

論文摘要

越南與中國山海毗連，古來交通頻繁，華人或為謀生或為避禍，流寓至斯者不可勝數。如與其他華人移民社會相比，越南華人社會源遠流長，堪稱最為悠久的海外華人社群，是故越南華人研究於華僑華人研究、東南亞史、中外交通史，以及族群關係等領域皆有一定之學術價值。

越南華人的華語能力何以普遍低落？社會地位何以長期不振？凡此越南華人生活之樣貌，泰半歸因於早先越南政府其華人政策執行之結果。越南歷經君主、殖民、威權、共產政權的統治，在不同的歷史階段裡，華人扮演著不同的角色，他們或為當局開疆拓土的能臣、或為外交攻防的棋子、或為國家發展的障礙、或為繁榮經濟的夥伴，各政權與華人之關係固有良窳，其華人政策自有異同。

筆者擬視第二次世界大戰後越南之華人政策為一「(從屬)族裔政策」(policies vis-à-vis ethnic subordinates)，藉由二戰後越南華人政策編年史之重建，期解析歷任越南政府(法國越南殖民政府、越南民主共和國、越南共和國，乃至於越南社會主義共和國)華人政策之特質與導因，俾闡明越南華人政策自「強制性同化(compulsory assimilation)」趨向「包容(accommodation)」之歷程。

就華人政策之特質而言，「政策意識形態」的內涵自然是一項重點(筆者將「(強制性)同化」或「包容」等主義皆視為一「政策意識形態」)，但如何對「政策意識形態」進行系統化分析，乃是關鍵所在。吾人將以「族裔互動指標」(亦即 Gordon (1964) 之「同化變項」)推論幾種不同「意識形態」取向的「政策原型」，進而以「政策原型」作為判斷實際「政策意識形態」之準據。

經由各章討論，本研究乃有以下發現：(一)第二次世界大戰以來，越南之華人政策體現了華人在族裔結構中之被動與羸弱，其從屬情境已然僵固；(二)就「政策意識形態」而言，第二次世界大戰後越南之華人政策原係以「同化」為主，迄 1980 年中期轉趨「包容」，惟無論同化抑或包容，乃至於在越南共和國時代對華人採取的「去特權化」，旨皆在造成越南華人之「在地化」；(三)二戰後歷任越南政府之華人政策側重於改造華人之社會結構與族裔意識；(四)二戰後歷任越南政府其「政體意識形態」與「華人政策意識形態」之相關性並不顯著；(五)綜觀二戰後歷任越南政府之華人政策，其導因主要包括「越南政府與中國政府之雙邊關係(越南對中國之依賴程度)」、「越南政府對華人之基本態度」，以及「越南政府之經濟戰略」三項。

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Abstract

From the ancient time, ethnic Vietnamese and Chinese have been in contact with each other persistently since China and Vietnam are linked by mountains and rivers. Thousands of ethnic Chinese have flowed into and resided in Vietnam to earn a living and to run away from calamities in the past. Comparing with other overseas ethnic Chinese communities around the world, those in Vietnam have had a distant source and a long stream. Hence the study of ethnic Chinese in Vietnam has a number of academic benefits from understanding of overseas Chinese and ethnic Chinese, to the study of Southeast Asia history, to the study of the communication between China and abroad, and to the study of interaction among ethnic groups.

How does the ethnic Chinese in Vietnam lose their Mandarin ability? Why do they have an inferior social status? All of these features of ethnic Chinese in Vietnam could be a result of the implementation of Vietnam's policy toward ethnic Chinese. In Vietnam's history, there were assorted political stages, including monarchy, colonialism, authoritarianism, and communism, to name a few. Vietnam's ethnic Chinese have been participating in varied roles during these political times, including a pioneer in exploring barren lands, a chess-man in the diplomatic board game, an obstruction to the national development, and a business partner. Because of this complicated relationship with ethnic Chinese, every authority in Vietnam has established different policies toward ethnic Chinese as well.

In this thesis, the author assumes that Vietnam's policies toward ethnic Chinese equate to policies vis-à-vis ethnic subordinates. Through the process of reconstructing the chronicle of Vietnam's ethnic Chinese policies after World War Two, this author is going to analyze the characteristics and the factors of these various policies from each Vietnamese authority (i.e., the so-called Vietnamese authorities including the French authority in Vietnam(1945-1954), Republic of Vietnam(1955-1975), Democratic Republic of Vietnam(1954-1975), and Socialist Republic of Vietnam(1975-2003))in order to enucleate the ideology of these policies that have been transformed from “Compulsory Assimilation” to “Accommodation.”

As to the characteristics of ethnic Chinese policy of each authority, several questions are examined: “what is the ideology of each authority's ethnic Chinese policy?” is supposed to be a focus (The author is going to take “Compulsory Assimilation” or “Accommodation” as a sort of “ideology of policy”). Moreover, “how to analyze the ideology of ethnic Chinese policy that belongs to each authority?” is definitely a

weight-bearing point. The author will use a so-called “index of interaction among ethnic groups (which was evolved from Gordon's (1964) variables of assimilation)” to theorize several “policy prototypes” dependent on each “ideology of policy”. According to these “policy prototypes”, we may analyze each authority's ideology of ethnic Chinese policy in detail.

This research has five conclusions:

1. Vietnam's policy toward ethnic Chinese after WW II embodies the passive and emaciated position in the Vietnam's ethnic structure; the subordinate status of ethnic Chinese has been enforced by the Vietnamese authority.
2. Speaking of the ideology of each authority's ethnic Chinese policy after WW II, the main purpose of the policy had been “Compulsory Assimilation” in the very beginning; then it moved downwards to “Accommodation” in the middle of the 1980s; however, whether it was “Compulsory Assimilation” or “Accommodation”, these two ideologies of ethnic policy both caused Vietnamese ethnic Chinese's localization.
3. Vietnam's policy toward ethnic Chinese after WW II specifically emphasized on reforming the social framework of ethnic Chinese and their ethnic awareness.
4. The extent of the interrelation between “the ideology of the authority” and “the ideology of the authority's ethnic Chinese policy” is low and unclear.
5. To make a comprehensive survey, this author has summed up three factors for Vietnam's policy toward ethnic Chinese after WW II, and these factors are “the bilateral relationship between the Vietnamese and the Chinese governments (the extent of Vietnam's dependence upon China),” “the basic attitude of the Vietnamese authority toward ethnic Chinese,” and “the Vietnamese authority's economical strategy.”

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