THE CONCEPT OF NATIONALISM AND ITS DEVELOPMENT IN VIETNAM

a Lai Quoc Khanh, b Ngo Thi Huyen Trang

ABSTRACT

Objective: This study aims to analyze the development and transformation of the Vietnamese identity through interactions with other countries and examines the significance of the north-south identity. Central to this research is the exploration of nationalism, its development, and implementation in Vietnam.

Method: The research adopts a comprehensive approach that includes a literature review, historical analysis, and utilization of various data sources. A comparative study is conducted to contrast the North and South regions, considering their political ideologies, in-group favoritism, and challenges encountered in promoting nationalism. External factors' influence on nationalism is also examined, focusing on the roles of China, America, and France and Marxist ideology in shaping Vietnamese identity.

Results: Vietnamese nationalism has its own characteristics that have been formed and formed through thousands of years of fighting for and keeping national independence and national sovereignty. Only a proper understanding of Vietnamese nationalism could be explained why in the past, the Vietnamese people still existed with their own identities after 1000 years of Northern domination with the strong assimilation policy of the Chinese feudal government, and in modern times from the Geneva Agreement (1954) until its collapse on April 30, 1975, the government of the Republic of Vietnam always claimed to be the embodiment of "nationalism" but was rejected and failed by the Vietnamese people themselves, while the government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has always been considered communist - in the sense of non-nationalism - and won the nation's support, completing the great cause of liberation of the South and reunification of the country.

Conclusions: This research underscores the profound impact of external influences on Vietnam's orientation and translation of nationalism. The study emphasizes the continuing evolution of Vietnamese identity and its relevance in the broader global context. Understanding the development and transformation of the Vietnamese identity is essential for comprehending the dynamics of nationalism and cultural interaction in contemporary Vietnam. The insights gained from this research contribute to a broader understanding of how a nation's identity can be influenced and shaped by interactions with other as well as political ideologies that have influenced the world in each era.

Keywords: Vietnam, identity, China, colonization, nationalism.

a PhD in Philosophy, Associate Professor, University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi, Vietnam, E-mail: khanhlq_nv@gmail.com, Orcid: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9635-8220
b PhD Candidate in Politics, Thuongmai University, Vietnam, E-mail: trang.nth@tmu.edu.vn, Orcid: https://orcid.org/0009-0004-6048-282X
O CONCEITO DE NACIONALISMO E SEU DESENVOLVIMENTO NO VIETNÃ

RESUMO

Objetivo: Este estudo tem como objetivo analisar o desenvolvimento e a transformação da identidade vietnamita através de interações com outros países e examina a importância da identidade norte-sul. No centro dessa pesquisa está a exploração do nacionalismo, seu desenvolvimento e implementação no Vietnã.

Método: A pesquisa adota uma abordagem abrangente que inclui uma revisão da literatura, análise histórica e utilização de várias fontes de dados. Um estudo comparativo é realizado para contrastar as regiões Norte e Sul, considerando suas ideologias políticas, favoritismo em grupo e desafios encontrados na promoção do nacionalismo. A influência de fatores externos no nacionalismo também é examinada, focando-se nos papéis da China, América e França e da ideologia marxista na formação da identidade vietnamita.

Resultados: O nacionalismo vietnamita tem suas próprias características que foram formadas e formadas através de milhares de anos de luta e manutenção da independência nacional e da soberania nacional. Apenas um entendimento adequado do nacionalismo vietnamita poderia ser explicado por que no passado, o povo vietnamita ainda existia com suas próprias identidades após 1000 anos de dominação do Norte com a forte política de assimilação do governo feudal chinês, e nos tempos modernos a partir do Acordo de Genebra (1954) até seu colapso em 30 de abril de 1975, o governo da República do Vietnã sempre alegou ser a personificação do “nacionalismo”, mas foi rejeitado e falhou pelo próprio povo vietnamita, enquanto o governo da República Democrática do Vietnã sempre foi considerado comunista - o sentimento de não nacionalismo - e ganhou o apoio da nação, completando a grande causa da libertação do Sul e da reunificação do país.

Conclusões: Esta pesquisa ressalta o profundo impacto das influências externas na orientação e tradução do nacionalismo do Vietnã. O estudo enfatiza a evolução contínua da identidade vietnamita e sua relevância no contexto global mais amplo. Compreender o desenvolvimento e a transformação da identidade vietnamita é essencial para compreender a dinâmica do nacionalismo e da interação cultural no Vietnã contemporâneo. Os insights obtidos a partir desta pesquisa contribuem para uma compreensão mais ampla de como a identidade de uma nação pode ser influenciada e moldada por interações com outras ideologias, bem como ideologias políticas, que influenciaram o mundo em cada época.

Palavras-chave: Vietnã, identidade, China, colonização, nacionalismo.

1 INTRODUCTION

Vietnam is a multi-ethnic country, including 54 ethnic groups, in which the Kinh (Vietnamese) account for the absolute majority with a rate of more than 85.3% of the population (as of 2020), and ethnic groups live intertwined, not forming a separate territorial space of each ethnic group. The Kinh plays a central role in gathering and uniting ethnic groups in a unified country, and the Vietnamese language gradually...
becomes the Nation's common language. The state-nation was also formed early. According to historical researchers in Vietnam, the Vietnamese state has emerged since the time of Van Lang (Hung King) with the role of a leader to direct and administer economic activities and self-defense. After more than 1000 years of Northern domination and independence, the State of Vietnam developed in the direction of mainly a centralized and unified monarchy. During the colonization of Vietnam by the French, the Vietnamese were introduced to a different way of life which allowed for the development of varying belief systems, thus allowing for the development of Nationalist resistance (Young, 2018). During this period, Vietnam's traditional nationalism was successfully modernized by the communists under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh and became a powerful driving force in the de-realization movement. population in Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh himself was honored by UNESCO as the hero of national liberation of the Vietnamese people, and the banner of national liberation raised by him has "contributed to the common struggle of the peoples for peace and independence. national establishment, democracy and social progress". Today, that modernized nationalism is a resource to help Vietnam innovate and develop successfully, affirming Vietnam's position in the region and in the world.

2 NATIONALISM

In his book *Nationalism, Theory, Ideology, History*, Anthony Smith observes that: in the course of its existence, the term nationalism has been used according to five different ways: 1) the whole process of formation and maintenance of peoples; 2) a sense of belonging to the Nation; 3) a language and symbol of the Nation; 4) an ideology of nations; 5) a social and political movement to achieve the goals of nations and fulfil the national will (Smith, 2010). Firstly, from a sense of formation and maintenance, Nationalism and the formation and development of nation-states are closely related. The nation-state is the context in which Nationalism develops, and, in turn, capitalism helps form nation-states. However, it should also be noted that Anthony Smith's views are built on the material on the formation of the nation-state in Western countries. In Eastern countries, including Vietnam, the formation of a nation-state has many specific features, in which, two important origins are water treatment for agriculture and anti-foreign aggression.
As for the second way, Ernst B. Haas argues that: "a people is a social organization consisting of individuals who unite themselves by certain characteristics that distinguish them (in their thinking) from outsiders - who try to create or maintain their state." Their collective consciousness is based on feelings of difference nourished by core symbols shared among members and their desire for self-determination for their people. From that consciousness, belief, and desire, Nationalism has formed: "Nationalism is the belief of a group of people that they must form or have been a people. It is a theory of social solidarity based on the characteristics and symbols of the nation-state. A nation-state is a political entity whose people consider themselves a single people and aspire to be one" (Hass, 1997).

For the third way, Nationalism as the language and symbol of the Nation is also a matter of interest to researchers of Nationalism. However, the language or symbols of Nationalism cannot be considered in isolation, as they are closely linked to the nationalist ideologies that form the core components of nationalist ideology tenet. Sentiment and sense of the Nation, language, symbolism, and nationalist movements are inseparable from the ideology of Nationalism, the primary usage of the term.

Nationalism as an ideology puts the Nation at the center of its concerns and seeks to promote its well-being. According to Smith (2010), the Nation's prosperity is expressed through three crucial goals: national self-determination, national unity, and national identity. For the nationalists, a nation can exist without all three objectives. Thus, Nationalism is: "A movement of ideas to achieve and maintain autonomy, unity, and identity for a community of people whose members consider to constitute a nation." All kinds of thinking that stem from that Nationalism is based on two fundamental principles that are members of a country – a community of equal citizens experiencing a shared past and looking forward to the same future – should lead the state, and those leaders should be for the good of the Country.

In the view that Nationalism is a political movement, John Breuilly writes: "The term nationalism refers to political movements that seek or exercise state power and justify state powers do so by nationalist reasoning." In his view, Nationalism is the theory of political movement built on three bases: 1) The existence of a nation with clear and specific characteristics; 2) The interests and values of this people take precedence over all other peoples; 3) The Nation must be as independent as possible, which often requires at least the attainment of political sovereignty. Nationalist movements are the only
legitimate solution to the national principle and the only effective defense of the national interest.

Nationalism also means the doctrine and political movement demanding equal rights, the right to self-determination, and establishing a country for a people. The campaign for the independence of European peoples of the nineteenth century, or the struggle against imperialism and national liberation of the colonial and dependent peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, known by Western scholars as the nationalist movement, is also understood in this sense. In this case, "nationalism" is a factor that plays an active role, becoming the driving force of the national liberation movement.

Despite numerous meanings and approaches, which have varied constantly over time and space nationalism can be defined as a sentiment, a cultural form, or a movement centered on the nation-state, centered on the nation-state's sanctity, interests, and values (Francois, 2020). Nationalism creates social solidarity by arousing strong collective sentiment: all citizens experience a collective identity geared toward the Nation's common good. It promotes collective actions and policies to protect the sovereignty, unity, and autonomy of the people gathered in a single territory, united by shared political, cultural, and collective goals.

In Vietnam, for a while, talking about Nationalism was still hesitant because, in many people's minds, mentioning Nationalism refers to an ideology opposite to proletarian internationalism. Some even equate Nationalism with fascism, seeing only the negative side of Nationalism. Although Nationalism is diverse in trends and manifests at different levels, it is likened to a dual phenomenon that can be an essential driving force for forming and consolidating the people's solidarity of a nation, but can also be a cause of division; Nationalism is the basis for the prosperity of a nation, can also drag that Nation backwards; can form national alliances for the joint development of humanity, can also oppose that progress. John T. Rourke, in his book *International Politics on the World Stage*, asserts the duality of Nationalism: "Nationalism is a positive force, but it also brings despair and destruction to the world." He also quotes Pope John Paul II in his address to the United Nations General Assembly about two types of Nationalism: On the one hand, Nationalism is positive, which the Pope has defined as "love for the country, and respect for all cultures and all other peoples" (Rourke, 2008) on the other hand, Nationalism is harmful, "an unhealthy form of nationalism that teaches contempt for other peoples… that seeks to enhance national prosperity by trampling on interests of another
nation”. At different times, Nationalism included positive and negative, innovative and reactionary, democratic and authoritarian, and liberal and oppressive ideas.

This duality stems partly from the fact that Nationalism has developed in different places under very different socio-historical conditions, which combine with different ideologies to create different types of nationalism meanings. Liberal Nationalism developed in the 19th century in Europe, leading to the birth of independent nations and states, upholding people’s sovereignty. Expanded Nationalism led to wars of imperialist aggression against the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Rouke, 2008). Fascist Nationalism exploded in Italy and Germany between the two world wars. Meanwhile, genuine Nationalism in the view of Marxism-Leninism drives the movement to fight against colonialism and national liberation in the colonies in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Besides the adverse effects and the consequences that extreme Nationalism brings, Nationalism contains many positive factors that, if adequately utilized and promoted, will become "a great driving force of the country," specifically:

Nationalism promotes democracy through popular sovereignty, with the idea that political power complies legitimatly with the people and that state authorities exercise that power only in their own right as representatives. Thus, the nation-people are the property of the citizens in that Country; all members have freedom, democracy, and equality. The people entrust the state's power and must operate based on the common will and interests of the community. Nationalism also helps to establish social welfare in states. A sense of shared destiny and mutual responsibility helps people accept that people in the same Country, even total strangers, should support each other in difficult times.

Nationalism played an essential role in the struggle against imperialism. It was Nationalism that promoted the national consciousness, the spirit of solidarity, and the fighting will of the peoples of the colonial countries in resisting the domination of the foreign colonialists to restore their independence and claim the right to ethnic equality. The sense of sovereignty, territory, national borders, and national pride does not allow a nation to be subdued or assimilated before any foreign power.

Nationalism promotes economic development and the shared prosperity of the Nation. Nationalists love their Country and always try to make it a better place. Such genuine Nationalism has a positive impact by investing in the Country's infrastructure. The ruling party and state agencies set guidelines and policies for the Country's economic
development. Nationalism recognizes and supports the development of the national economy for the sake of national interests. They are also willing to promote international cooperation for their people's benefit and the world's shared interests.

Nationalism is the driving force for building national unity bloc. Researchers agree that Nationalism is one of the most influential and powerful forces of the twentieth century because Nationalism unites people who share a common language, territory, and culture, training the sense of origin, interests, ideals, and shared goals for the whole Nation. In addition, a sense of Nationalism unites people of different socio-economic, religious, gender, and educational backgrounds by creating a common identity and purpose. Without Nationalism, citizens could put their interests or the interests of their particular ethnic group, religion, or social class before the nation-state's interests. As a result, it can create division and hostility within the Nation, causing instability. Moreover, it may lead to the failure of nation-states to resolve internal affairs and protect their territories.

Regarding international relations, genuine Nationalism shows loyalty to the Country but does not consider its Nation superior to other nations. At that time, genuine Nationalism manifested equal rights among nations and was the foundation and motivation for realizing national rights and, above all, the right to independence and self-determination. Respect for one's people, at the same time, respecting the dignity of other peoples, fighting for one's Nation, and at the same time being concerned about the fate of other peoples in the face of oppression, domination, and injustice; is the basis for building friendly relations between nations.

In addition, Nationalism encourages cultural diversity. The emergence of regional and international organizations in the twentieth century has led some to worry about cultural erosion or the suppression of large countries leading to the disappearance and loss of culture in smaller, weaker countries. However, the reality is different because unique and special points are always respected and appreciated in a world with many shared values. Nationalism, with its sense of identity, difference, and traditional elements, requires these people to respect the diversity and values of other peoples to maintain the very difference of their Nation.
3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1 VIETNAMESE NATIONALISM – FROM TRADITION TO MODERNITY

From the beginning, Vietnamese people have shown common sentiments, awareness of common origin, destiny, and outstanding cultural characteristics. Vietnamese Nationalism comes from having a common origin, "Dragon and Fairy's descendants." The legend of Lac Long Quan and Au Co in the folk mind speaks of the close relationship and tradition of solidarity among ethnic groups in the Vietnamese Nation. Although myths and legends have deeply penetrated the spiritual life of Vietnamese people for thousands of years, many festivals and traditional beliefs are still preserved in Vietnamese people's life, such as mother-worshipping and ancestors worshipping, worshipping famous people with meritorious services to the Country. Until now, the worship of a common ancestor is still carried out every year in Vietnam: No matter who goes back and forth/ Remember the death anniversary on the tenth of March. The Vietnamese government recognizes this day as the national death anniversary to commemorate the death of our father – Hung King. These customs contain the core values in the spiritual life of Vietnamese people about the connection between the past and the present, the common roots and spirituality of the Vietnamese people.

Economic conditions, mainly wet rice agriculture associated with irrigation needs and the requirements of the fight against foreign invaders, have formed a community spirit that plays an essential role in the Country's existence and development of the Nation of Vietnam. The link between the Vietnamese ethnic community is evident in the relationship between the Individual - the Home - the village - the Country. The village culture is prominent in the spiritual life of Vietnamese people. If according to foreign authors, Vietnam did not have a national spirit from an early age because the Vietnamese only lived in the village culture with a self-sufficient economic method: before being colonized by the French, Vietnam possessed a multitude of shared attributes. People are homogenous in terms of ethnicity and language and have the same economic life but are self-sufficient; they have no connection and national spirit because the interaction between people is limited at the village level, and the concerns of the general population do not extend beyond their village (Johnston, 1978). It is a one-sided comment about the well-organized Vietnamese village culture. It is the living environment, the primary community collective of Vietnamese people. As for the village in the West, as Marx said, it is just a discrete collection like a sack of potatoes.
The village is a community of individuals and families, combining neighborly and blood relationships with increased self-governance. All activities of an individual can only be carried out within the scope of the "Village," so the "Village" plays a vital role in the formation of the Nation. Joseph Buttinger, in *The smaller dragon: A Political History of Vietnam*, also affirmed that the Vietnamese existed in the peasant life behind the village's bamboo ramparts (Butinger, 1958).

Vietnamese people live in small groups called villages. However, villages cannot handle big things like fighting against floods and foreign invaders, so villages have to gather together to form a country. Therefore, the nation-state becomes very important to the Vietnamese people. Although national boundaries are sacred to them, to keep every inch of the Country's land, people can spare no effort to sacrifice their blood and bones. It is different from the Chinese culture. When the talented people of the Spring and Autumn period - Warring States period or the heroes of the Three Kingdoms period were unsatisfied with their King, they could go to another country, find another king and serve them. They were looking for the insightful owner rather than for the national consciousness. For the Vietnamese, the Nation is an extension of the village. Gia Long King was deeply aware of the connection between the village community and the Nation when he said: "Nation is the combination of villages. Coming to the Nation from the village, teaching the people to form the custom, the King must put the village above all", (Institute of History, 1963). The function of the water is the same as that of the village - dealing with nature and solving social problems - the only difference is scale. On a village scale, people link together to produce quickly and prevent theft. On a national scale, people do that to fight against natural disasters, treat water, and prevent foreign invaders.

Everyone in the village considers each other like brothers in the family with the spirit of "neighbors help each other go through difficulties," which has transformed into a national sense of community. Community within the village is the basis for creating homogeneity in social relations such as ethnicity, contemporaries, colleagues, and compatriots. It inevitably leads to national homogeneity: compatriot. "Oh gourd, love the pumpkin, though, of different species, you share the same trellis"/"The interference covers the mirror price; people in a country must love each other." The spirit of unity of the whole people comes from there. Thus, the feelings of attachment to the villages and homeland that exist in the shade of banyan trees, wells, and communal courtyards of the Vietnamese have elevated to affection for the Nation.
During more than 1000 years of feudalism in the North, in the face of tough challenges in the Nation's perishing situation, the Vietnamese ethnic community has always maintained the sense of a national community established in the Hung King Dynasty, preserving and maintaining the Vietnamese lifestyle, and resisting the imposition of the Han lifestyle. Vietnamese people use the Vietnamese language to read Chinese characters, create Sino-Vietnamese sounds, and then gradually improve them into Nom characters - the first national language of Vietnam to keep their language. Legends and myths about the origin and culture of Vietnam are still handed down in folklore. Besides, the movements to fight against aggression broke out strongly. The people revered the leaders of these movements as national heroes, such as the Trung sisters, Lady Trieu, Ly Bi King, and the Swarthy Emperor but were unsuccessful and even suppressed in a sea of blood. However, these uprisings showed that the Vietnamese people did not submit to the domination of the North and that this land had its owners - the Vietnamese, not the Han people. Thanks to tireless efforts over many generations, Vietnam also regained its independence after the victory of the uprising led by Ngo Quyen in 938.

Until building an independent and self-reliant state, Vietnamese Nationalism used all its arguments to affirm its independence, sovereignty, and national identity against the attack of powerful imperialists from the North. The successive feudal regimes always clearly show the point of view: Vietnam is an independent country, has its territory and borders, and Vietnam belongs to the Vietnamese people. The poet Nam Quoc Son Ha said to be composed by Ly Thuong Kiet (a general of the Ly Dynasty who had the merit of driving out the Song army - a Chinese feudal dynasty), asserted the territorial sovereignty of Dai Viet (a name of Viet Nam at that time): The Emperor of the South reigns over mountains and rivers of the South / As it stands written forever in the Book of Heaven. Nguyen Trai declared: that Dai Viet has had a long history of culture and national sovereignty with the Country's era and national title and is comparable to the Chinese dynasties. The sense of self-respect and national pride is also confirmed by using the Vietnamese script - Nom script, using Vietnamese medicine to cure diseases, and maintaining pure Vietnamese customs and habits from teeth, hair, the way to dress, the New Year's anniversary, the festival, and the way of doing business and living.

The end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century was when Vietnamese Nationalism strongly developed to protest against the invasion of the
French colonialists. The French colonialists' invasion and harsh colonial policies fiercely ignited the national spirit. Eugene John Johnston commented: "During the protracted struggle against the French, Vietnamese nationalism emerged, the Vietnamese leading opposition movements which only wanted to defeat the foreigners and to establish their traditional institutions."

Vietnamese researchers divide Nationalism according to ideology if, at the end of the nineteenth century, Nationalism was associated with the spirit of "loyalty and patriotism" under the banner of the "Can Vuong" movement; at the beginning of the twentieth century, there were two main streams of thought, the bourgeois ideology and the proletarian ideology. Nationalism on the stance of bourgeois democracy was strongly developed in the early years of the twentieth century to overthrow the thousand-year-old absolutist monarchy as well as expel the invading French colonialists, building the new regime in Vietnam in the spirit of democracy and power belonging to the people with two typical representatives, Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh. The term nation also appeared in this period with the merit of Phan Boi Chau when he translated from Chinese transliteration into Vietnamese. He also represents Vietnamese Nationalism in the early twentieth century on the bourgeois democratic stance. His new views on the national-national issue were a big step forward compared to most Vietnamese feudal thinkers.

Phan Boi Chau introduced the concept of a nation (in Vietnam, there are many words used with the equivalent meaning of Nation such as Country, Fatherland) clearly in work Việt Vietnam national history (1908): "The reason it has called a country is that it has sovereignty, people, and land. If these three things remain, the country remains, and if they are lost, it is no longer a country", or: "… A country must have people, land, and sovereignty". Thus, according to Phan Boi Chau, a country, a people, is composed of three elements: sovereignty, people, and land; lacking those three elements is no longer called a country (Chau, 2001).

Phan Boi Chau emphasized the element of sovereignty; he identified this as a significant factor related to the Nation's existence because "the important thing of the country is sovereignty; the important thing of sovereignty is in independence." Therefore, national independence becomes a paramount issue for a country. Regarding the relationship between national independence and sovereignty, He affirmed: "The meaning of the word independence in European is to say: from country to country, our country does not have to depend on foreign countries; foreign countries do not interfere with our
country," but the issue of sovereignty must be resolved in order to gain independence and liberate the Nation, conversely, that whether the sovereignty of a country is completed or not will be shown in the independence of that Country. From the correct perception of that relationship, Phan Boi Chau has pointed out: "Complete sovereignty means that both internal and external relations are entirely up to us."

Phan Boi Chau also gave the necessary conditions for the existence of a country and a nation-state; inside, they must "protect the compatriots, outside, we can compete with other races, and make them fear." The competition between countries and different races will inevitably lead to a state of "victory and defeat." To avoid "defeat," he advocated that the Country must be self-sufficient. To be self-sufficient, people in the Country must have a blood relationship with each other, unite, gather, and "love the race"; in short, they must work together. An inevitable trend that Phan Boi Chau has pointed out is that if we do not strengthen ourselves, we will inevitably perish. A nation's survival follows one rule: "The strong win the weak, and the weak is the food of the strong. If we do not destroy people, they will destroy us" (Chau, 2001). From there, he outlined in front of our Nation's eyes either "spray fresh blood and fight the crooks, rise and kill them all" or genocide. Furthermore, he resolutely chose the first path, raised the national consciousness, and rose to destroy the enemy.

It can be said that patriotism and hatred for the enemy are the most prominent aspects of Phan Boi Chau's national consciousness. However, Phan Boi Chau's Nationalism has a racist color when he introduces the concept of "incompatible heterogeneity" and "through Phan Boi Chau's entire explanation of ethnic relations, people see a glimpse of a narrow and selfish national spirit." It was evident when he praised the expansion of the territory of the Vietnamese Nation when conquering Champa and wished that other countries would respect Vietnam as an insightful owner. Alternatively, when it comes to the issue of alliances with other countries, he always puts the interests of his Country - his people first; the interests of other nations must submit to the interests of the liberation of the Vietnamese people (Chau, 2005).

At the same time as Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chau Trinh soon saw the strength of Nationalism: "Nationalism is heavenly nature, not to mention barbaric, primitive, civilized, says they all have that characteristic." Although he is somewhat idealistic when he considers Nationalism to be "heavenly nature," he has seen the role of Nationalism in the process of existence and development of the Vietnamese Nation. That Nationalism
was forged through thousands of years of nation-building and defense, a nation in "a small land" (a small land) but created heroes that glorify the Country: "Sitting and think of Hong Lac remnant / We are also an Asian country / There have been heroes so far," bravely chasing away "tens of thousands of the Chinese wolf-lobster nation, regardless of whether it was civilized or barbaric, regardless of whether they are strong or weak and desperate to win, not willing to back down a bit, in the end, we win or survival to this day, being blatant as a big country in the South!", (Trinh, 2005). It is not the fate or a supernatural force helping us, but because of "the calm, patient, independent character of the previous people of our Fatherland."

How could a country with such a glorious history and brilliant culture fall into foreign hands? Phan Chau Trinh determined that the reason why our Nation became inferior to other ethnic groups was the King, the Mandarin, and the absolute monarchy. Therefore, he determined that the ultimate goal of the Vietnamese revolution was to gain national independence, restore the Country's sovereignty, and bring freedom and happiness to the people. Nevertheless, to reach that goal, first and foremost, it is necessary to bring the Nation out of the stupor of feudalism and to awaken the sense of national self-reliance. He wrote: "We now need to wake each other up. We will cover up the source, cut the roots, and completely eradicate the tyrannical demonic power that has haunted us for thousands of years" (Duong, 1995). The totalitarian monarchy is the object of criticism and negation of Phan Chau Trinh. He sees that "the monopoly of the monarchy completely kills the patriotism of our Vietnamese people"; "therefore, the people only know the respect the king, not the patriotism." Therefore, for the Country to survive and develop, "our country from now on, is not only the king's right that should not be respected but the throne should also be taken away" (Trinh, 2005).

If Phan Boi Chau proposed a violent path towards establishing a democratic republic with the force of most elements in society, he did not mention the role of the two major classes in Vietnamese society at that time: workers and farmers. Meanwhile, the path of reformed cheesy Nationalism with the main character was to compromise with the imperialists to carry out some reforms in the spirit of "relying on France to seek for progress" and "France - Vietnam make peace," then gradually came to an autonomous status without separating from the protectorate, but also towards the model of state organization similar to the European capitalist countries at that time. However, of course, waiting for the reform of the French empire was unthinkable; the colonial government in
the colony did not carry out any significant reforms to meet the aspiration of "Opening the people's knowledge, restoring the people's power, and supporting the people's living" by the old nationalist Phan Chau Trinh, but even suppressed and persecuted collaborators.

The struggle movement of them and several activities of nationalist organizations such as the Constitutional Party (founded by Bui Quang Chieu and some Vietnamese intellectuals with French nationality) with the spirit that France-Vietnamese make peace, which the nature of cheesy Nationalism, not bringing effectiveness to the national liberation movement; along with the activities of some intellectuals such as Pham Quynh, Nguyen An Ninh, or the Vietnam Nationalist Party (the revolutionary organization of the Communist Party of Vietnam, found by Nguyen Thai Hoc), defeated by the French and marking the end of the role of bourgeois ideological Nationalism in Vietnam.

Since the 30s of the twentieth century, the wave of Nationalism placed on the Marxist stance with the activities of the Communist Party of Vietnam under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh has created turning points for the development of the Vietnamese Nation. Researcher Edwin E. Moise said that the Communist Party of Vietnam is the only organization that can harmoniously combine Nationalism and communism, and that synthesis has created a spectacular victory for Vietnam before France and the United States: "The first Communists waged a long and very fierce struggle to expel French colonialism, and then an even longer struggle to unify Vietnam under a single government. The Communists were the only organized group in Vietnam in the twentieth century that waged an intense struggle for national independence or reunification" (Moise, 1988).

After the Country was unified and peace was repeated throughout the Country, in addition to building the Country along the path of socialism, Vietnam continued to face new diplomatic dangers, namely conflicts in the Southwest with Cambodia and the Northwest with China. On the southwestern border with Cambodia, stemming from expansionist Nationalism, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary group has made accusations that smear Vietnam's image, inciting national hatred, demanding re-planning of the border world, and considering Vietnam as "enemy number one" and "eternal enemy," and sent military forces to attack Vietnam. Meanwhile, on the Northwestern border with China, stemming from the conflicts between the Soviet Union and China over the issue of Vietnam against the United States and the failed attempt to entice Vietnam to become an ally, China has taken actions detrimental to Vietnam, such as shaking hands with the United States
(1972), cutting aid to Vietnam, accusing Vietnam of attacking the Chinese border and conflicts in resolving human rights issues of the Chinese living in Vietnam, and, finally, bringing troops to invade the Northern border provinces of Vietnam, (Huong, 2020). After ending nearly 30 years of two resistance wars against France and the United States, trying to heal the wounds of war, they had to enter a self-defense fight to protect the territory of the Fatherland. Once again, the national and international spirit rose strongly; the lifelines were blood-stained because the Vietnamese people fought to protect every inch of the Fatherland, step by step repelling the enemy's advance and preserving the borders, mountains, and rivers (Truong et al., 2021). Not only keeping the peace for the Country, responding to the proposal of the National Solidarity Front for Cambodia National Salvation and in the pure international spirit, "helping others means helping ourselves," the Vietnamese Volunteer Army also coordinated with the National Solidarity Front for National Cambodia Salvation to launch a general offensive to liberate the capital Phnom Penh and the entire Country of Cambodia. It is an action that is legally and ethically appropriate for the sake of great international sentiment.

In recent years, when the danger of colonialism has disappeared, Vietnamese Nationalism still retains its inherent traditional values, such as patriotism, solidarity, and democracy that have become the excellent driving for socio-economic development. As a result, it has brought incredible success for Vietnam, making it from one of the poorest countries in the world to a middle-income country within a generation, and its position in all aspects is enhanced.

In addition to the traditional values that continue to be promoted, Vietnamese Nationalism has had new manifestations in aspects of life. Regarding politics, Vietnam maintains neutral diplomatic relations, leaving behind the past, looking to the future, and establishing diplomatic relations with most countries and territories worldwide. On the Vietnamese political scene, leaders always emphasize the diplomatic motto: "To ensure the highest interests of the country - nation based on the basic principles of the United Nations Charter and international law, equality, cooperation, and mutual benefit." Thus, national interest is Vietnam's international relations' first and most important principle.

The biggest issue related to Vietnam's territorial sovereignty in recent times is the East Sea issue. While the government has shown a flexible and persistent attitude in solving the issue of sovereignty in the East Sea, anti-China sentiment has become common among Vietnamese people because of the conflicts around sovereignty over
Vietnam's Hoang Sa and Truong Sa archipelagoes. It is demonstrated through social networking forums, formerly blogs, recently Facebook, and even turned into protests and riots (Luong, 2021). As a result, people become particularly interested in any move by the government in its diplomatic relations with China.

In terms of the economy, the government gradually opened the economy and introduced policies to encourage foreign investors to enter Vietnam. At the same time, to protect Vietnamese goods, the government has adjusted tax policies appropriately between domestic and imported goods, ensuring price competitiveness. In addition, each Vietnamese-branded product is promoted and honored by the media. Moreover, the movement "Vietnamese people give priority to using Vietnamese goods" to improve the competitiveness of Vietnamese goods in the domestic market is the most unambiguous expression of Economic Nationalism.

Nationalism increased during special events such as the COVID pandemic; the government successfully exploited the advantages of Nationalism and revolutionary heroism, helping Vietnam overcome the pandemic and strengthen the political system's legitimacy. World competitions with Vietnamese people's participation have received significant public reception and support, such as football matches and beauty contests. However, extreme Nationalism has led to adverse public reactions; they are ready to go to personal pages to attack and curse an individual who has a lousy sense of epidemic prevention, and a referee who makes unfavorable decisions for their favorite football team can be the target of attacks on social media, even a battle of words to protect their Country's team. They are ready to unfollow and boycott the fan page of a significant international competition just because their Country's contestants did not achieve the expected title. The government quickly alleviated these problems, but it created an ugly image of a part of people on social networks.

Thus, Nationalism with good values has been constantly fostered throughout the Nation's thousands of years. Expressions of egotistical and extremist Nationalism appear faintly but are not the mainstream of Vietnamese Nationalism.

3.2 VIETNAMESE NATIONALISM – CONTENT AND CHARACTERISTICS

The characteristics of the Vietnamese Nation's history are that nation-building is associated with national defense, the process of building an independent country is also associated with the struggle with many powerful enemies, affirming the position and
identity of the ethnicity, so the national spirit was deeply rooted in the masses of the people. Researcher William Duiker commented: "Two thousand years of struggle for survival against China's political and cultural domination has created in Vietnam a typical nationalist spirit, which is more and more passionate national self-consciousness than elsewhere in Southeast Asia."

- Patriotism, the spirit of self-reliance - the core of Vietnamese Nationalism

   The most prominent feature of Vietnamese Nationalism is patriotism and national spirit. Of course, every Nation declares its patriotism and national consciousness, but with a particular historical situation, that spirit is even more prominent for the Vietnamese. Vietnam is a country full of natural advantages for development, and at the same time, it is also a country full of difficulties and obstacles in the construction process. The residential community had to fight against many natural disasters to exploit the mountains, destroy the rocks, expand the territory, and build the Country. In that constructive struggle, Vietnamese people have fought together, united the community, and formed national consciousness, patriotic spirit, and, more strongly, patriotism. Patriotism is a system of views and doctrines about the Country, about the national community, starting from the pride in "our nation is a descendant of Dragon and Fairy, many talented people are fighting and bringing North and South peace, pacifying people and ruling the country, which leaves reputation for eternity." Next is the sense of national independence, starting from the "The Emperor of the South reigns over mountains and rivers of the South" to the "Kill Mongolians" determination in the Tran dynasty, the spirit of Nguyen Hue's determination to "Fight until no armor, fight for the Southern kingdom to have the owner," from Nguyen Binh Khiem's philosophy "The world is not private" to the state of the people, for the people and "hate the invaders." Thus, patriotism manifests itself in aspirations and actions that always put the interests of the Fatherland and the people first, construct the homeland, be ready to protect the integrity of the national territory, and preserve and promote the national cultural identity. Professor Tran Van Giau commented: Patriotism is the red thread that runs through the entire history of Vietnam from ancient to modern times. Here, Vietnamese nature almost fully and concentratedly expresses more than anywhere else. Patriotism has become a social and human philosophy of the Vietnamese people. In Vietnam, patriotism is both an emotion and an ideology, but simultaneously a philosophy, a guideline for actions, and a standard for determining right - wrong, good - bad, and should – not, (Giau, 1998).
Vietnamese patriotism is associated with the will to self-reliance and national pride. It is shown by courageous actions in fighting the enemy to defend the Country, not yielding to any enemies, no matter how brutal they are. That is the spirit of "A nation that is not self-sufficient but waits for other peoples' help is not worthy of independence." During more than 1000 years of Northern domination, despite being colonized, oppressed, and exploited, the Vietnamese people were determined not to lose their Country and people or assimilate; and finally defeated the enemy. During the independent feudal period, the will for national self-reliance was developed to a new level, associated with the sense of territorial sovereignty, which ultimately met the criteria of Nationalism in the opinion of Anthony Smith, (Smith, 2010). National sovereignty is the soul in Ly Thuong Kiet's immortal poem, a formal and solemn declaration of the Country's independence and sovereignty; In Nguyen Trai's Binh Ngo dai cao, the concept of country and nation sovereignty is determined by precise criteria about territory, culture, and heroic national history with its national title, individual emperors with equal status to the North, and heroic heroes in every generation. It is also reflected in the affirmation of Vietnam as an independent country with its national title from "Dai Viet," "Dai Co Viet," "Dai Ngu," "Dai Nam," and "Vietnam." While the Vietnamese feudal dynasties noticed the sense of independence and sovereignty by naming the Country's national name very early on, this was only the case in China after the Qing dynasty was overthrown. However, the Chinese boast that they have been a tremendously unified nation since ancient times. However, they do not have a definite country name, no name of a unified country. The names "Han," "Tang," and "Song" were the names of the dynasties, not the national titles, until the appearance of the name China used as the national name for the Republic of China, (Zheng, 2019).

When propagated in Vietnam, most foreign ideas and doctrines changed under the prism of patriotism. Buddhism entered Vietnam very early and was well received by the masses, merging with Vietnamese patriotism to become patriotic Buddhism. The monks were ready to take off their robes and go to the front whenever there was a war in the Country. In peacetime, the monks also contributed to the cause of national construction; the Ly and Tran dynasties proved Vietnam's patriotic Buddhism.

From the 15th century, Confucianism (a doctrine imported from China) was applied by the Vietnamese feudal dynasties and brought to the official status and had a profound influence in many aspects but is still used in the Nation's spirit. For example,
Confucianism's "loyalty to the king" thought, when introduced into Vietnam, is often associated with "love to the country," but when there is a conflict or opposition between those two values, "love to the country" plays a dominant and decisive role in determining the political attitudes of the majority of the population.

When absorbed and spread by Nguyen Ai Quoc into Vietnam, Marxism-Leninism was also based on patriotism. If Marxism-Leninism applied in the Russian October Revolution was a class struggle, it became the foundation for a national liberation struggle in Vietnam. If Marxism-Leninism emphasizes class character, the national interest submits to the proletariat's interests and believes that the revolution's victory to liberate the colonial Nation depends on the victory of the revolutionary revolution's national property in the context of Vietnam; Ho Chi Minh believed that the national interest was all-encompassing; class interests must submit to national interests. Ho Chi Minh highly appreciated the role of patriotism when affirming: "Our people have a passionate patriotism. It is our precious tradition. From the past to the present, every time the Fatherland was invaded, that spirit was vibrant; it formed a mighty and huge wave, it surmounted all dangers and difficulties, and it engulfed both the national traitors and invaders" (Minh, 2011). He realized that "nationalism is the great driving force of the country," and "launched indigenous nationalism in the name of the Communist International." Ho Chi Minh considers it "a policy of great realism. Now, nothing can be done for the Annamite if it is not based on the great and unique motives of their social life". After the revolution was successful, determining a new model of state, Ho Chi Minh also based on Vietnam's experimental conditions to come up with an appropriate model if Marxism-Leninism advocated the establishment of a specialized proletariat state, ensuring the leadership of the working class, Ho Chi Minh and the Communist Party of Vietnam advocated building a state of the people, by the people, for the people, exercising all power in the home country and society belonging to the people. Perhaps because of that, many researchers have "emphasized the nationalist character of Mr. Ho - which puts a patriotic Vietnamese above a Communist." Like Ho Chi Minh's associates: "The Indochinese Communist Party is a leading factor in the movement for national independence, but its members "must first be nationalists, then a member of the party."
- National unity, stopping the seeds of separatism and ethnic conflicts, and unifying the Nation - the key to creating the endogenous strength of the Vietnamese Nation

To be able to promote the power of Nationalism, it is necessary to have a tremendous material force, and that force comes from the spirit of solidarity - a tradition formed very early on by the Vietnamese Nation. After thousands of years of building and defending the Country in the South, it has been continuously built up and permeated into the blood of every Vietnamese people. Solidarity starts from the origin of "Dragon and Fairy descendants" and "compatriots," radiating to the community with a sense of self-consciousness about a unified nation; from a particular feature of the Vietnamese Nation - a nation that has to deal with many powerful enemies from outside, endure so much pain, thereby forging a sense of unity that unites millions of people as one with an indomitable spirit to chase away the enemy to live and rise. Historically, thanks to solidarity, the Vietnamese have gathered forces and brought into play the people's strength to build and expand the Country, overcome natural disasters and enemy sabotage, and create a beautiful and peaceful Vietnam. It is the spiritual fulcrum of the Nation throughout the history of thousands of years of nation-building and defense. To protect territorial integrity and national unification, the spirit of solidarity is to resolutely fight against the Country's division by internal and external forces. The internal conflicts of the feudal class sometimes developed high, leading to the division into the South and the North dynasties (Le - Mac dynasties), which lasted for hundreds of years. Nevertheless, despite the ruling forces plotting to divide the Country, the will to unify the Country is still nurtured and developed in the hearts of the Vietnamese people, which no force can stop.

Thanks to that solidarity and unity, the Vietnamese have won glorious victories in history. On the other hand, the history of the Vietnamese Nation has proven that solidarity will preserve sovereignty and territory, and disunity will become a lucrative bait for foreign enemies to invade. In modern times, Ho Chi Minh was aware of the role of great national unity. He rekindled the source of endogenous strength, promoting brilliantly and contributing to the great victories of the Vietnam nation in the twentieth century. Ho Chi Minh affirmed: "Consolidarity is our invincible force to overcome difficulties and gain victory." After the foreign invaders had been driven out, the strength of the will to fight for independence and freedom was transformed into the strength of the will to build a
new society and new life; grand national unity must find new goals, new content, and new motivations as the foundation to gather the strength of the whole Nation.

An essential issue of preserving and promoting the strength of the significant national unity bloc is resolving ethnic and religious conflicts in the national-ethnic community. In recent years, ethnic and religious separatism has taken place in many countries, seriously affecting peace, national and regional security. However, the treatment of countries - ethnic groups is not the same. For example, the coup in Myanmar appeared to be a power struggle between military and civilian forces, but it contained ethnic and religious conflicts that lasted more than 70 years. The instability in Myanmar today is rooted in the ethnic-ethnic and religious policies of the government of this Country when the Country government legalized discrimination against Muslims - Rohingya and when it introduced a provision that only members of ethnic groups living in Myanmar before 1823 were citizens of this Country in 1982 Citizenship Law. It makes them stateless and, of course, lose their economic and political benefits. Besides, the failure to control the explosion of extreme Buddhist Nationalism has caused riots and demonstrations throughout Myanmar, and instead of settling, the government, standing between two religious forces, deployed an intense crackdown on ethnic armed groups, causing chaos. The conflicts in Myanmar not only wreaked havoc on the Country's economy but also affected international peace, caused division in the international community, and caused a humanitarian crisis due to a wave of migration to the Country to avoid armed conflict.

In Vietnam, with a community of more than 54 ethnic groups living, the issue of ethnicity is always noticed. To consolidate national unity, crush the seeds of separatism and ethnic discrimination, facing the requirement to protect national independence, feudal dynasties used brutal measures to collect and subdue the ethnic minority chiefs and calm the populace. Historical reality shows that, under the Ly - Tran dynasties and in the early Le So dynasty, the central court had to deal with many uprisings with secessionist intentions, such as the uprising of Nung Tri Cao under the Ly dynasty, Trinh Mat Gioi under the Tran dynasty, and Deo Cat Han under the Le So Dynasty. In addition, the government used methods of manipulation, binding, tolerance, and at the same time, integrating them into the national community. After defeating the rebellion of the Nung, the Ly Dynasty again granted the title and the right to self-rule and govern. Furthermore,
after receiving two districts, O and Ly, of the ancient kingdom of Champa, the Tran Dynasty gave the mandarins additional land and tax exemption for three years.

The disparity in education level and the gap between richness and poverty of Kinh people and ethnic minorities has also caused considerable consequences in recent years. Since the early years of the twenty-first century, the issue of Nationalism and ethnic and religious separatism has appeared in Vietnam, such as the movements of "Dega Protestant" in the Central Highlands to form the "Dega Independent State" (2004); "Protestant of the Hmong people" to establish the "Hmong State" in the Northwest (2011); "Khmer Theravada Buddhism" to establish the "Champa Kingdom" in the South Central ethnic minority region (2002-2004) and "The Khmer Kampuchea Krom State" in the Southwest (2014), with the participation of some organizations originating from abroad. The goals of those participating in these movements largely stem from ignorance and material desire, not from the desire for secession and ethnic autonomy. Therefore, the movement was quickly extinguished when the government used peaceful conciliation measures, introduced lenient policies, and cared about material conditions.

Thus, ethnic and religious conflicts did occur but were not an ordinary and stressful phenomenon in Vietnam. Instead, it comes from the reasonable ethnic policy of the Vietnamese government. Ho Chi Minh affirmed: "Our Country is unified with many ethnic groups. Ethnic groups living in Vietnam are all equal in rights and obligations… Our national policy is to realize equality and help each other among ethnic groups…" (Minh, 2011). Ethnic issues are always thoroughly grasped in the Communist Party's discourses in the spirit of: "fighting against discrimination and division of the nation; against the ideology of big nationalism, narrow nationalism, extreme nationalism; overcoming the thought of inferiority and national guilt" in the spirit of "equality, solidarity, respect and mutual development between the ethnic groups" (Communist Party of Party Vietnam, 2001).

- Vietnamese Nationalism from a very early age carried the spirit of civic Nationalism

In the past, western states were considered "territories," "city-states," "principals," or "kingdoms." The inhabitants of a country are lieges, and their political identity is shaped by loyalty to the ruler or ruling dynasty, not a sense of national identity or patriotism. Western civic Nationalism was born to reflect the idea that "the nation should be its owner," "the lieges should become citizens," and "the people should be the owner
of the country." It is also the way the fundamental spirit of the French revolutionaries in the struggle to overthrow the feudal system.

Vietnam did not experience slavery. The Vietnamese feudal system was also different from the Western feudal serfdom; Vietnam’s feudal system does not exist in terms of the domain system and lord-serf relationship, does not experience long-term fragmentation, and does not form a clergy class. On the contrary, it contains certain democratic elements. The concept and tradition of democracy in Vietnam are not derived from bourgeois views on the rights and obligations of citizens, reflecting capitalist economic relations, but from profound concepts and aspirations of the peasantry about the ideals of social justice and equality. The existence of communal land is the main financial foundation for maintaining community activities and is an obvious form of democratic expression in Vietnam's feudal system. The feudal dynasties created a mechanism to protect the people's interests, limit bureaucracy in the state apparatus, and pay attention to the organization of contests to select talented people as mandarins, regardless of rich or poor classes. In 1282, the King of the Tran dynasty held the Dien Hong Conference to decide on a plan to defend the Country and encourage the entire people to fight the enemy. It can be considered a typical form of democracy in Vietnamese history. For many centuries under feudalism, Vietnamese society retained communal power, and even in the centralized feudal system, the King's power was not always unlimited. "The rule of the king is inferior to the rule of the village" and "The rule of the country follows the rule of the country, the village follows the rule of the village." In some sense, the rules in the village are the weapons of the people to ensure certain democratic rights of the people against the centralized monarchy.

That has created the unique feature of Vietnamese Nationalism, which is the attachment of "people" and "country": "People are people of the country, the country is country of the people." In the face of foreign invasion, saving the Country is to save the people. The foreign invaders had "grilled the people on a fierce fire, buried the people in the pit of death," so saving the Country and regaining independence for the Country is to save the people, to regain each person's right to life. To gather forces, the feudal governments all knew how to promote the national spirit for the classes of people to stand under the banner of national salvation. After the victory, the dynasties intend to take the policy of "relief on the people's strength." Tran Hung Dao told the King of the Tran dynasty: "Making relief on the people's strength is to make a deep and durable successor.
That is the top policy to protect the country". Nguyen Trai wrote: "The core of humanity is staying in peace with the people. The military is first to remove the violence". He wished "there will be no resentment and sorrow throughout the village and country." King Le Thanh Tong of the Later Le Dynasty carried out profound reforms in politics, economy, culture, and education. The highlight was the construction of a relatively complete progressive legal system upholding the importance of law and the social status of the people. Although restrained by the feudal monarchy in different periods, the form of expression is still minimal compared to the current level of democracy. However, a democratic tradition cannot be denied in Vietnam.

At the turn of the twentieth century, according to Phan Boi Chau, among the three elements constituting the Nation, "the people are the most important. Without the people, land cannot exist, sovereignty cannot be established; if the people remain, the Country will remain, and if we lose the people, we lose the country", (Chau, 2001). The relationship between the people and the government is a two-way relationship. The government must rely on the people for peace of mind, the government must protect the people, the government is only a representation of the whole Country, and "the key is all in the people." By affirming the critical role of the people in the Country, Phan Boi Chau vehemently denied the previous notions when considering the King as the root of the Country, the King as the supreme being who governs the whole Country, the land, the rivers, the mountains, and the inhabitants belong to the King, which still existed in most scholars. According to Phan Boi Chau, the owners of the Country are specific social forces; they are the ones who build the Country, and "people in a country are subjects of that country." Such a concept of a nation-state was utterly alien to the orthodox feudal ideology at that time. Phan Chau Trinh's desire to destroy the military rule to build a "democracy" regime to abandon the loyalty to the King and promote love for the Country is also the leading spirit of civic Nationalism.

That democratic spirit was thoroughly inherited and developed by Ho Chi Minh in modern times. According to Ho Chi Minh's view, the state is of the people, by the people, for the people, and all power in the state and society belongs to the people. He affirmed: "In our Democratic Republic of Vietnam State, all power belongs to the people," and "all powers and forces reside in the people." The 2013 Constitution (the current Constitution of Vietnam) also recognized the people's democratic rights in Article 2: "The State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a socialist rule of law state of the
The Concept of Nationalism and its Development in Vietnam

People, by the people, for the people" (CSPPV, n.d.). Thus, the emperor's concept of being close to the people to the concept of mastery belonging to the people is a long step forward in Vietnamese political thought.

- Vietnamese Nationalism is not warlike and expansionist

The expansionist form of Nationalism possesses a bellicose and expansionist character. With a solid chauvinist attitude, expansionist Nationalism formed based on the belief in the superiority of one's Nation over other nations and a strong desire to raise international status. Thus, expansionist nationalists entirely dismiss other nations' needs and right to self-determination.

It is entirely different from Vietnamese Nationalism. Historically, the Vietnamese always kept peace with other nations and peoples, tried to avoid conflicts that led to bloodshed, and took advantage of every possible opportunity to settle the peace and calm all conflicts. They are always well aware that: blood must be shed in war whether they lose or win, so for a people with a tradition of kindness, that is undesirable. The Vietnamese people are determined to fight to the end to protect the independence and freedom of the Fatherland. When the goal was achieved, and the enemy was forced to stop fighting, the Vietnamese accepted peace, sometimes compromise, to bring peace and stability to the Country and all peoples. The Vietnamese people not only sympathize and tolerate those who have gone astray (beating those who run away, not those who run back) but are also tolerant towards aggressors (getting great cause to win evil, getting friendliness to change violent). Every time the war ended, they did not kill prisoners and "opened the way for the enemy to live, in order not to waste blood and bones, but to preserve the temple for the kings," providing them necessities and means to reunite with their families. Le Loi and Nguyen Trai provided boats and horses for the defeated to return home. After destroying 29,000 Manchu troops, Nguyen Hue returned the prisoners to their Country and set up an altar to sacrifice to the enemies who died on the battlefield.

When the Country is at war, "enemies come, women also fight," children form armies to fight the enemy, and monks take off their robes and go to battle to destroy the enemy. Ho Chi Minh affirmed the spirit of fighting against foreign invaders and defending independence and freedom in the Declaration of Independence: "The entire Vietnamese nation is determined to give all its spirit and force, life and wealth to uphold freedom and independence." Nevertheless, when the Country was cleared of enemies, the farmers returned to the fields, the scholars returned to their studies, and the monks
returned to chanting and knocking on the muzzle. A nation "is as gentle as before after abandoning guns and swords." And then, they are ready to carry out reconciliation, "putting aside the past, looking to the future" to live together in peace. The Ly and Tran dynasties were also willing to pay tribute to keep peace with the Song and Yuan dynasties which had just been defeated, and Nguyen Hue asked to marry the Manchu princess to keep the peace. That spirit continues to be developed in the new era with Ho Chi Minh's view of combining national strength with the strength of the times: "The Annam Revolution is a part of the world's revolution. Therefore, whoever makes the revolution in the world is a comrade of the Annamite" (Minh, 2011). He continually upholds the spirit: Vietnam is ready to "make friends with all democratic countries and not to cause enmity with anyone," including those that have invaded Vietnam with troops.

3.3 PROMOTING GENUINE VIETNAMESE NATIONALISM IN THE CURRENT PERIOD

Liah Greenfeld, a nationalist researcher, wrote: "Nationalism is the most important socio-political phenomenon of our time." In Vietnam, it has become an indispensable part of the existence and development of the Nation until today. It can be said that, with the early formation of the Vietnamese Nation, the Vietnamese national consciousness and Nationalism were also formed very early. Patriotism, solidarity, compassion, tolerance, and democracy are the values of Nationalism in the flow of Vietnamese traditional political history, inherited and developed by Ho Chi Minh in the past new era. Ho Chi Minh was aware of the critical role of Vietnamese Nationalism, right from the year, in Moscow, the center of Communist International; He affirmed: "Nationalism is the great driving force of the country" and "We cannot do anything for the Annamite without relying on the great and unique driving force of their social life" to be able to rise to overthrow the yoke of colonialism (Minh, 2011). Seeing the critical role of Nationalism, Ho Chi Minh advocated "launching indigenous nationalism in the name of the Communist International." As William J. Duiker asserted: Vietnamese Nationalism derives from the Vietnamese people's strong sense of identity, strengthened by the age-old struggle against invasion from the North. As a result, Western colonialism failed to "create" a sense of distinct national identity in the Vietnamese population. Therefore, the Vietnamese people protested against the domination and enslavement of Western
imperialism to protect their national identity, (Duiker, 1974). Traditional Vietnamese Nationalism and Nationalism in the Ho Chi Minh era are genuine Nationalism, harmoniously combining patriotism and Nationalism with proletarian internationalism. That genuine Nationalism creates the material force to bring the revolution to success, making our Nation's revolutionary cause a cause of "civilization overcoming brutality."

After more than 35 years of renovation, Vietnam has achieved remarkable achievements of historical significance. The Country, society, and people have all innovated with unprecedented strides in the Nation's history. The achievements are the crystallization of passionate patriotism, the will for national self-reliance, the strength of grand national unity, creativity, innovative spirit, and aspiration for national development, and the continuous and persistent struggle of the entire Party and people (Minh, 2011). However, besides the achievements and the national development opportunities, we also face many difficulties and challenges. The thirteenth National Congress of the Party has commented: "Strategic competition between major powers and local conflicts continues to take place in more complicated, complex and drastic forms, increasing risks to the economic, political, and international security environment, the rise of extreme nationalism", the ideology of great power, (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2021). Disputes over territorial sovereignty, sovereignty over seas and islands are becoming more intense, complicated, and drastic in many areas, including Southeast Asia, affecting national and direct interests and threatening national security and sovereignty. The promotion of the positivity of Nationalism is the driving force to "awaken the desire to develop a prosperous and happy country, and promote the will and strength of national unity combined with the strength of the times" to make the Country more and more developed; contribute to the fight against manifestations of extreme Nationalism, maintain social stability, and firmly protect the independence of the Nation, freedom and happiness of the people (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2021). It requires mastering the following significant issues:

Firstly, maintaining the goal of national independence associated with socialism is the development law of the Vietnamese revolution. National independence is the premise and prerequisite for constructing socialism, and only socialism can fully and firmly guarantee national independence. Only based on maintaining national independence can we build socialism to realize the goal of "rich people, strong country, democracy, justice, and civilization."
Secondly, maintaining the Party's leadership role is critical to ensuring national independence associated with socialism. Therefore, the Party outlines the correct political line to resolutely fight against all manifestations of taking advantage of the national issue to infringe upon the Nation's sovereignty and independence or harm the national interests of the powerful outside, and at the same time, lead the fight against manifestations of extreme Nationalism within the Country.

Thirdly, it is building and perfecting a socialist democracy, affirming the superiority of socialism, and ensuring the people's freedom, democracy, and happiness, constantly consolidating and perfecting conditions to ensure the people's freedom and democracy in all aspects of social life, upholding the subject's role, the people's central position in the national development strategy, in the entire national construction and defense process.

Fourthly, promoting patriotism and national spirit, arousing the will to self-reliance, national pride, and the strength of national unity is the source of invincible strength for the Nation to fight and win against natural disasters and enemies, making the Country last and the national identity preserved. To do so, it is necessary to foster the people's strength and respect and promote the resources from the people in the spirit of "promoting the similarity to limit the difference," ensuring equality among ethnic groups, members of society, and unions bond, respect, and help each other to develop. Furthermore, implement religious solidarity and have specific policies to solve difficulties for ethnic minorities.

Finally, it is expanding foreign relations and international integration with the spirit of "being friends with all countries" based on equality, respect for independence, self-reliance, and territorial integrity; properly resolving the relations between nations, classes, and humanity; upholding peace, equality, friendship and cooperation among nations, and at the same time combating all manifestations of extreme Nationalism, narrow-mindedness, selfishness, chauvinism, hegemony, power politics and actions that are contrary to peace, cooperation, and social progress. Furthermore, it is strengthening exchanges and dialogue between Vietnamese culture and other cultures in the region and the world based on maintaining the bravery of orienting the development of advanced culture according to socialist ideals and, at the same time, maintaining the national cultural identity, promoting the good cultural traditions that have formed thousands of years of the Nation.
It can be said that genuine Nationalism plays a vital role in arousing and promoting the internal strength of the Nation, promoting national reunification, building democracy, and aiming for the successful development of the Country's ethnic minorities, creating conditions for each member of the ethnic community to exercise their rights and obligations. Furthermore, in international relations, genuine Nationalism is the basis for worldwide peace, friendship, and cultural diversity.

4 CONCLUSION

Thus, the national spirit of Vietnam was formed very early and had its characteristics associated with the process of building and defending the Country. A common origin, a mainstream of Dong Son culture united that national spirit. It has a shared cultural denominator because of the great national cause and a shared sense of community culture. Patriotism, the spirit of solidarity, peace, and democracy are the values of traditional Vietnamese Nationalism, inherited and developed in the new era by President Ho Chi Minh, and have become the driving force behind the new era great force of revolution to bring the revolution to success. In the current context of globalization, the world situation always has unpredictable changes, affecting most nations - ethnic groups. Therefore, promoting the positive side of Nationalism is a crucial factor, a significant driving force of the Nation to build a prosperous country, bring prosperity, freedom, and happiness to the people and protect the Fatherland's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research paper is solely funded by VNU University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Hanoi under project number USSH-2023.14
REFERENCES


