

Received: May 2023 Accepted: June 2023  
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.58262/ks.v11i2.332>

## Discussion on the Manifestations and Propensity of Excessive Nationalism in Vietnam

Dr. Lai Quoc Khanh<sup>1</sup>, Ngo Thi Huyen Trang<sup>2</sup>

### Introduction

Nationalism is perhaps one of the most controversial terms in international political history. It has many different meanings and definitions, and its impact on human history also has opposite meanings: Nationalism plays an important role in the formation of modern nation-states, is a driving force against foreign invasion, gaining and maintaining the independence and sovereignty of many countries in the world, but its extreme forms are also the cause of many conflicts between peoples, peoples of different sizes and nature. Since the end of the Cold War, nationalism has risen sharply. It is accompanied by the emergence of manifestations of extreme nationalism - one of the causes of internal conflicts in some multinational states and conflicts between several nation-states. These conflicts challenge the stability and development of a country and threaten world security.

In the world today, being one of the few countries still choosing the path of communism and a multi-ethnic country with a community of 54 ethnic groups with a long history of resistance to foreign invasion, it is difficult for Vietnam to avoid arising problems related to nationalism. If *positive nationalism* has always been a strong motivation to unite ethnic groups in Vietnam, creating strength to defend national independence and national sovereignty of Vietnam.

Some manifestations of the so-called *extreme nationalism also appeared in Vietnam*. In this study, the situation in Vietnam should be named “excessive nationalism”. In fact, Vietnam has nationalism, but the manifestations of nationalism are sometimes a bit beyond the normal level but cannot be called extreme. This only happens to a small number of people due to provocation and exploitation. This case has not become a trend or climax that can be considered extremism, but just slightly exceeds the level of true positive nationalism.

The manifestations of excessive nationalism in Vietnam have characteristics that need to be properly identified, their causes need to be clearly explained, and the negative impacts they cause need to be thoroughly analyzed so that the country's leaders and the people themselves can behave appropriately. Vietnam is deeply and widely integrating into the world; its position and influence are increasingly strengthened in the region and the world. The study of the manifestation of excessive nationalism in Vietnam is also of international reference value.

## 2. Nationalism and Extreme Nationalism

---

<sup>1</sup> Assoc. Professor, University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Ha Noi. Email: [khanhlq.nv@gmail.com](mailto:khanhlq.nv@gmail.com)

<sup>2</sup> Ph.D. Candidate, Thuongmai University. Email: [trang.nth@tmu.edu.vn](mailto:trang.nth@tmu.edu.vn)

## Nationalism

Nationalism is a term widely used in political research and international relations. Regarding nationalists, they believe that “the nation is the only goal worth pursuing, an assertion usually leading to the belief that the nation demands unquestioning and uncompromising loyalty” “the nation is the only goal worthy of pursuit - an assertion that often leads to the belief that the nation demands unquestioned and uncompromising loyalty” (Grosby, 2005, p.5). Hence, nationalism affects not only the national community but each individual in that community, and it plays a significant role in shaping the position, psychological orientation, perception, attitude, and behavior of each individual in and of the community as a whole. Right in the introduction to the book *Advanced Introduction to Nationalism*, Greenfeld (2016, p.12), wrote that "nationalism is the most important socio-political phenomenon of our age. It is the cultural framework of modernity, and as such, determines all concrete (social, political, economic, personal) experiences of modernity - in other words, it determines how we, modern men and women, live our own lives." Nationalism is the most important social and political phenomenon of our time. It is the cultural framework of modernity and, as such, it defines all of the specifically modern experience, be it social, political, economic, or personal, that is, it defines the ways we, modern men and women, live our lives. Nenad (2020), avers that for each individual or group of people, "nationalism" can imply two phenomena: "(1) the attitude that members of the nation have when they are interested in their identity as the members of such nation and (2) actions made by the members of the nation seeking to achieve (or maintain) some form of political sovereignty.

"The term “nationalism” is generally used to describe two phenomena:

1. the attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their national identity, and
2. the actions that the members of a nation take when seeking to achieve (or sustain) self-determination."

Nationalism has been defined in many ways, but most definitions concentrate on a primary point as the most significant concern for the nation-state. Nationalism involves the creation of a worldview, a set of ideas and values consistent with a shared past, explains existing problems, and provides a future program of action for the nation. Nationalism exploits deep passions and sacred feelings for the nation-state in the most emotional manner. Snyder (1976, p.25), has an approach emphasizing psychological origins and defined nationalism as follows: “The sentiment of a group of people living in a territory using a single language or related dialects as the means expressing their common thoughts and feelings, having a common religion, beliefs, institutions, traditions, and customs acquired and transmitted in the course of common history, venerating national heroes, and cherishing a common will for social unity” “Nationalism is that sentiment of a group or body of people living within a compact or a noncontiguous territory , using a single language or related dialects as a vehicle for common thoughts and feelings, holding a common religious belief, possessing common institutions, traditions, and customs acquired and transmitted during the course of a common history, venerating national heroes, and cherishing a common will for social homogeneity”. The same views are also expressed by Shafer (1955), when he gives more specific concepts of nationalism and its manifestations: “Nationalism is a different combination of beliefs and conditions,” in his work named *Nationalism: Myth and Reality*, he mentioned the contents of nationalism:

- 1) A specific territorial unit (often vague, whether owned or desired); 2) Some common cultural characteristics such as common language, customs, behaviors and literature (folklore and legends as a start); 3) common belief and culture; 4) an independent government or Condominium or desire for a joint government; 5) faith in a shared history, etc. and in a common origin; 6) love and respect for fellow countrymen; 7) devotion to the entity called nation, which embodies the familiar territory, denomination,

society and economy, of institutions, government and citizens of such nation-state; 8) common pride in the achievements and familiar sadness about the difficulties of such nation-state; 9) disdain or hostility towards other people or groups if they prevent or threaten the existence of one's nation-state; 10) hope of great and glorious future for the nation" (Shafer, 1955,p.7)

1. A certain defined (often vaguely) unit of territory (whether possessed or coveted).
2. Some common cultural characteristics such as language (or widely understood languages), customs, manners, and literature (folk tales and lore are a beginning). If an individual believes he shares these, and wishes to continue sharing them, he is usually said to be a member of the nationality.
3. Some common dominant social (as christian) and economic (as capitalistic or recently communistic) institutions.
4. A common independent or sovereign government (type does not matter) or the desire for one ....
5. A belief in a common history ... and in a common origin...
6. A love or esteem for fellow nationals (not necessarily as individuals).
7. A devotion to the entity called the nation, which embodies the common territory, culture, social and economic institutions, government, and the fellow nationals, and which is at the same time more than their sum.
8. A common pride in the achievements (often the military more than the cultural) of this nation and a common sorrow in its tragedies (particularly its defeats).
9. A disregard for or hostility to other (not necessarily all) like groups, especially if these prevent or seem to threaten the separate national existence.
10. A hope that the nation will have a great and glorious future (Shafer, 1955, p.7-8)

Thus, nationalism is considered a naturally developing sentiment when people become members of the nation-state with loyalty and enthusiasm for the interests of their nation.

Apart from psychological and emotional perspectives, nationalism also motivates actions. "Nationalism is an ideology that places the nation at the center of concerns and seeks to promote the prosperity of such nation" (Smith, 2010, p.15). "Nationalism is an ideology that places the nation at the centre of its concerns and seeks to promote its well-being" (Smith, 2010, p.15). He believes that national prosperity is expressed through three key goals: national self-determination, national unity, and national identity, and for nationalists, a nation cannot exist without three of the goals mentioned above. Therefore, according to (Smith, 2010, p.16) nationalism is: "An ideological movement aimed at achieving and maintaining autonomy, unity, and identity for a population which some of its members consider constituting an "actual or potential nation." "An ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity, and identity for a population which some of its members deem to constitute an actual or potential "nation". (Smith, 2010, p.16)

As an ideology, nationalism, however, often has no strict theoretical structure. However, it can be a mixture, combination, or borrowing of many different doctrines, ideologies, and religions. However, all explain social issues through the lens and perspective of the nation, thereby creating different types of nationalism: civic nationalism combined with liberal ideology, religious nationalism, ethnic nationalism, nationalism combined with communism, and others. As a political movement, nationalism was flexible and easily adapted to the most diverse backgrounds and social environments. Many political forces and factions have used it sincerely, but at times, as a unique cover to cover up different motives, interests,

and purposes and attract support from different classes among their fellow citizens. Thus, nationalism becomes diverse in form, affecting each person's psychology and emotions differently depending on the goals of such different factions. Therefore, nationalism is also shown as a multi-nuanced ideology.

Nationalism is *positive* when it mobilizes support for establishing nation-states in the 19th century or becomes the driving force for the struggle of colonial peoples against imperialism in the 20th century. Positive nationalism develops from the love of homeland, country, and people of the same race promotes the spirit of national solidarity, self-respect, and self-reliance to achieve goals such as the right to self-determination of nation, economic and social development, and protects the territorial integrity of nation while respecting other nations.

Nationalism is harmful when it has a 'selfish' nature, concerned only for the destiny of one's people in the belief that the "destiny of any person is attached to his nation and people, and such person is not concerned for the destiny of other persons," (Trang, 2017, p.14) or even to the extreme that "nationalism often asserts that other nations are mortal enemies of one's nation; it spreads hatred towards what are considered foreign, whether another country, an immigrant or a person who may practice a different religion or speak a different language" "nationalism often asserts that other nations are implacable enemies to one's own nation; it injects hatred of what is perceived to be foreign, whether another nation, an immigrant, or a person who may practise another religion or speak a different language". (Grosby, 2005, p.5)

Thus, according to Trang (2017, p.14), nationalism is a complicated and multi-dimensional issue, depending on which specific characteristics, values, norms, or interests of a country or nation are appreciated (such as skin color, ethnicity, territory, state, history, etc.) and degree of expression (moderate, conservative, progressive, harsh, radical, extreme, aggressive, etc.). When taken to the extreme, such forms of nationalism are primarily considered and assessed negatively.

### **Extreme nationalism**

In the 20th century, nationalism was the driving force for independence and nation-building in colonial countries. However, these countries are where nationalism ended colonialism, which is not the end of the journey of nationalism but only the opening of a new journey (Khan, 2005, p.28). If positive nationalism originates from feelings and loyalty to the country, it will not mean that one's people are superior to others; it aims for equality among people, promotes freedom, independence, self-determination, and dignity of people before oppression, domination, and injustice, and is the basis for building friendly relations between people. From another perspective, several negative, extreme manifestations of nationalism have also emerged and seem to be accompanied by positive nationalism. Extreme nationalism is according to Hong and Hiep (2013), "the ideological tendency to absolutize and place the value of one's nation in the highest position in the entire value system, leading to exaggeration, xenophobia, arrogance, and consider one's nation superior to all others and cause damage to other nations." In some countries, extreme nationalism is often manifested by efforts to limit or stop immigration, deport, and/or oppress non-indigenous people within the country or its territories. For international relations, extreme nationalism is a closed, isolated, conservative, xenophobic, suspicious, and even offensive ideology towards other nations. Extreme nationalists do not want to accept other nations' support, do not want to absorb the experiences or cultural values, and refuse international agreements, avoid international law. Extreme nationalism easily creates an isolation tendency, opposing the tendency of international cooperation, association, and integration; it chooses elimination instead of integration: According (Grosby, 2005, p.17) "nationalism rejects civility and differences accepted by it by attempting to eliminate all different viewpoints and interests for the sake of a vision of what the nation was and is, etc. Nationalism has no compromise; it always seeks to put aside many complications."

“Nationalism repudiates civility and the differences that it tolerates by attempting to eliminate all differing views and interests for the sake of one vision of what the nation has been and should be, etc. Nationalism knows no compromise; it seeks to sweep aside the many complications that always are part of life as it actually is”. When extreme nationalism develops, it disrupts the national unity bloc within each nation-state, provokes separatism, hinders international exchange and cooperation, reduces strategic trust among countries, or even promotes the propensity of violence or war against enemies of such nation-state (sometimes just imaginary enemies).

Nationalism is in conflictual nature because it inculcates the concepts of differences between human communities and emphasizes the inherent national consciousness in each individual: “Nationalism is a variation of in-group selfishness, not recognizing the equal rights of ethnic groups... it exaggerates the role of ethnic differences and advantages of its community.” It abuses ethnic self-consciousness, patriotic feelings, linguistic similarity, ethnic culture, etc., nationalism transforms them into a hostile and aggressive stance towards other ethnic groups”(Thai, 2009, p.68-75)

Extreme nationalism has been around for a long time. Until the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it was in the form of expansionist nationalism of imperialist and fascist countries. This form of extreme nationalism is based on the belief in the superiority of one's people over other peoples and the desire to elevate one's people to a dominant position commensurate with that superiority. As a result, extreme nationalists dismiss entirely the needs and rights of other nations to self-determination. For them, to achieve economic benefits, possessing a large empire was significant to demonstrate the prosperity of their nation, so they promoted policies of colonial invasion and exploitation. With the wave of colonial invasions by imperial countries and the struggle for supremacy in terms of commercial, industrial, and military positions between imperial countries, nationalism has become more combative and aggressive, and it is also deemed as one of the causes of World War I and World War II. Hegemony and expansionism also bear the mark of ethnonationalism, referred to as *Expansionist nationalism*. The campaigns of invasion and colonization of Western countries against Asian and African people were justified by the arguments about European cultural superiority. The “white” people of Europe were said to have outstripped the “black,” “brown,” and “yellow” people in Africa, America, and Asia. Thus, the colonial invasion was a highly human moral effort to spread European civilization and civilized less civilized and less developed people in other regions of the world. Or was the notion of German and Aryan racial superiority used to justify the oppression of Jews and promote anti-Semitism that led to the Holocaust in World War II?

At the same time, nationalism rose globally, adding a new nuance: “A remarkable phenomenon is that issues of ethnicity and religion, previously only in a relatively marginal or secondary position, have begun to rise to a central position in the political arena of many countries and even around the world, becoming one of the central problems in some major countries in the world” “A striking phenomenon is that, ethnic and religious issues that used to be in a relative marginal or subordinate status have begun to move to the center of the political arena of various countries and even the world, standing as one of the central issues that some major countries in the world must face.” (Zhou, 2022). As for *Ethnic nationalism*, within a country, extreme ethnic nationalism can appear in the ethnic majority with a higher level of development, with the manifestation being the lack of respect or unequal treatment of ethnic minorities with a lower level of development, harming solidarity, violating ethnic equality, giving rise to conflicts and friction among ethnic groups. It can also appear in ethnic minorities with a lower level of development than the majority, with the manifestation being the tendency to be closed, isolated, and unthinkingly reject the positive aspects of other nations. Overall, extreme ethnic nationalism has the spirit of ethnic discrimination, where one nation looks at another with jaundice, disdain, and contempt. Extreme ethnic nationalists always consider their nation to be the best, do not appreciate the legitimate

effects, benefits, and progress of other nations, and violate ethnic equality, leading to national division, which is the risk of ethnic conflict. *Extreme religious nationalism* is essentially the absolutization of the uniqueness of each religion, especially the national religion, the religion within the same national community, appreciation of one's national-religious community, denial or contemptuous attitude of other national-religious communities and those not following any religion; identification of rights of one's national-religious community, feeling disadvantaged compared to other national-religious communities, so they nurture a deeper and deeper hatred and are willing to trample on the rights of other national-religious communities. It is also a form of extreme-nationalism.

To achieve their goals, extreme-nationalists do not abandon any means or expedient. They often seek to provoke internally while simultaneously connecting build forces with forces outside. Billig (1995, p.5), posits that "Separatists usually found in the outer regions of countries; extremists lurk on the fringes of political life in established democracies, often shunned by sensitive politicians of the center". "Separatists are often to be found in the outer regions of states; the extremists lurk on the margins of political life in established democracies, usually shunned by the sensible politicians of the centre". Political forces and military forces are formed from those forces through democratic mechanisms, even *populists*, to mobilize their supporters based on the view that the group's values have been insulted, disregarded, or disrespected, and Fukuyama (2018), calls it *politics of resentment*. This resentment leads to a need to recognize the group's values, which causes a more significant emotional impact than those simply seeking economic benefits. Thus, it has a more substantial effect on achieving the political goals pursued.

Because of such resentment, extreme nationalism will promote and create war in all areas of social life. Within a nation, at first, they will demand the restoration of political, economic, cultural, and social rights, and then, at a higher level, cause riots, overthrow, and national autonomy. Finally, they ask for secession and the establishment of their own country. These factors combine to create a complex and unstable situation within many countries and seriously threaten world security and stability.

### **3. Discussions**

#### **3.1. Manifestations of excessive nationalism in Vietnam**

In Vietnam, the phrase nationalism, in recent years, has rarely been used in a positive sense; instead, people often use phrases such as "patriotism," "love of country," and "national spirit" to counterbalance nationalism. It is due to the notion, which inherently comes from the ideology pursued by the government, communism, commonly known as an internationalist ideology or internationalism of the working class and opposed to narrow-minded nationalism. The leader of the Communist Party of Vietnam, President Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969), was also criticized by the Communist International for being a narrow-minded nationalist. Positive nationalism in Vietnam, with its manifestations of the love of the country, the spirit of national solidarity, and self-reliance, was formed very early, playing a dominant role in the history of national construction and retention of the Vietnamese nation. Ho Chi Minh himself, with a more realistic view, soon asserted that nationalism has a positive side and that positive nationalism is the "great force of the country," the "great and unique force of social life" of the Vietnamese, and also pointed out that in the traditional nationalism of the Vietnamese, there are both negative and extreme sides, which need to be eliminated (Minh, 2011a, p.511,513). According to Ho Chi Minh's instructions and historical facts, besides the current stream of aggressive nationalism, in Vietnamese national history, such manifestations of extreme nationalism appeared and, without proper behavior, will remain persistent, complicated developments until now.

#### ***Excessive manifestations of nationalism in the past***



Throughout Vietnam's long history, the Vietnamese people have faced powerful foreign invaders many times, so Vietnamese nationalism soon formed, developed, and became an important motivation for the Vietnamese to fight against foreign invaders. During that process, the Vietnamese feudal dynasties, when given opportunities, also carried out policies on “expanding territories” of their nation in many different ways, such as the southward process that many Vietnamese feudal dynasties have followed step by step (Nam, 2010). The southward progression of many Vietnamese feudal dynasties was partly due to pressure and threats from the North. On the other hand, many of the southern lands annexed to Vietnam in the past came from voluntary consent or “gifts” of the southern nation to fraternize with the Vietnamese feudal government. That phenomenon is common and objective in the survival process of many people around the world; however, it is controversial; some people consider it to be a manifestation of big country nationalism (Nam, 2013) (they also invoke the name Dai Viet (the big Vietnam) which many Vietnamese feudal dynasties used).

The clearer manifestation of excessive nationalism in Vietnam in the past is that within the feudal Vietnamese nation, there have been some struggles for secession by ethnic minorities. The cause of these struggles for secession was mainly due to the inadequacy of the central government’s socio-economic policies, which more or less expressed ethnic inequality, leading to resentment among ethnic minorities. In the past, to protect national independence, feudal states called for the fighting spirit of ethnic minorities; then, in peacetime, there were times when the lives of ethnic minorities received little due attention, or even they were discriminated against, for example, “being prohibited from entering the capital” and “prohibited from making friends with Kinh ethnic group (the ethnic majority in Vietnam)” (Dat & Nam, 2001, p.101). As a result, many uprisings occurred under the leadership of Cu Long, Duong Tuong Tue, Doan Chi Kinh, Ha An Tuan, and Nung Tri Cao during the Ly dynasty; Nguyen Non, Doan Thuong, Trinh Giac Mat, Xa Phan during the Tran dynasty; Be Khac Trieu, Nong Dac Thai, Deo Cat Han, Ha Tong Lai during the Le Dynasty, and others.

In the early modern period, some policies of isolationist nationalism were applied by the Nguyen Dynasty, the last feudal dynasty of Vietnam, during its governing process in the country, such as a policy of blockade, religious prohibition, or religious people killing. Since it gained control of the country, this dynasty has been very cautious in its relations with Western countries. “Self-defensive,” “closed,” and “non-Western” are the main features of foreign policies under the Nguyen Dynasty. The Nguyen Kings used the excuse to protect their territory, and people should not let strangers come and live with them and limit trade with foreign ships. With the philosophy “since ancient times, we have been taught not to invite people from far away places,” the Nguyen Kings came up with many reasons to refuse any trade with Western countries, ignore them, or in a more flexible manner, return the offerings, treat the messengers well and advise them to return to their countries. With the policy of not involving the West, “Western” elements were also eliminated by the Nguyen Dynasty, especially its implementation of anti-Catholic policies. Catholicism-related issues are always complicated in the relationship between Vietnam and Western countries. The Nguyen Dynasty believed that a mighty army of invaders from Western countries existed behind the missionaries; accepting the Catholic mission meant accepting the loss of sovereignty and throne, changing traditional social order, and destroying feudal strongholds. According to Taboulet (1956, p.101) the Nguyen Dynasty worried that the introduction of Catholicism from the West would: “clearly upset native customs and practices, and damage the foundation of main religion as the worship of heaven and earth that the king is the supreme priest, Tutelary God and ancestor worshipping; it has shaken and threatened to disintegrate the foundation of state, family and entire Vietnamese society.” To avoid “disastrous consequences,” 1825, King Minh Mang according to Kim (1971, 227), enacted a religion prohibition edict: “Western religion is evil, bewitches people’s hearts and destroys customs, and thus it must be strictly prohibited so that people may follow the orthodox

religion.” The Nguyen Kings then took measures to restrict the activities of missionaries.

Even extreme nationalism, "a form of unhealthy nationalism that teaches contempt for other peoples... seeking to enhance the nation's prosperity by trampling on the interests of other peoples," "an unhealthy form of nationalism which teaches contempt for other nations or cultures . . . [and] seeks to advance the well-being of one's own nation at the expense of others" is not uncommon in some prominent Vietnamese thinkers (Rourke, 2008, p.116). Phan Boi Chau (1867-1940) was a prominent Vietnamese thinker and nationalist in early twentieth-century Vietnam. He has made many important contributions to the history of the French anti-colonial movement in Vietnam. However, despite many positive ideological values, nationalist nuances are sometimes extreme. For example, in diplomatic relations, Phan Boi Chau said that Vietnam must be in the position of "prevailing"; he always put the interests of the Vietnamese nation above all, and the interests of other countries must obey the interests of the Vietnamese nation. He always wished that in economic relations with other countries, Vietnam must have more privileges, so that it can be compared to the most powerful powers in the world. He praised the conquest of Chiem Thanh of the Vietnamese nation and wished that both Siam, India and the countries in the Nam Duong archipelago respected Vietnam as the master; even France must hear, be afraid, have to ask Vietnam for protection (Thau, 2017, p.198).

### ***Manifestations of current excessive nationalism***

Positive nationalism with good values has been continuously fostered through the nation's thousands of years of historical journey and, in modern times, has been an important driving force to promote the cause of national liberation, promote the process of innovation of Vietnam, contributing to the "map, potential, position and international prestige" that Vietnam has never had. However, besides the currents of patriotism and active nationalism, several extreme expressions of nationalism have also appeared in Vietnam in recent times:

#### *Negative reactions to acts of infringing upon sovereignty and state policies related to foreign countries, mainly China*

Properly protesting against the Chinese government's policies affecting the interests of the Vietnamese nation-state, negative attitudes and behaviors, excessive nationalism, and even negative prejudices about Chinese people and culture have emerged among some Vietnamese. It has been suggested that in Vietnam today, anti-Chinese sentiment has two main characteristics: (1) hatred of "incivility" and (2) fear of aggression acts and the threat of aggression by the Chinese government (Nguyen, 2017, p.8). In contemporary Vietnam, the anti-Chinese sentiment appears to have two main characteristics: (1) repulsion against Chinese "incivility," and (2) apprehension for China government's aggression and purported invasion.

The "anti-China" ideology has not only recently formed among Vietnamese people but also has been formed for a long time because they believe that the nation suffered the humiliation of "a thousand years of slavery" under the yoke of feudal dynasties from China. Then, during the 1,000 years of indigenous feudalism, Vietnamese people also constantly came under the threat of sovereignty from the Northern Dynasties. Even in modern times, the war to protect the northern border in the late 20th century still has deep traces in the minds of Vietnamese patriots. Antipathy towards Chinese hegemony was shaped in the past and passed down from generation to generation. Anti-China history reminds Vietnamese people of heroic traditions, the glorious and indomitable past of their ancestors who repeatedly defeated powerful enemies and repelled invasions by empires from the North. Therefore, such sentiment is a natural consequence of past tensions and current conflicts over territorial sovereignty between the two countries and can become extreme in some cases when provoking factors are added.

The most significant cause of fanning nationalism in Vietnam in recent years is the Bien Dong (East



Sea) issue, directly related to Vietnam's interests and territorial sovereignty. While the government uses diplomatic measures that are both flexible and uncompromising to resolve the issue and the vast majority of Vietnamese people have ways to express their patriotism appropriately, the attitude of "anti-China" and "excluding China" is extreme, and the negative has appeared in some individuals.

In May 2014, the Vietnamese government issued a public announcement on the incident of China's Hai Yang Shi You 981 (HYSY-981) oil rig blatantly infringing on Vietnam's exclusive economic zone and continental shelf, accompanied by a series of aggressive actions, such as opening canvas to intimidate, using water cannons to attack Vietnamese vessels, ready to ram and cause damage to Vietnamese vessels and injure some fisheries surveillance officers. More outrageously, Chinese vessels surrounded and sank a fishing vessel of Da Nang fishermen 17 nautical miles from the rig in the South-Southwest region, a traditional fishing ground in Vietnam's exclusive economic zone and continental shelf. In the face of these severe violations of sovereignty, the Vietnamese authorities urged the Chinese side to abide by international law, bringing the issue of Chinese sovereignty violations against Vietnamese territory to international forums. Besides, Vietnamese people have organized protests in many provinces and cities to protest against China's illegal actions; they chanted slogans, such as "Paracels and Spratlys belong to Vietnam" and asked China to respect International Law, immediately withdraw the HYSY-981 oil rig from the waters under Vietnamese sovereignty. These activities are legitimate and by international and Vietnamese law.

However, in addition to these activities, spontaneous, aggressive behaviors have emerged. In some areas with many Chinese laborers, the situation was quite tense. For example, in Ha Tinh, where more than 4,000 Chinese work, on May 15, 2014, clashes occurred between about 5,000 Vietnamese and 1,000 Chinese, resulting in 149 injuries and one death. The incident culminated in a 67-year-old woman named Le Thi Tuyet Mai burning herself in front of the Independence Palace (Ho Chi Minh City) with six handwritten banners protesting China: "Request unity to crush China's aggression intrigues"; "Support the Vietnamese Coast Guard and fishermen"; "Request China to withdraw from the Vietnamese sea"; "Return the sea and islands to Vietnam"; "Burn the light to light the way for patriots"; "Trung sisters and Lady Trieu formerly stood up to the enemy.", and others.

From its negative protests against the Chinese government's policy of infringing upon Vietnamese territorial sovereignty, acts of extreme nationalism have expanded into the realm of policymaking. For example, when the Vietnamese National Assembly discussed the Van Don, Bac Van Phong, Phu Quoc Special Administrative-Economic Unit Bill, which provides for foreign investors (regardless of nationality) to lease land for 99 years, some forums on social networks reported that the Bill would facilitate "leasing in 99 years," it thereby provoked concerns that China will take land from Vietnam. As a result, there have been protests and riots in several places, and extremists have burned, destroyed, stoned, gas-bombed local government offices, and assaulted law enforcers.

The excessive manifestations of nationalism also appeared in social networks with the appearance of groups, such as "I hate China," "Society of People who hate China," and "Society of Patriots, anti-China on the Bien Dong," attracting tens of thousands of participants, with much information, articles, comments contrary to anti-China content, the boycott of Chinese goods. In particular, during the COVID-19 pandemic, the "excluding China" sentiment became more robust when there was information that the source of the epidemic spread came from China; even people have absconded from getting COVID-19 vaccines produced by China.

Any diplomatic activities of the Vietnamese government involving China can be used by the enemies as an excuse to provoke that "the Vietnamese government will make concessions in sea and island issues" the enemies, causing psychological confusion and increasing anxiety about the Chinese, such as the most

recent the two visits to China of General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong (November 2022) and Prime Minister Pham Minh Chinh (June 2023) have been taken advantage of by many extreme-nationalists to spread false information, aiming to provoke ethnic divisions, social tensions and ethnic prejudice in Vietnam (Nguyen, 2017, p.35). a surge of anxiety about the Chinese, leading to concrete social tension, everyday ethnicbias, and the practice of stereotypic labeling in contemporary Vietnam.

*Ethnic nationalism and religious factors*

Vietnam is a multi-ethnic country (54 ethnic groups) and multi-religious (as of 2022, Vietnam has about 16 religions with 27 million followers, accounting for nearly 30% of the population). The Vietnamese government has always upheld the issue of national unity and religious unity and has promoted a significant role in national construction and development. In recent times, however, some ethnic conflicts involving religion have occurred in some areas. Clan and ethnic nationalism are formed based on clans, i.e., an emphasis on clan identity, with the clan as the center, to achieve the aim of building a national state, ethnic groups with the dominant clans as the subject, or that clan to be autonomous within a nation - ethnic group. There are the three most prominent “hot spots” in Vietnam related to ethnic nationalism and religion are in the Central Highlands, the Northwest, and the Southwest. The Central Highlands is a mountainous area adjacent to Laos and Cambodia, where formerly there existed only village communities or a few regions of the Ede, Giarai, and Sudanese people with a higher form of inter-village, accompanied by people who represented and carried out religious activities for those communities. Since the early 20th century, Protestantism has been spread into this land and has a sizable number of followers. After 1975, Protestantism in the Central Highlands has been used by the political organization known as FULRO (Front Uni de Lutte des Races Opprimées, abbreviated as FULRO - founded in 1964) to propagate narrow nationalism, separatism, and the demand for a separate nation. During its operation, FULRO has attracted several pastors and followers of Protestantism who are ethnic minorities in the Central Highlands to follow in order to “religionize” ethnic areas. Some Evangelical Christian churches become resupply bases for FULRO. This organization has propagated, enticed, and incited the people of ethnic minorities to secede self-government, set up an organizational framework of “Dega State” or “Dega State Highlands,” set up “Dega Army,” has its national flag, national anthem, national name, with the intrigue of separating the Central Highlands from Vietnam, turning the Central Highlands into an unstable area, an “autonomous” region, proceeding to establish an “independent state.” Inciting conflicts to form “clash hotspots,” destabilizing security and politics, dividing the grand national unity bloc, and creating an excuse to interfere in the internal affairs of the Vietnamese government.

Under the direction of exiled organizations, such as “Montagnard Foundation Inc” (MFI), “Montagnard Human Rights Organization” (MHRO), “United Montagnard People” (UMP), and others or separatist organizations masquerading as religion, such as “Dega Protestantism,” “Christ Protestantism,” “Central Highlands Evangelical Christian Church” and so on established by FULRO subjects in exile abroad, hooked up with reactionary elements in the country to incite and draw divisions between ethnic minorities and Kinh people, between the people and the authorities, causing protests, political riots, causing instability of security and order in the Central Highlands. The content orients public opinion to ethnic issues, religion, democracy, human rights, and land issues, considering these as “detonators” to incite separatist ideology, autonomy, and “excluding Kinh people.” Internationally, the reactionary organizations in exile take advantage of international forums to slander Vietnam for “repression and genocide of ethnic minority people in the Central Highlands,” calling for the US and the United Nations to intervene and put diplomatic pressure on Vietnam. Many incidents were “orchestrated” by reactionary organizations in exile, such as the Boat People SOS (BPSOS). BPSOS has been linked with reactionary organizations, such as “Montagnard Stand for Justice” and “Montagnard Evangelical Church of Christ

of the Central Highlands” to organize training for some dissidents in the country with the plot to form illegal religious associations and groups, as a tool to gather forces to serve the plot to oppose the Vietnamese government, causing riots in the Central Highlands in 2001, 2004, and 2008. This organization does not represent the ethnic minorities in the Central Highlands. The protests and riots they caused in the past years in the Central Highlands also only enticed and provoked a tiny part of the people of a small number of ethnic minorities in the Central Highlands mainly involved, so the struggle movements often fail quickly. One of the organizations with anti-dangerous activities in recent years is the group “Montagnard Stand for Justice.” To operate, the group has set out its principle and purpose of “promoting peace and protecting the human rights of the oppressed people in the Central Highlands.” It operates through social networking sites to communicate, incite ignorant people in the country to violate the law, and be dealt with by the authorities, thereby providing false information to slander Vietnam’s discrimination and repression of ethnic minorities.

Activities of separatist organizations in the area have become increasingly violent, most recently the terrorist attacks by armed groups on the administrative headquarters of Ea Ktur and Ea Tieu communes, Cu Kuin district, Dak Lak province on June 11, 2023, which killed four police officers, two communal officials and three residents, and seriously injured two communal police officers. According to Lieutenant General To An Xo, spokesman of the Ministry of Public Security of Vietnam, this is a terrorist attack against the government: “The public security force have documents and evidence to prove that the case occurred due to the support and direction from many overseas organizations and individuals, even sending subjects from abroad to enter Vietnam to stage illegally and direct terrorist attacks.” The next hot spot of nationalism of clans and ethnic with religious colors is in the Northwest region, adjacent to Laos and China, relating to the issue of Mong nationalism.

According to the legend of the history of the Mong people, they are described as people who once had their kingdom occupying the fertile Yellow River area, even before the Han people migrated about 2500 years ago. After losing the war with the Han, they had to migrate to other places, such as some provinces in southern China and some Southeast Asian countries, including the northern mountainous Vietnam. Embracing the hatred of losing their country, the Mong wanted a nation and a king to rule.

The Mong people have a unique spiritual culture; they have their voice and a rich folklore treasure. The Mong script is valued and preserved; even they think that “because the Mong has no script, lose the case to the Han, so I have to leave.” In the cases of “King’s welcome” or the organization of learning “King’s letters,” they are standard forms that the leading subjects take advantage of to entice and gather the masses effectively. That reflects Mong aspirations and desires to preserve the nation’s language and culture as a condition of its existence and development. However, some of the separatist nationalists in the Mong community took advantage of that desire to make the Biblical allegation that the Mong scripture had been lost, and now God and the white people were able to retrieve it and bring it back to the Mong; claiming that Jesus loved the Mong the most; historically and talentedly referring to the Mong as the Jews and the country of Israel, propagating that the Mong would also have the mighty state that Israel now has. Although scattered in many regions and countries, the Mong still have a shared sense of national self-awareness with the concept that “we are the same root as the same flax seed sown on the ground.” Dat (2001, p.226) argues that they put their faith in ethnic minorities to obtain status and power and desire to have Mong leaders protect them. This consciousness is powerful despite internal divisions, but when there are disputes between people of different ethnicities, they are very closely united. Taking advantage of that characteristic, some extremists from the outside have propagandized to entice the Mong by migrating to the border areas of Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, China, and Myanmar to establish the “Kingdom of Mong.” Two separatist organizations operating in the Mong community in Vietnam in general and Southeast Asia in particular, Vang Pao (Vaj Pao) and Vang Chu (Neng Chu Vang), both

advocate to rally Mong people, build “campaign,” “charter,” draw “flag,” cast “star,” “stamp,” costumes, weapons, means for the establishment of the “Mong State”... with conspiracy to cause armed riots, overthrow the people’s administration.

Recently, a plot has been to overthrow the Muong Nhe district (Dien Bien province) government, establish the “Mong Democratic Republic,” and submit a petition to the United Nations and international organizations for recognition. The purpose of this organization was to secede and separate the Mong community from the Vietnamese ethnic community and establish a separate Mong government owned by the Mong, with its apparatus, organization, writing, seal, flag, currency, police force, and military of the Mong. “The Mong Democratic Republic” consists of 4 levels: central - provincial - district - village level, then expanded to the Northwest provinces. Implementing the above policy, from April to May 2011, about 7,000 Mong people marched to Nam Ke commune (Muong Nhe, Dien Bien) to protest for religious freedom and autonomy rights in Muong Nhe district. Despite being disbanded by functional forces, these subjects continue to propagate, incite, and gather forces to form the “Kingdom of Mong.” From the beginning of 2020 until now, several extreme-nationalists have not given up their opposition ideology and have hooked up and linked up with overseas organizations and several subjects in Ha Giang, Lao Cai, and Lai Chau to focus on Muong Nhe to discuss, unify and rekindle to organize activities to establish the “Mong state.”

*In the southwestern region, excessive nationalist elements have also increased the use of the Internet, newspapers, and radio to incite the idea of “secession” into the Khmer ethnic minority areas under the Theravāda Buddhists, demanding to establish the “Khmer Krom government in exile” and proceeding to establish the “Khmer Krom State.” Furthermore, these elements linked to organizations abroad not only provoked ethnic minorities in Vietnam but also provoked and affected diplomatic relations between Vietnam and Cambodia. Khmer extremists in exile in Cambodia have propagated and incited people to participate in protests distorting Cambodian “slash land” for Vietnam, denouncing Prime Minister Hun Sen’s “sell land” for Vietnam and Vietnamese authorities preventing Cambodians from farming their land. They also asked Prime Minister Hun Sen to discuss with Vietnam “2 issues”: (1) Fighting with Vietnam about acts of infringing upon Cambodian territory and sovereignty, arguing that Vietnam makes roads and digs rivers in border areas encroaching on Cambodian territory; (2) Solutions to settle illegal immigration into Cambodia, continuing to evict illegal Cambodian immigrants to ensure political security and serve Cambodian socio-economic development.*

Thus, while not a painful political issue, the manifestations of extreme nationalism in Vietnam significantly affect the socio-economic stability of the country and threaten political security, national sovereignty, and international relations. Unlike some other countries, excessive nationalism in Vietnam only appears as seeds of secession, small struggles, and protests of a religious group, ethnic group, or community when provoked or incited by the forces of political opportunity, rather than creeping into the political system or state activities. The Party, the state, and the overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese people have always opposed all extreme nationalist attitudes and acts, and at the same time condemned and resolutely fought with tricks to incite excessive nationalism, violating the laws and fine morals of the Vietnamese nation.

### **3.2. Propensity in the manifestation of extreme nationalism in Vietnam**

#### ***Firstly, the religious nation of ethnic minority issues***

The emergence and transformation of religion are always associated with its cognitive, socio-economic, and psychological origins. However, what is remarkable in Vietnam is that the religious transformation, especially the shift from traditional beliefs to new religions (mainly Protestantism) of a part of Vietnam’s ethnic minorities, is not entirely on the people’s own but mainly due to the impact of evangelism and the enticement of people to follow the religion of extremists. These forces have taken advantage of historical and ethnic psychological characteristics, policy inadequacies, and the socio-economic status of

the region or ethnic group to evangelize, thereby attracting people of the same faith within the ethnic group or among ethnic groups in the same geographical area to rally forces to form religious organizations associated with opposition political organizations.

Vietnam is multi-ethnic, but its economic, cultural, and social development has been uneven. The intellectual life and social activities between urban and rural areas, downstream and mountainous areas, and religious and non-religious areas remain primarily different. Ethnic minority groups living in deep-lying and high-mountainous areas have poor socio-economic conditions. Recognizing these things, extreme nationalists have spread religion to meet the spiritual needs of the people, make up for the gaps in life, the emptiness in the soul, comfort, console, soothe difficulties, and so on. In the Central Highlands, taking advantage of the situation, people there are told that only following the Dega Protestant Church can be happy, and if they follow Protestantism, they will be fed when hungry or given medicine when sick. In the Northwest region, taking advantage of the heavy and expensive traditional customs and practices of the Mong, they propagate Protestantism. They will not have to practice those cumbersome and complicated customs anymore. According to the missionaries, many people have abandoned traditional beliefs to follow Protestantism, gradually forming ethnic-religious communities. The “private religions” for ethnic minorities were formed, such as “Dega Protestantism” in the Northwest region, “Mong Protestantism” in the Northwest region, and “Khmer Buddhism” in the Southwest region. According to statistics, from 1980 to the present, Vietnam has about 80 “new religions,” new religious phenomena, strange religions, evil religions with various origins, such as Ha Mon evil religion, Po Khap Brau, Duong Van Minh religion, Long Hoa Maitreya, Church of God The Mother, and others. Through religion, extremists use theocracy and doctrine to seize and control the masses, dominate regions, form social forces, and plot to counterbalance the government, causing disunity within the nation–state.

### ***Secondly, the propensity of internationalization of ethnic minority issues***

Vietnam has about 5.3 million people living, studying, and working in 130 countries and territories, including tens of thousands of ethnic minority people. In particular, there is a significant part to set up reactionary organizations abroad, such as “World Mong Association,” “Montagnard Dega Association,” “United Front for the Liberation of Oppressed Races” (FULRO), “Mong Intellectuals,” “Thai Studies Center,” “International Office of Champa,” “Khmers Kampuchea-Krom Federation,” “Kampuchea Krom National Liberation Front,” and others. Overseas reactionary organizations publish newspapers and magazines, build radio stations to distort Vietnamese ethnic lines and policies abroad, and propagate reactionary allegations and information to ethnic minority people in the country, such as through Voice of Kampuchea-Krom (VOKK), Radio Free Asia (RFA), Dega Radio; through the “Community Voice” Magazine in Cambodia and the “Voice of Khmer Kampuchea Krom” Magazine in the US, and so on.

These organizations take advantage of lawful activities, such as charity, humanitarian activities, investment in economic development, and repatriation in the name of non-governmental organizations. In addition, these organizations also infiltrate ethnic minority areas to propagate, link up, and build forces in the country, provide support and aid, and direct separatist activities in the country, causing instability and creating an excuse to intervene. In addition, some extremists recruited ethnic minority youth abroad for military training, aiming to build a permanent cadre base for the separatist movement.

They also seek to internationalize ethnic issues, demanding external intervention. Through various ways, such as strengthening the impact on Western countries, international organizations through reports, seminars, hearings, and press conferences condemn human rights issues in ethnic minority areas in Vietnam, creating excuses for external intervention, or enlisting external support for activities in the country. In particular, these reactionary organizations in exile also sought to participate in UN forums



to pressure the Vietnamese state to promote “self-determination, self-government” for the Khmer Montagnards... in the country. The Khmers Kampuchea-Krom Federation (KFF) has sent a delegation to participate in the “14th United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII),” the “2015 ASEAN People’s Forum,” the AFP news agency, contacted American politicians on the issue of religious freedom; asked Vietnam to end discrimination against the “Khmer Krom”; proposed the United Nations, international organizations and ASEAN members to intervene...

***Thirdly, ethnic nationalism is often associated with the policy of ethnic secession***

After the invasion of Vietnam, the French colonialists implemented the policy of “dividing to rule,” dividing Vietnam into three regions, Tonkin – Annam – Cochinchina, in order to plot to permanently divide the Vietnamese nation, forming a divided subconscious mind, separatist consciousness, demanding the establishment of their nation in our people, especially ethnic minorities. French imperialism recognized the existence of autonomous communities in the Northwest, with “kings” without thrones, such as “Thai King” Deo Van Long (1887 - 1975), who governed 12 Thai countries in Muong Te, Lai Chau; “Meo King” Vuong Chinh Duc (1865 - 1947), who governed Quan Ba, Yen Minh, Meo Vac, Dong Van in Ha Giang. This policy deepened the disagreements between ethnic groups and was one of the causes of modern ethnic conflicts. Today, taking advantage of that historical problem, extreme nationalists continue to incite ethnic minorities, causing psychological differentiation, discrimination, and ethnic division between the majority Kinh people and the rest of the people, making claims to establish their state, such as the “Independent Mong Kingdom” in the Northwest region, the “Dega Autonomous State” in the Central Highlands and the “Khmer Krom Kingdom” in the Southwest region. This feature has become the “blast” for protests and riots, such as the Central Highlands in 2001, 2004 led by Ksor Kok – the self-proclaimed President of the “Dega Autonomous State;” Muong Nhe – Dien Bien demanded the establishment of an independent “Kingdom of Mong” in 2012. It is the most apparent manifestation of ethnic separatist activities, wanting to separate their ethnicity from the Vietnamese nation-state community in general, going against the tradition of great national unity of the Vietnamese people.

***Fourthly, violence and terrorism are a propensity of excessive nationalism and insanity***

Excessive nationalism often tends to secessionism, associated with violent and terrorist activities. Most excessive nationalist acts in Vietnam started as marches and demonstrations but often turned into excessive and violent actions. Initially, extremist ethnic groups enticed and incited their followers to participate in such activities as protesting against foreign interference in the sovereignty and territory of Vietnam; marching, organizing lawsuits to restore old religious organizations and recognize illegally established new religious organizations; reclaiming land and places of worship of previous religions; inciting people to migrate and illegally cross the border freely; propagating and illegally distributing reactionary and religious propaganda materials. Then, excessive nationalist and reactionary elements, who are, in fact, members of international terrorist organizations, sought to incite the crowd to participate in protests and installed people to carry out pioneering acts of violence to stimulate the propensity of violence in the participants of the protests. The purpose of conducting violent and terrorist activities is to create social instability and political pressure to attract public attention.

A typical example is the organization “Provisional National Government of Vietnam,” formerly known as “New Democracy,” founded in 1991 in a foreign country. It was a separatist group with most Vietnamese with foreign nationality to develop forces and propaganda and organize violent activities, such as petrol bombing in public areas and attacking offices of public authorities and some factories and enterprises. It is a common feature of national separatist movements, not only in Vietnam.

The practice of violence and terrorism coupled with the creation of socio-political instability, these



excessive nationalist movements aim far more than to provoke international discourse, influencing international forces to take an interest in their activities under the guise of human rights. Thus, extreme nationalist movements have achieved both the purpose of causing instability in the country and expanding the international influence on their movements and organizations. The June 11, 2023, terrorist attacks in Ea Tieu and Ea Ktur communes of Cu Kuin district (Dak Lak) are typical. It not only caused the deaths of 9 state officials but also caused public confusion and attracted the attention of international media. However, often violent acts of terrorism do not receive the majority support of the international opinion, and at home, it is outlawed.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The revival of nationalism was an essential political propensity in the world after the Cold War ended. In Vietnam, the spirit of genuine and positive nationalism continues to be aroused with the noble mission of asserting national identity, creating a driving force for national construction and defense. However, manifestations of excessive nationalism also appear, significantly impacting the socio-political life of the country. The vast majority of Vietnamese people always carry the spirit of patriotism in their hearts. Ho Chi Minh once said that being Vietnamese means "everyone has some or more patriotism" (Minh, 2011b, p.280). This spirit was formed, strengthened, and developed through thousands of years of national construction and defense. True nationalism and pure patriotism are always a great motivation for the Vietnamese nation to survive and develop. However, if nationalism is not guided by reason or used and provoked by hostile forces, it can be corrupted into excessive and negative manifestations. Actions from anti-Chinese, separatist, anti-socio-economic development policies, and anti-foreign policy of the Party and the State of Vietnam to turning into violence, terrorism, and law violations that some nationalists have taken in the past time clearly show that. These excessive expressions of nationalism can not only mislead international friends about Vietnam but can also have serious political and socio-economic consequences within the country.

Through nearly 40 years of national renewal, Vietnam has achieved many great achievements of historical significance. The country has acquired the foundations, positions, and forces that have never been achieved. It shows that the Party, the State, and the vast majority of Vietnamese people have always upheld true nationalism and always strived to realize the development value system of the nation-state, especially the values of independence, freedom, and happiness. Vietnam's renewal cause is a vivid image of modern and active Vietnamese nationalism. At the same time, the Party, the State, and the people of Vietnam have always resolutely fought with the manifestations of excessive nationalism. In the country's leadership and national administration, the Party and the State of Vietnam have attached great importance to ethnic policies, attaching importance to the settlement of ethnic issues within the country as well as in the relations between the Vietnamese nation and other nation-states based on law and ethics, especially Vietnamese law and international law; Vietnam has always respected, listened to and met the legitimate nationalist requirements and aspirations, and applied various measures from propaganda, education, persuasion, assimilation to handling by law acts of law violation to incite excessive nationalism.

In the context that Vietnam is a developing country facing many difficulties in the process of renewal and international integration, the political life of the region and the world will be complicated and unpredictable; the manifestations of nationalism in Vietnam may also be complicated with many different propensities. Therefore, continuing to study the signs of nationalism in Vietnam, thereby providing policy advice to respond to these manifestations appropriately, not only to protect the good values of positive nationalism but also not to let negative and extreme nationalism from some

manifestations develop into a widespread movement, thereby undermining the achievements of nearly 40 years of national renewal, helping international friends to properly understand and appreciate the tireless efforts of the Vietnamese leadership and people in solving national issues is an important scientific task in Vietnam.

This research paper is solely funded by VNU University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Hanoi under project number USSH-2023.24

## References

- Billig, M. (1995). *Banal Nationalism*. Sage Publications Ltd.
- Dat, P. H. & Nam, L.B. (2001). *Ethnic policies of feudal governments of Vietnam (X-XIX)*. National Political Publishing House.
- Dat, P.H. (2001). *Some urgent theoretical and practical issues related to current ethnic relations*. National Political Publishing House.
- Fukuyama, F. (2018). *In an age of identity politics, inclusive national identity matters more than ever*. <https://www.abc.net.au/religion/why-national-identity-matters/10559382>.
- Greenfeld, L. (2016). *Advanced Introduction to Nationalism*. Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- Grosby, S. (2005). *Nationalism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press.
- Hong, D.M. & Hiep, L.H. (2013), *Handbook of International Relations Terminology*, Faculty of International Relations, University of Social Sciences and Humanities, VNU Ho Chi Minh City.
- Khan, A. (2005). *Politics of Identity: Ethnic Nationalism and the State in Pakistan*. Sage Publications.
- Kim, T.T. (1971). *Vietnam Brief History, vol.2*. Ministry of Education - Publishing Learning Resource Center.
- Minh, H. C. (2011a). *Ho Chi Minh: Complete Collection, vol.1*. National Political Publishing House.
- Minh, H. C. (2011b). *Ho Chi Minh: Complete Collection, vol.4*. National Political Publishing House.
- Nam, S. J. (2010). The expansion of Dai Viet territory under the Later Le Dynasty and its nature. *Journal of Historical Studies*, 3, p. 16-27.
- Nam, S.J. (2013). *History of Vietnam's southward expansion of the territory (1009-1847)*. <https://nghienquulichsu.com/2013/05/08/lich-su-mo-rong-lanh-tho-ve-phia-nam-cua-viet-nam-1009-1847/#comments> .**
- Nenad, M. (2020). Nationalism. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, (Fall Edition). Zalta, E.N. (ed.). <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2020/entries/nationalism/> .
- Nguyen, N.H.T.(2017). *Anti-Chinese Sentiment in Contemporary Vietnam: Constructing Nationalism, New Democracy, and the Use of "the Other"*. Undergraduate Student Research Awards. 40, p. 8.
- Rourke, J.T. (2008). *International Politics on the World Stage*. McGraw-Hill.
- Shafer, B.C. (1955). *Nationalism: Myth and Reality*. Brace and Company.
- Smith, D.A. (2010). *Nationalism, Theory, Ideology, History*. Polity Press.
- Snyder, L.L. (1976). *Varieties of Nationalism: A Comparative Study*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Taboulet, G. (1956). *La Geste Française en Indochine, vol.1*. Adrien-Maisonneuve.
- Thai, T.M. (2009). Nationalism and relations between nations in the modern world, *Journal of Philosophy*, 8, p. 68–75. <http://vpdf.org.vn/tin-tuc-su-kien/chinh-tri-xa-hoi/chu-nghia-dan-toc-va-van-de-quan-he-giua-cac-dan-toc-thoi-hien-dai.html>.
- Thau, C. (2017). *Phan Boi Chau, a patriot and a great culturalist*. Thanh Nien Publishing House.
- Trang, P.T. (2017, October). Nationalism: Viewpoints and some impact factors in current conditions. *Social Science Information Review*, p. 14.
- Zhou, S. (2022). The origins, characteristics, and propensity of neo-nationalism in the 21st century. *Int. j. anthropol. ethnol.* 6 (18). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s41257-022-00079-4> .