OVERSEAS VIETNAMESE IN RUSSIA AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PROMOTION OF BILATERAL RELATIONS1
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Abstract. This article is devoted to the formation, current position, and development prospects of the overseas Vietnamese community in Russia. The purpose of the study was to critically review the directions of work of the authorities in the interests of the Diaspora and in order to strengthen mutually beneficial cooperation between the two countries in the socio-economic, cultural, scientific, technical and political spheres. The authors relied on empirical data, including official statistics on migration from Vietnam to Russia, the main indicators of the socio-economic situation in Vietnam as the major factor of emigration, as well as research publications on the history of the Vietnamese communities’ formation in Russia. As the result of its analysis, we identified the main areas of cooperation between Vietnam and Russia where the Vietnamese diaspora makes a significant contribution. Accordingly, the paper proposes evidence-based policy recommendations for the government and authorities of Vietnam, which outlined several areas of work with the diaspora in Russia, namely: promoting intercultural dialogue, providing information support and legal assistance for legal migration, developing cooperation in the economy, trade, and labor, as well as joint scientific research and technology transfer.

Keywords: overseas Vietnamese, diaspora, Russia – Vietnam relations, migration, migrant adaptation and integration, labor market.


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Introduction

It is evident that since migration has become a widespread social and economic phenomenon around the world, a great deal of theoretical and country-specific reports and papers have been written on this issue. Based on economic globalization and the deepening of social and cultural ties between peoples on a worldwide scale, there is not a single social community in the world that has not been drawn into, with many or little significant migration, both domestically and internationally. Many people around the world migrate in search of better jobs, more educational opportunities, out of poverty, and even as tourists. Migration also affects non-migrants as population movement transforms the socio-economic development of cities and villages.

In the 20th century, Russia and Vietnam had a lot of common interests and migration was one of them. Vietnam benefited from military support, industrial technology, and investment capital from Russia, while Russia (and later the USSR) noticed a friendly and loyal political regime in South-East Asia that was ready to export some goods (food and apparel) and even more important – the labor force. It is clear that the obligation of strategic cooperation requires an enhancement of the reciprocal migratory exchange between the two counties.

However, up to the present, there are only a few scholarly books or research on the overseas Vietnamese and their role in the promotion of bilateral relations. Some research on this issue is being developed, in particular, by scientists from the Russian Institute of Oriental Studies RAS, the Institute for Demographic Research FCTAS RAS, as well as Vietnamese researchers, including those living in Russia. In particular, we should note the works by A. A. Sokolov, devoted mainly to the history of the Vietnamese diaspora and its socio-cultural integration [Sokolov 2011; 2016]; S. V. Ryazantsev and others, that consider mainly the economic aspects of the life of the Vietnamese diaspora and its contribution to the socio-economic development of Russia and Vietnam [Manshin et al. 2010; Ryazantsev, Khramova 2020]; V. M. Mazyrin, where the problems of adaptation and the position of the Vietnamese in the Russian labor market are analyzed [Mazyrin 2004; 2015]; as well as the works by Vietnamese scientists [Lan Anh Hoang 2020] and young researchers who studied at Russian universities [Dinh Ha Mi 2015; Sedelnikova, Nguyen Thi Hong Bac Lien 2015, etc.], that discuss the factors of Vietnamese immigration to Russia and the trends in the Vietnamese diaspora formation.

This article aims to highlight the main milestones of the history of Vietnamese emigration to Russia in order to trace how the Vietnamese diaspora in Russia was formed. Then the authors make an outline of the contemporary position of the Vietnamese community in the country and conclude with marking some unresolved problems and potential opportunities for using its potential to ensure the mutual benefit of both states.

The history of Vietnamese emigration to Russia

The history of Vietnamese migration to Russia is inextricably related to the Cold War geopolitics, beginning in the mid-1950s with sending a limited number of students, largely war orphans and children of communist cadres, to Russia for getting a higher education and vocational training. Student migration increased gradually in the 1960s and 1970s, but no significant increase in the Vietnamese population residing in Russia occurred until the early 1980s, when war-torn and debt-ridden Vietnam began to export labor, first to the former Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, then to other Eastern European countries, in order to meet its obligations to the Council for Mutual Economic
Assistance. Vietnamese labor export to Europe peaked in 1989, with 167,503 employees sent [Chesnokov 2011]. According to official data, a total of 217,183 Vietnamese were employed in the USSR and Eastern European countries. According to official figures, between 1981 and 1990, a total of 217,183 Vietnamese citizens were engaged as contract laborers in the European socialist bloc, with 42% (or 92,000) females.

Approximately 100,000 Vietnamese laborers were in Russia just before the Soviet Union’s demise in 1991. They were largely employed in construction, mechanics, textile and garment manufacturing, agriculture, health care, and education. Labor migration to Eastern Europe was regarded as a privilege reserved for people from ‘priority’ backgrounds, such as family members of war veterans, war martyrs, war invalids, former service members, ethnic minorities, and workers and cadres with excellent work histories, in the context of widespread hunger and poverty in post-war Vietnam. Because there was no publicly stated recruiting mechanism, persons obtained abroad positions mostly through informal social networks and bribery.

When the socialist block in Eastern Europe fell apart in the late 1980s and early 1990s, labor imports from Vietnam came to a halt. Political upheaval, unemployment, and heightened nationalist emotions (which occasionally erupted into xenophobic and racial backlash), as well as official repatriation programs, pushed a substantial number of Vietnamese workers home. By the end of 1991, almost 80% of laborers had fled Eastern Europe, while many returned when confronted with the hard realities of the then-struggling Vietnamese economy. Students and workers who opted to stay created the foundation of Vietnamese diasporic networks in Eastern Europe, which have grown steadily till 2010s. New migrants frequently enter the country on student or tourist visas obtained through sophisticated brokerage networks. Since a significant amount of migration to post-Soviet Russia is clandestine, it is hard to reliably quantify the number of Vietnamese communities in the nation, and estimates vary greatly. According to the the report of International Organization for Migration (IOM), in 2008, there were around 69,076 Vietnamese people in Russia [IOM 2008]. This figure, however, does not include irregular migrants, whether in transit or permanently residing in Russia, as well as shuttle and seasonal traders.

According to Russia’s Federal Ministry of Labor, Vietnam, along with the Caucasus, Central Asian nations, and China, is one of the biggest sources of illegal migration to Russia. As of 2007, the Vietnamese government believed that there were 80,000 to 100,000 Vietnamese nationals in Russia. According to other estimates, there might be over 150,000 Vietnamese immigrants in Russia at the beginning of the 2000s [Mazyrin 2004: 364]. If this data is accurate, Vietnamese nationals in Russia at that time accounted for half of the Vietnamese population in the former Eastern European socialist counties. Despite the decline in the number of Vietnamese citizens arriving in Russia over the past decade, their illegal immigration continues. The Russian government’s new legal and institutional impediments to dissuade irregular immigration do not deter individuals from arriving; they only make it more expensive.

The high migration potential of Vietnam is explained, first of all, by its continued labor surplus. Under- and unemployment problems remain especially serious in the areas of Vietnam where high population pressure on limited arable land has long rendered subsistence farming unviable. Underemployment is common, with 62.7% of the population residing in rural regions in 2020 and 37.2% of the labor force engaged in the agricultural industry in 2019. As in many other developing countries, informal employment remains high in Vietnam, that is, there is a big number of self-employed, individual farmers, unpaid household workers. While official figures show that Vietnam
has one of the world’s lowest jobless rates – 2.4% in 2020 — the figure is grossly misleading owing to questionable statistical procedures. The General Statistics Office of Vietnam (GSO) defines an unemployed individual as someone who did not work at all in the week preceding the survey, which means that even one hour of labor during that week qualifies one as employed [Lan Anh Hoang 2020].

Vietnamese in Russia today

Population flows from Vietnam to Russia call into question the popular perception of international migration as unidirectional flows from the periphery (i.e., poor nations) to the center (i.e., the developed world or ‘global cities’ [de Haas 2010]. Transnational movements within the peripheral accounted for one-third of international migration in 2010 and were nearly equivalent to the periphery-center migration pattern. Since 2000, the yearly migrant stock in distant areas has grown faster than in established cities (2.3% and 2.1%, respectively, during the period from 2000 to 2013). According to the research on migration to Eastern and Central Europe, several peripheral and semi-peripheral regions have become preferred destinations for considerable proportions of migrants from the developing world [Török 2017]. What is often considered a problem and a barrier to economic growth elsewhere (for instance, a loosely regulated market, weak law enforcement, widespread corruption, and an underdeveloped entrepreneurial culture) creates an especially favorable economic environment for opportunistic investors and traders looking to ‘make a quick buck.’ In transitional civilizations, ethnic enclaves emerge quickly in response to not just the desire for self-sufficiency, but also the uncertainties created by the turbulent social, economic, and political environment.

Overseas Vietnamese in Russia, like their compatriots in Central and Eastern Europe, were mostly involved in market commerce till the 2010s. The high proportion of Vietnamese migrants in market trading today was primarily determined by a restrictive and discriminatory migration rule that prevented them from obtaining official work prospects. However, it was initially motivated by the inability of the redistributive system to create and deliver goods – a typical feature of Eastern European state-planned economies. Consumer goods scarcity grew even more acute in the aftermath of the Soviet Union’s dissolution, as light industry crumbled, and official foreign trade and commerce routes were not formed, therefore, a demand for small deliveries and sales of goods from Vietnam arose. Today, in a market economy, the sale of Vietnamese goods in Russia continues to be profitable due to the low cost of their production, including due to comparative cheap labor in Vietnam (Fig.1).

Fig.1. Vietnamese goods on the Moscow market. Photo from open sources
Vietnamese migrants’ lives are quite unpredictable, marked by cyclical booms and busts in market trading, which are mainly generated by knee-jerk policy changes by the federal and Moscow governments, and anti-immigrant campaigns and legal acts. With no other options for social mobility outside of the shadow economy, Vietnamese migrants are confined to wholesale marketplaces, further entrenching their social marginalization and vulnerability [Mazyrin 2015].

Large-scale quantitative studies of Chinese migrant merchants confirm this, with many difficulties linked with expensive rentals, a high cost of living, excessive taxes, an unpredictable economy, and the terrible image of Chinese items [Chang, Rucker-Chang 2011]. The majority of these issues are directly or indirectly related to widespread corruption in state bureaucracies, which manifests itself in a variety of ways, ranging from police harassment and protection racketeering to a slew of migration-related procedures and costs, as well as graft and bribery among tax and customs officials. Migrants’ social life in the shadow economy is severely restricted by exploitative market regimes and opportunistic criminals who enjoy a sense of impunity due to the migrants’ irregular status. Vietnamese migrants have been spreading into various economic sectors in Russia’s rural and border areas in recent years. Reports of Vietnamese laborers employed on construction projects and farms in Siberia and the Russian Far East have begun to emerge [Khramova 2020]. Nonetheless, a shortage of language skills and apprehension about racial assaults remain key impediments to their aspirations to expand outside market commerce and metropolitan areas.

Because transnational migration was a comparatively recent trend in Vietnam, most Vietnamese migrants in Russia, unlike the Chinese, do not originate from locations with a so-called ‘culture of movement.’ There is no question, however, that informal social networks play an important role in Vietnamese spontaneous migration. Because before the 1990s, the chance to go overseas to work or study was regarded as a reward for allegiance to the communist leadership, the Vietnamese in today’s Russia are largely from Northern and North Central Vietnam. Families of war martyrs, war veterans, and state employees were the primary beneficiaries of labor export schemes in these regions. Since the start of Renovation, Northern and North Central Vietnam have been afflicted by acute under- and unemployment. During the Renovation period (between 1991 and 2000), Vietnam rose from one of the world’s 40 poorest and least-developed countries to the world’s second-largest rice exporter, with an average annual growth rate of 6–7%. Hunger was significantly decreased, and the poverty rate was cut by 10 times, from 60% in 1990 to 6% in 2020.

Vietnamese migrant workers have distinct characteristics in terms of their distribution on the territory of Russia and the scope of employment. Regarding the distribution of territory, in 2005 the majority of Vietnamese workers worked in exchange and trade activities in Moscow city and the territory of Moscow (76.6%), Bashkortostan (3.75%), Primorsky Territory (2.82 %), Khabarovsk
Region (1.65%), Voronezh Region (1.44%), Ulyanovsk Region (1.12%) Tatarstan (1.06%) and St. Petersburg (1.06%) [Chesnokov 2011]. As of 2020, Vietnamese laborers accounted for 17.4% of the total legal foreign workforce in Russia. The majority of Vietnamese labor migrants still concentrate in the metropolitan Moscow Region and Moscow City, Leningrad Region and St. Petersburg, as well as Tula, Vladimir, Kaluga, and Ryazan Regions in Central Russia, and Khabarovsk and Primorsky Regions in the Russian Far East [Riazantsev, Khramova 2020]. Many Vietnamese today are employed in businesses established by their compatriots. According to the Ministry of Labor of the Russian Federation, for 2022, a total of 13,753 places were allocated across the country to attract workers from Vietnam. Most of them are in manufacturing (11,442), especially in clothing (9,524) and food (1,489). Also, a significant number of Vietnamese received a work permit in the construction industry (1,093). Wholesale and retail trade were in third place (410 permits). The reason for the change in the sectoral structure of the employment of Vietnamese in Russia was the introduction of quotas for foreign workers in the field of trade since 2007.

Currently, the Vietnamese community in the Russian Federation is divided into different groups according to the characteristics of the field of activity and living.

- **Group 1:** Members, PhD students, trainees at Russian universities. Although the number is not large, this is a successful part of the Vietnamese community in Russia. In particular, specialists in the field of natural and engineering sciences numbered almost 1,000 people at the end of 2016 and accounted for about 8% of all Vietnamese citizens who had a valid work permit in Russia.

- **Group 2:** Those who do business, trade freely, or provide services related to the Vietnamese community in Russia. A great number in this group trades all kinds of items such as garments, shoes, etc. Goods are not only sold to locals but also sold and retailed to people from other cities. According to expert estimates, they may still make up to 75% of the Vietnamese diaspora in Russia, since the restrictions on employment in trade do not apply to persons with a temporary residence permit in the Russian Federation, as well as to the service sector, catering or small-scale industries.

- **Group 3:** Those who invest in building manufactures, default goods, hotel or restaurant businesses. Many Vietnamese own businesses in Russia. At the end of 2016, 2.4 thousand Vietnamese citizens had permission to work in the country as heads of various enterprises and organizations.

- **Group 4:** Workers and employees working in factories, tents, restaurants, and hotels usually owned by Vietnamese people (Fig.2). In 2022, almost 14,000 temporary labor migrants from Vietnam received work permits (see above).

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**Fig. 2.** Vietnamese cafe. *Photos from open sources*
● Group 5: Those who are studying in Russian universities on a scholarship or self-sufficient basis. As of 2021, there were about 3,100 Vietnamese students in Russia, and another 1,000 students were admitted.

Contributions of Vietnamese overseas in Russia to the promotion of bilateral relations

● First, the Vietnamese community contributes to casual labor force supplement.

The clarity in labor cooperation and expansion of the Vietnamese diaspora in Russia began with the Agreement between the Governments of the USSR and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on sending Vietnamese citizens for professional training and employment in the USSR and the acceptance to join economic organizations and agencies in the USSR was signed on April 2, 1981. The outcome of this agreement was in favor of both the USSR and Vietnam for two reasons. The first cause was economic – the lack of a labor force in industries in many regions of the Soviet Union on the one hand, and labor surplus in Vietnam on the other hand. The other reason was social and political – the citizens of Vietnam got an access to better education and foreign work experience, while the USSR, strengthened cooperation with its Asian partner through export of education and the exchange of experience in production.

After the dissolution of the USSR, Russia reconfirmed its policy towards Vietnam as a labor exporting country in the new Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on basic elements. The document of sending Vietnamese citizens to work and work in the Russian Federation and the consent of enterprises, organizations, and associations in the Russian Federation was signed on September 29, 1992. Although the new agreement is based on the old text, compared with the 1981 agreement, the new text has some changes in the provisions. For example, the length of stay of Vietnamese workers is reduced to 3 years. At the same time, the new agreement stipulates that export workers must be between 18 and 50 years old. The agreement also obliges that Vietnamese workers are only allowed to enter Russia through concentrated migration and only after the contract is signed between the sending organization in Vietnam and the receiving organization in Russia. Any provisions relating to workers’ spouses as well as the ability for Vietnamese students to graduate from Russian universities to work in this country have been excluded from the Agreement. Furthermore, there have been changes in government oversight bodies on both sides: in Russia, the supervisory function has been transferred to the Ministry of Labor and in Vietnam to the Ministry of Labor, Invalids and Social Affairs. On August 14, 2003 the governments of the two states signed an Agreement on the temporary employment of citizens of the Russian Federation in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and citizens of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in the Russian Federation. It contributed to the legalization of a significant part of migrants from Vietnam who arrived under the agreement of April 2, 1981 recognizing their stay in Russia as legal, subject to the execution of all necessary documents. Another important point of the agreement was granting to the citizens of Vietnam the right to choose independently their employment in the Russian Federation. However, all agreements in the field of
labor migration provide for work permits for no more than one year with the possibility of annual renewal, which creates a great obstacle for the documentation of Vietnamese workers, since the cost of moving to Russia is extremely high for them, which makes short-term stay in the country unprofitable and forces them to stay illegally [Ryazantsev, Kuznetsov 2011].

- **Second**, Vietnamese people in Russia promote people-to-people diplomacy with the Russian.

  Vietnamese people in Russia also promote cultural exchange activities, contributing to promoting the image of the country and its people not only to their home country but also to international friends living in Russia. Cultural exchange activities also help connect a large number of expatriates in Russia with their homeland and country. The Vietnamese Embassy in Russia, in collaboration with Vietnamese ministries, branches and localities, organizes numerous cultural and diplomatic activities, that are attended by embassy staff and a large number of local people. Such events have made important contributions to paving the way for socio-economic connection between a number of provinces, cities and localities of the two countries towards signing local twinning agreements. (Hanoi – Moscow, Ho Chi Minh City – St. Petersburg, Nghe An – Ulianovsk, etc.) and in large investment projects of Vietnam in the Russian Federation (oil and gas exploitation in Siberia, Complex cultural and commercial functions Hanoi – Moscow, TH True Milk Group, etc.) (Fig.3).

Fig. 3. Festival of Vietnamese street food in the cultural and shopping center "Hanoi – Moscow". *Photos from open sources*

To summarize, through many positive activities, the Embassy of Vietnam in Russia has gradually improved the ability of cultural integration, effectively receiving the cultural and artistic values of the Russian Federation as well as promoting the beauty of Vietnamese culture to the Russian people.

- **Third**, Vietnamese overseas in Russia deeply integrate into the local community.

  As a rule, the Russians see the Vietnamese as industrious and less demanding workers. The Vietnamese aspire to a long or permanent stay in the country. 7% of Vietnamese immigrants marry Russians, and 30% of Vietnamese in Vietnamese-Russian families want their children to live in Russia [Lan Anh Hoang 2020].

- **Fourth**, Vietnamese intellectuals in Russia contribute their expertise in different fields.

  Many Vietnamese residing in Russia have the ability and the desire of learning. Many of them graduated from Russian universities and did well in Russia. Different specializations allow them to work in all industries in Russia, although most of them prefer to work in the retail sector. Many of them are well versed and experienced in the field of foreign and domestic trade because they have experience in retail and wholesale in many markets in Russia [Kozhevnikova 2018].
Opportunities to fulfil the potential of the Vietnamese diaspora in Russia

The development of the Vietnamese community abroad is closely related to the development of the Vietnamese nation. If the Vietnamese community is well integrated in the host society, this contributes to the effective development of Vietnam. The Vietnamese government should provide assistance and protection to the Vietnamese community in Russia, stabilizing their life, providing opportunities to study and work, and also legalizing the residence of Vietnamese in the country. In this regard, the intensification of the dialogue between the Government of Vietnam, the Government of Russia and local authorities on a policy to protect the rights of the Vietnamese community abroad plays a crucial role.

● Supporting communication and cross-cultural interaction.

In order to unite the Vietnamese and form a close bond with their homeland, it is important to maintain the national cultural identity of the Vietnamese abroad. With the help of embassies and consulates, the Vietnamese Government encourages overseas communities to preserve their national language, traditions and customs. However, the Government is still to develop a comprehensive program to help the overseas Vietnamese maintain their identity and national culture, on the one hand, and integrate into host countries, on the other hand.

Active Vietnamese intellectuals encouraged by the state could play a key role in uniting the Vietnamese community and preserving its traditional culture. Institutions such as the State Committee for Vietnamese Abroad Affairs, the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training are engaged in supporting the cultural traditions of the Vietnamese. But it is also necessary to coordinate the efforts of experts in the field of studying the Vietnamese diaspora and support the cultural education of the Vietnamese abroad, attracting researchers and enthusiasts in the host country who could teach the Vietnamese language and culture to the second and third generations of the Vietnamese living abroad.

● Providing information and assistance.

It is crucial for overseas communities to receive up-to-date information about Vietnamese government policy and the socio-economic situation in the country. Embassies of Vietnam and associations of Vietnamese communities in Eastern European countries develop their websites and make professional publications. But great potential remains for the live interaction of the Vietnamese intellectuals in the host country, which can be carried out on the basis of the cultural departments at the embassies. The Embassy can not only successfully fulfill its political, but also cultural and economic tasks abroad being a bridge between overseas Vietnamese intellectuals and their homeland. If the Embassy effectively fulfills these goals, then unnecessary costs can be avoided. Its role is especially important during economic turmoil and crises when overseas Vietnamese face increased risks. In addition, providing legal assistance to migrants by Vietnamese governmental bodies for their full legalization in their country of residence could improve the quality of Vietnamese communities abroad by maintaining control over migration and increasing migrants’ access to social benefits in the country of residence.

● Developing trade, economic, and labor cooperation.

Committees for Overseas Vietnamese, Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Vietnam Trade Missions, Diplomatic Offices organize trade and investment promotion conferences. Thanks to these conferences, it is possible to advertise Vietnamese goods, services, and specialists, thereby contributing to the creation of joint ventures, the development of relations between
entrepreneurs in Russia and Vietnam. The information about these events should be widely published on the websites of these organizations so that Vietnamese living abroad could actively participate in them.

It is necessary to create a regular mechanism to support the investment by intellectual entrepreneurs who have Vietnamese citizenship and live in Russia. These investments can be considered as the investment of Vietnamese entrepreneurs abroad. Banks and financial institutions should take care to help the Vietnamese legalize their income in Russia and invest it in the host country. In addition to cooperation in trade and investment, it is necessary to promote financial cooperation, support exports, build a network of trade branches where export goods are sold, establish joint ventures, production and consumption chains, and promote brand development for traditional products from Vietnam.

- Promoting cooperation in science and technology transfer.

It is important to expand joint scientific research in technological and social sciences and the humanities, to implement projects with the participation of Russian research institutions and Vietnamese living in the country. The results of such projects and studies should be published in two languages and widely disseminated in two countries.

Also, it is beneficial to promote cooperation in such potentially important areas as environmental economics, combating global climate change, transfer of environmentally friendly technologies to small and medium-sized enterprises. To reach this goal, it is essential to develop cooperation in the field of investment, expansion of modern management models, encourage large Russian and Vietnamese companies in Russia to invest to Vietnam and establish their research departments in the country.

It is necessary to develop a system of contracts (community of practice) that will allow overseas Vietnamese intellectuals to participate in research and teaching in cooperation with Vietnamese organizations, including those that are partially or fully funded by the state budget. Entrepreneurs should invest more actively in training human resources and participate in the construction of universities in the country and foreign branches.

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