descarte], translated in 1964, Khai Trí Publishing House; *Năng lực tinh thần* [Energie Spirituelle, by Bergson], translated in 1964, Khai Trí Publishing House.⁴⁵³ To facilitate

⁴⁵³ Vũ Lạc Thủy, “Tuởng niệm Linh mục”, 31-32.

academic activities of the University of Huế, he presided over the establishment of the *Ủy ban phiên dịch Sử liệu* (Committee for Translation and Research of Vietnamese Historical Sources) and the journal *Đại học*. Despite they were short-lived, the Committee and the journal contributed significantly to advance higher education, and facilitated academic activities of Vietnamese scholars and intellectuals. Some prominent works edited by *the Committee for Translation and Research of Vietnamese Historical Sources* are *An Nam Chí Lược* (安南志略, written by Lê Tắc), translated in 1961, *Mục lục Châu bản triều Nguyễn* [Catalogue of the Imperial Archives of the Nguyễn dynasty], Vol.1 (1960), Vol.2 (1962); *Hải Ngoại Ký Sự* (海外紀事, written by Thích Đại Sán), translated in 1963.

The Ủy ban phiên dịch Sử liệu (Committee for Translation and Research of Vietnamese Historical Sources or also called The Vietnamese Historical Documents Translation Board) was a part of the University of Huế. It existed roughly from 1959 to 1965.⁴⁵⁴ The Board members consisted of outstanding scholars and translators whose background was rich in experience. The primary mission of the board is to translate and make a supply of historical documents having a bearing Vietnamese history. Secondly they were to assemble and catalogue all original manuscripts, official local records and plans as well as the personal official records of royal dynasties of Vietnam. The third aim was to translate historical literature published in foreign countries, which might be valuable in relationship to Vietnamese history. The fourth and final goals of the Board were to gather and organize all this local and foreign historical literature in order to establish a treasury of Vietnamese history as a center of research, with facilities for foreign and local scholars to use in studying Vietnamese history.⁴⁵⁵ The Board Chairman was the Rector of the University of Huế (at that time was Priest Cao Văn Luận); other members were Prof. Trương Bửu Lâm, Director of Institute for Historical Research and Professor of History; Prof. Nguyễn Khắc Hoạch, Professor of Literature, University of Saigon; Prof. Lê Tuyên, Professor of Literature, University of Huế; Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trung, Professor of Philosophy, University of Huế, Director, Review magazine; Prof. Nguyễn Toại, Professor of Law,

⁴⁵⁴ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Curriculum Vitale of Ching-Ho Chen”, File 6-20-26C-116-UA17-95_001119, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 2.

⁴⁵⁵ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “University of Hue Historial Research Project For Preservation and Translation of Historial Documents”, File 1781440039, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

University of Huế; Mr. Bửu Kế, Librarian, University of Huế; Prof. Trần Kinh Hoà (陳荆和), Professor of History, University of Huế; Prof. Cao Hữu Hoàn, Professor of Languages, National School, Huế; Prof. Tôn Thất Đào, Director, Cultural Institute, Huế; and Rev. Nguyễn Văn Thích, Professor of Chinese, University of Huế. The Board met at least twice a year (at beginning and end of work sessions) then the Secretary General made a report on work accomplished and plans for the future.⁴⁵⁶

The *Đại học* journal started to publish in February 1958 and the last publication was in August 1964 with the total of 38 volumes (*Đại học* had 40 publications, however, the no.4-5 and no.35-36 were merged in one volume), 353 essays in the length of 6.287 pages.⁴⁵⁷ Before 1960, the Journal was printed in Saigon by Bảo Vinh Publishing House (in 86 Nguyễn Du Street, Saigon) and Nam Sơn Publishing House (in 36 Nguyễn An Ninh Street, Saigon). Since January 1960 (or since no. 13), the Journal was printed at the University of Huế's Publishing House (except no.35-36 was printed in Sao Mai Publishing House at Huế). The Journal was published in order to disseminate Vietnamese as the language medium for Vietnamese scholars and intellectuals. Noticeably, as the University of Huế considered seriously the paralleling tasks of teaching and researching, *Đại học* became a forum for professors and students at Huế and also other scholars to discuss and exchange their opinions. This Journal also reflected how objective it was in the academic debates, *Đại học* stated that “We supposed that this journal is the meeting point where writers and readers encounter, communicate, and exchange knowledge, therefore no one could be totally play the passive or active role. The mentioned topics are widely, complicated; hence, nobody is capable to observe and acquire one issue comprehensively, instead each just only depicts the issue on some aspects from a certain perspective”⁴⁵⁸. Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trung and later Prof. Trần Văn Toàn (when Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trung moved to the University of Saigon) assumed charge of editor-in-chief of this Journal. The contributors for *Đại học* came from different affiliations from Saigon, Đà Lạt, Huế, and foreign researchers. Some writers who regularly sent their articles to *Đại học* were Nguyễn Văn Trung, Trần Văn Toàn, Lâm Ngọc Huỳnh, Priest Trần Thái Đình, Trần Kinh Hoà, Erich Wulff, Nguyễn Đăng Thục, Nguyễn

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁷ Selected information from Phan Thuận An, “Tập chí Đại học – Đứa con tinh thần sáng giá của Viện Đại học Huế”, available at <http://tapchisonghuong.com.vn/tin-tuc/p2/c15/n25279/Tap-chi-Dai-Hoc-Dua-con-tinh-than-sang-gia-cua-Vien-Dai-Hoc-Hue.html>, published on March 24, 2017.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

Khắc Hoạch, Vũ Quốc Thúc, Nguyễn Hiến Lê, Lý Chánh Trung, Phan Xuân Sanh, Nguyễn Bạt Tụy, Thái Văn Kiểm.⁴⁵⁹ As indicated, the Journal evoked many topics in a variety of fields, ranging from Literature, Philosophy, History, Linguistics, Ethnography, to Physics, Economics, Medicine, and Education. As the Editor (Chủ nhiệm) of this Journal, Priest Cao Văn Luận also contributed to the development of *Đại học* by his works; for instance he translated several articles written by Henri Bergson into Vietnamese and published consecutively in the Journal numbers 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27.⁴⁶⁰

Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ and his Devotion to Biology

If Priest Cao Văn Luận was the Father of the University of Huế, Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ was one of critical figures who mobilized and prepared the establishment of the University of Cần Thơ in 1966. Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ (1929–2017) was born in Thới Bình Village, Cái Khế District, Cần Thơ Province. He completed his high school and being conferred Baccalaurate I and II in France. He continued to pursue university programs at Sorbonne Université. Phạm Hoàng Hộ obtained his Bachelor certificate in 1953 and his master certificate in 1956.⁴⁶¹ He took on the duty of Director of Nha Trang Oceanography Institute from 1957 to 1962. Thereafter, he joined the temporary cabinet of Prime Minister Nguyễn Ngọc Thơ and took charge of the Minister of Education (1963).⁴⁶² Considering the needs to have a university at the Mekong Delta area in order to respond to local demands and also to advance local education, Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ and many local intellectuals did not hesitate to persuade authorities and to mobilize resources to establish the University of Cần Thơ. The establishment of the University of Cần Thơ was decreed in the Decree 62-SL/GD of March 3, 1966. It marked an initial success of Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ and his supporters. Based on his trustworthiness, Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ rallied many South Vietnamese elites, such as Prof. Tôn Thất Trình, Prof. Thái Công Tụng, Dr. Nguyễn Viêt Trương, and Dr. Trần Đăng Hồng to work in this university.⁴⁶³ His efforts in the early stages of the University of Cần Thơ's activities in

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Phạm Đức Thuận, “GS. Phạm Hoàng Hộ & GS. Nguyễn Duy Xuân đối với việc hình thành và phát triển Viện Đại học Cần Thơ (1966–1975)”, *Xưa và Nay*, số 439 (2013): 19-22.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

⁴⁶³ Ngô Thế Vinh, “Những năm ảo vọng - Giáo sư Phạm Hoàng Hộ và bộ sách Cây cỏ Việt Nam”, available at <http://vanviet.info/tu-lieu/nhung-nam-ao-vong-giao-su-pham-hong-ho-v-bo-sch-cy-co-viet-nam/>, published on February 11, 2017.

terms of infrastructure, finance, teaching staff, and international cooperation paved the way for further development of this university in the 1960s and 1970s.

The contributions of Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ in establishing the University of Cần Thơ were illustrated briefly in previous parts. This section is not going to repeat those details, rather focusing more on his accomplishments in academic career. The most well-known and also the most significant of his achievements during in the RVN period were publications of Vietnamese flora. In the preface of *Rong biển Việt Nam* [Marine Algae of South Vietnam] he admitted that the book was initially started to write in French, but he changed his mind to publish this work in Vietnamese as proof that all languages have their own capability to deliver knowledge to Vietnamese readers. This decision depicted that he gave the priority to Vietnamese readers rather than thinking of building his credibility in worldwide academic community. Among his works, the book *Cây cỏ Việt Nam* [An Illustrated Flora of Vietnam] could be claimed as his most well-known publication and played an important role in the research of flora in Vietnam and in the world as well. Peter Shaw Ashton, a Charles Bullard Professor of Forestry at Harvard University did appreciate this work: “By providing annotations on each species in English, as well as the fine line drawings for every one of the c. 10,500 species, the *Illustrated Flora of Vietnam* provides the English speaking reader with the first, as well as a fully up to date and comprehensive reference for a flora hitherto little known to us. This work will stand as a monument to the determination, dedication, scholarship and even courage of its author”⁴⁶⁴. This is not an over-praise when tracing back to the process of completing *Cây cỏ Việt Nam*. According to Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ, *Cây cỏ Việt Nam* had completed in few decades, which were divided into four periods. In the first period, he collaborated with Prof. Nguyễn Văn Dưng on the term of pharmacology. During that time, he collected and described 1650 species of popular flora in South Vietnam, and published this work in the name *Cây cỏ miền Nam Việt Nam* [The Flora of South Vietnam]. In the second phase, samples which he collected, increased to 5328 species and the additional research results performed as the second edition of *Cây cỏ miền Nam Việt Nam*. The third and fourth phases conducted after 1975 with the supplement of 2500 species

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid.

and 3000 species, respectively, to his book.⁴⁶⁵ Prof. Ashton stated that: “*The flora of Vietnam may finally contain more than 12,000 phanerogams. This is because the country, pressed against the Pacific edge of the Asian tropics, has been a corridor for the periodic north-south migration of the very rich subtropical flora of South China and even richer equatorial flora of Malaysia. [...] All this wealth is now perilously close to extinction. The valient efforts of the current government of the Republic of Vietnam to plan and implement a comprehensive conservation strategy will be critically assisted by this manual, which will also stand as a record of the flora as it now exists*”⁴⁶⁶. The assessment of Prof. Ashton demonstrates that *Cây cỏ Việt Nam* not only meaningful for Vietnamese but also for foreign scholars and readers. This is an useful reference for both experts and non-experts. More importantly, the value of this work exceeds its publishing time to have a lasting impact. As an anecdote, which was told by Ngô Thế Vinh, many South Vietnamese writers such as Võ Phiến and Nguyễn Đình Toàn used *Cây cỏ Việt Nam* as a reference to grasp knowledge of plants of Vietnam and took this knowledge as the material to create their works.⁴⁶⁷

His devotion to science, particularly to the field of flora research affected and inspired his colleagues and students in both manners, intendedly and incidentally. In the early stage of establishing the University of Cần Thơ, Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ and his colleagues had to face abundance of challenges, from the shortage of infrastructure to the scarcity of teaching staff. Mr. Nguyễn Phi Long, an assistant to the Dean of the Agricultural School recalled that one year after the foundation of the University of Cần Thơ (in 1967), the School of Agriculture had not operated yet. It had no classrooms, no laboratories, no students, and in terms of staff, there were only three people, two engineers, Mr. Phan Lương Báu and Mr. Phạm Văn Kim, and Nguyễn Phi Long himself. When Nguyễn Phi Long assumed the position at the School of Agriculture, his two other colleagues were in the hospital after a traffic accident. After staying there for six months, he lost his enthusiasm steadily because there was nothing for him to do and he thought about resignation at the School of Agriculture of the University of Cần Thơ and to seek a new

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

job. Nevertheless, the meeting with Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ made him change his mind. Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ encouraged Nguyễn Phi Long and two other staff to prepare the admission of the 1968–1969 school year. This means he had only few months for the preparation. In that situation, the decision of Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ seemed to be so adventurous however, on the other side, it was a good motivation to accelerate the operation of the School of Agriculture.⁴⁶⁸ In fact, 50 students were approved and 40 students did enroll in the School of Agriculture for the first university year of 1968–1969 (because some students were also given the admissions from other universities).⁴⁶⁹ As indicated, the School of Agriculture became the strength of the University of Cần Thơ compared to other universities in South Vietnam in the field of Agricultural Education. This could not happen if there was no commencement of the 1968–1969 school year with the encouragement and determination of Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ.

Despite he was renowned in the scientific community in Vietnam and overseas as well as assumed critical positions in the RVN education system, Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ was always humble, sincere, and studious both in his daily life and at his working place. Lê Học Lãnh Vân, one of his student and later was his colleague shared some memories during the time he studied and worked with Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ. In the initial days when Lê Học Lãnh Vân became the staff at the School of Science, University of Saigon, Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ did give him good advice of a right attitude in working, those were the habits of being on time, the studiousness to listen to other opinions, no hesitation to ask, and the diligence in listening and accepting other perspectives.⁴⁷⁰ Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ's positive attitude towards others also impressed Lê Học Lãnh Vân. It seems like he respected all efforts and attempts of people who worked with him, regardless these efforts were for science or other purposes. The diligence of Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ in the work and his sincereness to improve Vietnamese science became lessons for his students in many generations.

⁴⁶⁸ Nguyễn Phi Long, “Một vài kỷ niệm sâu xa với Giáo sư Phạm Hoàng Hộ”, available at <http://k7dhct.com/index.php?threads/một-vài-kỷ-niệm-sâu-xa-với-gs-phạm-hoàng-hộ.2519/>, published on August 8, 2018.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁰ Lê Học Lãnh Vân, “Giáo sư Phạm Hoàng Hộ, một người thầy của tôi”, available at <https://baomoi.com/giao-su-pham-hoang-ho-mot-nguoi-thay-cua-toi/c/21449334.epi>, published on February 2, 2017.

Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh - A Pioneer in Contemporary Historical Studies of Vietnam

Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh was born in 1936 in Laos, and due to his father job in the Education Service in Vientiane, he spent most of time of his childhood there, except some years he and his family took refuge in Thailand (1946–1949).⁴⁷¹ After he passed the *Bac I* in Section B in 1955 and the *Bac II* in the major of Philosophy in 1956, he successfully received a grant from the French cultural mission to pursue his studies in France. This was the trigger time to decide his whole-life career as a historian. As in his remembrance, he at first desired to study chemistry in France, the decision was changed after hearing the advice of the Minister of Education, which recommended him to study history, instead.⁴⁷² Thanks to this alternation which gave us an outstanding and prominent historical researcher in the field of Vietnamese Studies and Vietnamese historiography. Study history and becoming a teacher and researcher in this major might not be his first choice, nonetheless, this did not affect his devotion to this field and his academic achievements. After receiving the aggregation of history in 1963, he intended to return to South Vietnam; the 1963 coup d'état against President Ngô Đình Diệm delayed his returning for one more year, however. During that short time he completed his master thesis, defended it in June 1964 and this work was published in 1967.⁴⁷³ When he arrived in South Vietnam in 1964, he assumed his first professorship at the University of Huế. The time he was there, Huế suffered many turbulence of political and military conflicts, not only caused by the clash of the RVN and its opponents but also the conflicts of South Vietnamese groups themselves. In that context, the University of Huế was unable to avoid severe effects. As known, after the initial and also stable developing stage from 1957 to 1963, the University of Huế faced a fluctuated situation. It was demonstrated partly through consecutive replacements of rectors in this university, from the back and forth of Priest Cao Văn Luận in 1963 and 1964, the appointment to Prof. Trần Hữu Thế and Mr. Trương Văn Chôm in 1963, Prof. Bùi Tường Huân in 1964–1966, and Prof. Trần Hữu Trí in July to September 1966.⁴⁷⁴ In 1966, at the age of 30, Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh took

⁴⁷¹ Revue académique d'histoire - géographie, 59-60.

⁴⁷² Ibid., 60.

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ “Viện Đại học Huế 1957–1975”, *Dòng Việt*, số 4 (1997): 22a.

And “Danh sách các vị đứng đầu Đại học Huế”, available at https://nb-no.facebook.com/notes/đại-học-huế-hue-university/danh-sách-các-vị-đứng-đầu-đại-học-huế-từ-khi-thành-lập-đến-nay/235087103194051/?__tn__=HH-R, posted on August 18, 2011.

charge of the Rector of the University of Huế, where he could know that there was much burden waiting for him. Challenges could not detain him keep moving this university in its trail, the steady increase of teaching staff and students, the improvement of educational facilities, the competitive competence of this university to the University of Saigon (see previous chapters), were proof for how tremendous efforts he dedicated to this institution during his ruling term. Especially, the resilience of the University of Huế after serious destructions, which caused by the 1968 Tết Offensive, shown his capability of a captain in sailing this university in disastrous moments. Beyond the leave from the University of Huế, he continued to be appointed in critical positions in the RVN higher education system, such as an assistant for the Minister of Education in charge of higher education and the head of Department of History at the Faculty of Letters, University of Saigon, from 1969 to 1975.⁴⁷⁵

It could be said that Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh was one of pioneers to evoke the historical research movements in South Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s, which applied modern research methods. During six years working in the Department of History, a too short period, however he achieved many successes: placing History on the trail of a science, certifying the doctoral degree in RVN universities, educating few but talented historians for Vietnam. Tạ Chí Đại Trường and Trần Anh Tuấn are two of his former students, who benefited from the visionary decisions of Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh in teaching and researching history. The collapse of the RVN pushed him to exiles, shortly in the United States and later permanently in France. In spite of that, there has been no interruption in his academy.

He continued his historical teaching at the University of Toulouse-Le Mirail and paralleling entered the CNRS (Centre national de la recherche scientifique) with the support of Dean Jacques Godechot. Due to good reputations he built, he was invited to many places to be a visiting fellow, visiting professor in Singapore and in the United States in 1977 and 1978.

It should be noted that two names Mr. Trần Văn Chôm and Prof. Trần Hữu Trí did not appear on the list which was produced in *Dòng Việt*. However, the information of these two people was mentioned in other documents, such as in the dissertation of Thomas Reich, wrote about the activities of the Wisconsin Stevens Point University team in South Vietnam under the contract with USAID and the RVN. Therefore, the presence of Trần Văn Chôm and Trần Hữu Trí at the post of Rector of the University of Huế is reliable. The author of *Dòng Việt* did not include them, perhaps due to the short time they fulfilled that duty, only for a few months.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., 61.

After successfully defended his doctoral thesis of Letters and Human Sciences on the topic of the Vietnamese monarchy of the Nguyễn dynasty, he became the Director of research at the CNRS in 1987. He was elected to become the research Director of the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes. Section IV. He stayed in this charge until his retirement in 2005.⁴⁷⁶

To present, inspite of suffering some diseases and being weaken due to the age, he is still a role model and an inspirational person for other researchers, devoting almost his time for research works. With tremendous endeavor and devotion he did in his teaching and research life, he deserves praises and honors from his colleagues and his friends.

In terms of research, Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh marked impressive and admirable contributions to scholar community in Vietnam, in France as well as in the world. According to the statistics from Trần Anh Tuấn's essay, from 1965 to 2014, Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh published 20 historical books, 159 articles in academic journals. His works were introduced to 13 countries in the world, including Vietnam, France, the United States, Italy, the Vatican, Japan, Russia, Australia, Germany, South Korea, Malaysia, and Singapore.⁴⁷⁷ In addition, he reviewed 33 published historical books.⁴⁷⁸ All of his works focus intensively on some aspects, comprise the socio-economic and intellectual history of Vietnam; relations between states and companiens of the Indochinese peninsula; the legitimization of power in the Indochinese peninsula from the eighteenth to the twentieth century; and the cultures of the West and East Asia.⁴⁷⁹

The above statistics demonstrate in part his diligence and accomplishments both as an educator and a historian. Cao Việt Anh in a recent presentation at the fourth international conference of Vietnamese Studies, did emphasize that the unbiased principle which determined in the early stage of Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh's research career was respected

⁴⁷⁶ Revue académique d'histoire - géographie, 61.

⁴⁷⁷ Trần Anh Tuấn, "Giáo sư Nguyễn Thế Anh và Ban Sử Đại học Văn Khoa Sài Gòn", available at <http://daihocsuphamsaigon.org/index.php/bienkhao/193-trananhtuan/3040-nguyentheanhvadhvk>, published on April 12, 2016.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

In the website of Viện Việt học, the data of Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh's publication is slightly different. However, on this website, the titles of his publications were named, making them possible for readers to search those works.

⁴⁷⁹ Revue académique d'histoire - géographie, 62.

seriously in his works.⁴⁸⁰ He gave details of how Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh practised this principle:

In his historical studies, Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh was not affected by bipolar thought with good and bad, kind and evil. The historical characters in his research, no matter they lived in the monarchy period or the rulers in part in the history of contemporary Vietnam, they were not recast to be heroes, saints the ones who were extreme perfection or opposition. When a biography of a certain historical figure is re-created to be a symbol for a community or present for the intention of the majority, that biography is fictionalized.

As a historian, Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh did not allow that happen. A historical character; even the one who is honored by descendants, also be considered in the historical context and the comparison to other historical documents. Therefore, in the works of Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh, readers are likely to find new dimensions of one historical character, who is believed to have a fixed image.⁴⁸¹

Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh is one of few Vietnamese historians who are well-known and recognized by the international academic community. While French could be considered as a medium to grant him more advantages than other Vietnamese researchers in terms of international publications, his research competence and his neutrality and rigor in science are factors to create his successes and credibility, even admitted by the opposing critics.

5.6 Publishing Houses and Academic Publications

Publishing was a new aspect for RVN higher education even in the second half of the twentieth century. Recognizing a modern tendency of advanced educations, RVN universities given more attention on publishing activities since the late 1960s onwards. This was not only meaningful in terms of solving the scarcity of educational materials but also supporting universities in fulfilling their duties comprehensively, including teaching and researching.

⁴⁸⁰ Cao Việt Anh, *Việt Nam học nhìn từ lịch sử nghiên cứu tại Ecoles pratiques des hautes études (EPHE, Pháp): Trường hợp sử gia Nguyễn Thế Anh (1936-nay)*, presented at the fourth international conference of Vietnamese Studies, organized by University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Ho Chi Minh City, 2019.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

In general, South Vietnam experienced a conducive condition to publish in the 1960s and 1970s. According to a study of Lê Bá Kông, which presented in the *Conference of the Economic Aspect of Printing, Publishing, and Distributing Books*, was held in Manila (November 26 to November 30, 1974), there were approximately 180 publishing houses in South Vietnam. These publishing houses operated in various scales and were able to establish without governmental permissions.⁴⁸² Some renowned publishers were Lá Bối, Lửa Thiêng, Khai Trí, Giao Điểm, Sống Mới, Nam Cường, and Hiện Đại. These publishers contributed significantly to facilitate activities of academic communities, including university activities, by producing textbooks and reference works.

In fact, most of textbooks for all studying levels: from primary school to university, were printed at the Center of Educational Material (Trung tâm học liệu). This Center was initially named the Department of Educational Material, and headed by a Director.⁴⁸³ Aside from administrative offices, other offices, such as the Section of Drafting, Translating, and Printing and a publisher were also units of the Center. In 1974, the Center was admitted to be autonomous in its operation in order to cooperate flexibly with other publishers in the United States, England, and France. This cooperations allowed the Center to print textbooks with cheap costs and distribute its textbooks to all provinces in South Vietnam.⁴⁸⁴ With subsidies and assistances of other foreign publishing houses, textbooks, which were published by the Center of Educational Material were much cheaper compared to those of private publishers. Nevertheless, this Center could not monopolize in the area of publishing due to several reasons. First, a number of copies of this Center could not meet demands of South Vietnamese people. Moreover, other private publishers were able to compete against publications of this Center by their personal relationships with educational institutes and their high quality of publications. The Center not only focused on publishing new books but re-publishing many valuable books during the 1960s and 1970s, such as, the 10th edition of *Việt Nam Văn học sử yếu* [History of Vietnamese Literary Works] and the 9th edition of *Việt Nam thi văn hợp tuyển* [The Selected Vietnamese Verses and Prose] written by Dương Quảng Hàm, *Việt Nam Sử lược*

⁴⁸² Cited in Phạm Phú Minh, “Công việc xuất bản”.

⁴⁸³ Trần Văn Chánh, “Chương trình Giáo dục”, 201.

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 202.

[Outline History of Vietnam] and *Nho giáo* [Confucianism] written by Trần Trọng Kim.⁴⁸⁵

In respect to publish university textbooks and reference works, *Lửa Thiêng* was one of prominent names. It published approximately 130 books during five years (1969–1974).⁴⁸⁶ The publications of *Lửa Thiêng* did not focus on single field but comprised all topics. In terms of geography, it had *Dân số học* [Demography] written by Lâm Thanh Liêm, published in 1969; *Thổ nhưỡng học đại cương* [The Introduction to Pedology] written by Thái Công Tụng, published in 1970; *Căn bản địa chất* [The General Geology] written by Trần Kim Thạch, published in 1971. In terms of linguistics, there were several books, namely *Pháp văn tuyển dịch* [The Translated Selection of French Literatures] by Lê Trung Niên, published in 1972; *Cơ cấu Việt ngữ* [The Structure of Vietnamese Language] written by Trần Ngọc Ninh, published in 1973; *Văn học và Ngữ học* [Literature and Linguistics] written by Bùi Đức Tịnh, published in 1974. Some literature works were published, such as *Phương pháp nghị luận và phân tích văn chương* [Methods of Literature Discourse and Analysis] written by Nguyễn Thiên Thụ, published in 1971; *Văn chương Nam bộ và cuộc kháng Pháp 1945–1950* [The Southern Vietnamese Literature and the Anti-French Resistance War in the Years 1945–1950] written by Nguyễn Văn Sâm, published in 1972. In historical and political publications, *Lửa Thiêng* published several works from well-known professors, for instance, *Bán đảo Ấn Độ (từ khởi thủy đến thế kỷ XVI)* [Indian Peninsula from the Beginning to the Seventeenth Century] written by Phạm Cao Dương in 1970, *Lịch sử các học thuyết chính trị* [History of Political Theories] written by Nguyễn Ngọc Huy in 1973. The economic, philosophical and law books also published by *Lửa Thiêng*, such as *Sắt thép thế giới* [Iron and Steel in the World] written by Sơn Hồng Đức in 1972, *Triết học và Khoa học* [Philosophy and Science] written by Đặng Phùng Quân in 1972, and *Hình luật tổng quát* [The General Penal Laws] written by Nguyễn Quang Quýnh in 1973.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., 234.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., 238.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 238-239.

In addition, other publishing houses contributed to enrich references for students by publishing professors' lectures and research. Many textbooks were published and re-published during the late 1960s and early 1970s, were written by South Vietnamese professors. For instance, *Nông học đại cương* [The Introduction to Agronomy] written by Prof. Tôn Thất Trình, published in 1967; *Giao thoa* [The Interference], published in 1969, *Nhiều xạ* [The Diffraction], published in 1969, *Phân cực* [The Polarization], published in 1971, written by Prof. Nguyễn Chung Tú; *Điện học* [The Electrology] written by Prof. Võ Đức Diễm, published in 1970; *Nhập môn Triết học phương Đông* [The Introduction to the Oriental Philosophy] written by Prof. Lê Xuân Khoa, re-published in 1972; *Lược khảo văn học I, II* [Literature Review I, II] written by Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trung, published in 1968; *Lý luận Toán học đại cương* [The Fundamental Theory of Mathematics] written by Prof. Lê Thành Tri, published in 1972; *Lịch sử Triết học Đông phương* [History of the Oriental Philosophy] written by Prof. Nguyễn Đăng Thục, published in 1968; *Từ điển chữ Nôm* [Dictionary of Nôm Characters] written by Prof. Nguyễn Quang Xỹ and Prof. Vũ Văn Kinh, published in 1971.⁴⁸⁸

In a research of UNESCO on the science and technology Asian development, which was published in 1970 by the United Nations generate a general view on research aspect of higher education in South Vietnam in the 1960s: “*Higher education in science is provided in five universities. Most of the basic scientific research works, however, is being done at the Faculty of Science of the University of Saigon. The University of Can Tho proposes to establish a research center, attached to its School of Agriculture, primarily for the benefit of the Mekong Delta area*”⁴⁸⁹. This observation was extracted from the fact of the operation of RVN universities and it met a wide consensus from scholars concerning the RVN higher education development. As the earliest-established university and the largest scale in operations among RVN universities, the University of Saigon was outstanding in publishing aspect, showing on its vast number of publications as well as the attendance of its professors on a variety of scientific forums. Not impressive as the University of Saigon, notwithstanding, the University of Huế and the University of Cần Thơ also had

⁴⁸⁸ Hoàng Thị Hồng Nga, *Giáo dục Đại học*, 87.

⁴⁸⁹ UNESCO, *Conference on the Application*, 3.

their achievements in the respect of research and publications through conducting scientific activities.

At the University of Saigon, the idea of translating and publishing books was initial in 1965 by Prof. Lê Xuân Khoa with the slogan “We want to bring the brain in”⁴⁹⁰. However, this idea had to wait six years more to become true with the assistance of the American Vietnamese Association. The cooperation of the Hiện Đại Publishing House (the University of Saigon) and the American Vietnamese Association in four years (1971–1975) produced a noticeable result; 45 translated works were published on a variety of themes, such as economy, politics, science, and technology. Some renowned translated books could be listed as follow,

1. Vũ Quốc Thúc translated *The Political Basic of Economic Development, an Exploration in Comparative Political Analysis* by Robert T. Hort and John E. Turner (the book was published in 1966 by Van Nostrand Reinhold Inc., U.S.)
2. Tạ Văn Tài translated *The Changing Structure of International Law* by Wolfgang Friedmann (Published in 1964 by New York: Columbia University Press; London: Stevens & Sons).
3. A group of experts, with Editor Nguyễn Mạnh Hùng, translated *Political Theory and International Affairs* by Hans J. Morgenthau.
4. Vũ Trọng Cảnh translated *Democratic Civilization* by Leslie Lipson (published in 1964 by Oxford University Press, New York).
5. Trần Ngọc Lương and Cung Thúc Tiến translated *Principles of Management: An Analysis of Managerial Functions* of Harold Koontz and Cyril O’Donnel.
6. Trần Văn Đĩnh translated *Sociology* by Joseph Fichter (published in 1957 by the University of Chicago Press).
7. Nguyễn Đăng Hải translated *The Economics of Agricultural Development* by John W. Mellor (published in 1966 by Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York).
8. Ngô Đình Long translated *Energy in the World of the Future* (published in 1973 by M Evans & Co).

⁴⁹⁰ Lê Xuân Khoa, “Đại học miền Nam trước 1975, Hồi tưởng và nhận định”, in Ngô Bảo Châu et al., *Kỷ yếu Đại học*, 548.

9. Lê Thái Bằng and Lê Đình Chiêu translated *The Professional Journalists* by John Hohenberg.
10. Cung Thúc Tiến, Nguyễn Hải, and Trần Lương Ngọc translated *Economics* by Paul Samuelson.
11. Nguyễn Khắc Nhân translated *Ni Marx, Ni Jesus* by Jean Francois Revel.⁴⁹¹

Aside from those translated books, the Hiện Đại Publisher also published the Vietnamese books, for instance *Từ điển quản trị và hành chính* [Dictionary of Administration] written by Bùi Quang Khánh and Vũ Quốc Thông; *William Faulkner: Cuộc đời và Tác phẩm* [William Faulkner: Life and Works] written by Doãn Quốc Sỹ and Nguyễn Văn Nha; and *Đặc khảo về Dân nhạc ở Việt Nam* [Intensive Study on the Vietnamese Folk Music] written by Phạm Duy.⁴⁹²

Considering the importance of research task in universities, RVN professors overcame the inefficiency of working conditions, which consumed much of their time, for instance, traveling from this to other places for teaching or taking many classes at the same time due to the lack of teaching staff, to enhance their research activities. Most of professors had their own publications during the 1967–1975 period. Some of them published frequently, showing their diligence and devotion to research. Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ, as mentioned, was one of the outstanding professors for fulfilling dual tasks, teaching and researching simultaneously. Within eight years (1967–1975), either in the position of the Rector of the University of Cần Thơ (1966–1970) or working as a teaching staff in the University of Saigon (1970–1975), his research, publications, and republications were uninterrupted. Some of his books, such as *Cây cỏ miền Nam Việt Nam* [An Illustrated Flora of Vietnam], Vol.1. 1st Ed. published in 1960, 2nd Ed. published in 1970; Vol.2, published in 1972; *Sinh học thực vật* [Botany] published and re-published in 1964, 1966, and 1973, *Tế bào sống* [Cells Alive] published and re-published in 1965 and 1972, *Tảo học* [Algology] published in 1967, *Hiển hoa bí tử* [Angiospermae] published in 1968 and 1975, *Rong biển Việt Nam* [Marine Algae of South Vietnam] published in 1969, *Thực vật chúng* [The Species of Flora] published in 1972. These publications produced fruitful

⁴⁹¹ Lê Xuân Khoa, “Đại học miền Nam trước 1975, Hồi tưởng và nhận định”, in Ngô Bảo Châu et al., *Kỷ yếu Đại học*, 548-549.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 549.

documents for South Vietnamese students who studied Biology.⁴⁹³ Moreover, these works are still valuable for researching Vietnamese botany nowadays. Another name, professor Lê Thanh Hoàng Dân, a well-known educator of South Vietnam not only published his own books but also translated many works from foreign scholars. Some remarkable publications written and translated by Lê Thanh Hoàng Dân, were *Các vấn đề giáo dục* [Issues of Education] published in 1971 by *Trẻ*⁴⁹⁴, *Luân lý chức nghiệp* [Professional Ethics] published in 1971 by *Trẻ*, *Triết lý Giáo dục* [Educational Philosophy], *50000 Dollars* of Ernest Hemingway translated in 1973 and published by *Trẻ*, *Les Méthodes en Pédagogie* of Guy Palmade translated in 1971 and published by *Trẻ*, *Histoire de l'éducation* of Roger Gal translated in 1971 and published by *Trẻ*.⁴⁹⁵ Professor Lê Văn Thới was another name, who possessed influential research with a lot of articles published in Journals, Magazines and books concerning the chemistry field, for instance, *Nguyên tắc soạn thảo danh từ chuyên khoa* [Principles of Drafting Terms] and *Hoá học lập thể hữu cơ* [Stereochemistry of Organic Compounds] published by the Center of Educational Material in 1970 and 1974, respectively; *Danh pháp hoá học hữu cơ* [Nomenclature of Organic Chemistry] (1972) and *Hoá học hữu cơ và cơ cấu* [Organic Chemistry and Structure] published in 1974 by the Faculty of Science, University of Saigon.⁴⁹⁶

One noticeable phenomenon, which could be observed through examining publications of professors, was close relationships between professors and publishing houses. All publications of Lê Thanh Hoàng Dân, mentioned above, were published by *Trẻ*. Most publications of professor Lê Văn Thới were published by the Center of Educational Material. This phenomenon was popular in publishing activities in South Vietnam in pre-1975.

⁴⁹³ Ngô Thế Vinh, “Những năm ảo vọng”.

And “Phạm Hoàng Hộ”, available at https://vi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phạm_Hoàng_Hộ.

⁴⁹⁴ This publisher has the same name with the current publisher in Vietnam but they are two different entities and have no relations.

⁴⁹⁵ See “Lê Thanh Hoàng Dân”, available at

https://vi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lê_Thanh_Hoàng_Dân, accessed on March 22, 2019.

And <http://sachxua.net/forum/l/le-thanh-hoang-dan/>, accessed on March 22, 2019.

⁴⁹⁶ See “Lê Văn Thới”, available at https://vi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lê_Văn_Thới, accessed on March 22, 2019.

And “Lê Văn Thới”, available at

<http://vietsciences.free.fr/vietnam/vanhua/savants/levanthoi.htm>, accessed on March 22, 2019.

As well-known, in the first half of the twentieth century, the main teaching language in universities and schools was French. One of the reasons for this situation and its long time retaining was due to the lack of scientific terminologies in Vietnamese. In parallel with efforts of RVN educators, who desired to use Vietnamese in their lectures, the attempts to develop Vietnamese scientific terminologies also made possibilities to the use of Vietnamese as a teaching medium in universities. Based on a former existence of the Committee for Drafting the Scientific Terminology, *Ủy ban Quốc gia Soạn thảo Danh từ chuyên môn* (the National Committee for Drafting the Terminology) was established following the Decree 1101 GD/PC/NĐ of May 18, 1967. Since then, this Committee took charge of advancing the scientific terms in Vietnamese in order to facilitate the South Vietnamese scholars in researching by their own native language.

Table 5.5 Members of the Committee for Drafting the Terminology

Nr.	Member	Position
1	Prof. Lê Văn Thới	Chairman
2	Prof. Bùi Xuân Bào	Vice Chairman
3	Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ	Vice Chairman
4	Nguyễn Trung Ngun	Secretary General
5	Phạm Hữu Thông	Deputy Secretary General
6	Prof. Nguyễn Độ Dean of the Faculty of Law	Member
7	Prof. Bùi Xuân Bào Dean of the Faculty of Letters	Member
8	Prof. Nguyễn Chung Tú Dean of the Faculty of Science	Member
9	Doctor Nguyễn Đình Cát Head of the Section of Medicine	Member
10	Pharmacist Đặng Vũ Biên Head of the Section of Pharmacy	Member
11	Dentist Lâm Văn Mạnh Head of the Section of Dentistry	Member
12	Prof. Trần Văn Tấn Dean of the Faculty of Pedagogy	Member
13	Engineer Trịnh Ngọc Răng	Member

	Head of the Section of Technology	
14	Bùi Văn Kinh Head of the Section of Technology	Member
15	Prof. Nguyễn Quang Nhạc Dean of the Faculty of Architecture	Member
16	Engineer Bùi Như Hùng Dean of the Agriculture, Forestry, and Husbandry	Member
17	Engineer Ngô Đình Long Head of the Section of Nuclear Energy	Member
18	Prof. Nguyễn Duy Cần	Member
19	Prof. Nguyễn Văn Dương	Member
20	Doctor Trần Ngọc Ninh	Member
21	Prof. Ngô Văn Phát	Member
22	Prof. Nghiêm Toàn	Member
23	Prof. Lê Ngọc Trụ	Member

Source: Ủy ban quốc gia soạn thảo danh từ chuyên môn, *Nội san danh từ chuyên môn*, Bộ Giáo dục, 1972, v-vi.

As demonstrated, the members of this Committee included prominent professors and intellectuals in different fields, such as Letters, Medicine and Pharmacy, and Science. To specialize and also to be more effective in working, 32 sub-fields of this Committee were responsible for drafting their field terminologies. Weekly meetings were held at the Center of Educational Material among the Chairman, the Vice-Chairman, and Deans to decide whether or not to pass drafts of the sub-fields. The deliberation of scholars demonstrated on each meeting, where they spent several hours or even the whole meeting to approve a few terms.⁴⁹⁷ Despite facing many difficulties at the first years, including the lack of finance, staff, and infrastructure⁴⁹⁸, the Committee tried its best efforts to

⁴⁹⁷ Ủy ban quốc gia soạn thảo danh từ chuyên môn, *Nội san danh từ chuyên môn*, 3.

⁴⁹⁸ In pre-1970, the budget for the Committee operation was produced by the Foreign Aid Program with the annual amount of VN\$ 5,000,000. Since 1970, this expense was merged to the budget for printing and copyright costs of the textbooks in the Center of Educational Material with the estimated number of VN\$ 7,000,000 for both. Additionally, the lack of typers, particularly who were familiar with typing English and French was also an obstacle for the

obtain initial achievements after two years (1967–1969). The Committee completed the terminology book of Pharmacy with 15,000 nouns and the terminology book of nuclear-related nouns. Other sub-fields proposed their drafts in the fields of Physics, Painting and Sculpture, Botany, Chemistry, Geology, and Medicine, producing terms starting with letters A and B.⁴⁹⁹

5.7 Examinations and Accreditations

The University of Saigon

In the Faculty of Law, there were two examination periods for Bachelor students, one was held in June and the other was organized in September. Among seven subjects which the first year students were required to complete, they had to fulfill two writing exams and five oral exams. The writing exams took three hours for each. If students passed these exams with at least score of 10/20, they continued to do their oral exams.⁵⁰⁰ When the students failed in oral exams at the first time, they had another opportunity to retake exams of oral section without repeating writing tests. However, if they failed in both examination periods, they needed to take all of the exams again in both, writing or oral sections. For the fourth year students, who had to fulfill 13 subjects, there were two rounds of oral exams. The final score, which decided if students passed or failed, was based on an average score gaining from tests in the same oral round. Because of that, students, who had scores of one or more than one subject were lower than 10/20, were still able to pass oral exams if their total score was 10/20 or higher. In oral exams of the second semester, if students failed in these exams, they were allowed to take exams again in the first semester of the next academic year. However, they only had one chance. If they did not succeed in the second time, they had to do exams for all subjects again, regardless how high score they obtained in the first round of oral exams.⁵⁰¹

In the master level, the students of Law had to fulfill a five-hour writing exam for their main subjects in all divisions. The master students took oral exams and answered questions related

Committee. In terms of infrastructure, the Committee only had a small office which was formerly a part of the room for storing terms' cards.

See Ủy ban quốc gia soạn thảo danh từ chuyên môn, *Nội san danh từ chuyên môn*, 6.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., 5.

⁵⁰⁰ Nguyễn Văn Cung, *Giới thiệu lịch sử đại cương*.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

to their studies in both manners, generally and academically. Apart from that, students had to submit two essays in each level (Level I and Level II) and they needed to defend their arguments which presented in their essays to convince professors.⁵⁰²

Nguyễn Văn Cung and Nguyễn Văn Thắng, the two former students at the Faculty of Law of the University of Saigon in pre-1975, stated that the exams which were organized by the Faculty of Law were strict. Statistics below could display how strict the examinations were. In 1970, there were 13,000 students enrolled in the Bachelor programs at this Faculty, four years later, in 1974, only 715 students graduated.⁵⁰³ Seeing in an optimistic view, the strictness of examinations contributed to educate good students due to massive efforts which students spent to be successful in each exam. In contrast, other scholars might argue that examinations could not be a comprehensive tool to evaluate the competence of a student. Thus, bad results in the exams could not be proof to conclude that they were unable to be a good employee.

The University of Huế

Compared to the examination and accreditation system of the University of Saigon and the University of Cần Thơ, the system, which was applied in the University of Huế, was different in several points. For instance, in the most cases, two other universities organized the exams at the end of each semester, however, the Faculty of Science at the University of Huế scheduled the exams after finishing of each module.⁵⁰⁴ Regarding the accreditation system, the University of Huế showed a peculiarity by using the letter system for scoring students.

Table 5.6 The Score System at the Faculty of Science, the University of Huế

Letter System	Number System	Assessment
A ⁺	5	Very good
A	4	Good
B	3	Above average
C	2	Average

⁵⁰² Ibid.

⁵⁰³ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁴ “Hồ sơ hoạt động của Viện Đại học Huế năm 1963–1969”, Hồ sơ số 30296, Phòng Phủ Thủ tướng Việt Nam Cộng hoà (1954–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

D	1	Minimum to pass
H	0	Failed

Source: “Hồ sơ hoạt động của Viện Đại học Huế năm 1963–1969”, Hồ sơ số 30296, Phòng Phủ Thủ tướng Việt Nam Cộng hoà (1954–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

Students were allowed to retake exams three times with the permission of a committee. They had an opportunity to change their majors if the subjects they failed belonging to the specialized section (Phần chuyên khoa). When the failed subjects were modules of the general section (Phần Tổng quát), students were forced to terminate their studies at the Bachelor programs of science. The Bachelor degrees were awarded to students who owned the final result of 2 and above in all subjects and had no results of H in all three studying years.⁵⁰⁵ At graduate levels, as mentioned, students not only had to achieve all A and above for the registered subjects, but also passed a viva voce and defense in order to receive master certificates. The members of defense committee were assigned by a decree of the Education and Youth Minister, basing on the proposal of the Dean of Contact Department and Dean of Faculty of Science.⁵⁰⁶ Appearing on the certificate of graduates were both, the signatures of the Rector of the University of Huế and the Minister of Education and Youth.

The University of Cần Thơ

At the Faculty of Pedagogy and the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences, the final examinations were organized two times. The first time was organized within the schedule of the academic year. The second time, which was a chance for students who failed at the first time, usually was held in the beginning of the following year or one month after the final examinations of the second semester.⁵⁰⁷ Each semester, students fulfilled two exams, mid-term exams and final exams. The final results were counted basing on all scores, which students obtained during semesters. Nevertheless, several subjects, which were taught in a school year, would be possible to have one test at the end of the second semester. To upgrade to higher levels, students had to pass at least 8/10 of total credits per year. If they failed to meet those number of credits, they had to stay in the same level

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁷ Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 90-93.

and were unable to obtain scholarships in their re-studying year.⁵⁰⁸ Some students were allowed to upgrade when they had not finished required credits. Although, they needed to complete the required credits in the following year. In special cases, when subjects were removed from the curriculum while students had not completed them, the University assigned alternative subjects to students to complete the number of credits as requirements of the university.

At the Faculty of Science, one academic year was divided into two semesters. Each semester, students were required to complete half of a given number of credits, which were stipulated by the university regulation. One course lasted for 2 weeks. After the course, students had to take exams to finish their subjects. At the end of the first year, if students achieved from 18 to 20 credit points or fulfilled 8/10 the total credits, they could move up to the second year. To participate in the programs of the third year, aside from completing the required credits, students had to have foreign language certificates, which were granted by the Foreign Language Center. It should be noticed that, not all students were able to take part in the third year programs. In average, 50% to 60% of the second year students met requirements to upgrade to the third year, the others had to stop their studies or changed their majors, transferring to other faculties.⁵⁰⁹

At the Faculty of Agriculture, besides the above mentioned requirements of credits, students had to take part in theoretical and practical sections as well as in practical trainings at farms. If they were absent 1/10 class hours/subject, they were not allowed to attend the final exams in that year.⁵¹⁰ In the last year, students at this Faculty presented their theses to committees. This was a decisive part for their graduation. If the committees did not agree to pass their theses, students had 3 months to prepare and re-present. Without the agreement of the committee, students could not receive their certificates.⁵¹¹ Among the faculties of the University of Cần Thơ, the Faculty of Agriculture was equipped sufficiently. The students of this Faculty had a better condition for their practice

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., 90.

⁵⁰⁹ Phòng Tâm lý và hướng nghiệp Đắc Lộ, *Chỉ nam giáo dục*, 349.
Cited in Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 101.

⁵¹⁰ Phòng Tâm lý và hướng nghiệp Đắc Lộ, *Chỉ nam giáo dục*, 357.
Cited in Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 105.

⁵¹¹ Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 105.

sections, including the use of laboratories and the facilities during their internships. Subsequently, requirements for these students were higher and stricter than for those in other faculties.

To complete programs at *the Foreign Language Center*, students had to pass four mentioned levels with the score of 15/20.⁵¹² In some cases, if students achieved 5/20, they were still allowed to upgrade to higher levels, but they needed to complete the required score later. Students who owned the Baccalaureate degrees, an international certificate, issued by the Embassy of French, or owned a recognition, issued by English-speaking countries' offices, were exempted to take part in foreign language classes or were placed in appropriate classes without taking the placement tests.⁵¹³

5.8 Certificates

Due to the lack of documents, this thesis is unable to produce a precise and detail information of all certificates of RVN public universities, except the case of the University of Cần Thơ. However, through curriculum designs of the three universities, one could assume types and levels of certificates, which were conferred in the three public universities. The University of Saigon offered undergraduate and graduate curricula in almost all of its faculties. In correlation to that, the same number of certificates was conferred to their students. For instance, the Faculty of Law had a range of certificates, including the Bachelor of Law, Master of Law, and Doctor of Law.⁵¹⁴ The certificates, which degreed by the Faculty of Science, the University of Saigon, were more various, consisted of Bachelor of Mathematics, Bachelor of Physics, Bachelor of Chemistry, Bachelor of Geology, and Bachelor of Biology. In these fields, students were able to be bestowed certificates in the degrees of master and doctor. As mentioned previously, the Nha Trang Oceanography Institute annexed to the academic management of the University of Saigon in the early 1970s. In different to other affiliations of the University of Saigon, this Institute exclusively educated students in graduate levels (Master and

⁵¹² Phòng Tâm lý và hướng nghiệp Đắc Lộ, *Chi nam giáo dục*, 361.
Cited in Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 108.

⁵¹³ Ibid.

⁵¹⁴ Since the 1973–1974 school year, the Faculty only trained two levels, Bachelor and Master. Khánh Uyên, “Viện Đại học Sài Gòn”, 111.

Doctor). Consequently, this affiliation only offered master and doctorate degrees. In the University of Huế, by the late 1960s, lecturers of the University of Huế had to go to the University of Saigon to take part in graduate courses. In the early 1970s, this University opened a new discipline (applied science) and also commenced the master program in the Faculty of Science. However, the doctor degrees were not granted in all faculties of the University of Huế.

The University of Cần Thơ offered several certificates, which varied among its faculties, see the table below.

Table 5.7 The Certificates Offered by the University of Cần Thơ

Faculty	Certificate
Faculty of Letters	Bachelor of Letters Bachelor of Linguistic and Literature Bachelor of English
Faculty of Law and Social Sciences	Bachelor of Law Bachelor of Social Sciences Doctor of Law Doctor of Social Sciences
Faculty of Science	Bachelor of Biology Bachelor of Applied Science Master of Biology Master of Electronics Master of Organic Chemistry Doctor of Science
Faculty of Pedagogy	Bachelor of Pedagogy, comprised of Literature Section; History - Geogrgaphy Section; English Section; French Section; Mathematics – Physics – Chemistry Section; and Physics - Chemistry – Biology Section. Doctor of Pedagogy (Teacher Education)
Faculty of Agriculture	Bachelor of Agricultural Engineer

Source: Phòng Tâm lý và hướng nghiệp Đắc Lộ, *Chỉ nam giáo dục*, 315, 347. Cited in Phạm Thị Phương, *Lịch sử hình thành*, 100.

Regarding the certificates, which were granted by public universities in South Vietnam in the 1967–1975 period, one could be seen that not all higher learning institutions and faculties educated students at the graduate levels. By the late sixties, most of universities retained their training programs at undergraduate education. Hence, students of the University of Huế had to go to the University of Saigon to take part in master programs.⁵¹⁵ Nguyễn Văn Thuỳ, the General Secretary of the University of Cần Thơ in his dissertation did affirm that: “*Doctoral programs exist occasionally on an individual basis, e.g., in the Faculty of Science only three doctor’s degrees were awarded up to 1967*”⁵¹⁶.

Summary

A look at the RVN public universities’ academic elements gives an indication of how far they had gone on the path of developing from scratch a modern higher education system to when the events of 1975 befell them. Public universities promoted such a paradigm by being stricter in giving admissions to candidates in fields considered critical to the long term development of the nation, including Medicine, Pedagogy, Agriculture, and the Sciences. Entrance exams were not the only check and challenge for students, the students’ performance continuing to be scrutinized throughout their duration of study. The high drop out rate from year to year in RVN universities illustrates how much administrator and educators cared about the quality of their graduates and their seriousness in trying to approach universal standards for a higher education system.

Among the three public universities, the University of Saigon as the earliest establishment and main recipient of government funding seems to have operated most comprehensively, with more affiliated schools and maximum diversity in the training offers. Sharing the other universities many similarities in curriculum designs, the duration of study for Bachelor programs in all public universities was required to be at least three years, and the consensus of instructors was the basis for choosing course subjects of a certain Faculty in each university, this seen particularly in the faculties of Science in Saigon, Huế, and Cần Thơ. Nevertheless, as competitive entities each university had its own strategy to

⁵¹⁵ “Hồ sơ hoạt động của Viện Đại học Huế năm 1963–1969”, Hồ sơ số 30296, Phòng Phủ Thủ tướng Việt Nam Cộng hoà (1954–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵¹⁶ Viện Đại học Sài Gòn. *Chỉ nam sinh viên*, 231.
Cited in Nguyễn Văn Thuỳ, *Proposal for a Model*, 145.

attract students and enhance its credibility; the University of Cần Thơ focused on their School of Agriculture by supplying cutting-edge technology and applying credit systems and pragmatic program design which suited local demands, the main concern of the University of Huế was their School of Medicine, which was patterned on an advanced model of French, German, and American medical schools selectively. Comparing across all three universities, one obvious feature is that the two later established universities, in Huế and in Cần Thơ, tended to design their curricula in two separate sections, theory and practice, following the American model. This feature emerged increasingly as French influence faded in South Vietnam, in contrast with the case of the University of Saigon, where had a long term influences from French.

Studying RVN public universities, especially in the aspect of academic activities, one has a better chance to examine contributions of South Vietnamese educators to the development of higher education. Their educational background could be diverse: Vietnamese-trained, French-trained, and American-trained, nonetheless they always unified in the desires of advancing higher education in South Vietnam. The mentioned educators: Prof. Cao Văn Luận, Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh, and Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ represented sincere aspirations and unceasing efforts of RVN educators and professors. In addition, in the 1960s and 1970s, professors and educators tended to chose the United States in their further studies, despite their previous certificates were achieved in France or elsewhere. This was the way in which the misunderstanding of French-trained and American-trained professors of RVN public universities eased and new educational initiatives were transferred to South Vietnam. A modern perspective of some RVN professors concerning the role of students in learning-teaching process reflected influence of teaching methods from the American model to them.

The RVN's passion to advance higher education created a fertile environment for the dynamic growth of publishers and university publications. Educational institutions matured in line with their publishing cultures, a lesson learnt from other advanced-education societies in the world such as those in Germany and the United States. To not remain isolated, to update new research results as they became available, to publicize new program achievements, publishing was the best way for the RVN education to build an

effective network and connection to other educational institutions. Anyone who doubted the progress of RVN universities and the competence of their educators is compelled to reconsider upon seeing the huge number of valuable works written, translated, and published by Republican educators during their short tenure in the 1960s and 1970s. In this manner, the role of the Americans displayed significantly through the cooperation with Hiên Đại Publishing House at the University of Saigon and their subsidies, both in finance and expertise, for publishing activities within and beyond universities' boundary.

The unity and diversity inherent in the RVN higher education system are visible also in the examination and accreditation processes of public universities in Saigon, Huế, and Cần Thơ. Many RVN educators emphasized proudly that under the Republican regime politics stayed outside of the doors of their universities and schools, in which the professors were free to evaluate their students' performance based upon their efforts and competence rather than pressure from up-line administrators. No matter the score is given in any form, number or letter, RVN educators and professors carried out their duty to evaluate all students impartially to ensure the quality of their university's output and not mistakenly or unjustly deny any students' chance to pursue higher education.

Chapter 6: International Cooperation

6.1 Policies of Overseas Studies

Sending students and teachers abroad for further training was one of the crucial solutions to solve the fundamental issue of RVN education - the scarcity of teachers and skilled officials. This was also a manner to show how close-knit the relationship was among the Republic of Vietnam and other countries in the aspect of educational cooperation, particularly the Republic of Vietnam and the United States, the most favorite destinations of Vietnamese students in the 1960s and 1970s.

Involving in the overseas training affairs was not only the Ministry of Education but other institutions as well. Each institution responded to specific tasks.⁵¹⁷ The Ministry of Education was responsible for the general issues of overseas study and the assessment of qualifications. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs instructed overseas students and answered their inquiries during the time they stayed abroad. The National Bank took charge of transferring living cost and tuition fees for overseas students in valuta. The Commission of Planning assumed the responsibility of liaison and recruitment.

Since very early stages of its regime, the Second Republic of Vietnam had re-affirmed the importance of overseas studies. Considering this as a productive factor in the nation building plans, the policy of overseas studies was discussed broadly in many institutions which were responsible for educational development, such as the Ministry of Education, the Cabinet of the RVN, and the Cultural and Educational Council. After several meetings, the instructions for training abroad concerning concrete affairs were publicized. This comprised the questions of choosing majors for study in international universities, selecting students to sending abroad, deciding destinations (the countries where students were sent to), the policies of managing overseas students, and the appropriate policies of

⁵¹⁷ “Tài liệu của Phủ Thủ tướng, Bộ Văn hoá Giáo dục và Thanh niên về vấn đề học bổng và du học năm 1974”, Hồ sơ số 3993, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hòa (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

attracting overseas students to return home and contribute to the prosperity of the country.⁵¹⁸

Despite many entities engaged in the overseas study procedure, there did exist a specific institution which was directly responsible for overseas study affairs, namely the Council of Overseas Studies (Hội đồng du học). This Council was formed by the Decree 1228/GD of June 1, 1967.⁵¹⁹ All applications for overseas studies, regardless of with or without scholarships, needed to be submitted to this Council. The appraisal of this Council, which rested upon several aspects and criteria, would decide who were qualified to take part in the overseas courses.

The formulation of overseas study policies was determined by a number of leading principles.⁵²⁰ First and foremost, the overseas studies and the training abroad had to belong to the long term development plan of the country. In addition, the opportunities to study abroad were given equally to all who proved to be worthy. Moreover, in the selecting process, the national spirit was taken into account. Aside from those criteria, the students whom their parents were civil servants and soldiers given precedences. Furthermore, candidates from countryside areas were encouraged to apply. And lastly, the relevant institutions were required to improve the plans of overseas training programs and making them feasible.

As mentioned above, three concrete issues were debated in meetings related to overseas studies: majors (field of studies), worthy students, and destinations. Due to the massive investment for overseas studies, RVN authorities and educators needed to consider carefully which majors were required to train abroad, who were best suited for those

⁵¹⁸ “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng và du học năm 1969”, Hồ sơ số 3473, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

Hội đồng Văn hoá Giáo dục, *Chính sách Văn hoá*.

⁵¹⁹ “Tài liệu của Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng và du học năm 1968”, Hồ sơ số 3393, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵²⁰ “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng du học năm 1972”, Hồ sơ số 3752, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

studies, and to motivate more overseas students to return.⁵²¹ The report of the Ministry of Education illustrated that many fields could be self-taught at South Vietnamese universities. Subsequently, the RVN only sent students to study some majors such as nuclear physics and electronics which could not be studied in South Vietnam. This policy was amended in 1972 with a new instruction regarding studies abroad. The new policy was drafted by the Ministry of the National Planning and Development. Following the amendment, instead of only allowing students go abroad to study fields which were, at that time, not available in RVN universities, the new policy indicated clearly the priority fields, for instance, teacher-training courses for universities and technical schools, the studies of Finance, Business, and Corporate Governance, as well as the specialized technical training disciplines.⁵²²

In line with the choosing of study fields, the criteria for selecting students was stringent. There were some crucial criteria for students in that selection, for instance, only students who had graduated from a university in South Vietnam, particularly students owned related certificates with overseas study majors were considered. The students who had completed their military services were given preferences. Married students, whose families lived in Vietnam, enjoyed a better chance to be accepted than singles because the families were seen as a guarantee for the return of students. Presumably, the ability of students was one of the most important criteria to be selected for training abroad. Agreeing with the foreign policy of the government of the Republic of Vietnam, the students were exclusively sent to allied countries which had the common political interest and gladly cooperating with South Vietnam in returning overseas students home. To motivate students to return home after graduation, educational experts suggested various solutions, for example, improving the material and spiritual life of RVN employees; exercising effectively their trained skills by designating employees to the fields of their studies; and bettering the working conditions. In facilitating all the above steps, an institution had to be set up to attend to overseas study affairs, including the study of

⁵²¹ “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng và du học năm 1969”, Hồ sơ số 3473, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵²² “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng du học năm 1972”, Hồ sơ số 3752, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

country's needs for training abroad; the formulation of criteria; maintaining contact with partner countries in expanding scholarship programs and encouraging students returning home; fostering contact with overseas students and aiding them to find a suitable employment after graduating.

The tentative programs for overseas study were divided into many categories depending on the levels of training and subjects.⁵²³ First was the program for students who had graduated from high schools in South Vietnam and had preferred to study abroad. In this program, students would take part in a four-year training in international universities to procure the Bachelor certificate. Those who earned excellent results after four years were able to continue Master courses for additional years. In this stage, the number of students was limited not to exceed 30% of the total number of students at the beginning of the program.⁵²⁴ These outstanding students could also pursue Ph.D. programs however the number of whom continued study at this level was not over 15% of the total number of students at the beginning of the program. Second category aimed at the program for students who had finished their Bachelor program in Vietnam. In this scheme, students attended two-year Master courses. The percentage of students which were possible to continue to obtain doctoral degree was much higher than in the first program. In which, 50% of the total number of students at the beginning were allowed.⁵²⁵ While permitting the South Vietnamese overseas students to attend in any different levels of training, comprised undergraduate, Master, and Doctoral programs, the RVN government encouraged the study at the Master courses more than others because these courses took less time. Hence, it was possible for students that they could speedily return and serve their country's needs. The other type of training was the program for civil servants who assumed the state-office positions. In contrast to the two above programs, the participants in this program were subjected to short courses before being sent back to their works. The

⁵²³ See “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng du học năm 1972”, Hồ sơ số 3752, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

“Tài liệu của Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng và du học năm 1968”, Hồ sơ số 3393, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵²⁴ “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng du học năm 1972”, Hồ sơ số 3752, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵²⁵ Ibid.

training was periodic whereby the participants were expected to re-train after at certain interval. In the category of the Ministry of Education, the fourth group targeted at vocational-training classes for private candidates. In this study, the author will give more attention to the first and second groups according to the scope of this thesis: higher education studies.

6.2 Programs in Collaboration

6.2.1 Training

The overseas students were divided into two groups, the students with scholarships (either national or foreign scholarships) and the self-financed students.

Oveaseas Students Financed by the National Budget

Due to the increasing attention to the national development, particularly the focus on human resource for South Vietnam to be able to develop independently, the Republic of Vietnam invested more for the overseas training. The allocation fluctuated through years, but in an upward tendency. In the 1966–1967 school year, the government of the Republic of Vietnam distributed a total-scholarship grant of VN\$ 10,310,000 (around US\$ 127,599) for students studying abroad.⁵²⁶ This figure included both, the fully-funded scholarships and the half-funded scholarships. In the following school year, the figure continued to grow slightly to the amount of VN\$ 11,281,000⁵²⁷ (about US\$ 139,616). In the 1968–1969 school year, affected by the political and military events, especially due to the immense damage resulted during the Tết Offensive in 1968, the national budget was used

⁵²⁶ Việt Nam Cộng hoà, *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam 1970*, 118.

June 18, 1966, 1 US\$ ~ 80,80 VN\$.

In 1967, 1 US\$ ~ 80,80 VN\$.

In 1968, 1 US\$ ~ 80,80 VN\$.

Beginning November 15, 1971,

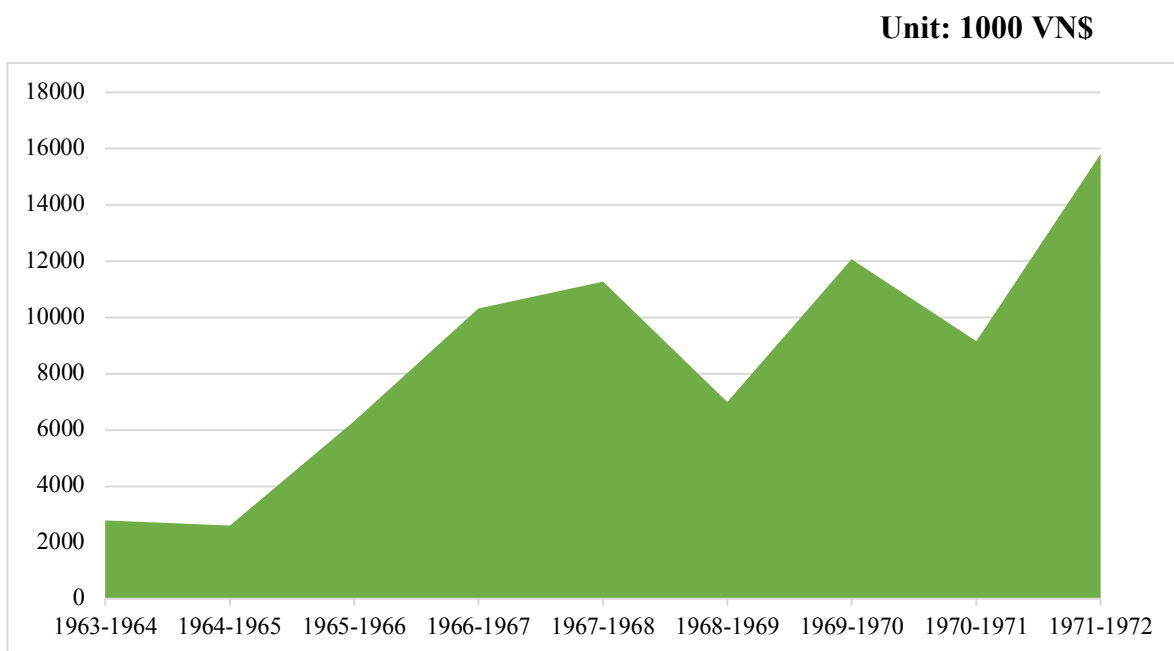
- 1 US\$ ~ 118 VN\$, transfers on behalf of the government and foreign countries, transfers to students abroad.
- 1 US\$ ~ 275 VN\$, imports under CIP and PL 480 Title I programs (FOB and taxes)
- 1 US\$ ~ 400 VN\$, imports under other programs.
- 1 US\$ ~ 410 VN\$ other transactions

See Việt Nam Cộng hoà, Bộ Kế hoạch và Phát triển Quốc gia, *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam 1971*, 170.

⁵²⁷ Việt Nam Cộng hoà, *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam 1970*, 118.

preferentially to repair the public works and support people normalizing their lives. Subsequently, the amount for overseas training expenses was adjusted downward considerably to VN\$ 7,000,000⁵²⁸ (approximately US\$ 86,633). Even though, this allocation was still much higher than the investing amount in the previous years. Thereafter, the grant was recovered, and then climbed to the peak of VN\$ 15,810,000 (circa US\$ 133,983) in the 1971–1972 school year.⁵²⁹ The graph below illustrates the progress of national grants for overseas-study scholarships in the 1963–1972 period.

Graph 6.1 Scholarships Granted to Vietnamese Students by the Ministry of Education, the School Years from 1963–1964 to 1971–1972



Source: Combined statistics from Việt Nam Cộng hoà, *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam 1963–1964* and *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam 1972* [Statistical Yearbooks of Vietnam in 1963–1964 and 1972].

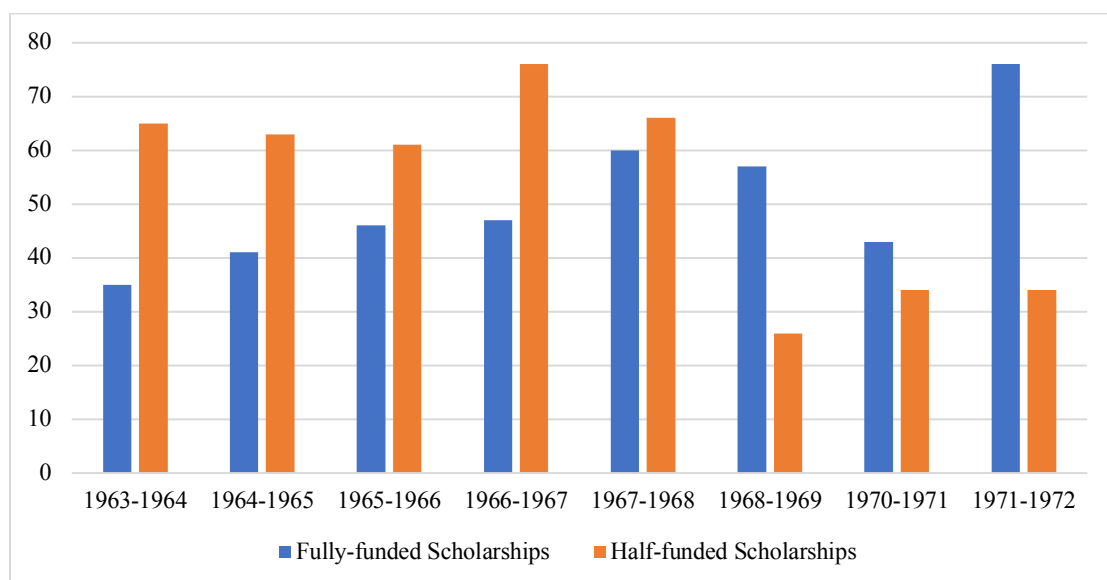
As stated, the scholarships granted by the Ministry of Education were divided into two groups, the fully-funded scholarships and the half-funded scholarships. According to the school years’ budget, the number of scholarships changed through years. However, the difference in the numbers of scholarships within a ten-year period of 1963–1972 was not

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

so much remarkably. The total figure ran roughly 100 scholarships per year in general. Whereas, from the 1963–1964 school year to the 1971–1972 school year, the statistics depicts a noteworthy shift in the trend of the scholarship types (See the Graph 6.2). From the 1963–1964 school year to the 1967–1968 school year, the government increased the budget for the half-funded scholarships. This trend was amended since the 1968–1969 school year. The number of the fully-funded scholarships rose while another type declined. The overseas students ostensibly benefited more from this change than previously. With the half-funded scholarships, students were only subsidized partly for their living costs and tuition fees in the international schools. With the fully-funded scholarships, they almost met no financial burden during their overseas-study time.

Graph 6.2 The Number of Scholarships from the 1963–1964 School Year to the 1971–1972 School Year



Source: Combined statistics from Việt Nam Cộng hoà, *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam* [Statistical Yearbooks of Vietnam] in 1963–1964, 1965–1966, 1966–1967, 1967–1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, and 1972, Viện Quốc gia thống kê.

In addition to provide scholarships for overseas students, the government of Republic of Vietnam also offered some allowances for students (see the Table 6.1). The overseas student allowances also came from the national budget. Compared to the amount of budget for the overseas scholarships, the budget scale of allowances granted to South Vietnamese students was much more modest. Although, this figure evidences a serious

commitment of the government of the Republic of Vietnam to a higher educational development in the 1960s and 1970s.

Table 6.1 The Allowances Granted to Vietnamese Students by the Ministry of Education

Years	The Allowances ⁵³⁰ (in VN\$)
1963–1964	81000 (Approximately US\$ 2,291)
1964–1965	28000 (Approximately US\$ 792)
1965–1966	756000 (Approximately US\$ 21,386)
1966–1967	303000 (Approximately US\$ 3,750)
1967–1968	x
1968–1969	170000 (Approximately US\$ 2,104)
1969–1970	x
1970–1971	61000 (Approximately US\$ 516)
1971–1972	x

(x: no statistics)

Source: Combined statistics from Việt Nam Cộng hoà, *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam* [Statistical Yearbooks of Vietnam] in 1963–1964, 1965–1966, 1966–1967, 1967–1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, and 1972, Viện Quốc gia thống kê.

In the 1972–1973 school year, wishing to give special preferences for the students who were the children of fallen soldiers, state personnel and officials, poor private civil servants, and the children from poor families, the government of the Republic of Vietnam granted a substantial number of the one-year scholarships for them. To receive this scholarship, the candidates had to meet several requirements. In terms of age, the candidates must be not over 18 years old for male students, 19 years old for female students. In terms of academic and linguistics competences, these students were required an admission from one of the South Vietnamese universities and to be proficient in a foreign language.⁵³¹ The candidates could pursue their studies in a variety of countries,

⁵³⁰ By 1966, 1 US\$ ~ 35,35 VN\$

By 1970, 1 US\$ ~ 80,80 VN\$

In 1971, 1 US\$ ~ 118 VN\$

Việt Nam Cộng hoà, *Niên giám thống kê 1964–1965*, 263.

Việt Nam Cộng hoà, *Niên giám thống kê 1972*, 246.

⁵³¹ “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng du học năm 1972”, Hồ sơ số 3752, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

such as the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), Switzerland, Italy, Britain, Spain, and some of other “free” countries. In the first selection, 48 national scholarships were bestowed to students (see Appendix 4, Chapter 6). Each received a sponsorship of US\$ 150/month. This scholarship increased modestly in comparison with the amount issued in 1969 with US\$ 130/month.⁵³² According to a report of the Ministry of Culture, Education, and Youth, the government had provided 300 scholarships to the amount of US\$ 150/month in the years 1972–1973; in the years 1973–1974, the number of scholarships grew to 400 slots, comprised 300 re-awarded and 100 new-awarded scholarships.⁵³³

Foreign Scholarships

The scholarships for South Vietnamese students to conduct their abroad studies not only came from the National Budget of the RVN but from other funds. These resources were not less important, and granted by foreign countries and international organizations.

The General Scholarship Program

From 1967 to 1970, in conducting the project of *Leadership Training*, also known as *General Scholarship Program*, four groups with 273 South Vietnamese participants were sent to the United States.⁵³⁴ The primary objective of this project was “*to produce a select group of graduates with a broad spectrum of skills immediately applicable to the current and postwar needs of Vietnam*”⁵³⁵.

⁵³² “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng và du học năm 1969”, Hồ sơ số 3473, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵³³ “Tài liệu của Phủ Thủ tướng, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng và du học năm 1973”, Hồ sơ số 3865, the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵³⁴ “Báo cáo kiểm tra của Tổng kiểm soát tại Việt Nam về chương trình học bổng tổng quát năm 1970–1973”, Hồ sơ số 3936, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵³⁵ Ibid.

Table 6.2 The Number of Participants

	Group I (1967)	Group II (1968)	Group III (1969)	Group IV (1970)
Participant	127	61	55	30

Source: “Báo cáo kiểm tra của Tổng kiểm soát tại Việt Nam về chương trình học bổng tổng quát năm 1970–1973”, Hồ sơ số 3936, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

In 1970, 77 candidates took part in the selecting stage of this program, in which, 50 candidates were considered to be qualified. However, due to the reduction of the USAID fund, only 30 candidates were selected to depart to the United States.⁵³⁶ These selected students participated in intensive language courses either at the centers on the mainland or in Hawaii before being placed in diverse institutions to attend academic courses. The students undertook various academic courses, principally in areas of applied science, business administration, and economics.⁵³⁷ The participants were free to accept employment in private enterprise (engineering, industry or commerce) unless the government found use for their services within the first six months after their return. They were also given a privilege of the draft deferment if the Republic of Vietnam authorities considered their job positions were vital to national interests.

In the scope of the General Scholarship Program, in 1969, the USAID financed a Summer Work or Visit Program, which intended to foster the interest in South Vietnam’s industry and business communities as well as to enable student-participants to assess job opportunities.⁵³⁸ Round-trip international transportation were provided, and a daily per-diem allowance or “stipend” was paid for the entire period while staying in Vietnam. The estimated cost was US\$ 61,500 plus VN\$ 1,2 million in 1969 and US\$ 75,000 plus VN\$ 3,2 million in 1970.⁵³⁹ In this program, 53 student-participants were brought back

⁵³⁶ “Hồ sơ kiểm tra toàn lãnh vực giáo dục năm 1973” (tập 2), Hồ sơ số 1396, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ “Hồ sơ kiểm tra việc huấn luyện nhân viên lãnh đạo cho Chính phủ Việt Nam thuộc chương trình học bổng tổng quát năm 1971–1972”, Hồ sơ số 2945, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

to South Vietnam in the summer of 1969 and 70 students in the summer of 1970.⁵⁴⁰ The participants worked a seven-week period in the private firms and agencies. Paralleling were the local trips to visit hospitals, universities, and refugee camps, which served to become acquaintance with the problems and the needs of the Republic of Vietnam.

In the fiscal year 1973, USAID produced a substantial budget of US\$ 3,404,000 for South Vietnam's officials in order to taking part in the overseas-training programs.⁵⁴¹ This budget was distributed predominantly to educational fields, including Agriculture, Engineering, Industry, Labor, Public Administration, and Health. In USAID budget, the amount for the General Scholarship Program was US\$ 204,000.

U.S. institutions with the USAID contracts

As mentioned, the cooperation between RVN higher education and the United States was not set up directly between the American universities and the South Vietnamese universities but through the coordination of the USAID/VN. By signing the contracts with the USAID, each American university and educational institute took responsibility for specific training assistances for RVN higher education.

USAID, an abbreviation for the United States Agency for International Development. This is an independent agency of the United States federal government, which is primarily responsible for administering civilian foreign aid and development assistance. This agency operates effectively to assist numerous civilian projects, especially in developing countries. The education development assistance for the RVN in the 1960s and 1970s was an epitome for the productivity of the USAID. In roughly two decades, the USAID had engaged in several aspects of RVN education, ranging from educational philosophies to the administrative reforms, curricula, teaching methods, teacher-training programs, and school constructions in order to provide the necessary facilities to expand educational opportunities for South Vietnamese people. The priority investment of the USAID on

⁵⁴⁰ “Báo cáo kiểm tra của Tổng kiểm soát tại Việt Nam về chương trình học bổng tổng quát năm 1970–1973”, Hồ sơ số 3936, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵⁴¹ “Tài liệu của Thủ Thủ tướng, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng và du học năm 1973”, Hồ sơ số 3865, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đế nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

RVN education were not the same but diverse in each period. From 1954 until 1965, they focused on the qualitative improvement of teacher training institutions at all levels. Due to the change of the governmental policies of the RVN, which gave the preferences to pacification activities, the program of the USAID focused on constructing schools and equipping classrooms. And from late 1960s to early 1970s, the scope narrowed to the affairs of planning and of higher educational matters.

In the years from 1955 to 1966, the urgent tasks consisted of educating skilled cadres for the newly-established government and examining the effectiveness of the model of comprehensive high schools. During the 1960s and 1970s, USAID adapted to new requirements of the RVN: building its internal strength. Therefore, some fields, such as Agriculture and Engineering Education were placed in priority. Aside from that, regarding the problems of the South Vietnam higher education, the matter of reforming the higher education system was put an attention. Additionally, the shortage of teaching staff, one issue that had been lingering in the RVN education system in the previous decades, continued to attract the attention of RVN educators and authorities. Answering those issues, based on the assistance of the USAID, RVN universities cooperated with American institutions to solve the matters case by case. From the 1950s to the 1960s, the Michigan State University played a pivotal role in assisting RVN higher education. Since the late 1960s, many new names emerged in South Vietnam to assume new assignments. The Wisconsin State University-Stevens Point took the responsibility of establishing a manpower pool of administrative and academic specialists (deans, registrars, controllers, guidance personnel). In doing so, the Wisconsin State University had conducted a number of surveys of RVN higher education, and for the first time, published a comprehensive point of view on the crucial weaknesses which needed to be tackled in the South Vietnam higher education system (see Chapter 4). Regarding Agriculture Education, since January 1969⁵⁴², the University of Florida began to assist South Vietnam in training manpower, designing agricultural plans, and supplying education materials for Agricultural Education in South Vietnam. In the field of Engineering Education, the University of Missouri-Rolla handled all related problems of this education, ranging from

⁵⁴² The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Report – USAID/Vietnam Office of Education Briefing Material”, 1969, File 12190115003, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

recommendations to develop engineering education in South Vietnam, sponsoring technical instruments, to evaluating the efficiency of this program. Responding to the lack of teaching staff, the Ohio University extended the contract with the USAID. Noticeably, this period remarked the immense cooperation between the American organizations and RVN universities in the field of Medical and Dental Education, especially the renowned American Medical Association. Beside the dominant operations of the Wisconsin State University, the University of Florida, the University of Missouri-Rolla, and the Ohio University, other institutions also engaged in assisting the South Vietnam higher education, such as the Southern Illinois University, the Louisiana State University, the Stanford Research Institute, the Institute of International Education, and a familiar name - The Asia Foundation.

In 1973, the American government provided scholarships for South Vietnamese students to pursue master and doctoral programs in the United States. The duration of these courses ranged from two years to four years focusing specific subjects, such as American Studies (comprised American History on the aspects of Diplomatic History and American Literature), Asian Area Studies, Journalism, International Relations, and International Economics.⁵⁴³ Those who were awarded this scholarship would be covered all the expenses of a return air ticket, accomodation, living cost, and other fees during their studies in the United States.

European Scholarships

European countries, specifically France, were formerly the most appealing destination for South Vietnamese students until the mid-1960s. Despite the lingering French influence on the RVN education system, RVN leaders did not conceal to express their aspiration to be independent from the French world. Since the 1965–1966 school year, the RVN government renounced the French scholarships following the official Dispatch No. 1350 UBHP, issued on October 19, 1965.⁵⁴⁴ In the next school years, while France continued

⁵⁴³ “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng du học năm 1972”, Hồ sơ số 3752, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵⁴⁴ “Tài liệu của Phủ Thủ tướng, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng và du học năm 1973”, Hồ sơ số 3865, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

to offer several scholarships for South Vietnamese students, the government of the Second Republic of Vietnam declined those invariably. After several years, the RVN re-accepted the French offers in the years 1972–1973 pertaining to the scope of the International Cooperation Agency, comprising French-speaking countries. This attitude was changed due to a severe situation in late 1972 and early 1973 that the RVN confronted. Although, the desire to decrease the French influence on South Vietnamese culture, education, politics, and society was remaining, the government of the Republic of Vietnam needed the support of France due to the abandonment of the United States to South Vietnam, which was foreseen and could be apprehended through the process of the Paris talks in 1972 and 1973.

While having reservation to accept scholarships from France in the period of time in 1965–1972, RVN authorities were willing to consider the offers of other European countries concerning RVN higher education. Not only was one of the favourite destinations for South Vietnam overseas students under the regime of the Second Republic of Vietnam (see the section 6.3), the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) also supported generously higher education, particularly the field of medicine. While the United States engaged in RVN higher education in plenty of training activities, including agricultural, engineering, teacher-training, medical and dental education, West Germany, since the beginning, focused sharply on the medical field. This policy rooted in the commitment between the United States and Germany. As an ally, West Germany was expected to support the United States for their operations in South Vietnam. Otherwise, fearing a hostile reaction of the German public towards any involvement in the war, the German government attempted not to inflame the public opinion while satisfy the American demand of assistance. West Germany decided to engage in South Vietnam in terms of humanitarian activities, such as medical unit instead of military assistance.⁵⁴⁵ Many German organizations were involved in South Vietnam, such as German Malteser Aid Service, the German Red Cross, the Institute of International Solidarity, the German International Refugees' Aid, the German Initiative Assistance Overseas, the Hermann-Gmeiner Fonds, and the Aid for Children Program of the German Protestant and

⁵⁴⁵ Zimmermann, Hubert, "The Quite German", 49-64.

Churches.⁵⁴⁶ According to the report in 1970, 149 German technicians provided assistance to the Republic of Vietnam in medical and social welfare fields. The most frequently mentioned and very impressive activity of German was the operation of their hospital ship. With the 150-bed hospital ship, named Helgoland, was dispatched to South Vietnam in September 1966 with 8 doctors, 25 nurses, 4 assistants, 4 administrative personnel, and a crew of 28, the hospital ship worked effectively to treat illnesses of the poor people in the remote areas of South Vietnam. The annual cost of operating the hospital ship amounted to US\$ 2,500,000.⁵⁴⁷

In various assisting activities in South Vietnam, West Germany supported liberally the education and training programs in the aspects of training staff, education equipments, education materials, and publish affairs. One director and six instructors were assigned to the Vietnamese - German Technical School at Thủ Đức, five physicians and two technical assistants instructed at the Faculty of Medicine, the University of Huế, one German language professor, and one music professor also volunteerily worked at the University of Huế from 1964 to 1968.⁵⁴⁸ Each year, one to six scholarships, financed by the Carl-Duisberg-Gesellschaft, were made available for South Vietnamese students to study engineering in Germany, additionally, 20 instructors from the School of Thủ Đức also were sent to Germany for training.⁵⁴⁹ In 1967, two Vietnamese forestry experts conducted three-month training programs in Germany and, in 1968, two scholarships were provided in the field of industrial management.⁵⁵⁰

Self-financed Overseas Students

The self-investment of families for their children to attend the international schools also rose gradually year by year (see the Table 6.3 and the Graph 6.3). In four years, from 1966 to 1969, the number of the without-scholarship students being sent to foreign

⁵⁴⁶ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Viet-Nam Bulletin - German Aid To Viet-Nam (October 1970)”, File 16530102012, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

Nonnemann, Heimfried Christoph (Phan Ba translated into Vietnamese), *Chúng tôi không hỏi*.

⁵⁴⁸ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Viet-Nam Bulletin - German Aid To Viet-Nam (October 1970)”, File 16530102012, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid.

countries increased gradually to the total of 407, 536, 708, and 849 students, respectively. In 1970, the number of students of this group soared, climbing to the peak of the 1966–1971 period with 2031 students. The succeeding year, the number of the self-financed overseas students remained high (1421 students), however trending downwards significantly compared to the data of 1970.

Table 6.3 The Financial Allocation to the Overseas Training

Years	The number of Students	The amount of Foreign Currency Transferring (in US dollar)
1967/68	2450	6,800.000
1968/69	3121	8,300.000
1969/70	3750	9,500.000
1970/71	4442	13,184.000 (estimated approximately)
1971/72	6287 (expected)	20,149.250 (expected)

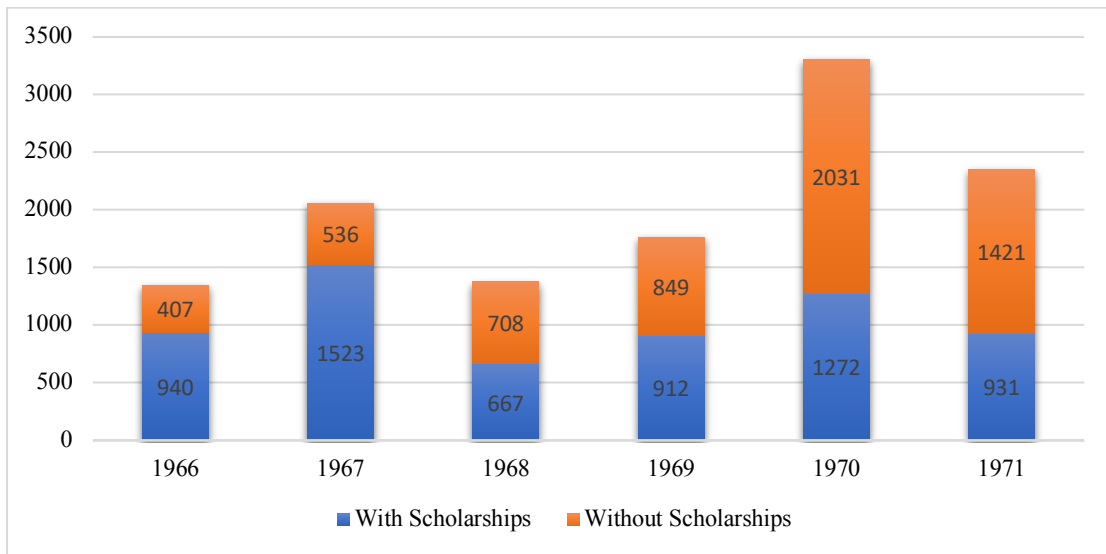
Source: “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng du học năm 1972”, Hồ sơ số 3752, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đế nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

It cannot be overseen that the allocation to overseas students was visibly higher than those who took part in local courses. The statistics show that, each overseas student spent 935,833VND/year (around US\$ 7,931) while a local university student was only to the sum of 26,000 VND/year (around US\$ 220).⁵⁵¹

⁵⁵¹ “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng du học năm 1972”, Hồ sơ số 3752, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đế nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

The exchange rate of the beginning 1971, 1 US\$ ~ 118 VNS\$
See Việt Nam Cộng hoà, *Niên giám thống kê 1972*, 246.

Graph 6.3 Overseas Students by Category in the Years 1966–1971



Source: Combined statistics from Việt Nam Cộng hoà, *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam* [Statistical Yearbooks of Vietnam] 1963–1964, 1965–1966, 1966–1967, 1967–1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, Viện Quốc gia thống kê.

The graph reflects the growing tendency in the number of South Vietnamese overseas students from 1966 to 1971. Solely in the years 1968 and 1969, the number of scholarship holders and the self-financed students were roughly in balance. The statistics of the previous and following years indicate a sizeable gap between the number of students with and without scholarships. The scholarship holders doubled the number of the self-financed students in 1966 and tripled in 1967. The disequilibrium in the number of both categories continued in the years 1970 and 1971, but in a reversed trend. The self-financed overseas students exceeded the scholarship holders, and almost doubling the former in both years, 1970 and 1971. Several reasons could be assumed for this phenomenon. First, as the development of education in general and higher education in particular, South Vietnamese people were acutely aware of the value of long life learning. Subsequently, they invested more for their children to pursue higher learning, especially study abroad. Furthermore, engaging in higher learning in other countries could also offered the opportunity for South Vietnamese students to “escape” from the brutal reality of the Vietnam War and delayed their military obligations. The number of self-financed overseas students exceeding scholarship holders in the early 1970s was a consequence of the inflation occurring in South Vietnam. Despite the national allocation for overseas

studies continued increasing (see previous parts), this increase did not compensate for the inflation rate.

Fields of Study

To have a well-managed policy for overseas students in terms of studying field, the Ministry of Education issued an instruction to students to select the fields based on different levels of trainings and the requirements of South Vietnam. The high school graduates from different sections would participate in various fields (see the Table 6.4 below). Concerning the university training programs, the Ministry of Education split the students up to three groups. The first was the students possessing the high school diplomas of Empirical Sciences, Mathematics, Engineering, Agriculture- Forestry- Livestock; the second group was the high school diplomas of Literature, Economical and Social Sciences; the last group composed of the graduate students of the School of Fine Arts and the School of Music.⁵⁵²

Table 6.4 The Fields of the Overseas Studies

Section A.

For high school graduates of Empirical sciences, Mathematics, Engineering, Agriculture-Forestry-Livestock

Majors	Sub-majors
Engineering	Politechnique
	Aeronautics and Astronautics
	Chemistry Engineering
	Electrical Engineering, Electronics
	Industrial Engineering
	Material Science
	Mechanical Engineering
	Nuclear Engineering
	Mines
	Metallurgy

⁵⁵² “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng du học năm 1972”, Hồ sơ số 3752, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đế nghị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

Mathematics	Statistics
Sciences	Biological Sciences
	Chemistry
	Physics
	Marine Biology and Oceanography
	Meteorology
	Geology
	Computer Science
	Naval Science
	Hydraulics &Hydrology
General Science	
Communications, Telecommunications	
Agriculture-Forestry-Livestock	Agriculture
	Veterinary Science
	Forestry
	Fishery
Medical Science	Medicine
	Dental Science
	Public Health
Architecture and Urban Planning	
Others	Textile Industry
	Wood Industry
	Glass Industry
	Food Industry
	Ceramic Industry
Educational Science Pedagogy	
Economics	Business Administration, Management Banking, Accounting Finance, Insurance H.E.C Marketing

	Socioeconomics
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Section B

For high school graduates of Literature, Economical and Social Sciences⁵⁵³

Nr	Majors
1	Education, Pedagogy
2	Library Science
3	Archeology
4	Anthropology
5	Psychology
6	Sociology
7	Interpreter, Foreign Language
8	Journalism
9	Fine Arts, Creative Arts
10	International Relation

Section C

For high school graduates of Fine Arts and Music

Including all majors related to the student-graduated schools and this section exclusively for those who performed excellently compared to others.

Source: “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng du học năm 1972”, Hồ sơ số 3752, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đế nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

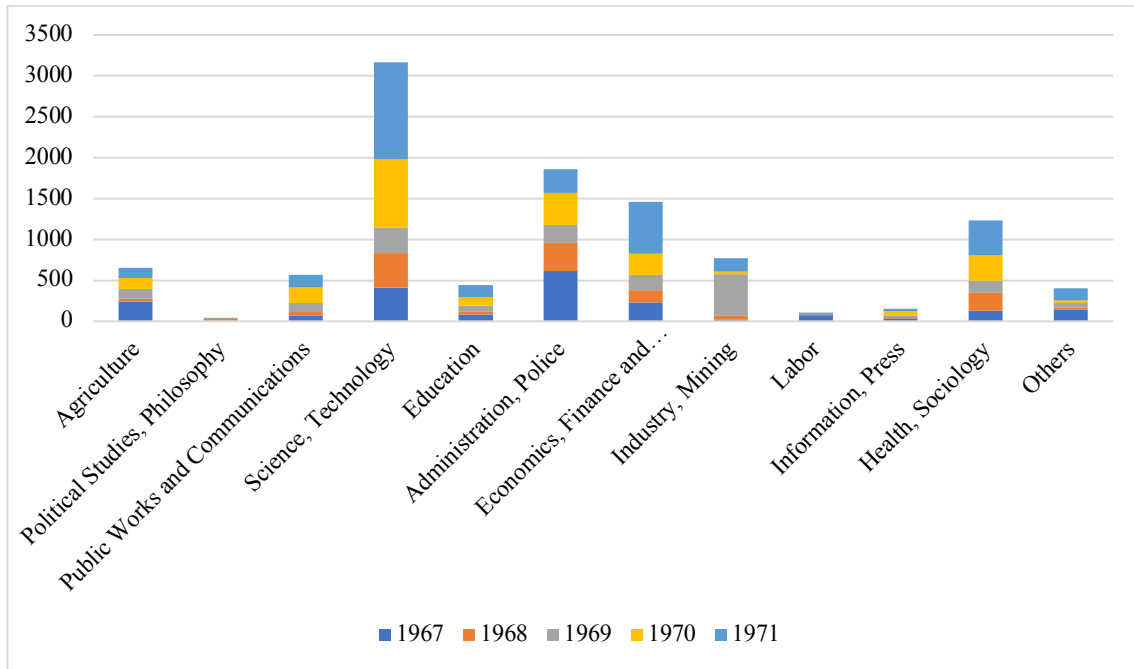
In preceeding tables, it is apparent that, the choices for high school graduates of Empirical sciences, Mathematics, Engineering, Agriculture-Forestry-Livestock were much more diversified than the other two sections (the high school graduates of Literature, Economical and Social Sciences and the high school graduates of Fine Arts and Music). Due to this phenomenon, one could see the training fields which were critically in needs for the Republic of Vietnam to build an independent and a strong nation. All the fields in

⁵⁵³ “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng du học năm 1972”, Hồ sơ số 3752, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đế nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

the Section A aimed at qualifying human resources for an nascent industry of the Republic of Vietnam. In other words, the RVN government prioritized applied research rather than social and theoretical research as well as arts trainings in the context of the 1960s and 1970s.

While students with and without scholarships exhibited a disparity in choosing their study destinations (this is going to be discussed in the section 6.3), they shared the similar interest in the fields of study. Moreover, their academic subjects were chosen in conformity with the guideline of the Ministry of Education mentioned above. Study fields such as Science, Technology, Economics, Finance, Administration, and Health were given the priority. This tendency reflected training demands of South Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s as well as affirming again the central role of higher education in conducting the national development plan of the Second Republic of Vietnam. From the Graph 6.4, it can be seen that, in 1967 the field of Administration was the primary choice of the national-granted students. This trend revealed practical requirements in South Vietnam at that time. Concerning national politics, the newly-elected government needed additional skilled officials and civil servants. Pertaining to higher education, an administrative reform for South Vietnam universities was addressed as an urgent task according to the educational survey and report made by the Wisconsin State Stevens Point team. Similar to the field of Administrative Education, following the changing context of South Vietnam in the early 1970s, the government devoted more attention to the four-year national development plan, focusing on economic development, which paved the way for the scientific fields and technology to be the precedences in the choice of overseas students.

Graph 6.4 Studying Fields of the Overseas Students in the Years 1967–1971



Source: Combined statistics from Việt Nam Cộng hoà, *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam* [Statistical Yearbooks of Vietnam], in 1971 and 1972, Viện Quốc gia thống kê.

Grounded on the report of the Wisconsin Stevens Point University in 1967 about RVN higher education, which stated that students often switched from their original fields into less difficult fields without regarding whether or not the latter in accordance with the development needs of the country.⁵⁵⁴ The USAID and their partners considered carefully the matter of field selection for South Vietnamese overseas students. As statistics of the American-trained doctoral degree in 1973 portray, the most common fields for all candidates were Agriculture, Education, Engineering, English, Medicine, Dentistry & Pharmacy, Sciences, and Social Sciences.⁵⁵⁵ The number of graduates was approximately ten students in each field. However, Sciences and Social Sciences were the most attractive -registered fields with 16 and 18 students, respectively (see Appendix 5, Chapter 6). Once again, these statistics illustrates the training tendencies of RVN higher education in the 1960s and 1970s.

⁵⁵⁴The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Public Universities of the Republic of Vietnam”, April 1967, File 0720510011, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁵⁵⁵ “Hồ sơ kiểm tra toàn lãnh vực giáo dục năm 1973” (tập 2), Hồ sơ số 1396, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

In the 1960s and 1970s, under the contract with the USAID to assist the government of the Second Republic of Vietnam in terms of education development, the American agencies and South Vietnamese institutions cooperated closely to offer better opportunities for South Vietnamese students to apply for further studies in the United States.

In 1972, the American Educational Dimensions Inc (AED) offered to be an intermediary in order to assist Vietnamese students departing to the United States for vocational trainings.⁵⁵⁶ Although this organization did not produce scholarships for Vietnamese students like other U.S. governmental agencies, the RVN still considered this as a favourable offer for RVN education. Attending the AED-suggested program, Vietnamese students could choose a number of majors to study, comprised Agriculture, Health, and Technology. The Vietnamese authorities also assumed that many benefits could be gained from accepting this offer, for instance, expecting 100% students choose the study majors following the needs of nation; 100% students return to South Vietnam after finishing successfully their studies in the United States. Because the participants in this program were not asked to submit their high school diplomas, therefore, students from disadvantaged families were able to compete with students were born in advantaged families.⁵⁵⁷ To obtain good results in this program and to minimize the detriment, RVN authorities set up rules for participants during the time of their studies in the United States. In terms of study duration, the government of the RVN feared that the longer students stayed in the United States, the less motivated students would be to return to the homeland. The officials also suggested that in terms of location, the cities to which the candidates would be sent to were not the places of left-wing movements, such as in Berkeley and Long Beach.⁵⁵⁸ Additionally, the students would be gathered in groups seven or eight, living far from their relatives to avoid the temptation to remain in the United States after finishing their studies.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁶ “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng du học năm 1972”, Hồ sơ số 3752, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.

Along with the educational policies of the RVN government, American assisted-educational projects regarded the student group of Vietnam War orphans as one of the priority groups by offering the scholarships. This improve the chances for them to study in the United States. As the preferences were given, the criterion for the war orphans to study abroad were accommodating. In doing so, RVN authorities honored their citizens who gave their lives to serve in the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) and thus encouraging the loyalty of South Vietnamese people to the administration of the Republic of Vietnam.

Estimation of the Effectiveness of Overseas Training Programs

South Vietnamese educators and authorities acknowledged the fact that most of the overseas students after finishing their studies were hesitating to return to their home country. This was not an unique problem of RVN education, nonetheless prevailing in Southeast Asian countries. As an estimation, less than 45% of the Southeast Asian students returned to their native countries after graduating from international universities.⁵⁶⁰ According to the statistics of the USAID, the number of South Vietnamese students, who studied in the United States and did not return, were appreciably lower than the average figures of Southeast Asian countries just mentioned. In detail, from 1951 to 1970, the number of students who were rewarded scholarships by USAID and did not return amounted to 15,7%; this number lightly decreased in 1971, stood at 12%, however it grew again since 1972.⁵⁶¹ Despite considering the number of South Vietnamese students residing in the United States as an optimistic sign in comparison to the average statistics of Southeast Asian countries, this could not be suffice to reassure RVN educators in their struggle with the brain drain phenomenon when looking at the statistics at other countries. For instance, in regard to the figures of students remaining in Canada after their studies, as stated by estimations of the Canadian representatives, the illegal residence of the South Vietnamese students in Canada was 80% roughly.⁵⁶² Moreover,

⁵⁶⁰ “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng và du học năm 1969”, Hồ sơ số 3473, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵⁶¹ “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng du học năm 1972”, Hồ sơ số 3752, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵⁶² Ibid.

educators assumed that the situation was worse in France, despite the lack of exact statistics.

The large portion of students did not return to South Vietnam after studies can be explained by several reasons. First, was better working conditions in advanced countries which allowed skilled employees to further their professional knowledge. Second, was the enticing offers of foreign countries where also needed skilled and talented employees. Third, the students became accustomed to working conditions in developed countries. Fourth, the salary in Vietnam was insufficient for the daily life expenses. And finally, the strain of the long war added another justification for student's decision to go back home or to stay abroad.

The brain drain problem caught the eyes of the politicians and authorities of the Second Republic of Vietnam government immediately after they assumed office. The Ministry of Education organized several meetings in June 1967 to discuss the problem. Comparing the statistics of abroad training students who had returned and were working in South Vietnam with the figure of those who were living abroad for their occupations, the authorities found no difficulties to recognize the detrimental effect of the brain drain on the South Vietnam's economy, society, and politics. While the total number of engineers who stayed in Vietnam, including the retired, tallied 800 engineers, the number of South Vietnamese engineers in France was counted at 400.⁵⁶³ The number of South Vietnamese doctors, who stayed in France, was also significantly with 600 doctors in comparison with 1000 doctors working in South Vietnam.⁵⁶⁴ These statistics distressed the mind of South Vietnamese officials about the inefficiency of the overseas study policy which had been conducted.

Decreasing the number of South Vietnamese students who preferred to live abroad was definitely an urgent task which requested a solution in the 1960s and 1970s by South Vietnamese educators and officials. In doing so, a multi-aspect solution was suggested,

⁵⁶³ “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng và du học năm 1970”, Hồ sơ số 3556, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

including political solutions, military solutions, and financial solutions. To show the goodwill of the government towards talented people, the authorities gave numerous privileges to abroad-trained students. For example, South Vietnamese professors, working at international universities and schools, could cooperate with the administration of the Republic of Vietnam in short term programs. They were guaranteed to be able to return to their previous jobs in foreign countries after finishing their tasks in Vietnam. The educational experts, both in private and public sections, were exempted from the military services. In the urgent cases, if they had to serve in the military, they were allowed to fulfill those tasks at their locals. During the study time in other countries, students could return home to visit their families and were free from any military activities. Further possible solutions included: offering reasonable payments and allowances in order to recruit abroad-trained students; supplying accommodations for experts if they agreed to return and work in South Vietnam; partly subsidizing the expenses to return for experts who were willing to cooperate with the government of the Republic of Vietnam; simplifying the administrative procedure in the recruitment and subsidies. The experts, who agreed to work in South Vietnam, could freely choose which sector to work in, either the public or private sectors.⁵⁶⁵

Regarding the project “*General Scholarship Program*”, the attendees in the program obtained achievements. In the group I, 13 of 127 students returned prior to completion due to sickness, misunderstandings of the objectives of the program, family problems, defection to Canada, dissatisfaction with courses, and scholastic inadequacy.⁵⁶⁶ In the following years, the total number of discontinued-training students decreased significantly to one student (from the third group).⁵⁶⁷ Analysing main problems of above-mentioned returnees, the American educational experts pointed out that most were war veterans who were admitted to the program by the requests of the Republic of Vietnam.

⁵⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁶ See “Hồ sơ kiểm tra toàn lãnh vực giáo dục năm 1973” (tập 2), Hồ sơ số 1396, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. “Báo cáo kiểm tra của Tổng kiểm soát tại Việt Nam về chương trình học bổng tổng quát năm 1970–1973”, Hồ sơ số 3936, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵⁶⁷ “Báo cáo kiểm tra của Tổng kiểm soát tại Việt Nam về chương trình học bổng tổng quát năm 1970–1973”, Hồ sơ số 3936, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

Apparently, they were over the school age and too long out of academic practices. Remedying the problem of the first group, advisors added more courses of business and management, extended the academic preparation program, and widened the range of career opportunities rather than focusing on narrow specialities. By these efforts, the group of 64 participants in 1968 consisted entirely of undergraduates and candidates having highly scholastic standards. This paved the way to excellent academic results and to execute the project without difficulty as the case the 1968 group experienced. In 1970, 21 participants received their degrees and returned to South Vietnam. In those, two people were employed by RVN agencies, five returnees worked for the University of Saigon, and six returnees were appointed in commercial firms.

Not only taking the responsibility of training South Vietnamese students at the American educational centers and universities, the USAID also cooperated closely with the Ministry of Education in South Vietnam, attending the issue of assignments for returned participants. In addition, the USAID officials discussed with the RVN authorities in dealing with the unemployment problem after participants' returning.

In response to the recommendation of USAID of offering a full and effective placement for returning participants, the Prime Minister of the Second Republic of Vietnam sent an official dispatch to Vice Prime Minister, all the Ministers of the Republic of Vietnam, the Director General of Budget and Foreign Aid, and the Director General of Civil Services. In this dispatch, he delivered a request to relevant parties to review feasibilities of manpower requirements and recruitment in 1971, 1972 and the succeeding years with the details of specialization. In doing so, the returned participants could be hired and appointed appropriately. Prime Minister Trần Thiện Khiêm emphasized: “*Only an appropriate employment of returned specialists can justify the need of continuing to send students abroad for studies*”⁵⁶⁸.

⁵⁶⁸ “Hồ sơ kiểm tra việc huấn luyện nhân viên lãnh đạo cho Chính phủ Việt Nam thuộc chương trình học bổng tổng quát năm 1971–1972”, Hồ sơ số 2945, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

Noticing that a great part of returned participants were placed in the positions which they had not been specifically trained, the USAID recommended RVN authorities to establish a central governmental office to be responsible for manpower matters, including the assignments of returned participants.⁵⁶⁹ Along with that recommendation, a guideline for the assignments for returned participants in public and private sectors was also necessary in the view of the USAID advisors. Recognizing that while in the public sector, the specific information on available positions for returned participants was produced, whereby the information gap remained in the private sector. To fill that gap required a proper projection of manpower requirements in the private sector. In doing so, the education advisors and training staff of the USAID continued to encourage and assist the placement of returning General-Scholarship participants in the private sector. The RVN government engaged in the manpower projection to identify specific manpower requirements in both, the public and private sectors, before new training plans were developed.

Despite intense efforts contributed by RVN authorities and American experts, RVN programs of abroad studies faced many challenges and limitations which hampered its effectiveness. As in a report of 1970, 8 of 21 participant graduates of the project *General Scholarship Program* were in the process of seeking jobs.⁵⁷⁰ In another report in October 1973 concerning the participants sponsored by USAID/ Office of Education, among doctoral scholarship recipients in the United States, a considerable number failed to return after completing their studies (see the Table 6.5).

⁵⁶⁹ “Hồ sơ kiểm tra toàn lĩnh vực giáo dục năm 1973”, Hồ sơ 3916, Phòng Cơ quan phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (1955–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

⁵⁷⁰ “Báo cáo kiểm tra của Tổng kiểm soát tại Việt Nam về chương trình học bổng tổng quát năm 1970–1973”, Hồ sơ số 3936, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

Table 6.5 Doctorate Degree Participants of the Public Universities in the United States

Working Place	Returned	Lost	In training
The University of Saigon	18	7	9
The University of Huế	6	0	1
The University of Cần Thơ	6	3	1

Source: “Hồ sơ kiểm tra toàn lãnh vực giáo dục năm 1973” (tập 2), Hồ sơ số 1396, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

6.2.2 Research

Conferences

In September 1967, a seminar on the topic of *Policy Formulation in American Higher Education* was conducted by the Wisconsin State University and financed by AID. The Vietnamese attendees included Dr. Trần Quang Đệ - the Rector of the University of Saigon; Father Nguyễn Văn Lập - the Rector of the Đà Lạt University; Professor Nguyễn Thế Anh - the Rector of the University of Huế; Venerable Thích Minh Châu - the Rector of the Vạn Hạnh University, Professor Phạm Hoàng Hộ - the Rector of the University of Cần Thơ; and two other Vietnamese officials, Dr. Bùi Xuân Bào from the University of Saigon who took charge of the secretary of the Vietnamese group and Mr. Hoàng Sĩ Bình, worked for AID in Vietnam, who was responsible for interpreting.⁵⁷¹ Under the AID sponsored project, the Rectors visited the American universities, such as the Wisconsin State University, the University of Chicago, and Harvard University among others, to review the administration and development of U.S higher education, both public and private, with emphasis not only on purely technical aspects but also on the roles and relationships of the schools and the community.

South Vietnamese educators and scholars frequently attended international conferences where they found it was fruitful, advancing their academic career. In 1969, on the occasion of the 36th conference of international writers, held in Menton, France on

⁵⁷¹ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Memos to the President Lyndon B. Johnson; Meeting with Rectors of South Vietnamese Universities of Education and World Affairs”, November 8, 1967, File 0010214015, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

September 13-21, South Vietnam sent a delegation joining 400 writers in the world. Among South Vietnamese attendees were the writer, Phạm Việt Tuyền; the poet, Bàng Bá Lân; and several South Vietnamese professors, such as Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trung and Nghiêm Xuân Việt.⁵⁷² Attending this conference, South Vietnamese writers and scholars not only expanded the network of writers but also understood the matter of Vietnamese studies in comparative perspectives through the prism of foreign researchers.

In 1970, an educational delegation of the administration of the RVN attended the 32th international Conference of Education in Geneva. The members of this delegation included the Minister of Education - Dr. Nguyễn Lưu Viên, Prof. Trần Văn Tấn - the Vice President of the University of Saigon, Prof. Bùi Xuân Bào⁵⁷³ of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Saigon, Mr. Nguyễn Văn Bường - Vice Chacenllor of Education Ministry, Mr. Phạm Tấn Kiệt - the Director of the Planning and Legal Department of Education Ministry.⁵⁷⁴ The participants in this conference had unanimously consented in the principal discussions that education needed to focus on the empirical and practical aims in order to develop economics. During this conference, RVN delegation also negotiated with UNESCO representatives to request more education aid and also met South Vietnamese overseas students in order to present the appealing governmental policy of the Republic of Vietnam for their future work after finishing their studies.

Vietnamese Studies

Regarding the critical deficiencies in understanding of the mentality of Southeast Asian countries, as well as observing the rising interest of the American-scholar community on Vietnam, the Americans enhanced studies in this area in the 1967–1975 period. Engaged in the research activities on South Vietnam were a multitude of American organizations and institutions from both, state agencies and private entities. Several names, who contributed significantly in researching South Vietnam, in assisting the education development, and in promoting the understanding between American and Vietnamese

⁵⁷² “Hội nghị văn bút quốc tế”, 49.

⁵⁷³ Prof. Bùi Xuân Bào later could not be able to join the delegation because he had to attend the meeting of the Educational and Cultural Council.

⁵⁷⁴ “Hồ sơ trình của Hội đồng Văn hoá Giáo dục v/v các phái đoàn Việt Nam đi tham dự hội thảo, hội nghị Quốc tế về Giáo dục năm 1970”, Hồ sơ số 217, Phòng Hội đồng Văn hoá Giáo dục (1969–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

people, were USAID, SEADAG (stands for the Southeast Asia Development Advisory Group), The Asia Foundation, the Center of Vietnamese Studies at the Southern Illinois University. Due to the limitation of the scope of this thesis, this study will not mention all of the involved American organizations, however, selecting few of them based on their functions, their administrative characteristics, and the most importantly, their accomplishments in cooperating activities with the South Vietnamese academic community.

SEADAG

SEADAG was formed in June 1965⁵⁷⁵ with the encouragement of Administrator Bell on the initiative of the Far East Bureau of AID. This organization was funded by the United States Agency for International Development through a contract with the Asia Society.⁵⁷⁶ The members of SEADAG were American academicians with a professional interest in Southeast Asia. The majority came from universities across the United States, some were the experts of The Rockefeller Foundation, Ford Foundation, and The Asia Foundation. The specific objectives of SEADAG were to,

Create effective and continuing communication between scholars and officials and among the different academic disciplines dealing with Southeast Asia.

Stimulate creative and recommendations on Southeast Asia's development problems relevant to the needs of the United States Government.

Encourage scholarly research on Southeast Asia's development in general.

Enlist the participation of Asian officials and scholars.

Reduce duplication and increase coordination in the social sciences and development research projects.

Increase access to current results from research.

⁵⁷⁵ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Letter to SEADAG Members", August 1, 1966, File 0720618019, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁵⁷⁶ The Asia Society is a non-profit corporation established in 1956 under the laws of New York "to foster cultural interchange between the United States and Asia through encouragement of significant projects which will increase mutual respect and appreciation of the other's cultural heritage and achievement". It maintains Asia House in New York as a center of information concerning Asia.

See Ibid.

Formulate “blueprints” areas of scholars to funding for research projects in order to meet these objectives and other SEADAG criteria.⁵⁷⁷

At the beginning stages, the SEADAG had defined clearly the core problems which would be discussed and tackled during its operation. Among the suggested matters from SEADAG members in their research seminars, it could be observed that this organization drew a special attention to the RVN compared to other Southeast Asian countries in the years 1960s and early 1970s. And among a variety of issues, the issue of education development was primary.

In a memorandum for SEADAG members in 1966, seven seminars were designated,

1. The Mekong River and its development
2. Southeast Asian regional development
3. Rural development
4. Vietnam (the special problems of development during insurgency)
5. Public Administration
6. Political Development and the Politics of Economic Development
7. Education and Manpower Development.⁵⁷⁸

Specifically, there was the Council on Vietnamese Studies in the SEADAG. The operating scope of this Council were six critical matters, comprised Vietnamese Studies, Research Completion Grants, Translations, Graduate Students, the Library Resources Program, Conferences on Vietnam, and the Clearing House and Inventory.⁵⁷⁹ To finance these programs, the Council estimated that they were in need of at least US\$ 85,000 a year plus US\$ 21,000 for overhead costs.⁵⁸⁰ The dispersed state of documents impeded comprehensive statistics of the precise amount of investment to operate the Council on Vietnamese Studies. Nonetheless, in comparison to the tentative annual data below

⁵⁷⁷ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Memo to SEADAG Members Academic Institutions from John J. Quinn: Graduate Students in Contemporary Southeast Asian Studies”, September 3, 1969, File 0720620037, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁵⁷⁸ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Memo to SEADAG Members from G. D. Ness Research Seminars and Research Plans”, May 10, 1966, File 0720618018, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁵⁷⁹ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Program of Vietnamese Studies”, March 20, 1967, File 0720618025, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.

showing the expenses for the SEADAG in a year, it is able to indicate the priorities of this Council in the whole operation of the SEADAG, particularly in the 1970s.

Table 6.6 The Total Amount Spent on the SEADAG Program

Unit: US\$

Period	Research Grantes	Seminars and Meetings	Publications	Direct Program Administration	General Administration	Total
From July 1, 1972 to June 30, 1973	125,552	175,559	41,693	142,818	124,630	610,252
From July 1, 1973 to June 30, 1974	12,759	181,563	66,830	253,981	150,712	665,845

Source: The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “SEADAG Chairman's Report”, July 1, 1972 – June 30, 1973, File 0720701018, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU and The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “SEADAG Chairman's Report”, July 1, 1973 – June 30, 1974, File 0720701021, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

In 1968, the SEADAG Research Fund was initiated. This created more chances for researchers to study a range of aspects of Asian countries.⁵⁸¹ One of the main goals of SEADAG was to inspire broader and profounder research programs in the social sciences on problems relevant to Southeast Asian development. In this regard, many projects which focused on South Vietnam’s social and political studies were conducted by SEADAG members in the 1960s and 1970s. Below are examples of those projects.

⁵⁸¹ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Memo to Members of SEADAG Seminars from Kenneth T. Young Initiation of 1968 SEADAG Fund”, October 16, 1968, File 0720620018, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

Table 6.7 Applications for SEADAG Research Grant

Title	Date	Applicant	Institution	Amount of Grant Requested (in \$ US)
Direction of changes in Vietnamese villages from Tet Offensive, 1968 to July, 1969	1968	Joseph M. Hoc	Boston College	21,200
The changing composition of the political elite in South Vietnam as reflected in persons holding national office since 1954	1969	Wesley R. Fishel	Michigan State University	10,900
A study of political development under conditions of internal war in South Vietnam, which will focus upon the current and future role of the 1967 Lower House as an emerging political institution and its membership as an emerging elite	1969	Allan. E. Goodman	John F. Kennedy School and Department of Government	10,217
A study of the effects of long-term Viet Cong/Viet Minh control on rural Vietnamese social structure and attitude and value orientations of the Delta peasantry	1969	Neil Jamieson and Terry Rambo	Human Sciences Research	38,375
Blue-Eagle Television for South Vietnam	1969	Ron Hull	University of Nebraska Lincoln	2,000
Measurement of development levels, systems & change by socio-structural methods: An Giang Province, Vietnam and Northeast Thailand	1969	Harold E. Voelkner	Cornell University	29,987
Analysis of CBS Vietnam survey	1969	David O.D. Wurfel	Department of Asian Studies, University of Windsor	7,000
The relationship between economic change and peasant organizations in Vietnamese villages	1969	Samuel Lewis Popkin	Center for International Affairs,	22,670

			Harvard University	
Initiatory activities in developing a study of village development, organization and village politics in Vietnam	1969	Council on Vietnamese Studies	SEADAG	17,338
Post-Election behavior and attitudes of defeated Vietnamese candidates for Election to the Lower House	1971	Jerry M. Silverman	McMaster University	16,478
Social and Cultural Change in Rural Vietnam – A Longitudinal Study	1973	Terry Rambo (with Neil Jamieson)	University of Hawaii	14,980

Source: Combined information from The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Application for SEADAG Research Grant”, Files 0720705001, 0720704002, 0720704003, 0720704006, 0720704007, 0720704008, 0720704009, 0720704010, 0720704011, 0720704012, and 0720705002, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

Due to the academic characteristic of SEADAG, the intensive involvement of universities, and the primary method of this organization which promoting joint studies by Asian and American social scientists, many staff from RVN universities engaged and cooperated in these projects to help American experts conducting their studies. For instance, Dr. Nguyen Thi Hue, Professor of Sociology at the National Institute of Administration and Dr. Ton That Thien, Professor of Sociology at the Vạn Hạnh University worked in Terry Rambo’s project.⁵⁸² Or, in another project, that of Jamieson and Rambo, two students in the fourth year from the University of Saigon, Mr. Doan Van Toai and Mr. Nguyen Van Nhang participated in the project’s operation.⁵⁸³ As indicated, the cooperated policy involving two nations of SEADAG not only subjected to Vietnamese scholars but Vietnamese graduate students. Apparently, both SEADAG and South Vietnamese students benefited from those activities due to in common interests from this cooperation. This clarified in the SEADAG’s document:

Graduate students are being included as a major constituency in SEADAG for the following purposes:

⁵⁸² The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Application for SEADAG Research Grant”, File 0720705001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁵⁸³ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Application for SEADAG Research Grant”, February 3, 1969, File 0720705002, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

1. To provide graduate students with SEADAG meeting reports, papers, and other materials of value to them for their work.
2. To broaden the range of values, viewpoints, and interests represented in SEADAG
3. To help establish communication between graduate students in this field and between them and academic and other institutions.
4. To assist senior scholars in locating qualified assistants for research and other projects.
5. To encourage students of Southeast Asia to direct their scholarly efforts toward problems of development.
6. To provide SEADAG with a broad view of developing scholarly resources and research interests in this field.⁵⁸⁴

Not only participating in research projects, many of South Vietnamese scholars, especially the professors from RVN public universities, also cooperated and played an notable role in the seminars and meetings of the SEADAG. A number of prominent names could be listed, such as Prof. Nguyễn Duy Xuân (the University of Cần Thơ), Prof. Trần Vỹ⁵⁸⁵ (the University of Saigon), and Prof. Lê Thanh Minh Châu (the University of Huế).⁵⁸⁶

All mentioned projects set the following goals,

- a. Adding insights, proposing innovations, correcting weaknesses, increasing the understanding, or improving the processes of development specifically in Southeast Asia, where AID is involved, or where private individuals and institutions assisted by or of interest to AID are involved;
- b. Strengthening SEADAG's research and advisory capacity, and related research and academic activities;
- c. Contributing to Asian-American collaboration in and better Asian-American understanding of the application of social sciences specifically to the process of development in Southeast Asia;

⁵⁸⁴ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Memo to SEADAG Members Academic Institutions from John J. Quinn: Graduate Students in Contemporary Southeast Asian Studies", September 3, 1969, File 0720620037, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁵⁸⁵ This name had no diacritics in original source.

⁵⁸⁶ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "SEADAG Chairman's Report", July 1, 1972 – June 30, 1973, File 0720701018, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "SEADAG Chairman's Report", July 1, 1973 – June 30, 1974, File 0720701021, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

- d. Encouraging social science research on an interdisciplinary basis with respect to development in Southeast Asia.⁵⁸⁷

The Center for Vietnamese Studies and Programs at Southern Illinois University

The shift of the United States in its global foreign policies in the late 1960s combined with the optimistic signs among the relationships of the United States, the PRC, and the USSR endegered the great hope for peace, ending the protracted war in South Vietnam. Going along with the withdrawal of the American troops from Vietnam beginning in 1969, the priority of Amerian experts was placed on assisting South Vietnam to conduct the postwar reconstruction projects. In that context, the Center of Vietnamese Studies and Programs was established at the Southern Illinois University to adapt to new tasks. As indicated in the previous chapters, the Southern Illinois University engaged in educational activities in South Vietnam at preliminary stages, officially in 1961 through fulfilling the contract with the USAID to assist South Vietnam in the fields of technology and elementary education. The contract was extended several times and only ended in 1971 after ten years of its implementation and operation.⁵⁸⁸

The process of creating and establishing the Center for Vietnamese Studies and Programs at Southern Illinois University realized through nine proposals which proposed in December 4, 1968; in January 1, 1969; in February 25, 1969; in March 17, 1969; in April 1, 1969; in April 29, 1969; in May 9, 1969; in June 5, 1969; and in June 6, 1969, respectively.⁵⁸⁹ The idea to form a Vietnamese Center at the Southern Illinois University was initiated in 1965 and being broadened in the scope of its activities due to the collaborated experiences between Southern Illinois University's staff with South Vietnamese intellectuals.⁵⁹⁰ Considering the several reasons stated below, the Center for Vietnamese Studies and Programs commenced its operation in the spring of 1969 at the Southern Illinois University, focused on three aspects: the elementary education project

⁵⁸⁷ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Memo to Members of SEADAG Seminars from Kenneth T. Young Initiation of 1968 SEADAG Fund", October 16, 1968, File 0720620018, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁵⁸⁸ Lagow, Larry Dwane, *A History*, 60.

⁵⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁵⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 63-65.

in Vietnam, training services for Vietnamese students, and special short term training courses for Vietnamese educational leaders and specialists.

The comprehensive mission of the Center for Vietnamese Studies and Programs can be understood by the following major reasons for its establishment,

1. The involvement of the American people in Vietnam is unique in our history. Despite the trials of war, American universities have played a significant role in this involvement by providing assistance to Vietnam with respect to that nation's educational and social goals. The American involvement undoubtedly will extend to the postwar reconstruction period in Vietnam. And, American universities -- among which SIU is uniquely qualified by reason of its involvement in Vietnam since 1961 -- undoubtedly will be asked to participate in the American response to the challenge of postwar reconstruction for Vietnam. SIU is desirous of such participation, as a service to the nation and to the world.
2. SIU educational experience -- and indeed, also, that of other American universities -- in Vietnam since 1961 needs to be thoroughly researched in terms of seeking ways to infuse that experience generally into the academic life-stream of higher education in the interest of academic relevance with respect to one of the major world issue of our times.
3. Research is required, and revised or new programs must be devised, to make education more relevant especially for veterans of the war in Vietnam -- some 26,000 Illinois veterans have served in Vietnam to date. And such veterans constitute a unique manpower pool of individuals who could serve in the postwar reconstruction of Vietnam -- provided appropriate educational and training programs are devised for and made available to them.
4. The proposed Center, with its focus on Vietnam, can develop means and ways for more effective universities assistance to the reconstruction of the present and future war-torn areas of the world -- that is, a multiplier effect may accrue from the operations of this particular Center.⁵⁹¹

As stated in the above reasons, the initial object in the training task of this Center aimed at veterans of the Vietnam War. However, in the operating years, the program of the Center was designed not exclusively for veterans, but available for any persons who were interested. Based on a multitude of programs (see below), the Center for Vietnamese

⁵⁹¹ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Center for Vietnamese Studies and Programs", May 9, 1969, File 0720108007, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 1-2.

Studies at Southern Illinois University had achieved notable accomplishments during its operation.

The Center conducted a vast number of programs and activities related to different aspects of the Vietnamese Studies,

A. Awards

Two annual national awards - one to a Vietnamese and one to an American - to be given in the names of renowned American and Vietnamese scholars, respectively, for doctoral dissertations which are outstanding scholarly contributions to Vietnamese studies.

B. Backstopping

Professional and administrative support of SIU/AID contract operations in Saigon, Qui Nhon, Ban Me Thuot and Vinh Long. Coordination of contract activities with Center programming. Full consultation, periodic visitation and inspection of contract activities by senior officers of the Center.

C. Chair

Establishment of an endowed Chair of Vietnamese Studies to provide a visiting senior scholar - alternatively Vietnamese and American for periods not to exceed three years – with appropriate salary, office, graduate assistant, secretarial support, materials acquisition and travel.

D. Conference

“The role of American universities in the post-war reconstruction of Vietnam” as proposed, discussed and analyzed by leading Vietnamese and American scholars, educators and administrators. Prepared papers and minutes to be published in Vietnamese and English by the SIU Press.

E. Consortium

As appropriate, program will be designed and developed with the other members of the Associated Universities for International Education: Western Michigan University, St. Louis University, Ball State University, Northern Illinois University, Loyola University, Indiana State University, Western Illinois University and Illinois State University to allow the fullest possible participation of their faculties and students in the instructional, research and service activities of the Center.

F. Consultant Service

The Director of the Center, his administrative and academic colleagues and their staffs will be available to render consultant services - both in Vietnam and the United States - as

requested by the Governments of Vietnam and the United States, the United Nations and other interested parties for activities and programming relating to the purpose of the Center.

G. Curriculum

Revision of existing course offerings [...] and development of new courses to provide functional and relevant offerings with especial emphasis upon Vietnam.

H. Dissenters

Assuming the removal of legal obstacles to the repatriation of persons now outside the United States for purposes of evading military service in Vietnam, carefully selected applicants will be given the opportunity to train for and serve in the post-war reconstruction effort in Vietnam.

I. English Language

Based on the professional staffs of the Department of English's Center for English as a Second Language and its Master of English as a Foreign Language program steps will be taken toward the development of a Vietnamese teacher-training cadre for the training of teachers of English.

J. Instruction

Offering of specially designed undergraduate and graduate courses in Anthropology, Economics, Education, Geography, Government, History, Philosophy and Sociology relating to Vietnam and its neighbors.

K. Inventory

Accumulation, classification and analysis of the resources of American universities which may be drawn upon - through the good offices of the Center - to help in the post-war reconstruction of Vietnam.

L. Journal

Initiation of a scholarly journal devoted primarily to Vietnamese studies published in Vietnamese and English.

M. Library

Special and regularized acquisition of existent Vietnamese, French and English materials to support undergraduate and graduate instructional and research programs in the social sciences designed to establish SIU as the principal repository of Vietnamese materials in the United States.

N. Museum

Acquisition of Vietnamese cultural materials and artifacts to support and complement the instructional and orientation programs of the Center.

O. Orientation

Briefing and de-briefing of Americans going to and returning from Vietnam. Development of short intensive sensitivity programs designed to increase the effectiveness of Vietnamese visiting and working in the United States, and Americans visiting and working in Vietnam.

P. Report

Preparation and publication of a report of the SIU/AID teacher training program in South Vietnam during the past eight years - with recommendations for its future development.

Q. Research

Design and implementation of the research component to the SIU/AID teacher training program in Vietnam. Research design and evaluation services to be available to all interested parties for study related to the purposes of the Center.

R. Senior Seminar

Meeting at regular intervals SIU faculty and selected graduate students would, with invited U.S. government officials and consultants, prepare and analyze papers dealing with education planning and technology and the economic and social problems of Vietnam.

S. Sister - University

First steps in the exploration of a university to university relationship between SIU and a Vietnamese institution (for example the University of Saigon) will be undertaken with a view to developing the fullest possible scholarly cooperation, interaction and exchange of faculty, students and materials.

T. Surveys

Feasibility and planning surveys staffed by SIU faculty and staff will be fielded as required by Center programming or as requested by the Government of Vietnam, the U.S. government, United Nations agencies and other interested parties.

U. Translation

Translation of major educational - philosophical works, texts, monographs and occasional papers to be selected by a committee of Vietnamese and American educators.

V. Translation Services

Development of a first-rate working translation competence institutionalized within the Center - available to faculty and staff - utilizing, where possible, qualified Vietnamese students studying at the University.

W. VET

Research, analyzing and utilizing the interests of veterans - both Vietnamese and American - of the Vietnam war. Initiation of a pilot program for twenty Vietnamese veterans and twenty American veterans designed to prepare them, through the associate, undergraduate and graduate degree programs of the University, for roles in the post-war reconstruction of

Vietnam. The American Institute for Research will be asked to develop appropriate criteria and techniques for selection of veterans applying for this program and to study and report upon their performance in Vietnam.

X. Vietnamese Language

Initiation of a regular university program for the study of Vietnamese language and literature.

Y. Workshop-Seminar

Providing specially designed short-term training programs for selected Vietnamese and American educators on the Carbondale Campus as requested by AID, HEW, etc.⁵⁹²

As can be seen from the programs and the activities of this Center, the Vietnamese affairs were treated with preferences. All operations were predicated on the principle of cooperation between the Republic of Vietnam and American experts and educators. The responsibilities of facilitating RVN higher education and improving the American understanding of Vietnam was equally shared. This was evidenced in every aspect of the operation. For instance, when an award was granted to a Vietnamese, another would be bestowed to an American. Vietnamese and the Americans alternatively assumed positions of the Chair of this Center for three years. This Center varied its activities in a range of manners, comprised the instructions, the operation of Journal, Library, Museum, senior seminars, surveys, and translations. Similar to other U.S. institutions which cooperated with RVN educational entities, the Center for Vietnamese Studies and Programs at the Southern Illinois University did not work separately but in collaboration with other American universities and institutions which were the members of the Associated Universities for International Education.

The above diversity of programs paved the way for the Center for Vietnamese Studies and Programs at Southern Illinois University's achievements. To meet the aim of the principal repository of Vietnamese materials in the United States, an enormous budget and immense efforts of the Southern Illinois University's staff were invested in the section of Library during its six-year operation. In the summer of 1969, with the help of Charles T. Ladwig, as external consultant, orders were placed for 800 titles in the social

⁵⁹² The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Center for Vietnamese Studies and Programs", May 9, 1969, File 0720108007, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

sciences and humanities costing more than US\$10,000 and in October, the Center obligated another US\$10,000.⁵⁹³ In year two (July 1, 1970 to June 30, 1971), an amount of US\$ 27,231 was allocated for the Library section to collect all relevant documents.⁵⁹⁴ The investment for the Library program continued increasing in year three (July 1, 1971 to June 30, 1972) and year four (July 1, 1972 to June 30, 1973) with US\$ 30,077,18 and US\$ 29,876,03, respectively.⁵⁹⁵ In year five (July 1, 1973 to June 30, 1974), and year six (July 1, 1974 to June 30, 1975) the figures were in a noticeably decline, nonetheless remaining a considerable investment with US\$ 10,919,5 and US\$ 13,438,37.⁵⁹⁶

Together with the collections of Vietnamese studies-related materials, the Center also prioritized the task of publishing documents of Vietnamese studies. Joining the editorial phase were a numerous South Vietnamese educators, namely Prof. Thích Minh Châu, Prof. Nguyễn Hữu Châu, Prof. Nguyễn Khắc Kham, Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh, Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trung, Prof. Tôn Thất Thiện, and Prof. Vũ Văn Mẫu.⁵⁹⁷ During a six-year period, 58 works⁵⁹⁸ were published by both Vietnamese and American professors, which concentrated in diverse matters of Vietnamese Studies. For example, Prof. Nguyễn Đình Hoà with *Colloquial Vietnamese* - a textbook for intermediate level, Prof. Donald E. Voth with *Seeking to Understand the Highland People*, Prof. William Turley with *Women in the Communist Revolution in Vietnam*, and Prof. Terry Rambo with *Comparison of Peasant Social Systems of Northern and Southern Vietnam: A Study of Ecological Adaptation, Social Succession and Cultural Evolution*. Noticeably, in the list of publications, the works of Vietnamese educators accounted for one-third, whereby Prof. Nguyễn Đình Hoà was acknowledged for his impressive contribution of ten publications (see below).

1. Ditransitive Verbs in Vietnamese
2. Tam-Thien-Tu, An 18th-Century Chinese-Vietnamese Dictionary
3. Purism in Language Reforms in the Two Vietnams
4. Some Aspects of Vietnamese Culture

⁵⁹³ Lagow, Larry Dwane, *A History*, 150

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 287.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 648-649.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 650-651.

⁵⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 252.

⁵⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 636-640.

5. Mon-Khmer Studies (Co-writer, David Thomas)
6. Passivization in Vietnamese
7. Colloquial Vietnamese
8. Notes on Vietnamese Verbs in Series
9. Lexical and Syntactic Borrowing in Modern Vietnamese
10. Related Materials.⁵⁹⁹

In order to enhance the close relationships with sister-universities in South Vietnam, more and more South Vietnamese professors were invited to Southern Illinois University through years. For the spring quarter of 1970, Nghiêm Xuân Thiện performed duties for a visiting professor in the Department of Journalism.⁶⁰⁰ For the 1970–1971 academic year, Nguyễn Khắc Hoạch accepted an invitation from the Southern Illinois University to research and lecture in the Department of Foreign Languages.⁶⁰¹ In year three, Prof. Trần Kinh Hoà (Chen Ching Ho), formerly at the University of Huế, was invited to contribute to the Center. In conducting the Ethnomusicology project, two professors, Nguyễn Vinh Bảo from Saigon and Trần Văn Khê from Paris, were invited to join Phạm Duy in the development of a Vietnamese music collection. A mutual exchange agreement between the University and the Bureau of Cultural Affairs of the U.S Department resulted in a visiting professorship of Dương Đình Khôi, an anthropologist and Secretary General of the University of Huế in the fall quarter of 1971.⁶⁰² In year four, Dương Đức Nhự of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Saigon sojourned six months at SIU, researching in the field of linguistics.⁶⁰³

The other positive results of the Center for Vietnamese studies illustrate on the close cooperations among South Vietnamese, American and other renowned foreign educators in designing courses for Vietnamese Studies programs. In the fall quarter of 1969, Wesley Fishel conducted two courses: 1) *Political Development and Behavior: Vietnam*; 2) *Seminar in Government Problems: Vietnam*. Prof. Nguyễn Đình Hoà with the assistance of Nguyễn Thị Kim Sa offered a course of *Elementary Vietnamese*. This course continued

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid., 636-640.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid., 248.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid., 249.

⁶⁰² Ibid., 309.

⁶⁰³ Ibid., 310.

to the winter quarter of 1969–1970, along with a newly-added course - *Advanced Vietnamese*. In the spring quarter of 1970, aside from two mentioned courses of Prof. Nguyễn Đình Hoà, Wesley Fishel offered a course of *Government and Politics of Southeast Asia*. In this quarter, Nghiêm Xuân Thiện introduced the course of *International Journalism*. During the summer of 1970, Jean Donaldson of the Summer Institute of Linguistics at Santa Ana, California, and Nguyễn Quý Bông of the University of Saigon offered these courses: *Intensive Lao and Education in Vietnam*; Prof. Nguyễn Đình Hoà added a new course, *Intermediate Vietnamese*; the visiting professor Nguyễn Khắc Hoạch (formerly Dean of the Faculty of Letters at the University of Saigon) introduced *Survey of Vietnamese Literature*, additionally there were many courses offering by American professors, such as *Politics of Vietnam: North and South* by Professor I. Milton Sacks, *Government and Politics: Southeast Asia* and *Seminar on Comparative Politics: Vietnam* by Prof. Wesley Fishel. In year two - the intensive Vietnam year, several lectures were offered concerning on Vietnamese affairs, such as *History of Vietnam* by Joseph Buttinger, *Education in North Vietnam* by Vũ Tâm Ích, *Grammatic Structure* by Nguyễn Đăng Liêm, *Vietnamese Education* by Nguyễn Quý Bông, and *The Role of Buddhism in Vietnamese Law* by Vũ Văn Mẫu. Early in year three, William Turley joined the Faculty of the Department of Government, initiating two courses: *Government and Politics*, and *Seminar in International Relations and Problems: Southeast Asia*. During year four of the grant, Prof. Turley took a leave of absence to serve as visiting professor at the Faculty of Letters at the University of Saigon. In addition to Prof. Turley, another member of SIU, Prof. Mabelle Nardin of the Linguistics Department also served in year four as a visiting professor at the Faculty of Letters at the University of Saigon. In year three and year four, Prof. Trần Kinh Hoà (Chen Ching Ho) presented a series of public lectures on Vietnamese history. Additionally, some new aspects of Vietnamese Studies were presented in these years, such as *Cai Luong Theater in Vietnam* by Duane Huach, and *Graduate Education in Vietnamese Universities* by Le Van Diem (University of Cần Thơ).⁶⁰⁴

The Center for Vietnamese Studies established in the late 1960s when the restructuring of the U.S. foreign policies occurred, the planning of reconstructing South Vietnam

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., 249- 645.

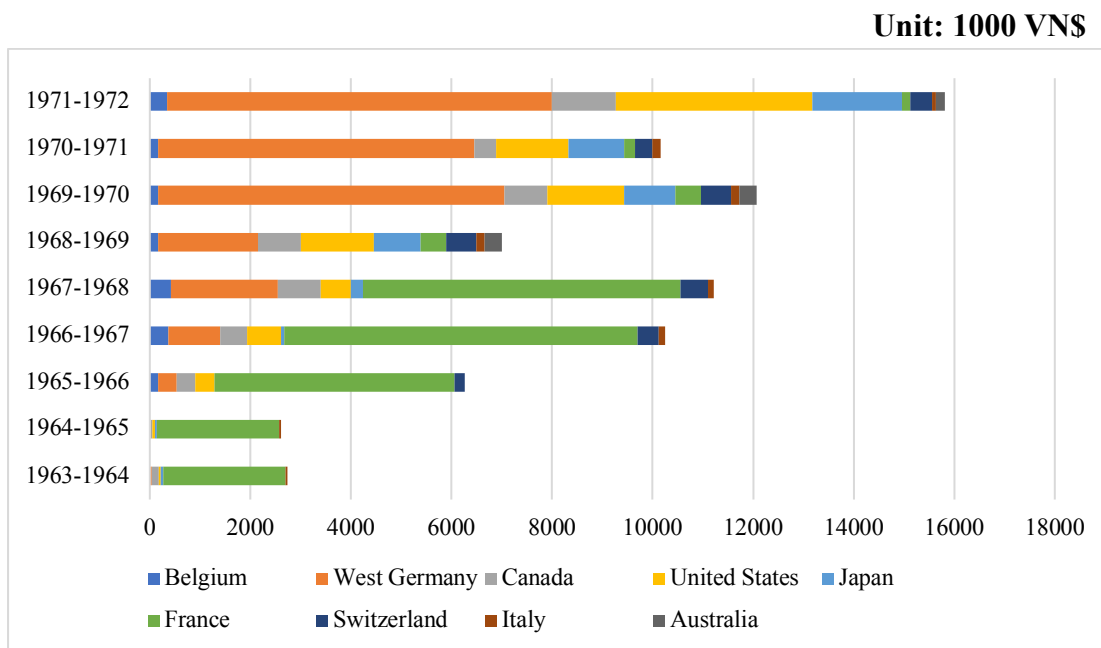
became higher priority rather than pursuing the military objectives. Subsequently, the appreciable attention of this Center was concentrated on the South Vietnam social development, especially the preference was given to educational projects, which were fundamental elements to reinforce the strength of South Vietnamese people and government. Although operating in a short time and at the same time being restrained by the financial problem after the decentralization of the administration system, the Center for Vietnamese Studies at Southern Illinois University did obtain the significant accomplishments. In every aspect of its activities, the close-knit cooperation of American and South Vietnamese educators was considered to be an effective method in achieving the promising results.

6.3 Destinations

South Vietnamese students were sent to various countries to pursue higher level trainings in international education institutions. Destinations for South Vietnamese students were diverse, not only the countries in Europe, in America, in Australia but also in Africa and Asia. Whereby, some usual destinations could be named, such as Great Britain, Belgium, West Germany, Canada, the United States, Japan, France, Switzerland, and Italy.⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰⁵ Việt Nam Cộng hoà, *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam*. (Combined statistics)

Graph 6.5 Grants for Overseas South Vietnamese Students by the Destinations (1963–1972)

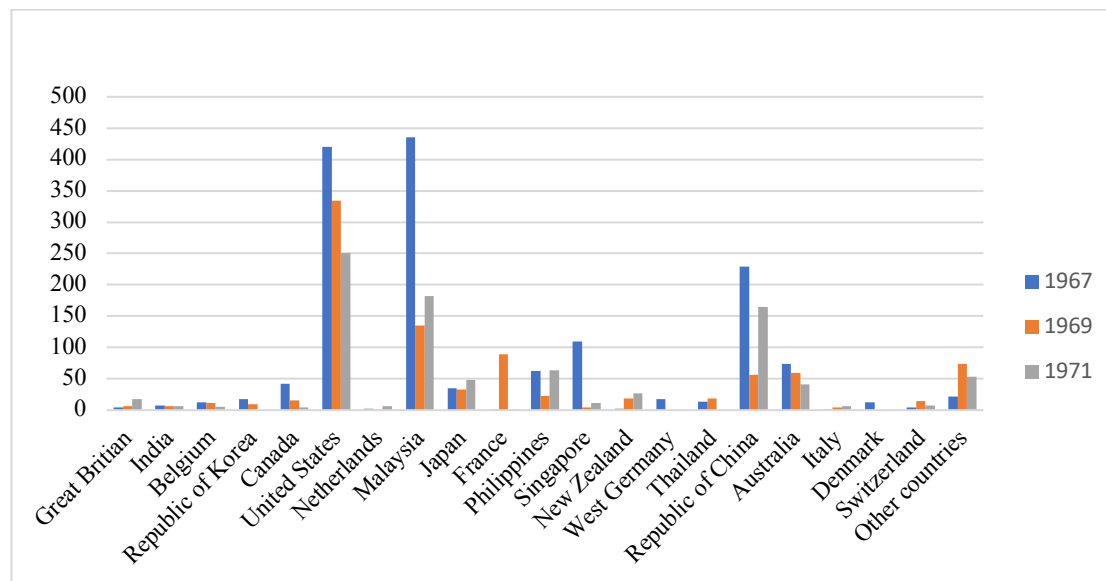


Sources: Combined statistics from Việt Nam Cộng hoà, *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam 1970, 1972*, [Statistical Yearbooks of Vietnam], Viện Quốc gia thống kê.

The size of grants, which allocated to overseas South Vietnamese students in different countries, illustrates the orientation of the RVN to their students. From the graph, it is visible that France, West Germany, the United States, and Canada were the most preferred countries for abroad training programs of the RVN. Noticeably, this preference did not remain unchanged through years. During the 1963–1964 school year to the 1967–1968 school year, the majority number of grant holders studied in France. This tendency shifted in the succeeding school years. West Germany was the priority choice of the government of the RVN for the grant holders. This figure illustrates that in the early 1960s, despite trying become independent from French influence, France was still a traditional destination for those pursuing a higher education abroad. This situation changed in the second half of the twentieth century, when the government of the RVN broadened their sphere of educational partners and South Vietnamese students were opener to new destinations for overseas studies. In this time period, the allocated sums for the South Vietnamese students in the United States and Canada also increased, ranking second and third respectively in investments of the RVN national budget for overseas studies.

In line with the grant of the Republic of Vietnam, the students also received scholarships from foreign countries. This contributed to upsurge the number of South Vietnamese-overseas students. With ample funds offered by several countries, the destination choices for scholarship holders were definitely more various than that of the national-granted students (see the Graph 6.5 and the Graph 6.6).

Graph 6.6 South Vietnamese Scholarship Holders by the Countries of Study



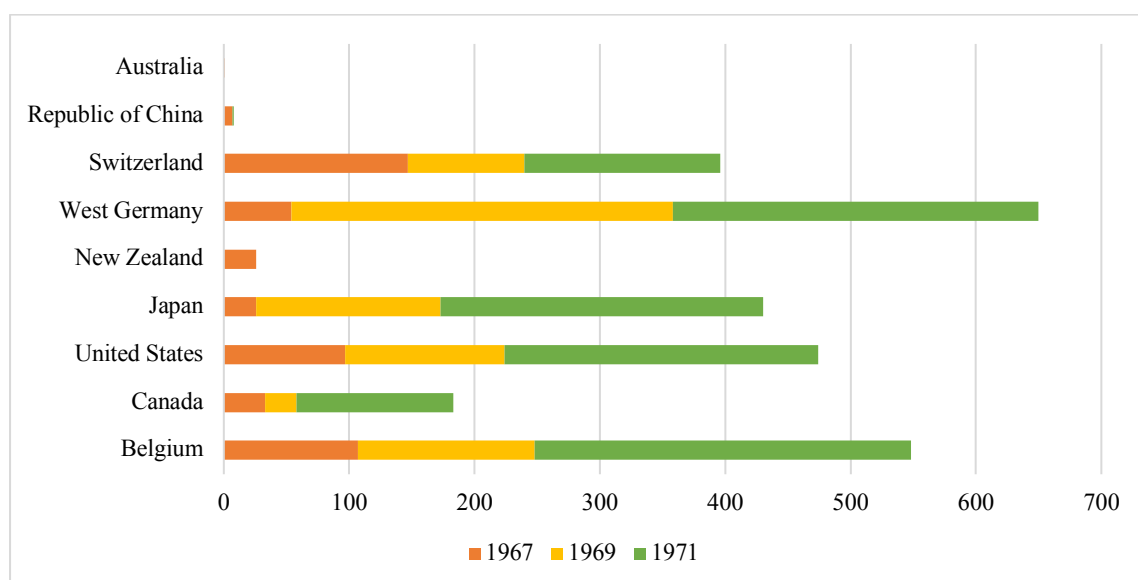
Source: Combined statistics from Việt Nam Cộng hoà, *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam 1967–1968, 1969, 1972*, [Statistical Yearbooks of Vietnam], Viện Quốc gia thống kê.

The number of scholarships was proportional to the number of students in each country. In other words, the larger number of South Vietnamese students studying in a certain country reflected their fondness for that destination. It can be observed that the interest of students was not distribute equally to all mentioned countries but focusing on specific countries, such as the United States, Malaysia, Australia, and the Republic of China. In 1967, the number of scholarship holders going to Malaysia for their trainings was somewhat higher compared to the figure in the United States. Nevertheless, in general, the United States became the most favourite destination for South Vietnamese students in three years of 1967, 1969, and 1971. France was formerly a crucial education partner of the Vietnam's education in the first half of the twentieth century, where most of Vietnamese students going to conduct their overseas trainings. In contrast, since the late 1960s, the number of the South Vietnamese students going to France accounted for a minute figure in comparison to other countries, such as the United States, Malaysia, and

the Republic of China (the reasons were pointed out above). Another notice could be taken is the dissimilar trend of the national-granted students and the foreign-granted students for studying in West Germany. The former expressed the great fondness for West Germany, especially in the 1970s (see the Graph 6.5), the latter exhibited less interest in this destination, implying by a minuscule number of student going there to study.

However, sharing common interest with the national-granted students and the international scholarship holders, West Germany and the United States ranked as the first and the second, respectively, of the destination choices for South Vietnamese self-financed overseas students (see the Graph 6.7).

Graph 6.7 Self-financed Overseas Students by the Countries of Study



Source: Combined statistics from Việt Nam Cộng hoà, *Niên giám thống kê Việt Nam 1967–1968, 1969, 1972*, [Statistical Yearbooks of Vietnam], Viện Quốc gia thống kê.

The Graph 6.7 depicts that the destination choices of the self-financed overseas students were seemingly closer to the national-granted students. For instance, the largest group of the self-financed students departed to West Germany to pursue higher level degrees.

Additionally, the destination countries for both, the self-financed and the national-granted students, were fewer than those of the foreign-scholarship holders. Nonetheless, differing from the national and international granted holders, the self-financed students expressed their higher interest for studying in Belgium. This country ranked the second favourite destination for the self-financed students while in two other categories, the number of

students studying in Belgium was insignificant. Other information, one could observe clearly from the Graph, was the upward tendency of the national grants for South Vietnamese students studying abroad. In the 1971–1972 school year, the grant multiplied almost six times compared to the grant in the 1963–1964 school year.

Summary

The aspect of international cooperation was facilitated in the years from 1967 to 1975 due to the favorable policies of RVN authorities and educators for South Vietnamese students studying abroad. In respect to a range of affairs; from choosing the fields for studies in international universities, selecting students to be sent abroad, to deciding the destinations, the RVN illustrated their diligence and prudence to assure the effectiveness of the abroad study programs. The investment for overseas studies increased in both sections, which were financed by the national budget and by the students' families. The increasing number of RVN students in foreign countries not only corresponded to the problematic matters of the RVN, for instance, the lack of skilled employees and the deficiency in several educational fields at RVN universities; rather it inaugurated the integration of RVN higher education to the universal system.

Once again, the influences of the Americans were examined in terms of international cooperations. The reluctance of RVN authorities to receive the French scholarships in the 1960s and 1970s handed the United States a chance to surpass France and become one of the most desired destinations for South Vietnamese overseas students. The presence of the Americans in every single facet of international cooperation; from training to researching, from state institutions to private-engaged organizations, and from long-term plans to short-term projects in South Vietnam were unquestionable evidence to prove the significant role they played. Notwithstanding the dominant impact of the Americans on RVN higher education, they had many competitors on this path, such as West Germany, Belgium, and Malaysia. This “race” tells us much more than one fact. It not only reflected the RVN foreign policy, which opted to establish diplomatic relations with American ally countries, but showing the diverse tendency of RVN higher education in the respect of international cooperations. In another perspective, the extensive efforts of American authorities and educators also highlighted by that race. Among diverse activities, the

emergence of Vietnamese Studies centers in the United States, the frequent academic exchange of American and South Vietnamese professors, and a corp of research projects related to South Vietnam's issues and done by both American and Vietnamese scholars, all marked an intense involvement of the United States and a close relation between two countries compared to previous years. These activities bequeathed long-lasting legacies.

In particular, the idea of establishing the Vietnamese Studies/Centers did not cease after the collapse of the Republic of Vietnam, but continuing until present. Some critical American institutions, where the division of Vietnamese Studies or Centers are operating, can be found at Arizona State University, University of California at Berkeley, the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Harvard University, University of Michigan, University of Washington, University of Wisconsin, and Temple University. Additionally, the studies from Vietnamese and American scholars pertaining to Vietnamese crucial affairs have not lost their value until today.

Chapter 7: Discussions

The Quality of the University and Colleges in Vietnam in the Early Twentieth Century

Understanding the terms “university” and “college” in a comparison between two educational models, the American and the French, is seemingly a challenge. Especially, since the educational system in Vietnam was not an original Vietnamese version one but an applied entity with many changes following the development of concrete situations. This explains the existence of dissident arguments among researchers pertaining to the validity of above-mentioned terms and the quality of Vietnamese universities and colleges in the early twentieth century. Several Vietnamese scholars, for instance, Đào Thị Diễm, Trần Thị Phương Hoa, and Phạm Hồng Tung⁶⁰⁶ claimed that the Université de l’Indochine and its affiliated schools soon functioning as other universities and colleges in France after its establishment. In contrast, Lê Văn Giạng disagreed with that opinion and stated that in the first half of the twentieth century, particularly prior to 1923, the names of “university” and “college” in Vietnam were at most equivalent to “professional schools” (trung cấp chuyên nghiệp).⁶⁰⁷

In his work *Lịch sử giản lược hơn 1000 năm nền giáo dục Việt Nam* [A Brief History in 1000 Years of Vietnamese Education], Lê Văn Giạng produced some pieces of evidence to prove the early twentieth century colleges and university in Vietnam were not actually equal as those in France. First, he analysed that, in the 1918–1924 period, the time of foundation of almost all colleges and universities in Vietnam and Indochina, was at in the end of the First World War. At that moment, France started for their second exploitation in Indochina. In essence, this exploitation concentrated on collecting raw materials and taking advantage of cheap-wage labor. Subsequently, the priority of French authorities was to open vocational schools to train auxiliary forces for themselves rather than creating academic schools. In addition, Lê Văn Giạng took the training duration of all colleges,

⁶⁰⁶ See Đào Thị Diễm, “Sự ra đời của Đại học Đông Dương qua tài liệu lưu trữ”, available at <https://vnu.edu.vn/btdhqghn/?C1654/N19219/Su-ra-doi-cua-dai-hoc-dong-Duong-qua-tai-lieu-luu-tru.htm>, accessed on April 5, 2017.

Trần Thị Phương Hoa, “Đại học Đông Dương 1906–1945, nỗ lực hiện đại hoá và định hướng ứng dụng”, published on the website of Vietnam National University, Hanoi. <https://vnu.edu.vn/ttsk/?C1654/N19244/dH-dong-Duong-1906-1945,-no-luc-hien-dai-hoa-va-dinh-huong-ung-dung.htm>, updated on November 11, 2017.

⁶⁰⁷ Lê Văn Giạng, *Lịch sử giản lược*, 90.

which ranging from two years to four years, as a norm to classify them as vocational schools, also called professional schools (Trung cấp chuyên nghiệp) instead of colleges as their names suggested. Lê Văn Giàng re-affirmed his argument in the later article, “Đại học năm 1906 chỉ là vẽ trên giấy”, published in 2006.⁶⁰⁸ Based on archival documents from the Service de l’Education (Nha học chính Đông Dương), Lê Văn Giàng gave proof to illustrate that the so-called “university”, which was established in 1906, was only a “paper existence” rather than a reality. In addition, he emphasized that there were no higher education schools in Indochina which was equivalent to the “grandes écoles” in France.

Từ 1906 đến 1918 chỉ có Trường Y Dược [sic] là có thực chất, tuy vẫn là một trường trung cấp chuyên nghiệp,

[...]

Trường Luật và Hành chính mãi đến năm 1918 [sic] mới có, còn trước đó ở Hà Nội chỉ có 1 lớp dạy luật (cours de droit) với mục đích đào tạo thừa phát lại (huissiers) và thư ký thông ngôn tư pháp.

Còn ba trường Cao đẳng Khoa học, Văn khoa, Xây dựng dân dụng hoàn toàn trên giấy, không có một chút đáng dấp gì tồn tại trên thực tế trước 1923.⁶⁰⁹

(translated:

From 1906 to 1918, only the School of Medicine and Pharmacy [sic] existed, although this school was still a vocational school (trung cấp chuyên nghiệp).

[...]

Until 1918 [sic] the School of Law and Administration had not been established, there was a law course (course de droit) in Hanoi for the purpose of training judicial officers (huissiers) and judicial interpreters.

Three other Schools, the School of Science, the School of Letters, and the School of Civil Engineering prior to 1923 only appeared on the paper, not in a reality).

The discussions of Lê Văn Giàng and his dissension with another scholar, Phạm Hồng Tung, in his article is understandable. It would be overoptimistic to suppose the training standard of the Indochinese University was comparable to French universities.

⁶⁰⁸ See Lê Văn Giàng, “Đại học năm 1906 chỉ là vẽ trên giấy”, available at <https://www.tienphong.vn/giao-duc/dai-hoc-nam-1906-chi-la-ve-tren-giay-49776.tpo>, published on June 11, 2006.

⁶⁰⁹ Ibid.

Nevertheless, this is not and should not be a reason to deny all accomplishments which the Indochinese University achieved in advance of 1945. Therefore, in a less-subjective viewpoint, the time of 1906 has to be considered a trigger step of the Indochinese University. Although, this University closed its doors from 1907 until 1916 and re-opening in 1917, there was no Decrees to announce both events, closing and re-opening. Consequently, the 1906 Decree was only one official announcement for the establishment of the Indochinese University. Moreover, despite operating in the scarcity of most of factors, some affiliated schools of the Indochinese University such as the School of Medicine and Pharmacy, and the School of Fine Arts and Architecture did obtain outstanding achievements, which not only contributed to the development of Arts and Sciences in Vietnam but also for the universal advancement (see Chapter 2).

Furthermore, this is the first time that a higher learning institution was established in Vietnam regarding to proper and professional criteria, which styled after the French-university model. Therefore, assessing the effectiveness of a university at the time of its establishment is seemingly inappropriate, especially for a university situated in a less-experienced country of practising higher education like Vietnam. Subsequently, to evaluate whether or not the Indochinese University only existed in the formality or as Lê Văn Giảng's assessment, i.e. only a "paper existence", one should consider all activities of this university since the date of its establishment to present. In spite of the inefficiency in the initial stages, particularly in the first ten years, the uninterrupted existence of this university in the first half of the twentieth century, and thereafter, its continuing operations under the names of its descendant universities, the University of Hanoi and the University of Saigon, were proof to confirm it as an existing entity. In another manner, the quality of students and graduates from a specific university could also be a factor to enhance the university's reputation. Examining the activities of affiliated schools of the Indochinese University in approximately first fifty years (1906–1954), many graduates were prominent figures in several fields; for instance, Nam Sơn, Bùi Xuân Phái, Nguyễn Tư Nghiêm, and Dương Bích Liên for the field of Fine Arts or Hồ Đắc Di, Đặng Văn Ngữ, and Tôn Thất Tùng for the field of Medicine and Pharmacy. Noticeably, the reputation of these people is not only acknowledged by the Vietnamese themselves but they gain international recognition and respect. The offsprings of one entity, which are

recognized by national and universal communities, could obviously not have had a pseudo-existence.

Heritage of the French Educational Model in RVN Higher Education

After signing in the 1954 Geneva Accord, the French military was forced to withdraw from Vietnam and the ruling position of the French was also removed. Yet it could not erase the decade-long influence of French culture which had been established since the late nineteenth century. The enduring impact of the French culture on the Vietnamese society; even after the leaving of French rulers, illustrated two phenomena, one was a profound influence of the French culture in Vietnam and the other was the French endeavor to retain their positions in Vietnam, at least in the area of culture. The latter was clearly considered by Vietnamese, as Prof. Nguyễn Đình Hoà in his memoir noted: “*I was not unaware of the desire of France to go back the former colony. Former Premier Antoine Pinay in early 1957 stressed the cultural and spiritual bonds between the two nations. After his fact-finding tour in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, however, he reported to Premier Guy Mollet that French schools were successful and that the Vietnam were ‘eager to receive a French education’*”⁶¹⁰. Therefore, finding the “French images” in South Vietnam in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s were not a difficult task. Let’s take the field of education as an example. The French educational characteristics continued to demonstrate in every facet of RVN education, such as the grading scale, the teaching language, the student-teacher relations, the working style, and the presence of French professors in this higher education system.

In the term of the First Republic of Vietnam, the influence of French seemed to be intensive. This statement could be examined by studying RVN universities’ activities. Prof. Nguyễn Đình Hoà described in detail one particular event that the professors of the University of Saigon decided which type of uniform professors should wear on the occasion of President Ngô Đình Diệm reciprocating the respective heads of state of Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand after he received the honorary degrees in those countries. Having studied and having been certificated in the United States, Prof. Nguyễn Đình Hoà brought his own gown which he bought in New York as a suggestion to others. In his

⁶¹⁰ Nguyễn Đình Hoà, *From the City*, 158.

reminiscences, the American-style gown was brushed aside because it looked much heavier than the French-style gown which all of his colleagues were accustomed to.⁶¹¹ Because of the dominance in numbers, the French-trained professors likely had an advantage when it came to voting. Albeit, the French-supported group did not win all the time. Continuing the story of choosing the professor uniform at the University of Saigon, after deciding the style of the gown, the council needed to choose which cap should go with the gown. In the competition of a French round cap and an American mortarboard cap, interestingly, the American one defeated its competitor.⁶¹²

Evidences of the French influence were found in nearly all aspects of RVN education, of which the grading scale was one of them. The grading scale ranging from 0 to 20 was used in both, Vietnamese universities and technical institutions. While a 10 score was the passing grade at most of universities, a few such as Vạn Hạnh University determined the score of 12 as their lowest passing grade. At the Vạn Hạnh University, an overall average of 14 was required in order to apply for admission to study in a higher degree.⁶¹³ Giving grades cautiously is another manner of showing the French influence. After more than two decades since the United States had engaged intensively in higher education of South Vietnam (roughly the 1950s to the 1970s), this phenomenon lingered in the RVN high education system. High grades were seldomly awarded by Vietnamese university professors. Fifteen, equivalent to the evaluation of Excellent, was indeed rarely given to the exams of students at RVN universities. Trần Anh Tuấn, a historian and also a former student of the School of Letters at the University of Saigon before 1975, mentioned some details of passing grades and scoring matters at RVN universities. He clarified that due to the prestige of each university, the passing grades varied among universities. While most of RVN universities recognized 10/20 as the lowest score for passing one certain subject, some others, such as the University of Huế, decided the minimum passing score for their students was 12/20. On the other hand, in order to encourage students to attend their institutions, the students of newly-founded universities, for instance, the University

⁶¹¹ Ibid., 143.

⁶¹² Ibid., 143-144.

⁶¹³ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Guidelines on the Admission and Placement of Indochinese Refugee Students in Postsecondary Education”, 1975, File 2244509001, Part B, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

of Cao Đài, only failed in the exams when they got 0/20.⁶¹⁴ One more detail, which was stated in Trần Anh Tuấn’s article, implies that getting high scores in RVN education system was not easy. He recalled a story of Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh and the doctoral-degree examination at the University of Saigon. Although Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh passed 7/7 students in the examination, the highest score came only to 13/20.⁶¹⁵ The strictness, or some could consider it as the harshness of RVN professors when scored their students, according to Trần Anh Tuấn, was proof to reveal the seriousness of South Vietnamese professors towards their careers, which could not be affected by any personal relationships and political forces.

Table 7.1 The Grade Scale at the University of Saigon

Très Bien	Excellent	15-20
Bien	Very Good	14
Assez Bien	Good	12-13
Passable	Satisfactory	10-11

Source: The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Guidelines on the Admission and Placement of Indochinese Refugee Students in Postsecondary Education”, 1975, File 2244509001, Part B, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

Table 7.2 The Common Grade System

Evaluation	Grade	Interpretation
Passable	10-11.9	Minimum to pass
Assez bien	12-13.9	Rather good, average
Bien	14-15.9	Above average
Très bien	16-17.9	Excellent
Très bien avec félicitations du Jury	18-20	Very good with congratulations of the Jury

Source: The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Student Records From Vietnam: Their Evaluation for Placement of Students in American Educational Institutions”, File 2391105003, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁶¹⁴ Trần Anh Tuấn, “Trở lại chuyện hồng thi thời VNCH (Việt Nam Cộng hoà-TTĐ)”, *Nhật báo Văn hóa online-California*, available at <https://www.nhatbaovanhoa.com/a8168/gs-tran-anh-tuan-tro-lai-chuyen-hong-thi-thoi-vnch>, posted on October 21, 2018.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.

In the second half of the 1950s, more American professors and lecturers came to Vietnam to work as lecturers as well as consultants at RVN universities. Although the lectures focused on American studies, the professors used French as the medium of instruction. Dr. Bernard E. Brown, who had conducted the course of *Political Science* at the University of Saigon from February to July 1958, recalled in his report: “*On June 12 and 13 I gave two lectures in Hue, both in French. The first, at the newly-opened branch of the Vietnamese-American Association, was on The Formulation of American Foreign Policy; the second was a repeat (but in French) of the American Presidency*”⁶¹⁶. In the 1960s and 1970s, the South Vietnam higher education experienced a transition from the French pattern to the American educational model. In spite of that, the prominent figures in the RVN education system were, however, French-trained teachers. As a result, higher education in South Vietnam at that time preferred to retain the French educational characteristics which were more familiar to them. Prof. Lê Xuân Khoa recalled that in the last years of the Faculty of Medicine, the University of Saigon, before the collapse of the Republic of Vietnam, the lecturers included Vietnamese, French, and American staff. Noticeably, several Vietnamese professors chose French as an instructing medium in their lectures.⁶¹⁷

Differing from the American education style, which gave more opportunities for the interaction between students and teachers, the French educational style tended to build a barrier between educators and learners. This was highlighted by the attitude of Vietnamese students towards professors. In an educational report, this phenomenon was also noted by an American professor: “*I was treated always with the utmost courtesy and respect - including the ritual performances of standing up when I entered the room, and applauding at the end of an interesting lecture*”⁶¹⁸. As any coin has two sides, the respect of students also created the big gap in teacher-student relations, causing difficulty in communication between students and teachers. During his contract time in Vietnam, Clevenger, Dean of Student Affairs, Washington State University also noticed that South

⁶¹⁶ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Notes Concerning Higher Education in Vietnam”, January 6, 1959, File 1780836017, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁶¹⁷ Ngô Bảo Châu et al., *Kỷ yếu Đại học*, 546.

⁶¹⁸ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Notes Concerning Higher Education in Vietnam”, January 6, 1959, File 1780836017, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

Vietnamese students felt most of professors as unapproachable and unconcerned towards student's welfare and academic programs.⁶¹⁹ To explain for this phenomenon, Clevenger noted in his report: "*in the past there had been a very close association between student and teacher, almost a father and son relationship, prior to the establishment of the French continental pattern of education*"⁶²⁰. The explanation of Clevenger was not precise enough for someone who has some knowledge of the Confucian education system, which existed in Vietnam before French came. Otherwise, his view could indicate the point that the distance between teachers and students was a characteristic of the French educational pattern. The opportunities to have personal contact between teachers and students were very rare, and this partly resulted the reluctance of students to express their opinions in the class, making students a passive entity in the teaching-learning process (see Chapter 5).

Despite cooperating with South Vietnamese educators, the Americans did many times make complaints over French pattern, which profoundly influenced the working style of South Vietnamese educators. In the process of relocating the universities to the suburban areas to reduce the burden, which the University of Saigon had been suffering, American and South Vietnamese educators collaborated in establishing an Polytechnic University at Thủ Đức. As Chief of the Higher Education Survey Team and Dean, College of Education, Wisconsin State Stevens Point, who was mainly responsible for that project, Burdette Eagon once said that: "*The problem was that these deans themselves all being French or mainly French oriented*"⁶²¹. Moreover, when those who desired to pursue the mass-educational system worked with those who were deeply influenced by the elite-educational model, in subsequence, the conflicts were not avoidable. Additionally, Lee Sherman Dreyfus, a former Chancellor of Wisconsin State University Stevens Point/University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point once frankly stated that:

It isn't just the matter of having control of the university, it is a matter of the elite system and elite class, the old French elite class and French colonial power you see simply extended their contact into these people and who set up their own elite class, and they don't want to give up this. There is great class disparity, one can go to their French styled athletic club and just see two different worlds between most of the rest of Saigon and a place like

⁶¹⁹ Reich, Thomas Charles, *Higher Education in Vietnam*, 236.

⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*, 237.

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*, 512.

that. It is, essentially still a French culture. There are still 600-700 teachers in that country who deal only in French and will teach only in the French.⁶²²

French and American: the Competitors and the Partners

The matter of the French-American relations in South Vietnam in the 1950s, 1960s and the 1970s constituted one of core issues which were debated by Vietnamese and international scholars. References of this debate can be found on the publications of two authors Kathryn C. Statler and Nguyễn Thụy Phương.⁶²³ In these two publications, the intensive discussions, describing the process of the American model replacing the French model in South Vietnam, were conducted. As it is well known, the Geneva Accord in 1954 revised significantly the role of engaged parties (the French and the Americans) there. If during the First Indochina War (1946–1954), the French persisted in their belief “that they could continue to assert their cultural domination over the Vietnamese by means of the French language”⁶²⁴. And shortly after the Geneva Conference, that belief was still fervent; a French official Jean Chauvel stated that: “We are in Vietnam and the Americans aren’t. American financial and material assistance passes through France. Any change in this reality would certainly be considered an infraction to the accords. All American initiatives must pass French inspection and approval no matter if the Vietnamese government appeals directly to the Americans”⁶²⁵. The French was eager to remain their power in Vietnam and in Indochina because they could anticipate worst results happening when they lost their position. Prof. Engelbert described the anticipated results briefly and precisely: “Without the three Indochinese States, the whole colonial edifice, especially in Northern Africa, would crumble. Without the empire, the leading politicians of the Third Republic thought, France was no longer a great power in the world”⁶²⁶. However, the situation of Vietnam after the 1954 Geneva Accord did not facilitate the French desire of prereserving their influences and positions in Vietnam. Even the Americans, who supported the French in the last years of the First Indochina

⁶²² Ibid., 432.

⁶²³ See Statler, Kathryn C., *Replacing France*.

And Thụy Phương Nguyễn, *The Rivalry of the French*, 1-2.

⁶²⁴ Ibid., 1-2, 28-29.

⁶²⁵ Chauvel, note, July 30, 1954, CHEVS, 1 SA 13 Jean Sainteny.

Statler, Kathryn C., *Replacing France*, 183.

⁶²⁶ Engelbert, Thomas (Ed.), *Ethnic and Religious Politics*, 19.

War (1946–1954), and who proved to be a great ally of French when they shouldered 80 percent of the war cost, also hurried to remove the French presence in Vietnam. The circumstance in Vietnam after 1954, obviously, was unfavorable for France in prolonging its stay. They decided to temporarily relinquish the positions in Vietnam in favor of more urgent and foreseeing benefits which they could have based on good relations with their ally, the United States. Kathryn Statler emphasized this point in her book and explained further reasons for the French leaving. “*Political setbacks led France to question its remaining military, economic, and cultural presence in Vietnam. In addition, fearing that continued French resistance to South Vietnamese and American pressure to leave would create a rupture in the Atlantic alliance, French officials decided they had no choice but to relinquish control in South Vietnam to the Americans*”⁶²⁷. The scenario of a French without the aid of the United States was bitterly drawn: “*A freezing or a cut of US aid would have severe psychological effects: the French Franc would continue to fall. Capitals would flee France*”⁶²⁸. Undoubtedly, the French retreat from Vietnam in the mid-1950s was the only and the best choice for them.

In the context of the 1950s and 1960s, American educators faced the same problems as French did in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, that is, how to exceed the influence of the existing-educational model in Vietnam and replace it by a new one. To fulfill that mission, the Americans were required to solve many critical problems. First and foremost, was the shortage of professors and teaching staff. Even more and more American professors came to Vietnam to exercise the contracts of the U.S. government and the American universities in the 1950s, that figure was unequal to the number of French professors. Dr. Adrian Jaffe from Michigan State University, professor of American Literature, who taught at the Faculty of Letters at the University of Saigon in the 1957–1958 school year, described this situation,

It should be explained that the University of Saigon there are three certificates, one each in English, French, and American studies [...]

The certificate programs are taught by a variable number of professors: in the case of the French certificate, the major one at the University, a staff of some twenty Frenchmen is

⁶²⁷ Statler, Kathryn C., *Replacing France*, 183.

⁶²⁸ Engelbert, Thomas (Ed.), *Ethnic and Religious Politics*, 20.

available; for the English certificate there are two Australians and two Britons; for the American certificate I was the only professor.⁶²⁹

The aspect of the school system was also taken into account to enhance the American influence in the field of RVN higher education. Considering the fact that the school system remained patterned after that of French and French standards of instructions were maintained⁶³⁰, the U.S educators placed the mission of innovating the South Vietnamese system as one of their priorities. The emergence of pilot schools, community high schools, community colleges, and many other private schools in South Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s, were pieces of evidence of the influence of the American school system into the education of the RVN (details were given in previous chapters).

In terms of languages, American experts through the results of educational surveys and several conferences on Vietnamese education confirmed that Vietnamese and French were the two primary languages of instruction, though English was gaining ground.⁶³¹ It took a considerable time for English surpass French as the first foreign language, however, in the 1960s, the American educators could be more optimistic about English competitive competence. Fall by fall, when students entered the university, they knew a little more English and a little less French. With the privilege of the second widest instructing medium in teaching and the significantly increasing number of books through American-aid programs, American experts believed that for a majority of students, English appeared to be the most “*reference language tool at the present time (in the 1967 survey-TTD) and for the foreseeable future*”⁶³². As a result, they emphasized the importance of exerting the effort to encourage students, especially technical students, to study English as a reference language in preparation for their careers.

⁶²⁹ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Notes Concerning Higher Education in Vietnam”, January 6, 1959, File 1780836017, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁶³⁰ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Education”, 1965, File 2321407001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁶³¹ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Notes Concerning Higher Education in Vietnam”, January 6, 1959, File 1780836017, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁶³² The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Public Universities of the Republic of Vietnam”, April 1967, File 0720510011, Part A, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

The destinations for students who studied abroad also reflects the competition between the U.S and French educators. In the early twentieth century, France was the traditional destination for Vietnamese students who desired to study abroad. This tendency remained almost unchanged, although, the Americans had committed to higher education in South Vietnam for around a decade since 1954. In 1964, there were 399 South Vietnamese students enrolling in colleges and universities in the United States while the number of students enrolling in the French universities that year was 1522.⁶³³ This figure was lower than usual, it still demonstrates that preference was given to France, though. The trend shifted in the second half of the 1960s. In 1966, only a small portion of the 1347 students went to France, of those, 940 traveling with scholarships or foreign grants. The largest numbers went to Malaysia, the United States, the Philippines, and the Republic of China. Most popular places for non-scholarship holders were in Belgium, Switzerland, the United States, West Germany, and Canada.⁶³⁴

In spite of initial adversaries, the Americans found other advantaged factors to promote their educational model applying in South Vietnam. A premise for the Americans to insert their educational style in Vietnam was the aspiration of Vietnamese people for a new educational system. That education had to comprise a number of specific elements, such as training objectives aimed at the majority, not just the elites, allowing indigenous people to advance their own potential, and to encourage the ability to think and work independently.

[...] (M)odern education must respect the freedom and rights of children and that each must be helped develop to maximum capacity in keeping with his native ability. The teacher must not direct but must guide and advice the pupils and encourage them to participate in their own education.⁶³⁵

To teach learners to

⁶³³ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Education", 1965, File 2321407001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁶³⁴ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Education in South Vietnam", September 1, 1968, File 0720510017, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁶³⁵ Laverne, Daly C. and Samuel C. Adams, Jr., *Education in Vietnam*, 5. And The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service Vol. XXXII, December 1959, Number 2: A Historical Survey of Educational Developments in Vietnam", File 2391104001, Part E, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

[...] observe, seek, think, compare and judge, develop initiative, and a spirit of organization and a sense of command. They must develop the necessary qualities of a good citizen. They must be trained to face difficulties and overcome obstacles. They must develop a versatile mind able to express differences and adapt itself to daily requirements of life.⁶³⁶

The distinction between the French and American education system was obvious. It was analyzed intensively in a below report of the Americans when surveyed the RVN education status.

Attendance: In the French educational pattern, attendance of classes in academic secondary schools and in most branches of the university is not demanded. A student may obtain notes from his fellow students, study independently and by making application can sit for the desired examinations.

[...]

Tests and examinations: To enter a faculty of the universities, the applicant not only must have passed the previous year's work and obtained a certificate for this achievement but also he must compete in an entrance examination with other aspirants seeking placement in the program of his choice. Once admitted, his success from year to year is determined almost wholly by his performance in the end-of-year written examinations in major subjects and oral examinations in the minor ones. Written examinations are of the essay type and are based upon one to three sampling questions. A student passes or fails his year's work on the basis of the average of the grades he obtained in examinations. Then too, the number of students who are passed may depend upon a policy of reducing numbers for the following enrollment or upon a desire to demonstrate selectively.

The emphasis placed upon competitive examinations and upon certificates in contrast to American practices has led to a misinterpretation here and in the United States of the academic value of the final secondary certificate, namely the Baccalaureat II.

[...]

Entrance to the faculties of Letters, Law, Science and Pedagogy of the Universities of Saigon and of Hue is gained through presentation of the Baccalaureat II and success in entrance examinations to the program selected. Not infrequently a student takes entrance examinations for more than one faculty; if successful in gaining entrance to two programs, since there is little or no cross checking between faculties, the student may register for a full academic load in each.

⁶³⁶ Lavergne, Daly C. and Samuel C. Adams, Jr, *Education in Vietnam*, 7.

At the end of each year the student sits for examinations in his faculty, or faculties, and if successful he received either a certificate or a statement of satisfactory achievement for each program. Thus, he is admitted from year to year to the next class. Upon successful completion of a university program he is granted either a diploma or a licence, indicating graduation whether the program be three years or four.

Faculty relations: Each faculty has been constituted as a unit quite independent of other faculties. Each, to date, has developed its programs without support from or collaboration with any other faculty within its university, this leading to narrow specialization without benefit of general education or of functional interrelationships of knowledge. For example, the Faculty of Law admits the secondary school graduate who has the proper high school specialization; but this student is not exposed along the route to any courses in science; in his university work, furthermore, he studies no additional courses in language or literature. [...]

The number of weeks of one session held by one faculty may differ from the number held by another in the same university. Student load is a second variable. For instance the Faculty of Letters in Saigon offers programs of 12-14 hours per week while the Faculty of Science requires in some programs 22 hours of lecture and 8 hours of laboratory per week. The Faculty of Pedagogy, however, has quite consistently offered programs of 24-28 hours per week.⁶³⁷

Despite many differences were stated above, interestingly, the Americans and French educators show us that they were not only competitors but cooperators in advancing RVN education in the 1960s and 1970s. Many examples could be listed to attest to the close and friendly relations between these two models in South Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s. In the transition period, several former French-trained educators were sent to the United States to study at higher levels to learn and to update new educational methods as well. They became intermediaries between two educational models and contributed to ease the tension among old and new educational graduates. Once again, the Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy in the University of Saigon was able to be taken as an example. Albeit Medical education was one of the fields which marked the most profound influence from France, the students were willing and eager to consult medical journals and articles,

⁶³⁷ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Student Records From Vietnam: Their Evaluation for Placement of Students in American Educational Institutions", File 2391105003, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU, 2-11.

which were published in the United States.⁶³⁸ The dissidence in the relations among French-trained professors and American-trained professors was a fact, but not the whole story.

Debates on the Philosophy of Education

In recent decades, the debate of Vietnamese educational philosophy has attracted abundant scholars, who focused on answering the question of whether or not the contemporary education in Vietnam has a philosophy of education? This question has challenged many researchers to provide an accurate answer. If there is the philosophy of education, what it is? How important role does it play in the whole education system? And to what extent does it reflect a common aspiration of Vietnamese people?

Concerning the philosophy of education, before discussing more, it is crucial to understand basically what the term of philosophy of education is. According to Harvey Siegel, “*(p)hilosophy of education is that branch of philosophy that addresses philosophical questions concerning the nature, aims, and problems of education. As a branch of practical philosophy, its practitioners look both inward to the parent discipline of philosophy and outward to educational practice, as well as to developmental psychology, cognitive science more generally, sociology, and other relevant disciplines*”⁶³⁹. He also emphasized on other aspects related to the philosophy of education.

The most basic problem of philosophy of education is that concerning aims: what are the proper aims and guiding ideals of education? A related question concerns evaluation: what are the appropriate criteria for evaluating educational efforts, institutions, practices, and products? Other important problems involve the authority of the state and of teachers, and the rights of students and parents; the character of purported educational ideals such as critical thinking, and of purportedly undesirable phenomena such as indoctrination; the best way to understand and conduct moral education; a range of questions concerning teaching, learning, and curriculum; and many others.⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁸ Ngô Bảo Châu et al., *Kỷ yếu Đại học*, 546.

⁶³⁹ Siegel, Harvey (Ed.), “The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Education”, Oxford University Press, available at <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195312881.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780195312881-e-001?print=pdf>, 2010.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

Following this definition, specific elements could be defined as compulsory ingredients in each philosophy of education. In other words, the philosophy of education has to reflect the aims of that educational system, to recommend the criterion for evaluation, to designate the responsibilities to appropriate parties, comprised authorities, schools (teacher-student relations included), and family. Furthermore, that philosophy has to be able to accelerate the creative learning acquisitions such as critical thinking, and also to avoid the undesirable phenomena, such as indoctrination. Sharing the idea of the above definition of philosophy of education, Phạm Minh Hạc, a former Education Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, confirmed that the educational philosophy contained the general ideas and policies of developing an education. He also assumed an education could not develop without having an educational philosophy.⁶⁴¹

Concerning the philosophy of education in Vietnam, Nguyễn Bình indicated core aims which need to be included in the philosophy of education, *Epistemic Aims* (knowledge, truth, and justification, understanding, skills and know-how, critical thinking) and *Moral and Political Aims* (autonomy, flourishing, cooperative capacity, and democratic competence).⁶⁴²

As stated in Chapter 3, the educational principles, which promulgated in the First and Second Republic of Vietnam, were one of outstanding evidences when pointing to their educational accomplishments. From the First to the Second Republic, the Philosophy of Education remained unchanged in most part, respecting to a set of humanist, national, scientific, and liberal education (or open education as the term was used in the RVN, the detail of these characteristics of RVN education was presented in Chapter 3). The characteristic of scientific education was altered the place of a liberal education in the Second Republic. However, in researching RVN higher education as a particular objective, it could be seen that Vietnamese educators respected the principle of a liberal

⁶⁴¹ “Triết lý giáo dục Việt Nam của Giáo sư Phạm Minh Hạc”, *Giáo dục Việt Nam*, available at <https://giaoduc.net.vn/giao-duc-24h/triet-ly-giao-duc-viet-nam-cua-giao-su-pham-minh-hac-post193092.gd>, published on November 24, 2018.

⁶⁴² Nguyễn Bình, “Mạn bản về triết lý giáo dục ở Việt Nam, Con suy trầm giáo dục”, available at <http://zung.zetamu.net/2011/09/ban-ve-triet-ly-giao-duc-ở-vn-nguyen-binh/>, published on September 6, 2011.

education and pursued it as a decisive factor which assured a sustainable development of RVN education.

While RVN educators named concrete elements of constructing their own educational philosophy (or so-called educational principles), it seems to be vague when clarifying the educational philosophy of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and later, of a unified Vietnam under the leadership of the SRV. This created two currents of thought. The supporters claimed that despite the lack of specific document indicating concrete elements of the DRV and SRV educational philosophy, the philosophy is still demonstrated occasionally in educational policies and related documents. As a member of supporting group, Prof. Phạm Minh Hạc pointed out the needs for an educational philosophy in the education of the DRV and the SRV, without that, it could not achieved a breakthrough, which increased from the literacy rate of 5% to approximately 90%.⁶⁴³ He also explained, because the terminology of educational philosophy in the DRV and SRV education was not used, this led to the difficulty for educators to find specific factors of educational philosophy in those educational systems.

Discussing the matter of educational philosophy, Nguyễn Quốc Vương in his newly-published book, *Đi tìm triết lý giáo dục Việt Nam* [Finding the Vietnamese Educational Philosophy], summarized that the supporting group for the presence of educational philosophy could be divided into four sub-groups depending which sources those researchers found the philosophy of education. In this classification, the first group supposed that the philosophy of education was predicated in the educational policies and guidances. The second group stated that the educational philosophy is a part of the philosophy which is the foundation for education. The third group extracted the philosophy of education from maxims and educational watchwords, such as *Học thầy*

⁶⁴³ “Triết lý giáo dục Việt Nam của Giáo sư Phạm Minh Hạc”, *Giáo dục Việt Nam*, available at <https://giaoduc.net.vn/giao-duc-24h/triet-ly-giao-duc-viet-nam-cua-giao-su-pham-minh-hac-post193092.gd>, published on November 24, 2018.

In the statistics of 2016, the literacy rate of Vietnamese people was 97.3 percent for the age of 15 to 50, and the literacy rate among people age of 15 to 35 was 98.5 percent, with 43.7 percent of labourers having basic knowledge about computers and foreign languages.

See “Vietnam’s literacy rate reaches 97.3 percent”, available at <http://dtinews.vn/en/news/020/43462/vietnam-s-literacy-rate-reaches-97-3-percent.html>, published on January 15, 2016.

không thầy học bạn (It is better to learn from their fellows than your teachers), *Học đi đôi với hành* (Study goes as a pair with practice), *Lý luận đi đôi với thực tiễn* (Theory goes hand in hand with practice), and *Tiên học lễ hậu học văn* (Learn manners first, knowledge comes later). Lastly, the fourth group sought the philosophy of education in the education goals.⁶⁴⁴ Although agreeing that there is a philosophy of education in Vietnam, this group is split in the question of how to assess its value. In this aspect, Nguyễn Quốc Vương grouped distinguishing opinions into three types. The first group assumed that the philosophy of education already presents in the educational policies on the macro level. In essence, these policies are rational, therefore the problems of education in Vietnam presently originate from the stage of implementation rather than the policies or the philosophies of education themselves. In disagreement with that argument, the second group claimed that the philosophies of education which are implicitly presented in the educational policies, showing their outdated styles and could not adapt to requirements of the contemporary educational aspirations of Vietnamese people.⁶⁴⁵ Subsequently, educators are in charge of formulating a new educational philosophy. Differing to both groups, the last group unambiguously indicated that due to the vagueness of the philosophy of education in the Vietnamese educational system, it is better to invest resources in practical and urgent educational tasks instead of overindulging in the debate and exploration of an educational philosophy.

From the opposing side of this discussion, people believe that the DRV and SRV education do not have philosophies of education. Assoc. Prof. Nguyễn Hoàng Ánh, Foreign Trade University, in her interview with the newspaper *Giáo dục Việt Nam* [The Education of Vietnam, electronic version], assumed that there is no philosophy of education in Vietnam because Vietnam does not have academic freedom.⁶⁴⁶ She pointed out that in the advanced countries, each educational institution has its own specific training goals presenting in its mission while the Vietnamese universities do not have that. She chose an example from the case of Harvard College: “*The mission of Harvard*

⁶⁴⁴ Nguyễn Quốc Vương, *Đi tìm triết lý*, 32.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁶⁴⁶ “Việt Nam chưa có triết lý giáo dục vì chúng ta chưa có tự do học thuật”, available at <https://giaoduc.net.vn/Giao-duc-24h/Viet-Nam-chua-co-triet-ly-giao-duc-vi-chung-ta-chua-co-tu-do-hoc-thuat-post193750.gd>, published on December 2019.

College is to educate the citizens and citizen-leaders for our society. We do this through our commitment to the transformative power of a liberal arts and sciences education”⁶⁴⁷. She added, despite recent initial considerations of Vietnamese university missions, these missions were set up only in general and non-oriented. Prof. Hồ Ngọc Đại shared the same opinion with Nguyễn Hoàng Ánh in argument that there has been no philosophy of education in Vietnam.⁶⁴⁸

The unlike opinions could not only be observed in the controversial matter of the existence of the philosophy of education in Vietnam in terms of evaluating the values of philosophy, but also in the connotation of terminology of the educational philosophy. As mentioned, Assoc. Prof. Nguyễn Hoàng Ánh suggested that the philosophies of education could be found in the training mission of each institution. While Prof. Trần Ngọc Thêm clarified that the educational mission is just one of five elements which configure the philosophy of education in Vietnam. Particularly, he assumed that the educational mission is a fundamental element (also the first element); the educational goal (the second element) is the central element which controls directly three other elements composing of the educational contents, methods, and principles.⁶⁴⁹ Nguyễn Quốc Vương analyzed that the philosophy of education, in any form, always comprises two critical elements, *an image of the future society/desired society* which that education is striving to and *an image of ideal people* who are the offsprings of that education.⁶⁵⁰ More specifically, Prof. Phạm Minh Hạc believed that the objectives of the philosophies of education are to educate people in order to be able to form their own values (which included five prominent ingredients, namely patriotism, kindness, diligence, honesty, and responsibility) and to be knowledgeable as well as to be competent.⁶⁵¹ Prof. Lâm Quang

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid.

And Harvard College, “Mission, Vision & History”, available at <https://college.harvard.edu/about/mission-and-vision>.

⁶⁴⁸ “GS Hồ Ngọc Đại nói gì về việc tìm triết lý cho giáo dục Việt Nam”, available at <https://www.tienphong.vn/giao-duc/gs-ho-ngoc-dai-noi-gi-ve-viec-tim-triet-ly-cho-giao-duc-viet-nam-1364570.tpo>, published on January 8, 2019.

⁶⁴⁹ “Có nên quy định triết lý giáo dục trong Luật Giáo dục?”, available at <https://vietnamnet.vn/vn/giao-duc/nguoi-thay/co-nen-quy-dinh-triet-ly-giao-duc-trong-luat-giao-duc-500857.html>, published on January 1, 2019.

⁶⁵⁰ Nguyễn Quốc Vương, *Đi tìm triết lý*, 34.

⁶⁵¹ “Triết lý giáo dục Việt Nam của Giáo sư Phạm Minh Hạc”, *Giáo dục Việt Nam*, available at

Thiệp, an influential educator in Vietnam, also shared his own opinion in respect of which is the suitable philosophy of education for Vietnam nowadays. He indicated that there are two tendencies to develop higher education in the world. One tendency is to pursue the liberal education in order to comprehensively educate people with vision, the ability to think, and to have the compassion for others. The other tendency is to educate people pursuing a definite career.⁶⁵² He quoted the definition of a liberal education, created by the Association of American Colleges & Universities (AAC&U): “*Liberal education is an approach to learning that empowers individuals and prepares them to deal with complexity, diversity, and change. It proves students with broad knowledge of the wider world (e.g. science, culture, and society) as well as in-depth study in a specific area of interest. A liberal education helps students develop a sense of social responsibility as well as strong and transferable intellectual and practical skills such as communication, analytical and problem-solving skills, and a demonstrated ability to apply knowledge and skills in real-world settings*”⁶⁵³.

In his opinion, the idea of liberal education returns in force to all higher educations due to several reasons: first, the development of technology promotes the rapid change of society, therefore we need to have a further and broader vision to orient our life like a compass for people on the sea; second, people realize the essentiality of soft skills such as communitive skills, critical skills, synthetizing and analytical skills; third, because the lifespan of a specific technology is too short, that is leading to the uncertainty of a specific career.⁶⁵⁴ He emphasized that Vietnam does not stand outside of this trajectory and the liberal education should be, and need to be, a philosophy of education for the contemporary Vietnam. Noticeably, the liberal education (usually translated from Vietnamese to English as the term of open education) was one of the educational principles of the RVN, this shows how up-to-date RVN education was in their education.

<https://giaoduc.net.vn/giao-duc-24h/triet-ly-giao-duc-viet-nam-cua-giao-su-pham-minh-hac-post193092.gd>, published on November 24, 2018,

⁶⁵² “*Vì sao VN cần giáo dục khai phóng và cải cách đại học?*”, *BBC News Tiếng Việt*, available at <https://www.bbc.com/vietnamese/vietnam-47433571>, published on March 3, 2019.

⁶⁵³ Association of American Colleges & Universities, “*What is Liberal Education?*” available at <https://www.aacu.org/leap/what-is-liberal-education>.

⁶⁵⁴ “*Vì sao VN cần giáo dục khai phóng và cải cách đại học?*”, *BBC News Tiếng Việt*, available at <https://www.bbc.com/vietnamese/vietnam-47433571>, published on March 3, 2019.

Moreover, as the AAC&U pointed out that the liberal education in the twentieth century and the liberal education in the twenty-first century could not be the same but have the changes, as follows,

Table 7.3 The Changing Nature of Liberal Education

	Liberal Education in the Twentieth Century	Liberal Education in the Twenty-First Century
What	Intellectual and personal development An option for the fortunate Viewed as non-vocational	Intellectual and personal development A necessity for all students Essential for success in a global economy and for informed citizenship
How	Through studies in arts and sciences disciplines (“the major”) and/or through general education in the initial years of college	Through studies that emphasize the Essential Learning Outcomes across the entire educational continuum – from school through college – at progressively higher levels of achievement (recommended)
Where	Liberal arts of colleges or colleges of arts and sciences in larger institutions	All schools, community colleges, colleges, and universities, as well as across all fields of study (recommended)

Source: Association of American Colleges & Universities, *What is Liberal Education?* available at <https://www.aacu.org/leap/what-is-liberal-education>.

As a result, viewing and referring to the philosophies of education of the RVN as suggestions to deal with problems of Vietnamese education currently, we need to also update the change in the nature of educational philosophies; the liberal education is one example.

In short, a brief view on the debate of the matter of educational philosophy demonstrates how much effort Vietnamese intellectuals and administrators have put on the

development of education in Vietnam at the present, and what is the role of the philosophy of education in a specific education like the one in Vietnam.

The Vietnam War: Seen from a Different Perspective

In the twentieth century, Vietnamese people suffered a severe-living condition due to two protracted wars, the First Indochina War (1946–1954) and the Second Indochina War (1964–1975).⁶⁵⁵ Destructions resulting from these wars are undeniable. Albeit, from another perspective, observing the way in which Vietnamese people tackled disastrous conditions, one could see their resourcefulness and flexibility in approaching opportunities to develop.

Amid a seemingly endless war, Vietnamese continued to build their nation and their society. With the assistance of international parties, especially the U.S. and its Western allies, South Vietnamese yearned for and embarked on numerous ambitious civil projects that transcended the hostilities. The efforts of South Vietnamese educators and international experts, particularly from the United States, in expanding and modernizing higher education during the Second Republic period (1967–1975) can tell us another story about South Vietnam never told in scholarship preoccupied with the military struggle. In this context, military allies unintentionally became educational allies, and the RVN found assistance from external forces to share the burden of training its young generation. This is demonstrated through the USAID-funded cooperation among American, South Vietnamese institutions, and American allies' organizations.

Summarily, the USAID focused on several potential and critical aspects of the Republic of Vietnam's higher education, including Engineering, Medical and Dental Education, and Agriculture. Each of these fields was subjected to a specific American institution. The University of Missouri Rolla took the task of advancing Engineering, the American Medical Association was responsible for the development requirements of Medical and Dental Education, and the matters of Agricultural Education in South Vietnam were

⁶⁵⁵ According to several Vietnamese researchers, the Vietnamese resistance against the United States started in 1955, for some reasons, they assumed that the Vietnam War (also called the Second Indochina War) lasted for twenty years, from 1955 to 1975.

entrusted to the University of Florida. Noticeably, all of these institutions played a leading role in their respected fields while being aided by others in implementing their tasks. There were two channels: firstly, the allied relations of the United States with other countries; secondly, through the South Vietnam's channels, including the efforts of South Vietnamese educators to call for assistance and cooperation of international universities and professors during their trips abroad. This presented a multi-party engagement in the Republic of Vietnam higher education system in the 1960s and 1970s. Robert Russell LaFollette, the USAID Higher Education Adviser, did notice the concept of "Many Flags" on the task of advancing higher education in South Vietnam. *"New Zealand was helping to finance a new Science Building at Thu Duc and Canada was assisting in the expansion of the Faculty of Medicine at Hue, while West Germany was supplying the Hue Faculty of Medicine with materials and two professors, and France was involved in the recruitment of faculty at both Saigon and Hue"*⁶⁵⁶.

The assembly of international institutions in the area of the South Vietnam's higher education was more meaningful when it occurred in a distressed circumstance of the war. The effort of the RVN authorities could be interpreted in many ways. It could be explained by the American pressure, which pushed the RVN to innovate its education, as a commitment to continue American aids in South Vietnam. Prevalently, it was known as a political solution, showing a better face of the Republic of Vietnam to their opponent - the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in North Vietnam. Nevertheless, by any means, it would be a mistaken if we did not taken into account the sincere aspirations of South Vietnamese, American, and other foreign experts in developing higher education in South Vietnam. In an interview with Thomas Reich, when was asked *"Whether it's realistic to expect a continued American influence in education once the military is removed? Don't you think the Vietnamese will have a reaction or resentment against us and throw us out without our military?"*⁶⁵⁷, Lee Sherman Dreyfus did not hesitate to answer that: *"I think it is very real possibility, no question about it. Some people question whether we ought to be doing anything on the basis of what many have projected later. I guess it is my own personal philosophy in education that as long as they are educators there, as long as they*

⁶⁵⁶ Reich, Thomas Charles, *Higher Education in Vietnam*, 178.

⁶⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 444.

*asked for certain help, which we are capable for providing them, and as long as we are in a position to provide, we ought to do it*⁶⁵⁸.

Lee Sherman Dreyfus expressed his own opinion, but it is definitely not a singular example of the sincere assistance of international educators and experts in South Vietnam at that time. The considerable contribution of German professors at the University of Huế in particular and the humanitarian activities of West Germany during the Vietnam War, are further evidence of a genuine desire of people to help others, especially concerning humanitarian purposes, such as education development. As mentioned, several German professors came to Huế in 1961 after the unceasing attempt of Priest Cao Văn Luận, who was at that time the Rector of the University of Huế. The names of German professors, like Prof. Horst Gunther Krainick, Prof. Erich Wulff, Prof. Kaufmann, Prof. Discher, Prof. Perings, and Prof. Holterscheidt are unforgettable in the memory of former students who studied at the University of Huế.⁶⁵⁹ Few unhappy reminiscences could come when one recalls these periods (four professors, Prof. Krainick and his wife, Prof. Discher, and Prof. Alter Koster were killed during the Tết Offensive in 1968). They did pay with their lives in pursuing educational-development objective. The danger of the war, which they could have known or imaged before departing to South Vietnam, could not deter them. The presence of German professors in Huế at that time was a strong evidence to show their aspiration to help an education and to help people in advancing the life based on a well-educated background. These aspirations were stronger than the fear of the danger they probably would face. Furthermore, after the end of the war (in 1975), Prof. Wulff came back to Vietnam to visit his Vietnamese friends in 1978.⁶⁶⁰ If a person only served in a country because of his duty or because of any other political reasons (for instance, to support the Republic of Vietnam), after the war ended and the collapse of the Republic of Vietnam, he has no reason to go back there, a place that reminded him of sorrow images. Prof. Wulff's journeys to Vietnam in 1978 and later in 2008⁶⁶¹ illustrate more about the

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁹ Hoàng Phủ Ngọc Phan, “Nhớ về các vị giáo sư người Đức ở Đại học Y Khoa Huế”, available at <https://sachhiem.net/NDX/NDX024.php>, published on May 5, 2012.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁶¹ Ibid.

pure humanitarian purpose of international educators who assisted the South Vietnam higher education in the last century.

The tragedy of war could not defeat the will of South Vietnamese educators to build an advanced higher education system. This was shown in the efforts of South Vietnamese professors in contacting many sources and asking for financial and human resource assistance from international institutions and organizations. As in the case of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Huế, in the process of seeking assistance to establish this faculty, Rector Cao Văn Luận paid visits to several offices, the USAID/Saigon, the French Embassy, and the German Embassy, without obtaining any official assurances from any of them. In spite of that, he consistently supported the idea of having a medical school in Huế. In the following week, he received an initial-assisting offer from the German Embassy for the establishment of the Faculty of Medicine.⁶⁶² As mentioned, the Faculty of Medicine in Huế, in its beginning, received a massive assistance from the University of Freiburg, Germany. This support could not occur by chance but rather by a great endeavor of the South Vietnamese educators, such as Rector Cao Văn Luận.

Examining another side of the Vietnam war, as clarified above, gives us some hints to answer the question, whether or not the educational assistance of the U.S. in South Vietnam in the regimes of the Republics constituted a political means or served a political purpose? Many researchers⁶⁶³ addressed their study on tracing the origins of the Vietnam War as well as tracing the origins of American engagement in South Vietnam in the second half of the twentieth century. Their suggestions and explanations could help to produce a wider view of the presence of the Americans in South Vietnam, but were unable to explain the American engagement in the RVN education development - a question which seems to be simple but not easy to answer.

The initial cause of American involvement was linked to the contradiction of ideologies, in other words, it could be said that the political conflict led to the war in Vietnam. In

⁶⁶² Cao Văn Luận, *Bên giòng lịch sử*, 292.

⁶⁶³ Some could list here, namely Herring, George with *American's Longest War*, 2001; Logevall, Fredrik with *The Origins of the Vietnam War*, 2001; Staler, Kathryn with *Replacing French: the Origins of American Intervention in Vietnam*, 2007.

contrast, numerous American organizations and agencies worked in South Vietnam during the war time without considering the political element as a premise or the primary purpose for their operations. Taking the operation of the SEADAG as an example.

SEADAG was created under the sponsorship of AID to bring together persons interested in Southeast Asia development from all professions without regard to their political views. Professional participation in SEADAG in no way implies a political commitment to any particular policy of the United States government. Such commitment are purely personal. SEADAG as an organization and the Asia Society as host of the meetings cannot be employed in any way directly or indirectly to demonstrate either approval or disapproval of United States policy in Vietnam.⁶⁶⁴

As analyzed above, the political allies of the United States and the Republic of Vietnam became educational partners of RVN higher education inadvertently. From the case of the development of higher education in South Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s, it could be stated that the common interest of politics among countries, to some extent, was the initial condition to gather countries in single front. Albeit, politics is not the sole factor and occasionally, not the decisive factor which drives and maintains the relations among countries. Regarding the cases of American experts and other foreigners, who worked in South Vietnam during the Vietnam War time, the above statement was supported by sufficient evidence to convince people.

An Ideal Model of Higher Education for Contemporary Vietnam

In the age of knowledge economy, when all countries are aware of that there is no path for them to gain a sustainable development, except based on education, and apparently, the one who does not follow, will be left behind in the game. On that race, not only Vietnam but also other countries are eager to find an ideal model for their education, an education model which would be able to respond to current national requirements and ensure their long term sustainable development. Educational initiatives have appeared in every higher education system in the world in the last decades in both, developing and developed nations. For example, Germany, one of the finest education, had conducted a project, named the *Excellence Initiative* from 2007 to 2017 to enhance their credibility in

⁶⁶⁴ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Memo to SEADAG Members from Kenneth Young, Michael Moerman, Gayl D. Ness, Robert O. Tilman”, April 7, 1967, File 0720619006, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

the area of higher education. As stated by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research, the Excellence Initiative “*played a major role in making outstanding research possible. Moreover, it strengthened collaboration between universities and non-university partners and enhanced the international networks of German higher education landscape*”⁶⁶⁵. After the termination of the *Excellence Initiative*, the *Excellence Strategy* was approved to continue the trail. The *Excellence Strategy*, which aims to “*strengthen Germany as an internationally competitive research hub in the long term*”⁶⁶⁶, has been implemented since 2019. In the first call, ten universities and one consortium were selected for receiving funds for the new round.⁶⁶⁷

The Excellence Strategy comprises two elements or funding lines: the Excellence Clusters and the Universities of Excellence.

Excellence Clusters: The “Excellence Clusters” funding line provides project-based funding in internationally competitive fields of research at individual universities or university alliances. The Excellence Clusters involve scholars from various disciplines and institutions in a collaborative research project. The funding enables them to focus intensively on the objective of their research, train young talent and recruit leading international peers. Universities that are host to an Excellence Cluster can furthermore apply for a “university allowance” that provides additional strategic funding to strengthen their organization and strategic orientation.

Clusters of Excellence are funded for seven years. A second funding period of another seven years is possible. The funding calls are announced regularly every seven years.

Universities of Excellence: The “Universities of Excellence” funding line sets out to strengthen individual universities or university alliances as an institution and to expand their leading international position in research. Funding presupposes that institutions have successfully applied for at least two Excellence Clusters per individual university, or three Excellence Clusters in the case of university alliances. Universities of Excellence receive long-term funding, while the prerequisites for funding are re-evaluated every seven years.

⁶⁶⁵ “Excellence Strategy”, available at <https://www.bmbf.de/en/excellence-strategy-5425.html>, updated on July 23, 2019.

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁷ The winners are RWTH Aachen University, Berlin University Alliance, University of Bonn, Technische Universität Dresden, Universität Hamburg, Heidelberg University, Karlsruhe Institute of Technology (KIT), University of Konstanz, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, Technical University of Munich, and University of Tübingen. Press Release No.34, 19 July 2019, *Final Decisions in the German Excellence Strategy: Excellence Commission Selected Ten Universities and One University Consortium of Excellence*, https://www.dfg.de/en/service/press/press_releases/2019/press_release_no_34/index.ht.

Moreover, Universities of Excellence are required to apply for the necessary number of Excellence Clusters every seven years in competition with other new proposals.⁶⁶⁸

These projects were reflected the attitude of Germany towards the necessity of having top-level universities after centuries of pursuing the egalitarianism for their higher education institutions. As Gretchen Vogel voiced this phenomenon: “*Germany is unusual among most Western nations in that all of its universities have been designed to be roughly equal in both quality and prestige*”⁶⁶⁹. Germany was formerly a pioneer in the field of higher education in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, enjoying the prestige of Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, and other research centers and universities in Frankfurt and Göttingen. The Americans seized this position in their golden age of higher education, which lasted from the 1950s to the 1970s, yet.⁶⁷⁰ The quality of German higher education is incontestable but the absence of top-level ranking universities evokes them to re-think thoroughly their strategy and their policy in education and research. In doing so, in the first decades of the twenty first century, Germany has been returning to the Humboldt principle, which considered universities to be the best places for researching and teaching.⁶⁷¹ The *Excellence Initiative* and the *Excellence Strategy* are the means for them to achieve that goal. The execution of *Excellence Cluster* and *Universities of Excellence* will stimulate the competition among universities in different states of Germany to elevate them to the top-ranking universities and thus, breaking the egalitarianism.

Other countries in Asia have also participated in the competition of advancing higher education with a similar strategy to Germany. As Prof. Richard Levin, Yale University, indicated “*not every university can or needs to be world class*”⁶⁷². Hence, China and India, who are both on the path to gain their prestige in the field of higher education, they focus on creating a limited number of world-class universities besides expanding their higher

⁶⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁹ Vogel, Gretchen, “A German Ivy League Takes Shape”, available at <https://www.sciencemag.org/news/2006/10/german-ivy-league-takes-shape>, posted on October 13, 2006.

⁶⁷⁰ Nguyễn Xuân Xanh, *Đại học*, 102.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid., 124.

⁶⁷² Richard C. Levin, *The Rise of Asia's Universities*, 73.

education systems.⁶⁷³ These strategies seem in contradiction but, in fact, they support each other. Expanding or giving the opportunities of higher learning for all people would be an achievement of a radical society. Otherwise, as in the example of Germany and also many other countries, if the government invests equally in all higher education institutions, the high-ranking universities will succumb. As a result, the key investments are needed to be utilized in the way that only selected entities will receive the major part of the budget in order to increase their competitive capability. This strategy has been implemented in China and India since the last decades. *“In China, the nine universities that receive the most supplemental government funding recently self-identified as the C9 - China’s Ivy League. In India, the Ministry of Human Resource Development recently announced its intention to build 14 new comprehensive universities of ‘world-class’ stature”*⁶⁷⁴. As predicted, for the next decades, the labor cost will not any longer be the advantage for Asian countries like China and India in competing with other economies.⁶⁷⁵ Instead, only qualified labor, and no other factors, will be the decisive factor in the competition of world economies. Subsequently, in regard to a long term vision, each country should give an appropriate attention and investment in higher education to ensure qualified labor in the future. And of course, each country has its own strategy for developing higher education. Despite that, the above examples of Germany, India, and China in dealing with their higher education could give a rational suggestion for the present higher education in Vietnam.

Among abundant suggestions for future education, a common thought could be pointed out in those educational projects: open education. In a world where is no boundary of knowledge, where open sources and open access become a preordained trend in education and research, open education or the education of openness inevitably play a key role of solutions, or it could be said a “mantra”, for all countries to acquire a cutting-edge

⁶⁷³ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid.

In 2009, Peking University, Tsinghua University, Fudan University, University of Science and Technology of China, Zhejiang University, Xi’an Jiao Tong University and Harbin Institute of Technology formalize an elite group to foster better students, sharing their resources, This group is called C9 League, China’s Ivy League.

Form “China’s Ivy League: C9 League”, available at <http://en.people.cn/203691/7822275.html>.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid., 66.

technology or update knowledge on their path of development. “*Open education as a movement sits within the broader framework of the history of openness that brings together a number of disciplines and fields to impact directly upon the value of knowledge and learning, their geographic distribution and ownership, and their organization*”⁶⁷⁶. The idea of open education is rooted in the long course of educational history, named as *artes liberales* in the Greek and Roman thought and broadening its scope and manner to become liberal education of the modern time as mentioned previously. The dominance of this educational idea for the near future is obvious, but not all countries are prepared or competent to manage an open education. In other words, open education only operates efficiently in a proper condition, which composes of elements, such as a state-of-the-art facility for teaching and learning, an effective network of educations, and up-to-date technologies. Although, those factors are required, human forces are decisive in that process. Regarding to human forces, I meant to emphasize all related parties, ranging from authorities, educators, learners, social organizations relevant to educational activities, and student’s families, but giving the first three groups more attention. Apparently, an open education could not be possible without legitimate policies that pave the way and accelerate its development. And equally responsible, if not more important, educators and learners need to be indispensable parts of open education. The question is how can they become those parts. In recent prevailing debates on educational issues of Vietnam, some assumed that while the general education of Vietnam (education in the levels of primary to high schools) meets and ensures the universal standard, Vietnam does not live its reputation up in the higher education competition.⁶⁷⁷ This argument, to some extent, has its own rationality. Scanning the achievements, which Vietnamese students got in international contests, it is not a challenge to see that Vietnamese students were, most of times, awarded the highest ranking prizes. Even though, the above argument shows the notion that an adequate quality of Vietnam’s general education remains

⁶⁷⁶ Peters, Micheal A. and Rodrigo G. Britez (Eds.), *Open Education*, xvii.

⁶⁷⁷ Mạnh Hùng, “Tiến sĩ Việt kiều: ‘Bậc phổ thông Việt Nam ổn, đại học có vấn đề’ ”, Báo VnExpress, available at

<https://vnexpress.net/giao-duc/tien-si-viet-kieu-bac-pho-thong-viet-nam-on-dai-hoc-co-van-de-3905641.html>, posted on April 6, 2019.

“Nữ tiến sĩ Phương Anh và GS Hoàng Dũng: Điều gì khi quan chức ‘đội lót’ và thầu đất Vàng”, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7SC4glPuRB0>, posted on November 12, 2018.

controversial. Assuming that their argument is correct, so what happens to the students who are talented and competent in high schools and becoming less talent when they are university students? Do they lose their desire to be outstanding students? Or do they find no facilities to further their talents? In considering general education, particularly education in high schools, as a transition stage to prepare for higher-level learning of students, we need to re-think and re-assess the logic of the above argument. To some extent, it is undeniable that high school students in Vietnam have achieved outstanding accomplishments. Nevertheless, the students, who gain distinguished prizes and awards representing a minor portion of Vietnamese high schools students. Being labeled as “industrial chickens”, those students crammed knowledge in order to obtain good results in the competitions. Undisputedly, this method cannot work in the long term study, in particular, this way of learning does not improve essential skills that enable them to be independent learners. Most of high school students regards textbooks as main sources and follow teacher’s lectures without questioning. Subsequently, when they enroll in universities, they fail to grasp knowledge independently and not being able to criticize information they encounter. Thus, the crisis, which Vietnam’s education has been facing up to present, is not only in the matter of higher education itself, but for the entire educational system, which is lacking effective methods in the teaching-learning process. The demand to advance higher education in Vietnam and making it possible to compete with other educations is an urgent task, particularly, when people are living in the open system, allowing to approach open source, open access, open archiving, and open publishing. The limited number of class hours is unable to delivery all tremendous knowledge and information being created day by day. Hence, the most significant effort of teachers, lecturers, and professors in helping their students is not to transmit knowledge as much as possible, rather assisting and encouraging them to be independent learners who own appropriate skills of long life learning as well as be able to filter the information they obtain. Students need to be active people in seizing opportunities to learn, not only for a specific contest, but a wider range of knowledge. I believe that different results, which students achieve, is due to different methods they apply rather than their ability themselves. A certain method of learning may work for this person but not for others. Therefore, one of duties of teachers is to assist students exploring their strengths and

encourage them to work independently and speak their opinions. In doing so, effective teaching methods play a crucial role.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Recent symposiums and publications concerning the Republic of Vietnam's affairs not only reflect the current interest in this topic, but also create opportunities for researchers and others to obtain a broad perspective on Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s, which is not only limited to a war frame. The topic, "*The American Influences on the Higher Education of the Second Republic of Vietnam: The Case of the National Universities*", is a contribution to understand a rarely mentioned research topic about the Republic of Vietnam – higher education, and new aspects - the non-military activities of countries involved in Vietnam's affairs in the 1960s and 1970s.

Tracing the history of Vietnam in the span of a thousand years may by far exceed the scope of this dissertation, however, it could help to understand and explain the way in which the Vietnamese people reacted to interventions of external forces. The lessons, which were learnt from unnumberable hostilities and centuries of living with foreign occupiers, taught the Vietnamese people to be wise and flexible in coping with outside influences and intrusions. In the twentieth century, the Vietnamese history continued to be turbulent due to civil and international wars. Nevertheless, to some extent, the Vietnamese people faced this challenging situation, keeping a stiff upper lip. In other words, as an optimist sees the opportunity in every difficulty, the Vietnamese people did not allow the war to ruin their lives, but took advantages of progressive influences to develop their country in some aspects. The development of higher education in Vietnam in the last century is an epitome of the optimistic attitudes of the Vietnamese people in their response to tragic and severe circumstances.

In the course of its development, Vietnam's education enhanced itself by adopting external models from other cultures to their own. Principally, this comprised the Confucian model of China, the elite educational model of France, and the mass educational model of the United States. Noticeably, those external models were not implanted and practised in Vietnam in a peace time, but in the periods of wars. In the special condition of a wartime, Vietnamese educators became skeptical to adopt new models and, on occasions, objected to certain ideas of foreign educators. Notwithstanding their cautiousness and objections, Vietnamese educators seldomly, if ever, missed

opportunities to advance education during the course of Vietnamese history. The provincial, general, and royal examinations, which were organized every three years in the Confucian education system in Vietnam, may be unfamiliar and seem to be insignificant for those who are only accustomed to modern educational concepts. Yet, the Confucian education meant most to those Vietnamese people who desired respectable positions in the social hierarchy and to contribute to the ruling system of the dynasties.

In the late nineteenth century, after ten centuries practising Confucian education, the Vietnamese people, for their first time, encountered a Western educational style, which was brought to Vietnam by French colonial administrators and teachers. Facing this situation, Vietnamese intellectuals reacted differently. While several Vietnamese intellectuals in the early twentieth century, to some extent, were in a dilemma and harsh situation to answer the question, should they retain their Confucian educational system or innovate their education following the French model? The other intellectuals, who had opportunities to approach progressive thought, especially those people lived in South Vietnam, were accustomed to modern education transplanting in South Vietnam since the late nineteenth century, were eager to change the educational model and to practise a new one.⁶⁷⁸ Noticeably, the French, who brought that new model to Vietnam, hesitated to practise entirely due to their political intentions. Despite the dilemma and hesitation of both, the French and several Vietnamese, the new education model replaced the Confucian education totally in the first decades of the twentieth century, marked by the last Confucian examination in 1919.

Vietnamese education achieved notable results in the first half of the last century despite serious difficulties, for instance, French intentions to limit Vietnamese education up to a certain level which only benefited the French or the dissent of a few Vietnamese scholars, who wished to hold on to the Confucian education. The first generation of Vietnamese intellectuals, who can also be called Vietnamese intellectual elites, that followed the modern Western educational concept, was born. These people developed into a decisive force to deal with the crucial affairs of Vietnam's history in the twentieth century.

⁶⁷⁸ Trịnh Văn Thảo, *Nhà trường Pháp*, 38-43.

The experience from the “collision” of two cultures in Vietnam, French and Vietnamese, matured Vietnamese educators in dealing with external forces. In the second half of the twentieth century, Vietnamese education once again encountered Western influences. In South Vietnam, the presence of the Americans was growing. When comparing the two encounters, with the French and with the Americans, Vietnamese educators and authorities seemed to play a more active role with the latter one. Reluctance, an unavoidable psychological reaction, occurred occasionally. Nonetheless, the way in which Vietnamese educators made good use of those possibilities, offered by the Americans and its allies, was proof for their initiative and growth. These possibilities advanced education, particularly higher education in South Vietnam. To some extent, one could assume that, the most valuable achievement of Vietnamese education in the first half of the twentieth century was the creation of modern Vietnamese elites. In the second half of that century it was the mass education for all Vietnamese people. To sum it up, reviewing the educational development in Vietnam leads us to conclude that the aspiration of Vietnamese intellectuals and educators to innovate and advance education was unchanged, despite adverse circumstances.

In the turbulent time of the Vietnam War, efforts of South Vietnamese educators and their partners, including the Americans and other allies, deserve more recognition and appreciation. That was the first time in Vietnam that a modern concept of higher education was practised systematically. The acknowledgement of the autonomy of higher education institutions and a series of educational and cultural policies in the 1960s and 1970s, which assigned a central role to higher education in the plans of nation building, were premises for a significant development of higher education during the Second Republic of Vietnam period. In almost a decade (1967–1975), the RVN higher education achieved impressive results. The RVN universities increased both in numbers and in form. South Vietnamese students enjoyed a variety of choices: public universities, private universities, regional universities, national universities, and community colleges. One could easily name dozens of universities, which were located in provinces of South Vietnam, for instance the University of Saigon, the University of Huế, the University of Cần Thơ, the University of Vạn Hạnh, Đà Lạt University, Cao Đài University, Hoà Hảo University, Minh Đức University, Duyên Hải Community College, Thủ Đức Polytechnic

University, and the Oceanographic Institute in Nha Trang. The growing number of Vietnamese professors, who had received their degrees at international institutions, and who had worked for more than a half century with foreign educators, paved the way for a new generation of South Vietnamese intellectuals, who were less prejudiced and more confident in responding to new educational initiatives.

A number of educational ideas, which were even modern and innovative to advanced educations at the time of 1960s and 1970s, were implemented in South Vietnam, namely the autonomy of universities, the localization in the higher education system, the adaptation of the model of community college, and the transformation from a system of yearly examinations to a credit-based system. Due to several limitations of time, human forces, and facilities, most of the above ideas remained in the experimental stages rather than being implemented on a large scale in the RVN system of higher education. Nonetheless, it is unquestionable that an open-minded attitude of South Vietnamese educators and authorities towards changes and innovations in higher education led to appreciable achievements of the RVN higher education in the 1960s and 1970s.

As examined in the cases of three public universities, i.e. the University of Saigon, the University of Huế, and the University of Cần Thơ, the organization of management became unified, allowing them to operate efficiently and enhancing interactive and exchange activities. Vietnamese educators took responsibility for all decisions, from governing to teaching in RVN public universities instead of depending on foreign professors as in previous periods. This is an evidence, which confirms painstaking efforts of South Vietnamese educators and the success of teacher training programs. Three public universities were able to educate in the majority of needed fields of study, not only conventional disciplines, such as, Agriculture and Medicine, but also new disciplines, such as applied sciences.

Pursuing the modern concept of university, the RVN universities implemented both tasks, teaching and researching, in the 1960s and 1970s simultaneously. The increasing number of students proved the attraction of RVN universities to the young generation of South Vietnam. In the early 1970s, the total number of students of the three public universities

amounted to 0,3% of South Vietnam's population. This figure seems to be modest, but it demonstrates the rapid growth of RVN higher education. Particularly, it is more meaningful when considering that this RVN education started from ground zero, little experience, and lack of facilities. Moreover, this occurred in a country, in which until the mid-twentieth century, 80% of its population were illiterate. Seeing research as a crucial aspect to promote the universities' reputation, the three public universities dedicated more time to research activities. Universities and their professors were nuclear factors in launching diverse academic activities, including within and beyond the universities' boundaries. Each university, or moreover each affiliation, published their own scientific journals, which created spaces for South Vietnamese intellectuals and scholars to discuss topics related to their expertise. The journals *Đại Học* and *Bách Khoa* are two names, which could be kept in mind in tracing the dynamics of discussions which appeared in publications of South Vietnamese universities and professors in the 1960s and 1970s. The active role of RVN professors and scholars, as well as their confidence in interacting with international educators and researchers, were highlighted both, in their participations in various conferences and in their cooperations with international scholars in doing research on Vietnam. Two cases of SEADAG projects and the Center for Vietnamese Studies at Southern Illinois University could portray a picture of cooperation between South Vietnamese and foreign educators and researchers. In reviewing research achievements of South Vietnamese professors and educators during the term of the Second Republic of Vietnam, one could be impressed by the numbers of publications as well as the exuberance of publishing. The existence of the university publishers, for instance, *Đại Học* Publishing House at the University of Huế and *Hiện Đại* Publishing House at the University of Saigon, and the uncomplicated regulations and requirements to establish and operate publishing houses in South Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s encouraged South Vietnamese professors to publish their studies and research. Several renowned authors could be named, for instance, Prof. Nguyễn Văn Trung with his research of literary and philosophical works, Prof. Phạm Hoàng Hộ with his biological studies, Prof. Nguyễn Thế Anh with his contributions to Vietnamese historiography, Prof. Nguyễn Đình Hoà with linguistic research. Publications of South Vietnamese professors were circulated and introduced to both, Vietnamese and foreign readers. Most of publications retain their research value until present.

The sincere aspirations of South Vietnamese educators and authorities to enhance human capital for the needs of South Vietnam were apparent in several aspects. Since the 1960s, South Vietnamese professors showed a modern and an open-minded attitude towards their students, i.e. students had to be more active in the teaching-learning process, and in that process, teachers were definitely not the masters, but the assistants, who were in charge of promoting the talents of each individual student. In addition, the impartiality of the examinations and accreditations of RVN public universities in the sixties and seventies is another aspect that ascertained the genuine desires of South Vietnamese professors. Generally, professors evaluated students according to ability rather than letting themselves be subjected to political pressure, personal relations, or temptations to obtain accomplishments.

In contrast to the Confucian and French education models in Vietnam, the American education model appeared in Vietnam in a difficult situation – in a situation of a war. This caused a certain reluctance of Vietnamese educators to adopt a new educational model. Notwithstanding this, the unusual situation led to unpredicted consequences, which, to some extent, facilitated the development of higher education in South Vietnam during the regime of the Second Republic. A number of unpredicted consequences followed the American presence in South Vietnam in the second half of the twentieth century. This included wholehearted desires of American educators to advance higher education in South Vietnam, the cooperation of the Americans and the French in the area of South Vietnamese education, and the transformation from war allies to educational partners, in which the Federal Republic of Germany was a typical example.

As indicated, in considering the historical situation of South Vietnam in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, the development of higher education was not an aspect, to which the Americans accorded the highest priority. Therefore, the arrival and presence of American educators and experts to assist the higher education development in South Vietnam were considered doubtful by several French-trained scholars. Some researchers and scholars⁶⁷⁹ could accuse the Americans of political intentions in conducting educational projects in South Vietnam. However, in the final analysis, the South Vietnamese higher education in

⁶⁷⁹ See Phong Hiền, *Chủ nghĩa thực dân*.

particular, and South Vietnamese education in general, undeniably benefited enormously from the American assistance. The intellectual empowerment of the South Vietnamese was a sincere desire of American educators. As reported, the model for education in Vietnam “*is nevertheless not an American substitute for a French system. It is designed as a Vietnamese system geared to produce the leaders and educated citizens necessary to attain economic strength through private enterprise and political stability under constitutional democracy*”⁶⁸⁰.

Regarding the two Western models, which were applied to the education system in Vietnam in the twentieth century, one could discover various inspiring phenomena, one being the cooperation and competition of the Americans and the French. In the course of overtaking the French influence on RVN higher education, the Americans had to face more obstacles than their French counterparts did in the first half of the twentieth century. While the French implanted their educational model in Vietnam by their own French-trained staff, the Americans had no other choice but to use French-trained educators and professors, or in some cases, to use French educators to help them to build an American educational model in Vietnam. The French influence on Vietnamese education was apparent and enduring, and it could not be replaced immediately. In addition, the shorter period of American presence in Vietnam in comparison to the French made situation more difficult for the Americans. Until the 1960s, the Americans had to admit that the French educational influence remained significant in education of the South Vietnamese people. Despite experiencing serious challenges in competing with the French education model, the American model did succeed in several aspects, affirming their influences on higher education in South Vietnam. First and foremost was the prominent role of the Americans in the reform period of the RVN higher education system in the 1960s. Concerning this manner, Reich in his thesis concluded that: “*Recommendations for change in higher and other levels of education in South Vietnam were almost completely monopolized by American expertise*”⁶⁸¹. Among numerous proposals to advance higher education in Vietnam in the 1960s, the American proposal was chosen and implemented. Thus, one

⁶⁸⁰ The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Vietnam Feature Service Report (Pubs-016): Forging a New System of Education in Vietnam”, File 1070323001, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

⁶⁸¹ Reich, Thomas Charles, *Higher Education in Vietnam*, 358.

could observe that the manner of organization and management of the RVN higher education system in the second half of the twentieth century was styled after the American model rather than the French model. Reich and his colleagues may argue that the use of American expertise without understanding the cultural and historical background of Vietnam leads to a loss of Vietnamese cultural identity. Yet, due to the leading principle of Vietnamese culture in adopting external influences - the acculturation, which allowed the native culture to select only suitable elements of foreign modes instead of borrowing it entirely. Therefore, the French and American models, in specific, or any other external models in general, could have considerable influences on Vietnamese education, but would not be domineering the native entity. Second, was the introduction of various educational initiatives, which were transferred to South Vietnam by many activities of the Americans educators and experts. As above mentioned, the newly-introduced measures included the autonomy for universities, the modern organization and management, the transformation from a system based on yearly examinations to a credit-based system, the localization in higher education, and the concept of community colleges (see chapters 3, 4, and 5). Third, was the appeal of the United States to South Vietnamese students that influenced their decisions to study abroad. In this aspect, the Americans outscored the French, becoming one of the first preferences of South Vietnamese students in the 1960s and 1970s. Last but not least, was the aspect of cooperation, in which the United States dominated in the size of staff and the number of projects compared to their competitors.

The initial engagement of the Americans in the RVN higher education system can be traced back to the 1950s, however, the most extensive engagement of the United States took place in the period of the Second Republic of Vietnam (1967–1975). The priorities of American educators in advancing education in Vietnam changed during distinctive periods. In the initial years in the mid-1950s, the Americans engaged more in non-academic fields, such as the police and refugee resettlement. In late 1950s, accompanying the non-academic activities, educational programs were started. Since the early 1960s, academic fields enjoyed more attention, consequently, the involvement of the American institutions in advancing RVN education increased, shown by the participation of several important institutions, such as, Michigan State University, Ohio University, and The Asia

Foundation. Nonetheless, only until the late 1960s, did the development of higher education in South Vietnam enjoy a high priority of the Americans. The engaged institutions in this project increased rapidly, including many distinguished and well-known universities in the United States, for instance, Washington State University, Harvard University, Southern Illinois University, Wisconsin State University, University of Missouri-Rolla, University of Florida, Cornell University, and University of Hawaii.

U.S. American influence varied in intensity and quality depending on specific affairs of the three RVN public universities. The Americans influenced both levels - the macro and micro levels of administrative and international cooperation of RVN public universities. In comparison, concerning the academic affairs, their influence remained extensive only at the micro level. American experts, advisors, and educators played a decisive role in assisting the Vietnamese in the formulation and enactment of legislative statutes to advance higher education, as well as in framing the policies of overseas studies and international cooperation of the RVN education system. In the academic affairs, the American influences were diversified in many aspects, for example, regarding the curriculum, the teaching methods, and publications. Nonetheless, these engagements tended to be on projects at the micro level instead of at the macro level as the two above-mentioned topics. Moreover, their influences caused different results in the specific RVN universities in distinctive periods of time. For instance, the University of Huế was given more attention in the period of the late 1960s and early 1970s, while the American assistance for the University of Saigon was less intensive in the same time period. Among the three public universities, the Americans seem to have had more influence on the later created institutions, including the University of Huế and the University of Cần Thơ, compared to the University of Saigon.

The presence of educational counterparts in South Vietnam was an unexpected phenomenon, especially as it appeared in wartime. The study of this phenomenon creates an opportunity for people to explore the Vietnam War from a new perspective. Several Western countries were present in South Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s without participating in any military action. Initially military and political allies cooperated with the United States and the Republic of Vietnam, so that several countries became

educational partners, shouldering the burden of education development, especially higher education in South Vietnam. As demonstrated in this study, the case of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) is proof for this phenomenon. Obviously, conscious people will never seek benefits from wars. Therefore, in discussing the above phenomenon, the author does not intend to justify the Vietnam War in any way. Why do people need to become educational partners in a war condition when they can do that better in a peace time? The above phenomenon was studied to affirm that humanitarian aspirations that can be shown in any situation, even in the times of most brutal hostilities. The humanitarian assistances of foreign educators and officials in Vietnam in the last century were not only due to the political arrangements of war-engaged parties, but rather were from their sincere desires to help people.

Undoubtedly, South Vietnamese and American educators and experts achieved notable results in conducting higher education projects in South Vietnam in the last century. However, the results may not have met their expectations. In the remembrances of former RVN educators and students, RVN education was recalled regretfully. Many factors could be taken into account to explain the limitations and imperfection of the RVN educational system. The first and the most important reason, which hindered the development of higher education, was the war and its dire effects. Former members of the Ohio projects, who served in Vietnam in the 1960s, did confirm the war factor as a crucial cause to every limitation in advancing the RVN higher education system: *“Former project team members shared with the researcher the effects of the war such as frequent travel restrictions placed upon advisors, the lack of funding by the Vietnamese government for full project development, delays in the delivery and shipment of supplies and materials, and the shortage of both material and human resources. The escalation of war also prevented the family members of project advisors from living in Vietnam”*⁶⁸². In agreement with former members of the Ohio projects, experts of Wisconsin State University - Steven Point project were acutely aware the impact of the war: *“While Team members showed very little fear of the wartime conditions, they were conscious of the security risks, delays in the distribution of supplies, destruction of educational facilities,*

⁶⁸² Byron, Michael Cragin, *An Historical Study*, 227.

*and limitations imposed on educational funds”*⁶⁸³. As mentioned in the two above opinions of American former experts, the war caused many shortages and difficulties, including the budget for education development. The lack of finances was another factor which restrained RVN education to achieve more in the 1960s and 1970s. Despite the budget for education increasing year by year, it was incomparable to the enormous amount of means spent for military purposes. In addition, the relations between the United States and the Republic of Vietnam affected the development of RVN education as well. In “honeymoon periods”, the RVN government was able to receive support of the Americans without restrictions. In the time of political conflicts, when the two countries’ leaders could not find agreements, the U.S. American assistance, subsequently, was interrupted or decreased.⁶⁸⁴ Aside from that, several other reasons could be considered in understanding the limitations in developing higher education in South Vietnam in the last century, for instance, the RVN was a newcomer in higher education, the scarcity of professors and lectures, and the limited time of practising a modular educational model.

Enduring influences and educational effects from the system of RVN higher education are de facto legacies. These could be visible, like in the infrastructure of RVN universities, in the human resources, who were educated in that system, and in relationships of Vietnamese with foreign educators and educational institutions. They could be invisible as well, for instance the aspirations towards a progressive higher education and educational initiatives, which were practised in the RVN education system. Visible or invisible, the system of RVN higher education was incorporated into system of higher education of today’s Vietnam and continues, to a certain extent, its mission of modernization.

⁶⁸³ Reich, Thomas Charles, *Higher Education in Vietnam*, 368.

⁶⁸⁴ The cases of Michigan State University in the 1960s and of President Nguyễn Văn Thiệu in the 1970s were examples.

Michigan State University was willing to remain in Vietnam after the expiration of its contract on June 30, 1962, however, due to the dissenting opinions of President Ngô Đình Diệm and the American government in ruling the regime of the Republic of Vietnam, the contract of Michigan States University could not be extended.

Scigliano, Robert and Guy H. Fox, *Technical Assistance in Vietnam*, 12.

In the early 1970s, the opposing attitudes of President Nguyễn Văn Thiệu and President Nixon towards the Paris talks caused the decrease of the U.S. aid to South Vietnam.

See Kolko, Gabriel, *Giải phẫu một cuộc*, 624-627.

The research results of this dissertation are limited due to the fragmentation of documents and the limitation of time. The author considers that many matters of RVN higher education and the American influences require further research, for instance, the participation of other countries in developing higher education in South Vietnam, more details on some specific aspects of RVN public universities, and the activities of RVN private universities and the American influences on those. These matters cannot be resolved in a single dissertation or a single research effort but call for long term research of many scholars. I hope this dissertation would serve other researchers as their starting point for further investigations.

Appendices

Appendix 1, Chapter 2

The U.S. Institutions Engaged in Summer Training in 1960

University	Department/Project	Offering Courses	Project Time
Boston University	Summer Program in Asian Studies	Courses on Asia in history	July 11 – August 20, 1960
Brooklyn College	Summer Session Far Eastern Studies	History of China; Education and the World Community	July 1-August 4, 1960
Bucknell University	Institute for Asian Studies	Lectures and seminars on China and Japan	June 27-August 5, 1960
University of California	East Asia Teacher Training Program	History and Civilization of the Far East Special Summer Program on India	June 20 – July 29, 1960
University of Chicago	Summer Program on South Asia	Courses on India in history, language, and political science	June 20-August 27, 1960
University of Colorado	Asian Studies Institute	Courses on Asia in anthropology, history, and other fields of study	June 17 – August 26, 1960
Duke University	Summer Program in Asian Studies	Courses in history and political science with emphasis on Japan	June 10- July 15, 1960
University of Florida	Summer Program on the Non-Western World	Lecture courses on the non-Western world; parallel discussion groups on East, South, and West Asia	June 21 – August 8, 1960
University of Hawaii	Summer Institute on Asian Studies	Interdisciplinary seminar and course on Asia in anthropology, economics, government, history, literature, philosophy, and other fields of study	June 20 – July 29, 1960

Indian University	Institute on the Far East and the Soviet Union	Courses on Asia in geography, government, and history	June 15 – August 12, 1960
Iowa State Teachers College	Summer Program on Asia	Courses: Oriental Civilization; Modern History of the Far East; Seminar on Asian Studies for Elementary and Secondary School Teachers	June 13 – August 5, 1960
State University of Iowa	Summer Institute on the Far East	Courses: Survey of the Far East; Survey of India and Pakistan; Great Books of India and China; additional courses in geography and government	June 13 – August 10, 1960
University of Kansas	Summer Institute on Asia	Courses: Modernization of China and Japan; Southeast Asia in Modern Times; Readings in Asian History for High School Teachers	June 13 – August 6, 1960
Long Island University	Summer Institute on Asia and the Modern World	Lectures and discussions on East and Southeast Asia and the Soviet and American positions in Asia	July 5-29, 1960
Michigan State University	Fifth Annual Asia Institute	Courses on Asia in Geography, economics, history, language, and literature	June 23 – July 28, 1960
University of Michigan	Summer Program in Asian Studies	Courses: Survey of Asia (interdisciplinary); courses on Asia in geography, art, history, literature,	June 20 – July 28, 1960

		and other fields of study	
University of Nebraska	Far Eastern Institute	Courses: Far Eastern Politics; Seminars in International Relations; History of Confucian China; Proseminar of Japan, Problems of Democracy	June 6 – July 29, 1960
New York State University College of Education	Program of Non-Western Studies	World Study Center Seminars on Asia and Africa	July 5 – August 12, 1960
New York State University College of Education	Summer Session Non-Western Studies	Courses: History of Chinese Civilization, Background on Africa and the Middle East	July 5 – August 12, 1960
Northern Illinois University	Summer Institute in Asian Civilization	General Seminar in Asian Studies	June 19 – August 11, 1960
University of Oregon	Summer World Affairs Program	Seminar on South Asia	June 20-July 13, 1960
University of Pennsylvania	Summer Program in South Asia Regional Studies	Course on Indian Civilization, geography and languages	June 27 – August 5, 1960
University of Rochester	Summer Institute on Non-Western Civilizations	Teachers' course in Non-Western Civilizations (China, Japan, India); Geography of Asia; History of Contemporary Far East	June 27- August 5, 1960
Rutgers University	Summer Institute on Asia	Lectures and seminar discussion on Asia in economics, geography history, political science, and other fields of study	June 27 – August 5, 1960
Seton Hall University	Summer Program in Far Eastern Studies	Courses in history, philosophy, and	July 5 - August 12, 1960

		Far Eastern languages	
Southern Illinois University	Asian Studies Program	Courses on Asia in anthropology, economics, government, and history	June 20 -August 12, 1960
Stanford University	Summer Program in East Asian Studies	Graduate Seminar in East Asian Studies, additional courses in anthropology, geography, history, and other fields of study	June 20 – August 13, 1960
Syracuse University	Summer Program of Asian Studies	History of Japan, Cultural Patterns in Japan; History of India; Cultural Pattern in India	July 5 – August 12, 1960
University of Washington	Far Eastern and Russian Institute	Courses: The Far East in the Modern World; Modern Chinese History; Modern Japanese History, Chinese Government, American Foreign Policy in the Far East	June 20 – August 19, 1960
University of Wisconsin	China Area Summer Program for Teachers	Courses: Civilization of China; Chinese Imaginative Literature; Recent Chinese History, Fine Arts of China.	June 20 – August 13, 1960
Yale University	Summer Language Institute	Courses on East Asia in history, literature, and language	June 27 – August 19, 1960

Source: The Virtual Vietnam Archive, “Summer Programs on Asia for In-Service Teachers and Other Community Leaders”, 1960, File 1781215015, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

Appendix 2, Chapter 4

**Undergraduate Tuition and Required Fees
for State Residents of Public Four-Year Institutions**

Unit: US\$

Institutions	1971–1972	1972–1973	1973–1974
Auburn University	450	450	525
University of Alaska	322	402	472
University of Arizona	350	411	411
University of Arkansas	375	400	400
University of California	640	644	644
Colorado State University	567	570	778
University of Connecticut	655	655	715
University of Delaware	425	475	585
University of Florida	570	570	570
University of Georgia	485	519	539
University of Hawaii, Manoa	233	233	223
University of Idaho	346	356	380
Southern Illinois University, Carbondale	564	579	579
Indiana University	650	650	682
Iowa State University	600	600	600
Kansa State University	476	476	526
University of Kentucky	330	405	480
Louisiana State University	320	320	320
University of Maine, main campus	562	562	562
University of Maryland, main campus	599	639	698
University of Massachusetts	412	469	520

Michigan State University	630	675	720
University of Minnesota, main campus	600	641	683
Mississippi State University	492	506	506
University of Missouri	500	540	540
University of Montana	471	471	487
University of Nebraska	534	534	534
University of Nevada	519	519	519
University of New Hampshire	1084	1034	984
Rutgers University, main campus	470	655	725
New Mexico State University	466	466	466
State University of New York, university campuses	575	740-890	750-900
University of North Carolina, main campus	402	422	439
North Dakota State University	435	435	435
Ohio State University	720	750	750
Oklahoma State University	476	484	484
University of Oregon	528	534	566
Temple University	970	970	1050
University of Rhode Island	761	761	761
University of South Carolina	550	570	570

University of South Dakota	468	500	554
University of Tennessee	378	399	399
Texas Tech University	252	290	290
University of Utah	480	480	480
University of Vermont	1078	1086	1088
University of Virginia, main campus	542	597	622
University of Washington	495	564	564
West Virginia University	292	310	310
University of Wisconsin	550	558	573-628
University of Wyoming	391	411	411

Source: Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, *Tuition, A Supplemental Statement to the Report of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education on "Who Pays? Who Benefits Who Should Pay?"*, Berkeley, CA, 1974, 53-60.

Appendix 3, Chapter 5

**Teaching Staff of the Faculty of Letters,
the University of Saigon in the 1957–1958 School Year**

Nr.	Professors	Trained Majors	Subjects
1	Nguyễn Huy Bảo	Bachelor of Letters	Sociology
2	Francis Baulier	Doctor of Letters	French Literature and Linguistics
3	Nguyễn Văn Bình	Bachelor of Sinology	Vietnamese Literature and Sinology
4	Bernard Clergerie	Master of Laws Doctor of Laws	Psychology and Sociology
5	Michel Jean Charles Marie Cras	Scholar	Philosophy
6	Robert Crawford	Doctor of Laws	English
7	Bửu Dương	Doctor of Theology	Philosophy
8	Jean Jacques Dunn	x	English and English Custom
9	Raymond Eches	Diplômé du Musée de l'homme. Chargé de Recherches ethnographiques	Geography
10	Kenneth Filshie	Diploma of Education (Bachelor of Education)	English
11	André Gaultier	Doctor of Philosophy	Philosophy
12	André Gélinas	Bachelor of Philosophy	Historiography
13	Nguyễn Sỹ Giác	Doctor of Sinology	Chinese Literature
14	Nguyễn Đình Hoà	Ph.D at the New York University	English Linguistics
15	Nguyễn Khắc Hoạch	Doctor of Letters	French and Vietnamese Literature
16	Adrient Jaffe	Ph.D at the New York University	English and American Literature
17	Nguyễn Văn Kiệt	Bachelor of Letters	French Literature

18	Nguyễn Khắc Kham	Bachelor of Letters and Bachelor of Laws	Linguistics and Vietnamese (Văn tự Việt Nam)
19	Claude Larre	Bachelor of Letters and Philosophy	Philosophy and Historiography
20	Trương Bửu Lâm	Doctor of Letters and Philosophy	Historiography
21	Yves Le Men	Master of Letters	French Literature
22	Hoàng Gia Linh	Doctor of Letters	English
23	Lê Văn Lý	Doctor of Letters	Vietnamese Linguistics
24	Võ Văn Lúa	Bachelor of Letters	French Literature
25	Alexandre	Master of English Literature Doctor of Literature	English and French Literature
26	Trần Văn Hiến Minh	Bachelor of Philosophy	Philosophy
27	Anne Monavon	Bachelor of Psychology	Psychology
28	Rex Keith Moss	Bachelor of Education	English Literature
29	Ngô Mạnh Nghinh	Bachelor of Sinology	Vietnamese and Chinese Literature
30	Jacques Pezeu	Master of Geography	Geography
31	Etiennette Poirson	Master of Literature	French Literature
32	Thảm Quỳnh	Bachelor of Sinology	Vietnamese Literature and Chinese Literature
33	Maurice Stegre	Bachelor of Geography	Geography
34	Đoàn Quan Tấn	Bachelor of Literature	French Literature
35	Nghiêm Toàn	Graduated at the Indochinese School of Pedagogy	Vietnamese Literature
36	Bùi Quang Tùng	Member of EFEO (École française d'Extrême-Orient)	Historiography
37	Nguyễn Văn Thích	Scholar	Chinese Literature
38	Ứng Thiều	Bachelor of Sinology	Chinese Literature
39	Nguyễn Đăng Thục	Writer	Philosophy and Vietnamese Literature
40	Lê Ngọc Trụ	Member of EFEO	Vietnamese Dictation

		(École française d'Extrême-Orient)	(Chính tả Việt Nam)
41	Sidney Francis Whitaker	Master of Modern Languages	English Literature
42	Warren Yates	Doctor of Linguistics	English Literature

Source: “Ban Giảng Huấn”, *Đông Việt*, số 6 (1999): 5-6.

Appendix 4, Chapter 6

**List of Students Received the One-Year National Scholarships
in the First Selection in 1972–1973**

Số T.T Nr.	Họ và Tên Ngày và nơi sinh sinh viên (Candidates' name)	Họ và Tên Cha mẹ sinh viên (Parents' name)	Trường, ngành, lớp theo học (Major/Unive rsity)	Nơi du học (Destination)	Định xuất học bổng hàng tháng (Amount)
1	Ô. Trần Ngọc Hung 1-7-1954 Nha Trang	Cha: Trần Mộng Châu Mẹ: Trần Thị Ngộ	Universit de Sherbrooke. Bus. Adminis	Gia Nã Đại (Canada)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
2	Ô. Lê Quang Hân 25-8-1955 Huế	Cha: Lê Thúc Huyền Mẹ: Tống Thị Tường Vi	Georgetown University Hoá học	Hoa Kỳ (The United States)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
3	Ô. Đỗ Văn Thành 15.5.1954 Sài Gòn	Cha: Đỗ Văn Lưỡng Mẹ: Trần Thị Y	Cơ khí Sau khoá học Ý ngữ	Ý Đại Lợi (Italy)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
4	Ô. Nguyễn Xuân Dũng 17.9.1954 Đà Nẵng	Cha: Nguyễn Xuân Dương Mẹ: Nguyễn Thị Minh Huệ	Texas Tech University Mathematics	Hoa Kỳ (The United States)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
5	Ô. Lê Văn Kinh 13-4-1954 Gia Định	Cha: Lê Văn Đại Mẹ: Trần Thị Ba	Fac. Universitairo Catholique de Mons. Sc. Econ. App	Bi (Belgium)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
6	Ô. Đào Trọng Son 25.12.1954 Gia Định	Cha: Đào Trọng Hiếu Mẹ: Dương Thị Quỳnh	Điện tử Sau khoá học Đức học	Tây Đức (West Germany)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
7	Ô. Nguyễn Đức Khang 19.5.1954 Nam Định	Cha: Nguyễn Văn Thủy Mẹ: Nguyễn Thị Ôn	Cơ khí Sau khoa học Ý ngữ	Ý Đại Lợi (Italy)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
8	Cô. Chung Minh Tâm 21.6.1954 Sài Gòn	Cha: Chung Xương Mẹ: Võ Thị Thanh	Monterey Penninsula College Pre Medicine	Hoa Kỳ (The United States)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
9	Cô. Ngụy Thị Thanh Hương 24.2.1954 Sài Gòn	Cha: Ngụy Văn Thông (c) Mẹ: Nguyễn Thị Là	Ngân hàng kế toán Sau khoá học Ý ngữ	Ý Đại Lợi (Italy)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)

10	Cô. Đông Tiểu Niên 28.1.1954 Sài Gòn	Cha: Đông Kiều Mẹ: Dư Đào Sanh	Y khoa Sau khoá học Ý ngữ	Ý Đại Lợi (Italy)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
11	Ô. Trần Công Thiện 25.2.1954 Gia Định	Cha: Trần Văn Huê Mẹ: Phạm Thị Cẩm	Cơ khí Sau khoá học Nhật ngữ	Nhật Bản (Japan)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
12	Cô. Hoa Thị Thu 12.1.1953 Kiên An	Cha: Hoa Tính Kỳ Mẹ: Đào Thị Thanh	California State University Long Beach, Health Sc.	Hoa Kỳ (The United States)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
13	Cô. Lê Nữ Thị Hoà Hiệp 19.10.1953 Đà Nẵng	Cha: Lê Văn Huế Mẹ: Hồ Thị Tương	Univ. Du Québec à Montreal- Chimie	Gia Nã Đại (Canada)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
14	Ô. Trần Anh Trục 11.11.1954 Sài Gòn	Cha: Trần Kim Phô Mẹ: Lê Thị Năm	Kỹ nghệ thuỷ tinh Sau khoá học Đức ngữ	Tây Đức (West Germany)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
15	Cô. Nguyễn Thị Hiền 11.6.1957 Hà Nội	Cha: Nguyễn Thế Nghệ Mẹ: Phạm Thị Đường	Kỹ nghệ thực phẩm Sau khoá học Đức ngữ	Tây Đức (West Germany)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
16	Ô. Trần Minh Châu 4.8.1954 Bình Định	Cha: Trần Ngô Mẹ: Huỳnh Thị Sáu	Cơ khí Sau khoá học Ý ngữ	Ý Đại Lợi (Italy)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
17	Ô. Phạm Văn Vĩnh 8.1.1954 Thái Bình	Cha: Phạm Văn Bá Mẹ: Đỗ Thị Huê	Công nghệ Sau khoá học Ý ngữ	Ý Đại Lợi (Italy)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
18	Ô. Nguyễn Trương Danh 15.3.1953 Sadec (QGNT)	Cha: Nguyễn Văn Điền (c) Mẹ: Trương Bửu Châu	Hoá học Sau khoá học Ý ngữ	Ý Đại Lợi (Italy)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
19	Ô. Lê Ngọc Thọ 24.4.1954 Quảng Nam	Cha: Lê Ngọc Việt Mẹ: Đỗ Thị Tuân	Université du Québec à Chicoutimi Génie électrique	Gia Nã Đại (Canada)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
20	Cô. Phí Thị Lan Hương 14.5.1953 Hà Nội (QGNT)	Cha: Phí Ngọc Tuyển (c) Mẹ: Cao Thị Lan	Hoá học Sau khoá học Đức ngữ	Tây Đức (West Germany)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)

21	Ô. Đinh Anh Tuấn 26.4.1954 Thái Bình	Cha: Đinh Văn Vĩnh Mẹ: Lại Thị Hoà	Middle Tennessee State University Khoa học hay Cơ khí	Hoa Kỳ (The United States)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
22	Ô. Phạm Ngọc Bích 26.10.1954 Đà Lạt	Cha: Phạm Văn Phúc Mẹ: Phùng Thị Ngọc Kim	Ecole Polytechnique de Montreal	Gia Nã Đại (Canada)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
23	Cô. Trần Thị Bạch Liên 29.3.1954 Quảng Nam	Cha: Trần Văn Phước Mẹ: Dư Thục Anh	Université Québec à Montreal Chimie	Gia Nã Đại (Canada)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
24	Ô. Lê Thanh Phong 7.8.1954 Bình Thuận	Cha: Lê Thanh Hải (c) Mẹ: Trần Thị Oanh	Kiến trúc Thiết kế đô thị Sau khoá học Ý ngữ	Ý Đại Lợi (Italy)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
25	Ô. Mai Văn San 27.5.1954 Gia Định	Cha: Mai Văn Thính Mẹ: Dương Thị Diệu	Y khoa Sau khoá học Ý ngữ	Ý Đại Lợi (Italy)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
26	Ô. Trần Văn Hiên 24.1.1954 Sài Gòn	Cha: Trần Văn Ngôn Mẹ: Dương Thị Vinh	Ranger Junior College, Texas Economics	Hoa Kỳ (The United States)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
27	Ô. Trần Hữu Đạm 11.3.1954 Sài Gòn	Cha: Trần Hữu Đài Mẹ: Đinh Thị Nhung	Điện, Điện tử Sau khoá học Đức ngữ	Tây Đức (West Germany)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
28	Ô. Phạm Hoà 5.10.1954 Sài Gòn	Cha: Phạm Minh (c) Mẹ: Huỳnh Thị Dung	... Computer Science	Hoa Kỳ (The United States)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
29	Cô. Văn Thị Hồng Viên 23.10.1954 Sài Gòn	Cha: Văn Hữu Kim Mẹ: Trần Thị Vân	Kỹ sư Hoá học Institut d'Enseigt Technique. Sup. de l'Etat à Verviers	Bi (Belgium)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
30	Cô. Tô Thị Sênh 10.7.1953 Thái Bình	Cha: Tô Xuân Dậu Mẹ: Nguyễn Thị Loan	Y khoa Sau khoá học Nhật ngữ tại Tokyo	Nhật Bản (Japan)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
31	Cô. Hà Thanh Hương	Cha: Hà Thanh Huê	Hoá học	Nhật Bản (Japan)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)

	21.4.1953 Sadec	Mẹ: Phạm Thị Trinh	Sau khoá học Nhật ngữ tại Tokyo		
32	Ô. Phạm Thế Minh 7.9.1954 Hà Nội	Cha: Phạm Gia Lan (c) Mẹ: Nguyễn Thị Ngoan	Hawaii Pacific College Business Administratio n	Hoa Kỳ (The United States)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
33	Ô. Phạm Quang Tập 18.7.1954 Kiến An	Cha: Phạm Văn Sước Mẹ: Nguyễn Thị Tía	Cơ khí Sau khoá học Ý ngữ	Ý Đại Lợi (Italy)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
34	Ô. Cao Hữu Hải 1.5.1954 Huế	Cha: Cao Hữu Đồng Mẹ: Đinh Thị Xuân Phước	Vật lý, Công chánh University de Lausanne	Thụy Sĩ (Switzerland)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
35	Ô. Lương Thế Vinh 24.12.1954 Sài Gòn	Cha: Lương Văn Sang Mẹ: Phạm Thị Nam	Kỹ sư Hoá học Sau khoá học Ý ngữ	Ý Đại Lợi (Italy)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
36	Cô. Nguyễn Thị Ngọc Trinh 15.7.1953 Định Tường	Cha: Nguyễn Văn Hôn Mẹ: Huỳnh Thị Phùng	Y khoa Sau khóa Nhật ngữ tại Tokyo	Nhật Bản (Japan)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
37	Ô. Chiêm Đạo Quốc 24.6.1954 Sài Gòn	Cha: Chiêm Tôn Danh (c) Mẹ: Thái Diệu Sung	Inst. d'Enseit. Tech Sup. de l'Etat à Verviers Kỹ sư Điện tử	Bi (Belgium)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
38	Ô. Trần Văn Long 6.3.1954 Quảng Bình	Cha: Trần Văn Lộc Mẹ: Trương Thị Mẫu (c)	Hamline. University Minnesota Kỹ sư cơ khí	Hoa Kỳ (The United States)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
39	Ô. Lê Phước An 14.3.1954 Đà Nẵng	Cha: Lê Văn Thanh Mẹ: Ngô Thị Hường	Kỹ sư cơ khí	Úc Đại Lợi (Australia)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
40	Cô. Huỳnh Thị Bích Lan 5.9.1953 Sadec	Cha: Huỳnh Thị Ngọc Sung Mẹ: Nguyễn Thị Thường	Y khoa Sau khoá học Ý ngữ	Ý Đại Lợi (Italy)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
41	Ô. Vũ Liên Thắng 22.1.1954 Nam Định	Cha: Vũ Đình Tuyển Mẹ: Bùi Thị Tý	Điện tử Sau khoá học Nhật ngữ tại Tokyo	Nhật Bản (Japan)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)

42	Cô. Trần Thị Cẩm Vân 11.12.1954 Định Tường	Cha: Trần Văn Tân Mẹ: Lê Thị Mừng	Tơ, sợi, dệt, Sau khoá học Ý ngữ	Ý Đại Lợi (Italy)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
43	Ô. Tạ Văn Khánh 29.9.1954 Hải Phòng	Cha: Tạ Văn Dương Mẹ: Phạm Thị Loan	Điện, Điện tử, Sau khoá học Đức ngữ tại Heidelberg	Tây Đức (West Germany)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
44	Cô. Nguyễn Thị Mai 19.7.1954 Hà Nội	Cha: Nguyễn Đình Quý Mẹ: Nguyễn Thị Phương (c)	Bách khoa hay Hoá học Sau khoá học Ý ngữ	Ý Đại Lợi (Italy)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
45	Ô. Nguyễn Văn Luyện 27.3.1954 Ban Mê Thuột	Cha: Nguyễn Thuần Mẹ: Lê Thị Kiên	Y khoa Sau khoá học Ý ngữ	Ý Đại Lợi (Italy)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
46	Cô. Lương Thị Thanh Hà 25.4.1953 Sài Gòn	Cha: Lương Ngọc Tuyên Mẹ: Nguyễn Thị Miên	Kỹ sư Hoá học Sau khoá học Ý ngữ	Ý Đại Lợi (Italy)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
47	Ô. Vương Đắc Mẫn 6.1.1954 Hà Nội	Cha: Vương Đắc Thế Mẹ: Từ Nam Chân	Kỹ sư Hoá học Sau khoá học Đức ngữ	Tây Đức (West Germany)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)
48	Ô. Đặng Thọ Hằng 17.2.1954 Thừa Thiên	Cha: Đặng Biêu Mẹ: La Thuý Hà	Kỹ sư Hoá học Engineering Portland State University	Hoa Kỳ (The United States)	150\$/tháng (\$150/month)

Source: “Tài liệu của PTT, Bộ Giáo dục về vấn đề học bổng du học năm 1972”, Hồ sơ số 3752, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

Appendix 5, Chapter 6

List of Holders of U.S Doctoral Degree in Vietnam

Table 1: Participants Sponsored by USAID/ Office of Education Reported in 1973

Nr	Name	Date of Depart And Return	Training Activity	Degree	Cost	Present Assignment
1	Mr. Vu Duc Bang 1931 – Nghe An	Sept.67 -Dec.71	English	Ph.D/California	\$26,500	Saigon, Pedagogy 40-D Phan Liem, Saigon
2	Miss Duong Thanh Binh 1933	Sept. 60 -Oct.65	English	Ed.D/ Columbia	\$24,550	Saigon, Pedagogy 386/79 Truong Minh Giang, SG
3	Mr. Nguyen Quy Bong	Aug.59 -Aug.60	Teacher Education	M.A/Peabody	\$6,730	Voc. Teacher Training School 320/2-B Tran Binh Trong, Saigon
	?	Dec. 65 -Sept.67	Teacher Education	Ph.D/ Peabody	\$11,000	
4	Mr. Le Thanh Minh Chau 1928 - Hue	Sept.62 -Oct.67	English Literature	Ph.D/ Chicago	\$30,700	Rector, Hue University
5	Mr. Tran Phuoc Duong 1932 – Sa Dec	Sept. 67 -April 72	Soil Microbiology	Ph.D/ MSU	\$28,000	Can Tho, Science 1/3 Hoa Binh, Can Tho
6	Mr. Nguyen Huy Giao 1922 - Laos	Sept.58 -March 62	Edu. Psychology	M.A/Columbia	\$28,000	Saigon, Letters 14 Tran Quy Cap, Saigon
7	Mr. Nguyen Thanh Hai	Sept. 59 -June 64	Veterinary Sciences	DVM/Pennsylvania	\$24,540	Director, NAC

	1939 - Hanoi					169 Phan Dinh Phung, Saigon
8	Mr. Luu Trong Hieu 1939 – Gia Dinh	Jan.65 -Feb.69	Animal Husbandry	Ph.D/Maryl and	\$18,500	NAC 47/2 Ngo Duc Ke, Saigon
9	Mr. Nguyen Dinh Hoan 1929 – Quang Tri	Sept. 59 -July 63	School Administrati on	Ed.D/ Columbia	\$17,500	Hue, Pedagogy 55 Tu Duc, Saigon
10	Miss Dao Thi Hoi 1935 – Hung Yen	Sept. 60 -Oct.65	English	Ed.D/ Columbia	\$24,550	Saigon, Pedagogy 214/21G Tran Quang Khai, Saigon
11	Miss Phung Thi Nguyet Hong 1942 – Bac Lieu	Sept.68 -April 73	Biological Sc.Ed	Ph.D/MSU	\$27,610	Can Tho, Pedagogy 14/5 Hai Ba Trung, Can Tho
12	Mr. Huynh Huynh 1941- Quang Nam	March 65 -Feb.69	Edu. Measuremen & Statistics	Ph.D/ Iowa	\$20,500	Saigon, Science 351/46 Truong Minh Giang, Saigon
13	Mr. Buu Khai 1932 - Hue	Sept. 67 -Aug.72	Linguistics	Ph.D/ Georgetown	\$27,950	Saigon, Letters 191 Hai Ba Trung, Saigon
14	Mr. Chau Van Khe 1939, Phnom Penh	Sept. 59 -Sept.64	Agricultural Engineering	M.S/ Florida	\$25,840	NAC 89/9 Do Thanh Nhon, Saigon
		Sept. 69 -Feb.71	Agricultural Engineering	Ph.D/ California	\$20,680	
15	Mr. Do Ba Khe 1922 – My Tho	Sept.65 -July 70	Junior Coll. Admin.	Ph.D/ S. California	\$26,500	Vice Minister, MOE 55 Tu Duc, Saigon

16	Mr. Nguyen Duc Kien 1930 – Thua Thien	Sept. 64 -June 69	Edu. Administration	Ph.D/ Syracuse	\$24,000	Hue, Pedagogy 19/22 Ly Thuong Kiet, Hue
17	Mr. Dao Kim 1940 – Ha Noi	Nov.62 -Feb.64	Mech. Engineering	M.S/ Illinois	\$8,950	NTC 166/93/30 Luc Tinh, Saigon
		Aug.67 -June 72	Mech. Engineering	Ph.D/ Wisconsin	\$28,500	
18	Miss Bui Thi Lang 1936 – Ninh Binh	Sept.60 -Oct.64	Marine Biology	Ph.D/ California	\$21,200	Saigon, Science 425/47 Phan Dinh Phung, Saigon
19	Miss Nguyen Bich Lieu 1940- Cho Lon	Jan.66 -Oct.71	Entomology	Ph.D/ Louisiana St.	\$11,500	NAC 67 Cu xa Do Thanh, Saigon
20	Miss Phan My Linh 1936- Chau Doc	Sept.67 -Feb.72	Bio-Chemistry	Ph.D/MSU	\$26,100	Can Tho, Science 9/3 Nguyen An Ninh, Can Tho
21	Mr. Hua Vang Loc 1941 – Sa Dec	Sept. 67 -Aug.72	Chemistry	Ph.D/MSU	\$26,400	Can Tho, Science
22	Mr. Le Dinh Long 1938 – Ninh Binh	Sept. 67 -Jan. 73	Chemistry	Ph.D/MSU	\$29,600	Can Tho, Science 6/5 Nguyen Thai Hoc, Can Tho
23	Mr. Nguyen Dang Long 1937 – Go Cong	Jan.65 -April 70	Plant Pathology	Ph.D/ Louisiana	\$25,000	NAC 187 Minh Mang, Saigon
24	Mr. Chau Tam Luan 1939 - Saigon	July 60 -Aug.65	Agricultural Economics	Ph.D/ Illinois	\$18,600	NAC 95 Tu Duc, Saigon

25	Mrs. Duong Thi Mai 1917 – Go Cong	Jan. 59 -July 62	Plant Physiology	Ph.D/ Purdue	\$23,100	Saigon, Science 274 Cong Ly, Saigon
26	Mr. Tran Quang Minh 1938 – Chau Doc	Jan.59 -June 64	Vet. Medicine	DVM/ Oklahoma	\$30,800	NAC 4D Hung Vuong, Gia Dinh
27	Mr. Phung Trung Ngan 1929 - Saigon	Sept.60 -July 63	Biology	Ph.D/ Washington	\$17,500	Saigon, Science 62 Dinh Tien Hoang, Saigon
28	Mr. Tran Chung Ngoc 1931 - Saigon	Nov.66 -Sept.72	Physics	Ph.D/ Wisconsin	\$32,300	Saigon, Science, 108 Cu xa Cach Mang, Saigon
29	Mr. Bui The Phiet 1939- Saigon	Jan.59 -March 72	Bio- Chemistry	Ph.D/ Purdue	\$30,900	Vice Minister's Office
30	Mr. Huynh Van Quang 1936 – Long An	Nov. 66 -Jan.72	Edu. Psychology	Ph.D/SIU	\$25,100	Saigon, Pedagogy 4 Lu Gia, Saigon
31	Mrs. Le Tue Quang 1935 – Ha Noi	Sept.60 -July 63	Biology	Ph.D/Washi ngton	\$17,500	Saigon, Science 62 Dinh Tien Hoang, Saigon
32	Mr. Vu Thuong Quat 1944- Thai Binh	Aug.62 -Aug.70	Elect. Engineering	Ph.D/ Cal.Tech.	\$46,000	NTC 38 Hien Vuong, Saigon
33	Mr. Truong Ngoc Quy 1940 – Ha Noi	Oct.59 -July 65	Civil Engineering	M.S/ Columbia	\$16,000	NTC 62/5 Lu Gia, Saigon
		Aug.67 -Feb.71	Civil Engineering	Ph.D/ Vanderbilt	\$21,950	

34	Mr. Chu Pham Ngoc Son 1936 - Gia Dinh	Oct.59 -Sept.62	Physical Chemistry	Ph.D/ Delaware	\$16,300	Saigon, Science 57 Duy Tan, Saigon
35	Mr. Nguyen Van Tan 1939 – Ha Nam	Aug.60 -Aug.64	Agronomy	M.S/Florida	\$15,500	NAC 595/57 Phan Dinh Phung, Saigon
		Sept.67 -Jan.73	Genetics	Ph.D/ California	\$18,240	
36	Mr. Huynh Dinh Te 1929 – Hue	Sept. 58 -Aug.62	English	Ph.D/ Columbia	\$20,500	SEAMEO
37	Mr. Hoang Ngoc Thanh 1926 – Phu Yen	Oct. 58 -Dec.59	Edu. Administrati on	M.A/ Philippines	\$3,200	Saigon, Pedagogy & Letters 612/141/4 Phan Dinh Phung, Saigon
38	Mr. Nguyen Van Thuy 1934 – Can Tho	Sept.67 -Dec.71	Botany	Ph.D/MSU	\$21,200	Vice Minister’s Office 505/TK 13/15 Tran Hung Dao
39	Mr. Nguyen Duc Tien 1926 – Ninh Binh	Sept. 67 -July 72	Geography	Ph.D/MSU	\$26,900	Saigon, Letters 261 Ton Dan, Saigon
40	Mr. Nguyen Thanh Toan 1938 - Hue	Sept.62 -Feb.64	Civil Engineering	M.S/ Illinois	\$8,900	NTC
41	Mr. Trinh Toan 1940 – Ha Noi	Jan.66 -April 72	Chemistry	Ph.D/ Wisconsin	\$27,500	Saigon, Science 74 Hai Ba Trung, Saigon
42	Mr. Duong	Aug.62 -Sept.63	Teacher Education	M.A/Ohio	\$11,200	Saigon, Pedagogy

	Thieu Tong 1925 – Ha Dong					528/17/7 Truong Minh Giang
		Jan.67 -Oct.68	Teacher Education	Ph.D/ Columbia	\$11,500	
43	Mrs. Tang Thi Thanh Trai 1928 – Binh Thuan	Sept.62 -Sept.64	Political Science	Ph.D/ Columbia	\$29,700	Hue, Law
44	Mr. Le Ba Tuan 1939 – Binh Thuan	Sept.62 -Sept.64	Elect. Engineering	M.S/ Bradley	\$10,900	NTC 47 Phat Diem, Saigon
		Aug.67 -Oct.71	Ind. Electronics	Ph.D/Ohio St	\$22,950	

Table 2: Participants Sponsored by Other USAID Technical Divisions Reported in 1971

Nr	Name	Date of Depart and Return	Training Activity	Degree	Present Assignment
1	Nguyen Huu Chi	July 61 -Jan. 65	Political Science	Ph.D/MSU	NIA
2	Vu Quy Dai	July 60 Sept. 64	Microbiology	Ph.D/ Jefferson Medical Coll.	Saigon, Medicine
3	Nghiem Thi Hoa	Sept.61 – Aug.64	Dental Surgegy	DDS/Georgetown	Saigon, Dentistry
4	Nguyen Manh Hung	July 60 March 65	Political Science	Ph.D/Virginia	NIA
5	Luong Thi Ky	Dec.58 Oct. 62	Political Science	Ph.D/MSU	Foreign Affairs
6	Mrs. Truong Hoang Lem	Aug.66 – April. 70	Public Administration	Ph.D/Southern Cal. Univ	NIA
7	Nguyen Khac Minh	Sept. 60 July.65	Anesthesiology	Ph.D/U. of Montreal & Wash. Medical Center	Saigon, Medicine
8	Do Quang Nang	June 62 – July 65	Economics	Ph.D/ Columbia	NIA

9	Nguyen Xuan Oanh	July 52 – Sept.53	Economics	Ph.D/ Havard	Movie Producer 68 Duy Tan
10	Bui Duy Tam	June 61 – Sept. 64	Physiology	Ph.D/U of Cal., Berkeley	Hue, Dean Fac. Of Medicine
11	Ta Van Tai	July 60 – April 65	Political Science	Ph.D/Virginia	NIA
12	Tran Qui Than	June 58 – May 63	Economics	Ph.D/Cornell	Private Business
13	Tran Ngoc Tieng	Jan. 59 – July 62	Pharmacy	Ph.D/Purdue	Saigon, Pharmacy
14	Nguyen Quoc Tri	Jan. 66 – Sept. 69	Political Science	Ph.D/USC	NIA
15	Nguyen Duy Xuan	Sept.57 – Oct.63	Economics	Ph.D/Vanderbilt	Rector, Cantho
16	Nguyen Hai Binh	1969	Economics	Ph.D/Pittsburg	Vice Minister Ministry of Agriculture
17	Nguyen Duc Nguyen		Medicine	M.D	Faculty of Medicine, Saigon

Table 3: Participants Sponsored by Private Agencies or Self-Financed Basis

Nr	Name	Degree	Date	Training Activity	Present Assignment
1	Dang Dinh Ang	Ph.D/Cal. Institute of Technology	1959	Mathematics	Saigon, Fac. Of Science
2	Mrs. Truong Thi Bach	Ph.D/NY.U		Medicine	Saigon, Fac. Of Medicine
3	Hoang Tien Bao	Ph.D/Phila. University	1966	Orthopedic Surgey	Saigon, Fac. Of Medicine 9 Suong Nguyet Anh, Saigon
4	Nguyen Tu Ban	Ph.D/MSU	1964	Physics	Senator Saigon, Science
5	Le Van Diem	Ph.D/Minesota	1960	American Lit.	Cantho, Dean Fac. Of Letters
6	Miss Nguyen Thi Hue	Ph.D/MSU		Political Science	NIA
7	Nguyen Nhan	Ph.D/MSU	1963	Social Psychology	Not in Vietnam

8	Bui Tien Rung	Ph.D/US Naval Post Graduate School		Elect. Engineering	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
9	Nguyen Huy Phuong	Ph.D			Science, Saigon
10	Brother Mai Van Tam	Ph.D/The Catholic Univ. of America Washington D.C		Elementary Teacher Education	Pedagody, Saigon
11	Father Vu Minh Thai	Ph.D/NYU	Nov.1970	Psychology	University of Dalat
12	Tran Kim Thach	Ph.D	Geology		?, Saigon
13	Phan Ngoc The	Ph.D/Iowa State College	1960	Civil Engineering	?
14	Nguyen Van Tho	DDS/Northwestern University		Dental Surgey	Dean, Fac. Of Dent., Saigon
15	Pham Van Thuyet	Ph.D/U. Penn	1967	Economics	Law, Saigon
16	Do Kim Thuc	Ph.D/ U.S Naval Post, Graduate School	1968	Elect. Engineering	NTC
17	Bui Van Tro	Ph.D/ Cornell	1966	Nutrition	NAC
18	Father Hoang Quoc Truong	Ph.D/Univ. of Illinois	1958	Zoology	Dean, Fac. Of Science, University of Dalat Fac. Of Science, University of Saigon
19	Pho Ba Da	M.D	1970	Medicine	Gia Dinh Medical Center
20	Uong Ngoc Thach	Ph.D/Columbia		Pediatrics	196 Phan Thanh Gian, Saigon
21	Doan Viet Hoat	Ph.D/ Florida State University	1971	Education Administration	588 Truong Minh Giang, Saigon

22	Dang Xuan Hong	Ph.D/ Vanderbilt	1971	Mathematics	58 Nguyen Hoang, Cholon
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Source: “Hồ sơ kiểm tra toàn lãnh vực giáo dục năm 1973” (tập 2), Hồ sơ số 1396, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

Appendix 6

Holders of U.S. Doctoral Degree in Vietnam by Fields of Study

Fields	Name	Sub-Field	University
Agriculture	Mr. Tran Phuoc Duong	Soil Microbiology	MSU
	Mr. Nguyen Thanh Hai	Vet. Science	Pennsylvania
	Mr. Luu Trong Hieu	Animal Husbandry	Maryland
	Mr. Chau Van Khe	Agr. Engineering	Davis
	Miss Nguyen Bich Lieu	Entomology	Louisiana St.
	Mr. Nguyen Dang Long	Plant Pathology	Louisiana St.
	Mr. Chau Tam Luan	Agr. Economics	Illinois
	Mr. Tran Quang Minh	Vet. Medicine	Oklahoma
	Mr. Nguyen Van Tan	Genetics	Florida
	Mr. Bui Van Tro	Nutrition	Cornell
Education	Mr. Nguyen Quy Bong	Teacher Edu.	Peabody
	Mr. Nguyen Huy Giao	Edu. Psychology	Berkeley
	Mr. Nguyen Dinh Hoan	School Administration	Columbia
	Mr. Doan Viet Hoat	Edu. Admin.	Florida St.
	Miss Phung Thi Nguyet Hong	Biological Sc. Edu.	MSU
	Mr. Huynh Huynh	Edu. Statistics & Meas.	Iowa
	Mr. Do Ba Khe	Junior Coll. Admin.	USC
	Mr. Nguyen Duc Kien	Edu. Admin	Syracuse
	Mr. Huynh Van Quang	Edu. Psychology	SIU
	Mr. Mai Van Tam	El. Teacher Edu.	Cath. U. of Wash
	Mr. Nguyen Van Thuy	Higher Edu. Admin.	MSU
	Mr. Duong Thieu Tong	Teacher Education	Columbia
Engineering	Mr. Dao Kim	Mech. Engineering	Wisconsin
	Mr. Vu Thuong Quat	Elect. Engineering	Cal. Tech
	Mr. Truong Ngoc Quy	Civil Engineering	Vanderbilt
	Mr. Bui Tien Rung	Elect. Engineering	US Naval Post
	Mr. Phan Ngoc The	Civil Engineering	Iowa St.
	Mr. Do Kim Thuc	Elect. Engineering	US Naval Post
	Mr. Nguyen Thanh Toan	Civil Engineering	Illinois
	Mr. Le Ba Tuan	Ind. Electronics	Ohio St.
English	Mr. Vu Duc Bang	English	UCLA
	Miss Duong Thanh Binh	English	Columbia
	Mr. Le Thanh Minh Chau	English	Chicago
	Mr. Le Van Diem	American Literature	Minnesota

	Miss Dao Thi Hoi	English	Columbia
	Mr. Bui Khai	Linguistics	Georgetown
	Mr. Huynh Dinh Te	English	Columbia
Medicine, Dentistry & Pharmacy	Mrs. Truong Thi Bach	Medicine	New York
	Mr. Hoang Tien Bao	Orthopedic Surgery	Philadenphia
	Mr. Pho Ba Da	Medicine	
	Mr. Vu Quy Dai	Microbiology	Jefferson Med. C.
	Mrs. Nghiem Thi Hoa	Dental Surgery	Georgetown
	Mr. Nguyen Khac Minh	Anesthesiology	Wash. Med. Center
	Mr. Nguyen Duc Nguyen	Medicine	
	Mr. Bui Duy Tam	Physiology	Berkeley
	Mr. Uong Ngoc Thach	Pediatrics	Columbia
	Mr. Nguyen Van Tho	Dental Surgery	Northwestern
	Mr. Tran Ngoc Tieng	Pharmacy	Purdue
Science	Mr. Dang Dinh Ang	Mathematics	California
	Mr. Nguyen Tu Ban	Physics	MSU
	Mr. Dang Xuan Hong	Mathematics	Vanderbilt
	Miss Bui Thi Lang	Marine Biology	Scripps Inst.
	Miss Phan My Linh	Bio-Chemistry	MSU
	Mr. Hua Vang Loc	Chemistry	MSU
	Mr. Le Dinh Long	Chemistry	MSU
	Mrs. Duong Thi Mai	Plant Physiology	Purdue
	Mr. Phung Trung Ngan	Biology	Washington
	Mr. Tran Chung Ngoc	Physics	Wisconsin
	Mr. Bui The Phiet	Bio-Chemistry	Purdue
	Mrs. Le Tue Quang	Biology	Washington
	Mr. Chu Pham Ngoc Son	Physical Chemistry	Delaware
	Mr. Tran Kim Thach	Geology	
	Mr. Trinh Toan	Chemistry	Wisconsin
	Mr. Hoang Quoc Truong	Zoology	Illinois
Social Science	Mr. Nguyen Hai Binh	Economics	Pittsburgh
	Mr. Nguyen Huu Chi	Political Science	MSU
	Miss Nguyen Thi Hue	Political Science	MSU
	Mr. Nguyen Manh Hung	Political Science	Virginia
	Mr. Luong Nhi Ky	Political Science	MSU
	Mrs. Truong Hoang Lem	Public Admin.	USC
	Mr. Do Quang Nang	Economics	Columbia
	Mr. Nguyen Nhan	Social Psychology	MSU
	Mr. Nguyen Xuan Oanh	Economics	Harvard
	Mr. Ta Van Tai	Political Science	Virginia
	Mr. Vu Minh Thai	Psychology	NYU
	Mr. Tran Quy Than	Economics	Cornell
	Mr. Hoang Ngoc Thanh	Asian History	Hawaii

	Mr. Pham Van Thuyet	Economics	Pennsylvania
	Mr. Nguyen Duc Tien	Geography	MSU
	Mrs. Tang Thi Thanh Trai	Political Science	Columbia
	Mr. Nguyen Quoc Tri	Political Science	USC
	Mr. Nguyen Duy Xuan	Economics	Vanderbilt
Not Identified	Mr. Nguyen Huy Phuong		

Source: “Hồ sơ kiểm tra toàn lãnh vực giáo dục năm 1973” (tập 2), Hồ sơ số 1396, Phòng Cơ quan Phát triển Quốc tế Hoa Kỳ (USAID), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

CHƯƠNG II:

TỰ-TRỊ ĐẠI-HỌC

Tiết 4.

Định-nghĩa Tự-trị Đại-học

Điều 4. Tự-trị Đại-học là quyền quản-trị giáo-dục đại-học và các cơ-sở giáo-dục đại-học về phương-diện học-vụ, hành-chánh, tài-chánh và nhân-viên.

- 4.1 Quyền tự-trị đại-học được ủy-thác cho giới đại-học với tinh-thần trách-nhiệm của giới này trong khuôn khổ của luật-pháp Quốc-gia.

Tiết 5.

BẢN SAO

Hội-đồng Quản-trị Đại-học

Điều 5. Mỗi Viện Đại-học công-lập có tự-cách pháp-nhân, và đặt dưới sự quản-trị của một Hội-đồng Quản-trị Đại-học.

- 5.1 Thành-phần và nhiệm-vụ của Hội-đồng Quản-trị Đại-học sẽ được ấn-định trong Quy-chế Đại-học.
- 5.2 Viện-Trưởng Viện Đại-học liên-hệ là Chủ-tịch của Hội-đồng Quản-trị Đại-học.

CHƯƠNG III:

NGÂN-SÁCH ĐẠI-HỌC

Tiết 6.

Ngân-sách Tự-trị

Điều 6. Mỗi Viện Đại-học công-lập có ngân-sách tự-trị với các nguồn tài-nguyên sau đây:

- 6.1 Lệ-phi và học-phi của sinh-viên;
- 6.2 Tài-trợ của Chanh-phủ do Ngân-sách Quốc-gia và Ngân-sách các Tỉnh và Thị-xã bao-trợ cho Viện Đại-học công-lập;
- 6.3 Sự đóng góp của dân-chúng trong vùng thiết-lập Viện Đại-học công-lập;
- 6.4 Tài-trợ, viện-trợ, chuyển-nhượng, thỏa-hiệp song-phương, sinh-tặng và di-tặng của tư-nhân hay của các cơ-quan, đoàn-thể, hoặc hiệp-hội ở trong nước hay ở ngoại-quốc;
- 6.5 Dịch-vụ sinh lợi-tức không có tính-cách thương-mại, nhằm hỗ-trợ những chương-trình giảng dạy và khảo-cứu ở Đại-học.

CHƯƠNG IV:

HỘI-ĐỒNG QUỐC-GIA PHÁT-TRIỂN GIÁO-DỤC ĐẠI-HỌC

Tiết 7.

Thành-phần

Điều 7. Giáo-dục Đại-học đặt dưới sự chỉ-dạo của Hội-đồng Quốc-gia Phát-triển Giáo-dục Đại-học với thành-phần như sau:

- Tổng-Thống Việt-Nam Cộng-Hòa	Chủ-Tịch
- Tổng-Trưởng Bộ Giáo-Dục	Tổng-Thư-Ký
- Tổng-Trưởng Bộ Kế-Hoạch và Phát-Triển Quốc-Gia ...	Hội-viên
- Đại-diện Ủy-ban Văn-Hóa Giáo-Dục và Thanh-Niên Thượng-Nghị-Viện	Hội-viên
- Đại-diện Ủy-ban Văn-Hóa Giáo-Dục và Thanh-Niên Hạ-Nghị-Viện	Hội-viên
- Đại-diện Hội-đồng Văn-Hóa Giáo-Dục	Hội-viên
- Đại-diện Hội-đồng Kinh-Tế Xã-Hội	Hội-viên
- Một Viện-Trung đại-diện Đại-học công-lập	Hội-viên
- Một Viện-Trung đại-diện Đại-học Cộng-đồng công-lập	Hội-viên
- Một Viện-Trung đại-diện Đại-học tư-thực	Hội-viên

Tiết 8.

BẢN SAO

Nhiệm-vụ

Điều 8. Hội-đồng Quốc-gia Phát-triển Giáo-dục Đại-học, chiếu đề-nghị của các Ủy-Ban Chuyên-môn:

- 8.1 Quyết-định chính-sách và kế-hoạch phát-triển các Viện Đại-học;
- 8.2 Ấn-định và ban-hành Quy-chế Đại-học cho các Viện Đại-học;
- 8.3 Ấn-định sự tài-trợ hằng năm cho các Viện Đại-học.

Tiết 9.

Tổ-chức.

Điều 9. Cơ-cấu tổ-chức và sự điều-hành của Hội-đồng Quốc-gia Phát-triển Giáo-dục Đại-học cùng các Ủy-ban Chuyên-môn sẽ được quy-định bằng Sắc-Lệnh của Tổng-Thống Việt-Nam Cộng-Hòa.

CHƯƠNG V:

TỔNG-TẮC.

Điều 10. Những điều-khoản của các văn-kiện lập-quy về đại-học công-lập có từ trước trái với Luật này đều ngưng-nhiệm hậu-hối.

Chiều Hiến-pháp Việt-Nam Cộng-Hòa ngày 1 tháng 4 năm 1967;
Sau khi Quốc-Hội đã thảo-luận và biểu-quyết,

TỔNG-THỐNG VIỆT-NAM CỘNG-HÒA

Ban-hành Luật số: ngày tháng năm 1972 ấn-định
Giáo-Dục Đại-Học Quốc-Gia, nguyên-văn như sau:

CHƯƠNG I: MỤC-TIÊU GIÁO-DỤC ĐẠI-HỌC.

Điều 1. Giáo-dục Đại-học Quốc-gia phải nhắm mục-dịch:

- 1.1 Phát-huy văn-hóa dân-tộc;
- 1.2 Đào-tạo cán-bộ và chuyên-viên cho mọi ngành hoạt-
động của Quốc-gia;
- 1.3 Bảo-đảm sự tự-tôn và tiến-bộ của ba thành-tổ căn-
ban của Quốc-gia là: cá-nhân, cộng-đồng, và xã-hội,
đặc-biệt là phải (1) ích-lợi cho cá-nhân sinh-viên,
(2) đáp-ung nhu-cầu của cộng-đồng, và (3) thích-
ung với sự tiến-triển của Quốc-gia và của thế-giới;
- 1.4 Khuyến-khích nghiên-cứu, sưu-tầm, sáng-tạo, quảng-bá,
giảng dạy, và học-hỏi các loại kiến-thức về văn-hóa,
xã-hội, nhân-văn, khoa-học, và kỹ-thuật, cần-thiết
cho sự phát-triển giáo-dục đại-học quốc-gia hậu góp
phần thích-đáng vào sự hiểu biết và văn-minh của
nhân-loại.

CHƯƠNG II: QUẢN-TRỊ GIÁO-DỤC ĐẠI-HỌC

BẢN SAO

Điều 2. Giáo-dục Đại-học Quốc-gia đặt dưới sự quản-trị của
Hội-Đồng Quốc-Gia Phát-Triển Giáo-Dục Đại-Học, với
thành-phần ấn-định như sau đây:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| - Tổng-Thống Việt-Nam Cộng-Hòa | Chủ-Tịch |
| - Thủ-Tướng Chánh-Phụ | Phó Chủ-Tịch |
| - Tổng-Trưởng Bộ Giáo-Dục | Phó Chủ-Tịch
điều-hành |
| - Thủ-Trưởng Bộ Giáo-Dục đặc-trách
Đại-học và Kỹ-thuật | Hội-viên |
| - Chủ-Tịch Ủy-Ban Văn-Hóa Giáo-Dục và
Thanh-Niên Thượng-Nghị-Viện | Hội-viên |
| - Chủ-Tịch Ủy-Ban Văn-Hóa Giáo-Dục và
Thanh-Niên Hạ-Nghị-Viện | Hội-viên |
| - Các Viện-Trưởng Viện Đại-Học Quốc-gia | Hội-viên |
| - Một Viện-Trưởng đại-diện các Viện-
Trưởng Viện Đại-học Cộng-đồng | Hội-viên |
| - Một Viện-Trưởng đại-diện các Viện-
Trưởng Viện Đại-học Tự-thực | Hội-viên |
| - Tổng-Thư-Ký Hội-Đồng Quốc-Gia Phát-
Triển Giáo-Dục Đại-Học | Thư-ký
(không quyền
biểu-quyết) |

Điều 3. Hội-đồng Quốc-gia Phát-triển Giáo-dục Đại-học có nhiệm-vụ:

- 3.1 ấn-định và ban-hành chính-sách giáo-dục đại-học; đường-lối và chương-trình phát-triển các Viện Đại-học công-lập;
- 3.2 ấn-định và ban-hành quy-chế tự-trị đại-học chung cho các Viện Đại-học công-lập;
- 3.3 ấn-định Ngân-sách Quốc-gia tài-trợ hằng năm cho các Viện Đại-học công-lập.

Điều 4. Hội-đồng Quốc-gia Phát-triển Giáo-dục Đại-học, chiếu sự đề-cử của Hội-đồng Quản-trị Đại-học của mỗi Viện Đại-học công-lập, sẽ tuyển-chọn:

- 4.1 Viện-Trưởng Viện Đại-học Quốc-gia;
- 4.2 Viện-Trưởng Viện Đại-học Công-đồng;
- 4.3 Phó Viện-Trưởng, Phụ-Tá Viện-Trưởng, Khoa-Trưởng, Giám-đốc Trung-Tâm học-hệ mới, của các Viện Đại-học công-lập.

BẢN SAO

Điều 5. Cơ-cấu tổ-chức và sự điều-hành của Hội-đồng Quốc-gia Phát-triển Giáo-dục Đại-học cùng các cơ-quan tự-trị trực-thuộc phải được quy-định bằng sắc-lệnh của Tổng-Thống Việt-Nam Cộng-Hòa.

CHƯƠNG III: TỰ-TRỊ ĐẠI-HỌC.

Điều 6. Mỗi Viện Đại-học công-lập có tư-cách pháp-nhân, quyền tự-trị về quản-trị, hành-chánh, tài-chánh, học-vụ, và nhân-viên, và phải đặt dưới sự quản-trị của một Hội-đồng Quản-trị Đại-học, mà thành-phần và nhiệm-vụ phải được quy-định bằng sắc-lệnh của Tổng-Thống Việt-Nam Cộng-Hòa.

CHƯƠNG IV: NGÂN-SÁCH ĐẠI-HỌC.

Điều 7. Mỗi Viện Đại-học công-lập có ngân-sách tự-trị được thiết-lập hằng năm cho các khoản thu và chi, và do:

- 7.1 Lệ-phi và học-phi của sinh-viên;
- 7.2 Tài-trợ của Chanh-phủ do Ngân-sách Quốc-gia và Ngân-sách các Tỉnh và Thị-xa đã bao-trợ cho Viện Đại-học;
- 7.3 Sự đóng góp của dân-chúng trong vùng thiết-lập Viện Đại-học công-lập;
- 7.4 Tài-trợ viên-tư nhân-chúng...

tặng của các cơ-quan, đoàn-thể, hiệp-hội, chính-phủ, tư-nhân ở trong nước hoặc ở ngoại-quốc;

- 7.5 Các dịch-vụ đầu-tư; mại-vụ sinh lợi-tức; và nghiệp-vụ tín-dụng.

CHƯƠNG V: ĐẶC-KHOẢN.

Điều 8. Được miễn các sắc-thuế các loại hàng-hóa nhập-cảng sau đây dùng trong phạm-vi các Viện Đại-học công-lập:

- 8.1 Những dụng-cụ đặc-chế hay tiền-chế để trang-bị các phòng học hay phòng thí-nghiệm dùng vào việc giảng dạy ở đại-học;
- 8.2 Những loại, hóa-chất và hóa-phẩm dùng trong việc giảng dạy hay khảo-cứu;
- 8.3 Những vật-liệu đặc-biệt để thiết-lập hay xây cất các đơn-vị thí-nghiệm, khảo-cứu, thính-thị, truyền thanh, và truyền hình;
- 8.4 Sách, báo, và tập-san bằng ngoại-ngữ;
- 8.5 Những phương-tiện dùng vào việc chuyên-chở xét cần ích cho sinh-hoạt của đại-học.

CHƯƠNG VI: LINH-TINH.

BẢN SAO

Điều 9. Những điều-khoản của các văn-kiện lập-quy về đại-học có từ trước trái với Luật này đều đương-nhiên bãi bỏ.

Luật này sẽ đăng vào Công-báo Việt-Nam Cộng-Hòa.

Saigon, ngày tháng năm 1972.

Source: “Dự thảo luật ấn định giáo dục Đại học Quốc gia và qui chế tự trị của các Viện Đại học công lập năm 1972”, Hồ sơ số 5941, Phòng Phủ Tổng thống Đệ nhị Cộng hoà (1967–1975), the National Archives II, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

Appendix 8

Granting Medal of Culture and Education for USAID Advisors

REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM
MINISTRY OF CULTURE
EDUCATION AND YOUTH

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DECISION No 1609/GDTN/VP dated 16-9-68 granting
Medal of Culture and Education for USAID Advisors
who assumed about the education branch in Vietnam.

MINISTER OF CULTURE EDUCATION AND YOUTH

- Considering constitution of April 1, 1967,
- Considering ordinance No 234/TT/SL of May 25, 1968 and subsequent documents fixing the composition of the government.
- Considering ordinance No 360/TT/SL of August 1, 1968 establishing the Medal of Culture and Education,
- Considering decision No 206/TT/ND dated of August 1, 1968 fixing the grade, the form of the medal, the formality to wear and condition to grant the Medal of Culture and Education,
- Considering decision No 913/ND/Th.T/VP of September 2, 1968 conferring on the Minister of Culture and Education the power to consider and grant the Medal of Culture and Education,
- Considering decision No 912/ND/TH.T/VP of September 2, 1968 fixing the number of Medals of Culture and Education granted for year 1968,

DECISION

Article 1.- There is hereby granted the medal of Culture and Education for USAID Advisors who assumed about the educational branch in Vietnam:

First class:

- 1.- Mr Harold Winer, Assistant Director of USAID, Assistant Director of USAID, for Education Branch.
- 2.- Mr Alvis O. Hardie, Deputy Assistant Director of USAID for Education Branch.
- 3.- Mr L. Pratt, Education Advisor for Medicine Branch.

Second class:

- 1.- Mr James D. Singletary, Education Advisor for Secondary Education Branch.
- 2.- Mr Hal. O. Hall, Education Advisor for Elementary Education Branch.

- 3.- Mr C. Earle Hoshall, Education Advisor for University branch.
- 4.- Mr Wesley C. Brewster, Education Advisor for Instructional Materials branch.
- 5.- Mr Carl R. Markwith, Education Advisor at the Instructional Materials Center.

These American officials and Advisors always set an example about the devotion to the service of the Vietnamese people and the goodwill to cooperate friendly.

In the character of an advisor or in a function related to the culture and education branch, these American authorities had contributed effectively in the development of the Culture Education and Youth in Vietnam.

The cooperated spirit and the friendly solidarity of these American officials deserve to be remember.

Article 2.- Assistant Secretary, Director of Cabinet, Secretary General of Ministry of Culture Education and Youth are charged, each as to that which concerns him, with the execution of this decision.

This decision shall be published in the official journal of the Republic of Vietnam.

Saigon September 16, 1968.
Ministry of Culture Education and Youth
s/s
Dr Nguyen-Van-Tho

Duplicate copy:
Chief of Cabinet of Ministry of Culture
Education and Youth
s/s
Nguyen hai Tan

- cc:
- Office of the president
 - Office of the vice president
 - Office of the Prime Minister
(The service of Medal)
 - Ministry of Foreign Affair
(For notification)
 - Office of Ministry of Culture Education
and Youth
 - Official Journal and Archives Service.

Source: The Virtual Vietnam Archive, "Decision number 1609/GDTN/VP dated 16-9-68 granting Medal of Culture and Education to USAID advisors, September 16, 1968, File 12190101014, The Vietnam Center and Sam Johnson Archive, TTU.

Summary of the Dissertation

From the mid-1950s, accompanied by massive assistance of the United States to the Republic of Vietnam (RVN), especially in the area of education, South Vietnamese educators experienced a more fertile environment to develop higher education. Through the coordination of USAID, American educational institutions and universities operated effectively to assist South Vietnam's system of higher education. The initial engagements of the Americans in the RVN higher education system can be traced back to the 1950s, however, the most extensive US engagements took place in the period of the Second Republic of Vietnam government (1967–1975). The priorities of the US in advancing education in Vietnam changed during distinctive periods. In the initial years in the mid-1950s, the Americans were engaged more in non-academic fields, such as the police services and refugee resettlement. In the late 1950s, accompanying the non-academic activities, educational programs started. Since the early 1960s, the academic fields enjoyed more attention, consequently, the involvement of US American institutions in advancing RVN education increased, shown by the participation of several famous institutions like Michigan State University, Ohio University, and the Asia Foundation. Nonetheless it lasted until the late 1960s, when the development of higher education in South Vietnam was placed as a high priority on the agenda of the US. The number of the participating institutions grew rapidly, and included many distinguished and well-known US universities such as Washington State University, Harvard University, Southern Illinois University, Wisconsin State University, University of Missouri-Rolla, University of Florida, Cornell University, and University of Hawaii.

Among the numerous examples to illustrate the influences of the United States on RVN higher education (1967–1975), the three state universities, namely the University of Saigon, the University of Huế, and the University of Cần Thơ can be regarded as best and convincing examples for the American influences on this area. While the University of Saigon played a pioneering role in the academic activities in South Vietnam, the University of Huế was founded to serve as a cultural bulwark against North Vietnam, and the establishment of the University of Cần Thơ responded perfectly to the requirements of the Mekong Delta especially with regard to the development of the agricultural economy. Based on examining three primary aspects of these universities, which are the

areas of administrative, academic, and international cooperation, this thesis sheds light to investigate the following questions: whether or not the American educational model surpassed the French influence to become a leading system in South Vietnam's higher education? Are there proofs for the penetration of American influences in the RVN national universities? To what extent did the U.S exert influence on these three national universities? And, how did South Vietnamese educators deal with the situation of overwhelming external influences in the Republic of Vietnam from 1967 until 1975?

US American influence varied in intensity and quality depending on specific affairs of the three RVN public universities. The Americans influenced both levels - the macro and micro levels of administrative and international cooperation of RVN public universities. In comparison, concerning the academic affairs, their influence remained extensive only at the micro level. American experts, advisors, and educators played a decisive role in assisting the Vietnamese in the formulation and enactment of legislative statutes to advance higher education, as well as in framing the policies of overseas studies and international cooperation of the RVN education system. In the academic affairs, the American influences were diversified in many aspects, for example, regarding the curriculum, the teaching methods, and publications. Nonetheless, these engagements tended to be on projects at the micro level instead of at the macro-level as the two above-mentioned topics. Moreover, their influences caused different results according to the specific RVN universities in distinctive periods of time. For instance, the University of Huế was given more attention in the period of the late 1960s and early 1970s, while the American assistance for the University of Saigon was less intensive in the same time period. Among the three public universities, the Americans seem to have had more influence on the later created institutions, including the University of Huế and the University of Cần Thơ, compared to the University of Saigon.

Education was a key drive and had the task to form "future citizens" and construct both the image and the reality of the Republic of Vietnam as a modern, successfully developing nation. The unprejudiced minds of RVN teachers and professors in adapting successful educational models was considered to be appropriate to their needs, and it was critical to the success of RVN authorities. Despite their sincere intentions and best efforts, the ideal

RVN educational infrastructure envisioned in the 1960s and 1970s had no chance to be realized. The regime's final collapse was a reality which could not be avoided and it illustrates the flaws of the Republic of Vietnam in its administrative processes. Nevertheless, their overall lack of final success as they were overwhelmed by greater historical events should not be a pretext to deny the RVN's many attempts and successes in the course of its twenty-years existence.

Enduring influences and educational effects from the system of RVN higher education are de facto legacies. These could be visible, such as in the infrastructure of RVN universities, in the human resources, who were educated in that system, and in relationships of Vietnamese with foreign educators and educational institutions. They could be invisible as well, for instance the aspirations towards a progressive higher education and educational initiatives, which were practised in the RVN education system. Visible or invisible, the system of RVN higher education was incorporated into system of higher education of today's Vietnam and continued, to a certain extent, its mission of modernization.

Abstrakt der Dissertation

Seit den 1950er Jahren erhielt die Republik Vietnam (RVN) eine starke Unterstützung durch die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, insbesondere im Bereich der Bildung. Südvietnamesische Hochschullehrer fanden ein fruchtbares Umfeld zur Entwicklung der Hochschulbildung vor. Durch Koordination der Organisation USAID konnten amerikanische Bildungseinrichtungen und Universitäten effektiv agieren, um die Hochschulbildung in Südvietnam zu unterstützen. Das anfängliche Engagement der Amerikaner im System der höheren Bildung der RVN kann bis in die 1950er Jahre zurückverfolgt werden. Das umfangreichste Engagement der Vereinigten Staaten fand allerdings in der Zeit der Zweiten Republik Vietnam statt (1967–1975). Die Prioritäten der amerikanischen Hochschullehrer beim Ausbau der Bildung in Vietnam änderten sich in den verschiedenen Perioden. In den ersten Jahren, d.h. Mitte der 1950er Jahre, konzentrierten die USA sich mehr auf nicht-akademische Bereiche, wie etwa die Polizeiausbildung oder Flüchtlingsumsiedlungen. Ende der 1950er Jahre wurden parallel zu den nicht-akademischen Aktivitäten weitere Bildungsprogramme eingeleitet. Seit Beginn der 1960er Jahre genossen akademische Einrichtungen mehr Aufmerksamkeit und infolgedessen stieg die Mitwirkung amerikanischer Institutionen beim Ausbau des Bildungssystems der RVN, was an der Beteiligung einiger prominenter Namen, wie der Michigan State University, Ohio University und der Asia Foundation abzulesen ist. Nichtsdestotrotz wurde die Entwicklung der Hochschulbildung in Südvietnam erst gegen Ende der 1960er Jahre Teil der höheren Prioritäten der Amerikaner. Die Anzahl der in diesem Projekt beteiligten Institutionen wuchs stark an und beinhaltete viele herausragende und namhafte Universitäten der Vereinigten Staaten, wie z. B. die Washington State University, Harvard University, Southern Illinois University, Wisconsin State University, University of Missouri-Rolla, University of Florida, Cornell University und die University of Hawaii.

Unter den zahlreichen Beispielen zur Darstellung des Einflusses der Vereinigten Staaten auf die Hochschulbildung der RVN (1967–1975) können die drei nationalen Universitäten, d.h. die Universität von Saigon, die Universität von Hué und die Universität von Cần Thơ als überzeugendste Beispiele in diesem Bereich angesehen

werden. Während die Universität Saigon eine Pionierrolle in der akademischen Arbeit übernahm, wurde die Universität Huế zu einem kulturellen Bollwerk gegen den Einfluß Nordvietnams. Die Universität Cần Thơ stellte sich hervorragend auf die Erfordernisse zur Entwicklung der Landwirtschaft des Mekongdeltas ein.

Auf der Grundlage der Untersuchung von drei Hauptaspekten, nämlich den administrativen Angelegenheiten, den akademische Angelegenheiten und der internationalen Zusammenarbeit, konzentriert sich diese Arbeit auf die Erforschung der folgenden Fragen: Konnte das amerikanische Bildungsmodell den französischen Einfluss als führendes System in der Hochschulbildung Südvietnams übertreffen? Welche Beweise gibt es für einen durchdringenden amerikanischen Einfluss an den staatlichen Universitäten der RVN? Bis zu welchem Grade beeinflussten die Vereinigten Staaten die staatlichen Universitäten der RVN? Wie gingen südvietnamesische Hochschullehrer mit dem überwältigenden externen Einfluss in Südvietnam zwischen 1967–1975 um?

Intensität und Qualität des amerikanischen Einflusses waren verschieden und abhängig von den spezifischen Bereichen der drei öffentlichen Universitäten der RVN. Die Amerikaner beeinflussten den Bereich der internationalen Zusammenarbeit der öffentlichen Universitäten der RVN sowohl auf Makro- als auch auf Mikroebene. Im Bereich der akademischen Arbeit, zum Vergleich, war der Einfluss weitgehend auf die Mikroebene beschränkt. Amerikanische Experten, Berater und Lehrkräfte spielten eine entscheidende Rolle bei der Unterstützung der Vietnamesen bei der Erarbeitung und Inkraftsetzung von Gesetzen und Statuten für die Ausgestaltung der Hochschulbildung, sowie bei der Ausarbeitung der Richtlinien für Auslandsstudien und internationale Zusammenarbeit im Bildungssystem der RVN. Im Bereich der akademischen Arbeit war der amerikanische Einfluss diversifiziert in mehreren Bereichen, wie z.B. dem Lehrplan, den Lehrmethoden und den Publikationen. Trotzdem war dieses Engagement auf Projekte der Mikroebene gerichtet, anstatt auf Probleme der Makroebene. Des Weiteren führte der Einfluss zu unterschiedlichen Resultaten, abhängig von den jeweiligen Universitäten der RVN in spezifischen Zeiträumen. Zum Beispiel wurde der Universität Huế in der Zeit zwischen dem Ende der 1960er und den frühen 1970er Jahren mehr Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt, während die amerikanische Unterstützung für die Universität Saigon im

selben Zeitraum stark nachließ. Unter den drei öffentlichen Universitäten schienen die Amerikaner mehr Einfluss auf die später etablierten Institutionen ausgeübt zu haben, wie die Universität Huế und die Universität Cần Thơ, verglichen etwa mit der Universität Saigon.

Die Bildung war der Schlüsselfaktor für die Vision der Schaffung des „zukünftigen Bürgers“ und zur Konstruktion des Selbstbildes der Republik Vietnam als eine moderne und sich entwickelnde Nation. Es galt als elementar wichtig für den Erfolg der RVN-Regierung, die unvoreingenommenen Köpfe unter den Hochschullehren und Professoren zur erfolgreichen Übernahme des modernen Bildungsmodells zu bewegen. Trotz der ehrlichen Intentionen und der besten Anstrengungen konnte das in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren angestrebte Idealmodell der Bildungsinfrastruktur für die Republik Vietnam nicht vollständig realisiert werden. Der letztendliche Sturz des Regimes war eine Realität, die nicht verhindert werden konnte und er illustriert die Fehler, die in der Zeit der Republik Vietnam gemacht wurden. Nichtsdestotrotz sollte der ausbleibende Erfolg in einer Zeit, die von andersartigen gravierenderen Weltgeschehnissen dominiert wurde, nicht als Vorwand benutzt werden, um die zahlreichen Versuche und Erfolge der RVN in der Existenzperiode von zwanzig Jahren zu bestreiten.

Dauernde Einflüsse und Effekte in der Bildung aus der Zeit der RVN sind de facto Hinterlassenschaften. Diese waren sichtbar, wie z.B. die Infrastruktur der Universitäten der RVN, im Personal, das in diesem System ausgebildet wurde sowie in Beziehungen zwischen Vietnamesen und ausländischen Lehrkräften und Bildungseinrichtungen. Sie wurden sichtbar und wurden als Ziele einer fortschrittlichen höheren Bildung und von Bildungsinitiativen betrachtet, die im Bildungssystem der RVN praktiziert wurden. Ob sie sichtbar oder unsichtbar waren, die Hochschulbildung der RVN wurde in die weltweite Entwicklung der westlichen Hochschulbildung integriert, die zur heutigen Hochschulbildung Vietnams weiterentwickelt worden ist. Damit setzen die Hochschulen Vietnams heute den Weg zur Modernisierung fort.

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Eidesstattliche Erklärung

Ich versichere hiermit, dass ich die vorstehende Arbeit mit dem Titel: “The American Influences on the Higher Education of the Second Republic of Vietnam: The Case of the National Universities” selbstständig und unter der Betreuung und Anleitung von Prof. Thomas Engelbert und Prof. Volker Grabowsky an der Universität Hamburg angefertigt habe. Die Dissertation ist das Ergebnis eigener Recherche und wurde weder veröffentlicht noch in einem anderen Prüfungsverfahren eingereicht. Ich habe alle Quellen, die ich in dieser vorstehenden Arbeit zitiert und verwendet habe, ordnungsgemäß kenntlich gemacht.

Hamburg, 12 Januar 2020



Trương Thùy Dung