

HO CHI MINH NATIONAL ACADEMY OF POLITICS

NGO THI HUYEN TRANG

**NATIONALISM IN HO CHI MINH'S
POLITICAL IDEOLOGY**

SUMMARY OF THE DOCTORAL THESIS

Major: Political Science

Code: 931 0201

HA NOI – 2025

**The thesis is completed at
Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics**

Supervisors: 1. Prof., Dr. Lai Quoc Khanh



2. Dr. Le Quang Hoa



Reviewer 1: Assoc,Prof., Dr Ho Viet Hanh

Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences

Reviewer 2: Assoc,Prof., Dr Nguyen Huu Lap

Academy of Politics, Ministry of National Defense.

Reviewer 3: Assoc,Prof., Dr Pham Quoc Thanh

Thai Binh University

**The thesis was defended in front of the Thesis Committee at Academy
Level at the Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics**

At 14.00, Friday, August 29, 2025

**The thesis can be found at the National Library and
The Library of Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics**

INTRODUCTION

1. Rationale of the research

Ho Chi Minh's thought encompasses various dimensions and aspects of politics, ranging from revolutionary strategies for national liberation to socialist revolution, from his ideology concerning the Party to that of the State, from the notion of great national unity to international solidarity, and from domestic policy to foreign affairs. His political ideology is characterized by its rich and multifaceted content. Notably, each component embodies elements and perspectives that serve the people, the nation, and the country. These elements reflect national characteristics and represent a genuine and revolutionary form of nationalism.

Nationalism is inherently a dual-faceted issue. Human history has witnessed instances where nationalism became a driving force behind wars and conflicts in numerous countries and regions across the world. However, nationalism has also played a crucial role in the formation and development of nation-states, as well as in the anti-colonial liberation movements of the twentieth century. In Ho Chi Minh's political ideology, nationalism is understood as genuine nationalism - fundamentally different from selfish, narrow-minded, or extreme forms of nationalism. He regarded it as a "great driving force," a "tremendous impetus," and even the "sole driving force" that must be cultivated, awakened, and promoted. Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's ideology does not merely reside in sentiments or rational beliefs; it is expressed through concrete actions and a tireless life of dedication to the destiny and future of the Vietnamese nation and of oppressed peoples around the world. This genuine nationalism is manifested throughout his political ideology, including: the goal of national independence closely linked to socialism; the role, organization, and activities of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the new form of the Vietnamese state; the building and strengthening of great national unity, both domestically and in international relations. Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology is a priceless spiritual asset of the Vietnamese nation. It has made valuable contributions to the theoretical legacy of global revolutionary movements. Therefore, this thought must continue to be respected, studied, creatively applied, and further developed in the present era.

President Ho Chi Minh and the Communist Party of Vietnam, in leading the Vietnamese revolution, have gradually realized the fundamental tenets of Ho Chi Minh's political ideology. The nation has been liberated, the country unified, territorial sovereignty preserved, and a new government and society have been built increasingly

better and more prosperous. The nation's position and prestige on the international stage have risen, and the country's potential and strength have grown steadily. Achieving these accomplishments is partly the result of inheriting and developing the content and values of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

However, the process of building and protecting the Vietnamese homeland has always faced hostile forces that have sought to undermine it using various devious tactics. Among these tactics is the incitement of extreme nationalism, the distortion of national policies, and the denial of the values of national independence and genuine nationalism. These forces even intentionally distort and misrepresent Ho Chi Minh's genuine nationalism, transforming it into chauvinism, narrow-minded nationalism, and a form of nationalism bearing the characteristics of the bourgeois class.

In the current context, national interests continue to be regarded as one of the foremost objectives and principles in shaping the guidelines, policies, and strategies of the Party and State. The national interest today is centered on achieving comprehensive and sustainable development, ensuring the preservation of national independence, sovereignty, and security, all while building socialism. This includes actively and proactively integrating into the international community, enhancing the country's position and prestige on the global stage.

In light of this situation, researching and clarifying the theoretical foundations of nationalism to meet the requirements of national defense and development, and to align with the new context, is an urgent task for theorists. Among these tasks, exploring, applying, and creatively developing the viewpoints and content of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology is of significant theoretical and practical importance. To date, there remain gaps in the research on nationalism within Ho Chi Minh's political ideology that need further investigation. In particular, studying nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology from a political science perspective will contribute to clarifying the values of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's intellectual legacy, which need to be inherited, supplemented, and creatively applied to the practical context in the new era.

Given the urgency of both the theoretical and practical aspects of this research issue, the doctoral candidate has chosen the topic: *Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology* as the subject of their doctoral thesis.

2. Research objectives and tasks

2.1. Research objectives

The study aims to analyze and clarify the concepts, foundations, basic content, and values of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

2.2. Research tasks

To achieve the above objectives, the thesis will undertake the following specific tasks:

First, provide an overview of the research related to the thesis topic; analyze the key results that have been achieved, and identify the areas that the thesis will continue to explore.

Second, clarify the related concepts and the foundations of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

Third, systematize and analyze the basic contents of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

Fourth, analyze the values of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

3. Research subject and scope

3.1. Research subjects

Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

3.2. Research scopes

- *Content-wise*: The thesis focuses on clarifying nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology from a political science perspective. The research is based on the fundamental structure of Ho Chi Minh's political ideology, specifically analyzing the expression of nationalism through the following aspects: (1) Ho Chi Minh's political ideology on national independence in association with socialism; (2) Ho Chi Minh's political ideology on the Communist Party of Vietnam; (3) Ho Chi Minh's political ideology on the State; (4) Ho Chi Minh's political ideology on great national unity; (5) Ho Chi Minh's political ideology on international relations.

- *Time-wise*: The research encompasses the entire process of the formation and development of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology, associated with the course of his political life and revolutionary activities.

- *Space-wise*: The research is situated within the context of Vietnamese political life and the global political realities during the era in which Ho Chi Minh lived and worked. It also considers the theoretical and practical values of the topic in the contemporary context.

4. Research Methods

4.1. Theoretical Basis of the Methodology

This thesis is grounded in the theoretical foundation of Marxism–Leninism and the viewpoints, orientations, and policies of the Communist Party of Vietnam on nationalism. The thesis also selectively adopts and applies relevant achievements in political science research on nationalism from both domestic and international sources.

4.2. Research methods

- Based on the methodology of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, the thesis employs a combination of disciplinary and interdisciplinary methods to conduct the research, specifically as follows:

In Chapter 1, the thesis employs methods of data collection, synthesis, processing, and analysis of documents and previously published studies by domestic and international scholars. The historical-logical method is used to provide an overview and evaluation of existing research related to nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

In Chapter 2, methods of analysis, synthesis, statistical analysis, and comparison are used to clarify a number of key concepts related to the topic. In addition, historical, logical, and document analysis methods are applied to clarify the foundational development of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

In Chapter 3, the thesis applies methods of analysis, synthesis, historical and logical reasoning, systematization, and generalization to elucidate the fundamental contents of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

In Chapter 4, the thesis employs methods of analysis, synthesis, historical analysis, comparison, and generalization to interpret and evaluate the values of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

- Sources of Research Materials:

Primary sources include the *Complete Works of Ho Chi Minh* (15 volumes, published by the National Political Publishing House in 2011), which compile Ho Chi Minh's speeches and writings throughout his revolutionary career; the 15-volume set *Ho Chi Minh: Chronological Biography* (published in 2016); and selected documents of the Communist Party of Vietnam published in the *Complete Collection of Party Documents* (published since 1998). From these sources, the researcher will select relevant and significant content related to the research topic for analysis, synthesis, and conclusion.

Secondary sources used in the thesis include materials that have been published in books, newspapers, academic journals, and research papers from both domestic and international scholars concerning nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

5. Scientific Contributions of the thesis

The thesis clarifies theoretical issues concerning nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology and provides in-depth analysis and evaluation of the theoretical and practical values of nationalism as reflected in his political ideology.

6. Theoretical and Practical Significance of the thesis

6.1. Theoretical Significance

The thesis contributes to enhancing scientific understanding of the content and value of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology. It thereby reaffirms the foundational role of Ho Chi Minh's ideology in general, and of nationalism in particular, in the development of the Vietnamese revolutionary cause.

6.2. Practical Significance

The thesis provides a scientific foundation for identifying and promoting genuine Vietnamese nationalism in accordance with the current context and conditions. Additionally, the thesis may serve as a useful reference for research, teaching, and learning related to the topic of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

7. Structure of the thesis

In addition to the Introduction, Conclusion, the list of the author's related published works, and the list of references, the thesis is structured into 4 chapters, 14 sections:

Chapter 1: Overview of research related to the topic.

Chapter 2: Fundamental concepts and the foundations of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

Chapter 3: The content of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

Chapter 4: The values of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

Chapter 1

OVERVIEW OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH RELATED TO THE THESIS

1.1. SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH ON NATIONALISM

This thesis provides an overview of both domestic and international scientific research related to the issue of nationalism. The reviewed body of work includes scientific projects, monographs, reference books, doctoral theses, and scholarly articles relevant to the topic of the thesis. Nationalism is a category that has been extensively studied within the social sciences and humanities, particularly in political science, philosophy, sociology, and history. Western scholars have produced numerous works addressing the origins, connotations, typologies, and roles of nationalism in the formation and development of nations as well as in international relations. In Vietnam, nationalism is generally approached from three main perspectives: (1) nationalism as an academic concept, carrying theoretical content regarding national identity, the right to self-determination, and patriotic sentiment; (2) nationalism as a historical driving force, propelling national liberation movements and social revolutions; and (3) nationalism in its relationship to other ideological systems, such as bourgeois ideology and proletarian internationalism.

Despite differences in definition and analysis, the scholarly literature consistently acknowledges the significant role of nationalism in the process of establishing independent states and in the development of modern political consciousness.

1.2. SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH RELATED TO THE CONTENT OF NATIONALISM IN HO CHI MINH'S POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

The thesis surveys groups of domestic and international studies that address Ho Chi Minh's political ideology on nationalism. These include scientific projects, monographs, reference books, doctoral theses, and scholarly articles that are directly relevant to the thesis topic and have made significant academic contributions. The research process reveals a strong consensus among Vietnamese scholars in recognizing the presence of nationalism within Hồ Chí Minh's political thought, affirming that the "genuine" essence of this nationalism is proletarian nationalism, expressed through multiple dimensions of Hồ Chí Minh's political ideas.

1.3. SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH RELATED TO THE VALUE OF NATIONALISM IN HO CHI MINH'S POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

The thesis also reviews domestic and international research focusing on the values of Ho Chi Minh's thought on nationalism. These include scientific projects,

monographs, reference books, doctoral theses, and scholarly articles that are pertinent to the thesis and contribute substantially to the academic field. The scholarly works have affirmed the contributions of nationalism in Hồ Chí Minh's political thought to the treasury of revolutionary theory worldwide, as well as its role in the history of the Vietnamese nation and its influence on the progressive development of humanity. This constitutes a solid foundation, providing an overarching perspective on the scope and practical value of nationalism in Hồ Chí Minh's political thought.

1.4. GENERAL EVALUATION OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH RELATED TO THE THESIS

1.4.1. Issues already addressed in previous research

Through an overview of scientific studies related to the topic of the thesis, the author finds that existing research has clarified the following key aspects:

First, from various approaches and perspectives, scientific studies have developed a theoretical framework on nationalism, including definitions, origins, constituent elements, classifications, and the impact of nationalism on global political life. Although debates persist regarding issues such as the historical emergence, nature, and role of the nation and nationalism - as well as between proponents and critics of nationalism - these studies serve as an important foundation for the author to identify the theoretical aspects of nationalism within the aims and scope of this thesis.

Second, directly related to the theme of the thesis - "Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology" - most scholars agree that there exists a concept of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's ideology, and that this nationalism is genuine and progressive. Research has clarified several aspects of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology, such as his strong emphasis on the role of genuine nationalism as a driving force for oppressed peoples. The expression of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology - particularly his emphasis on national independence in association with socialism - has been partially analyzed in terms of his ideas on the Communist Party of Vietnam, the State, national unity, and international relations. However, most of the existing literature comprises journal articles, conference papers, or chapters in books, and thus remains limited in scope. These works tend to be general in nature, lacking in-depth analysis, concrete evidence, or a systematic presentation of the manifestations of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

Third, regarding the values of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology, researchers largely agree and affirm that Ho Chi Minh laid the ideological foundation

for awakening and promoting genuine nationalism based on the proletarian standpoint in Vietnam. Among various strands of nationalist thought in early 20th-century Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh's conception of nationalism is regarded as the most appropriate and correct path for the Vietnamese revolution. From different angles, scholars have analyzed the value of this form of nationalism in resolving the relationship between the nation, class, and humanity; and in building a political system deeply rooted in both popular and national character. Although some studies have preliminarily explored the relevance of this ideology to the current cause of national construction and defense, most have only raised these issues without providing in-depth explanation or thorough argumentation.

1.4.2. Issues to be further examined in the thesis

Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology is an interdisciplinary subject, both in terms of its approach and research content. The central research questions posed by the thesis include: How should nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology be accurately and comprehensively identified? What are the fundamental components of this nationalism? And what are its theoretical and practical values?

From the overview of existing scientific research related to the topic, the author identifies several areas that require further in-depth study and clarification:

First, the thesis seeks to further clarify the conceptual connotation of "nationalism" and "nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology," establishing them as analytical tools for a more precise and comprehensive exploration of the key contents of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's ideology. In addition, greater attention needs to be paid to the foundational basis for the formation of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

Second, the thesis continues to examine the content of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology as a unified and coherent system. It delves deeper into the analysis and provides additional materials to clarify the manifestations of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology in the following areas: national independence associated with socialism; the Communist Party of Vietnam; the State; national great unity; and international relations.

Third, the thesis analyzes the core values of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology. In particular, it highlights the specific elements that Ho Chi Minh inherited, synthesized, and creatively developed from both Vietnamese and global traditions of nationalist thought. It also emphasizes the foundational and guiding role of this ideology in the Vietnamese revolutionary cause, as well as its contributions to

global revolutionary practice. On this basis, the thesis suggests directions for promoting genuine nationalism in the current context.

Chapter 2

CONCEPTS AND FOUNDATIONS OF THE FORMATION OF NATIONALISM IN HO CHI MINH'S POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

2.1. FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

2.1.1. Historical development and definitions of Nation and Nationalism

2.1.1.1. Evolution of the concepts of Nation and Nationalism

Marxist-Leninist theorists assert that the formation and development of nations are deeply rooted in the dynamics of production and economic development, influenced by political factors such as class and state structures that organize social life. Nationalism emerged alongside the rise of capitalism and the decline of feudalism, serving as an ideology that enabled the bourgeoisie to align its interests with those of society at large.

Western scholars have debated whether nationalism is an inherent phenomenon or a product of modernity, leading to three primary approaches: traditionalism (origin theory), modernism, and symbolic nationalism. Nationalism has played a significant role in the formation of unified nation-states. However, with the dominance and expansion of capitalism in Europe, bourgeois nationalism took on a negative form, evident in the expansionist nationalism of the late 19th century, marked by imperialist colonial invasions. In response, anti-colonial nationalism emerged robustly in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, aiming to resist imperial rule and achieve national independence.

Nationalism is particularly evident in relations among nation-states, especially in the era of globalization, where nations no longer exist in isolation. In this new context, nationalism continues to influence the world in both positive and negative directions.

In Vietnam, scholars have also discussed the formation of the nation and nationalism. A widely accepted view among Vietnamese scholars is that the Vietnamese nation existed before the modern era, representing a pre-capitalist type of nation. Since the August Revolution of 1945, Vietnam has entered a period of socialist nation-building.

2.1.1.2. The concepts of Nation and Nationalism

In academic discourse, the term “nation” is generally understood in two prevalent senses: as an ethnic group (ethnic) and as a nation-state. Within the

framework of this thesis, the term “nation” is interpreted in the sense of a nation-state. Accordingly, a nation is defined as a stable human community comprising the people of a country, possessing a defined national territory, a unified economy, a common language, and a shared consciousness of national unity. This unity is rooted in mutual economic interests, cultural traditions, and a long-standing history of collective struggle for the establishment and defense of the nation.

Regarding the concept of nationalism, although it has many meanings, many approaches, and changes over time and space, the concept of nationalism from a political science perspective is often used to refer to a political ideology that takes the sovereignty, interests, and values of the nation-state as its central focus. Accordingly, the thesis provides the following specific definition:

Nationalism is an ideology that takes the nation-state as its central focus, in which the common interests, rights, values, and the independent and unified existence of the national community are placed in the paramount position. Nationalism promotes loyalty, pride, a sense of solidarity, and the sacred attachment of the individual to the destiny of the nation, expressed through political goals, political institutions, and collective actions aimed at protecting and promoting the rights, sovereignty, as well as the core values of the nation-state.

2.1.2. Approach and concept of Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh’s political ideology

2.1.2.1. The approach to Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh’s political ideology

The concept of nationalism as employed by Ho Chi Minh refers to genuine nationalism of the colonized peoples. This form of nationalism awakens patriotism, instills a sense of responsibility for the fate of the nation, and becomes a driving force that motivates all members of the nation to rise up in the struggle against imperialism for national independence.

“Nation” is not an abstract or generalized concept. A nation is inseparably linked to its people; therefore, love for the nation and homeland must be grounded in love for the people and fellow citizens.

In Ho Chi Minh’s political ideology more broadly, and in his conception of nationalism more specifically, the national dimension is never separated from class consciousness or from the universal human cause. His understanding of nationalism is not that of feudal or bourgeois nationalism, but rather a genuine nationalism forged through thousands of years of national history - a priceless spiritual force that the

proletariat must harness, ensuring that the national flag does not fall into the hands of any other class.

Ho Chi Minh's nationalism is founded on the principles of Marxism - Leninism, integrating national with international perspectives, and aligning national identity with class identity. It is directed toward the goals of national liberation, social emancipation, class liberation, and human liberation. One of Ho Chi Minh's most remarkable contributions lies in his profound and correct resolution of the relationship between "nation" and "class," "nation" and "humanity," and the triad of "class - nation - humanity" in the modern era.

The emphasis on the national question, the concern for national independence, and the promotion of national interests in Ho Chi Minh's ideology are grounded in theoretical foundations and concretized through revolutionary practice. His view of fostering nationalism as a major driving force for national development, in alignment with communism and internationalism, was not a temporary standpoint but a consistent and coherent perspective throughout his political ideology. This ideology permeated Ho Chi Minh's entire political praxis - from his journey to seek a path for national salvation and liberation to the process of building a new society in Vietnam.

2.1.2.2. The concept of Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology

To fully and comprehensively conceptualize nationalism in Hồ Chí Minh's political ideology, it is essential to clarify its underlying logic through a thematic approach - beginning with the concepts of politics, Ho Chi Minh's political ideology, and finally nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

The Concept of Politics: According to the *Political Science* textbook compiled by the Institute of Political Science, politics is defined as "*the totality of activities conducted by power-holding entities (classes, groups, individuals, etc.) aimed at acquiring, maintaining, and exercising state power; it is also the participation of the people in the affairs of the state*".

The concept of Ho Chi Minh's political ideology: Ho Chi Minh's political ideology is a system of viewpoints reflecting the fundamental issues of Vietnam's political reality, as well as the relationships among classes, ethnic groups, and nation-states, centered on the struggle to gain, maintain, organize, and exercise political power in the interests of the working class, the laboring people, and the Vietnamese nation.

The concept of Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology: Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology refers to a coherent system of viewpoints that prioritize national identity, ethnic elements, and the rights and interests of the nation.

These viewpoints are consistently reflected from Ho Chi Minh's thinking to his political actions and are manifested in his political ideology across multiple dimensions: national independence associated with socialism; the Communist Party; the state; national unity; and international relations. This conceptualization contributes to the enrichment and development of the theory of nationalism and provides direction for addressing nationalist issues in the context of the Vietnamese revolutionary practice.

The concept of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology includes the following core elements:

1. Nationalism as an integrated system of ideas that upholds national identity, ethnic characteristics, and the rights and interests of the nation.

2. A unified consistency between Ho Chi Minh's ideology and political action in advancing nationalism.

3. Content-wise, nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology is clearly reflected in: (i) Nationalism in the vision for the Vietnamese revolutionary objective, national independence associated with socialism, as the foundational condition to guarantee the nation's rights, interests, and development; (ii) Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's ideology on the Communist Party of Vietnam, as the representative of the intellect, conscience, and honor of the nation; (iii) Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's concept of a new type of state, of the people, by the people, for the people, bearing strong popular and national character; (iv) Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's ideas on fostering great national unity, as the decisive factor for the survival and advancement of the Vietnamese nation; (v) Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's views on international relations.

This conceptualization forms a distinctive and strategic approach to understanding and applying Ho Chi Minh's nationalism in both theoretical and practical dimensions of national development.

2.2. FOUNDATIONS FOR THE FORMATION OF NATIONALISM IN HO CHI MINH'S POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology was shaped by both theoretical and practical foundations, encompassing objective and subjective conditions.

2.2.1. Theoretical Foundations

2.2.1.1. Vietnamese Nationalism

Traditional nationalism and the nationalist thought of earlier Vietnamese revolutionaries such as Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh exerted a profound influence on Ho Chi Minh. At the same time, Ho Chi Minh was able to overcome the

limitations inherent in the ideas of his predecessors and contemporaries, thereby identifying a correct revolutionary path suited to the historical and cultural context of the Vietnamese nation.

2.2.1.2. Nationalism in global political ideology

Through his exploration and study of nationalism in global political ideology, Ho Chi Minh recognized both the strengths and limitations of nationalist ideologies advanced by thinkers from both the West and the East. He critically engaged with these ideas, absorbing progressive elements while adapting them to the specific conditions and needs of Vietnam's revolutionary struggle.

2.2.1.3. Nationalism in Marxist-Leninist political ideology

Grounded in the ideological foundations of Marxism-Leninism on the question of nationalism, and equipped with profound practical insight into national issues along with independent and creative thinking, Ho Chi Minh developed new theoretical perspectives suited to the revolutionary conditions of a colonized nation.

From a patriot who embraced Marxist-Leninist theory, Ho Chi Minh arrived at accurate assessments of traditional nationalism, recognizing both its positive aspects and limitations in Eastern and Western cultural traditions. He developed the nation's traditional values within the context of a new era, where nationalism was placed on the proletarian class standpoint and expressed through the actions of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

2.2.2. Practical Foundations

Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology was also shaped by specific practical conditions both in Vietnam and internationally.

2.2.2.1. The practical context of Vietnamese Nationalism

The historical conditions in Vietnam from the late 19th to the early 20th century significantly influenced the formation of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology. First, the French colonial invasion and domination of Vietnam created a political and social context that intensified nationalist sentiments. Second, the emergence of various nationalist movements following different ideological tendencies laid the groundwork for ideological evolution and debate.

2.2.2.2. The global context of Nationalism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries

Ho Chi Minh's ideology was not solely a product of the Vietnamese nation or its revolution but was also shaped by broader global contexts. First, the rise of expansionist nationalism resulted in intensified colonial conquest and the

establishment of imperialist dominance worldwide. Second, the success of the October Revolution in Russia (1917) awakened global consciousness and served as a powerful impetus for national liberation movements across the world. Third, the establishment of the Communist International (Comintern) linked the anti-colonial struggles of oppressed nations with the global communist and workers' movements.

These international developments had a profound influence on Ho Chi Minh's practical activities and ideological formation. Beginning with Vietnamese patriotism, Ho Chi Minh chose to follow V. I. Lenin, the Communist International, and the path of the October Revolution, placing the future of the Vietnamese nation within the shared destiny of the global proletariat and oppressed peoples.

2.2.3. The subjective factor: Ho Chi Minh

2.2.3.1. Ho Chi Minh's personal qualities and intellectual capacity

The formation of views on nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology cannot be separated from the subjective factor, his exceptional moral and intellectual qualities. Ultimately, the subjective factor played a decisive role in shaping the concept of nationalism within his political ideology. Several key elements directly contributed to this process: First, Ho Chi Minh's profound patriotism and deep compassion for the people; Second, his sharp intellect, independent and creative thinking, strong desire for learning, and critical mindset; Third, Ho Chi Minh possessed extraordinary willpower and perseverance.

2.2.3.2. Ho Chi Minh's practical political experience

Throughout his revolutionary career, Ho Chi Minh steadfastly endured and overcame extremely harsh and challenging conditions, both due to the nature of his work and the skepticism and misunderstanding he faced, even from comrades. These experiences provided him with valuable lessons for future revolutionary activities and helped forge his character as a professional revolutionary. As a result, Ho Chi Minh emerged as one of the most experienced revolutionaries of the 20th-century anti-colonial liberation movements.

Chapter 3

THE CONTENT OF NATIONALISM IN HO CHI MINH'S POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

3.1. THE CONTENT OF NATIONALISM IN HO CHI MINH'S POLITICAL IDEOLOGY ON NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALISM

3.1.1. Manifestations of Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology on national independence

3.1.1.1. National independence as the supreme and primary goal

Nation, class, and humanity were the three major concerns throughout Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary life. For colonized peoples, Ho Chi Minh prioritized resolving the national question above all else. The reality of colonized nations in general, and of Vietnam in particular, demonstrated that without national sovereignty, everything else would be lost, there could be no prosperity for the country, no development for the nation, and no well-being or happiness for the people. Therefore, to thoroughly liberate the class, society, and individuals, national independence must first be achieved.

3.1.1.2. Defining national rights as the core of nationalism in a colonized country

Ho Chi Minh clearly understood that the source of suffering experienced by his own people, as well as by other colonized nations, stemmed from the loss of national rights. For this reason, national rights consistently held a central place in his political objectives. He emphasized the principles of national equality and independence with specific content: First, national independence must be complete and absolute across all domains; Second, national independence and equality must be associated with the right to national self-determination; Third, the realization of national rights must be linked to the struggle for sovereignty and territorial integrity; Fourth, national rights can only be attained through struggle, through the people's own efforts to liberate themselves.

3.1.2. Manifestations of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology on socialism

By choosing the path of proletarian revolution, Ho Chi Minh identified the most suitable development path for the Vietnamese nation: national independence associated with socialism. Socialism is viewed as an ideal social model in which working people take control of their own destiny and of the nation, free from domination by foreign powers or exploitative classes. Socialism also represents the most effective form of social organization to ensure the nation's sustainability and to enable individuals and the community to freely and fully develop their capabilities, enjoying both material and spiritual happiness in a healthy and prosperous environment. Under the socialist regime, people are free, equal, prosperous, and happy, with the necessary conditions to achieve comprehensive development.

Socialism, in Ho Chi Minh's ideology, was not an abstract or utopian ideal but a concrete issue rooted in objective realities, emerging from the historical, cultural, economic, and social conditions of Vietnam and aligned with the aspirations and needs of the Vietnamese people.

In Ho Chi Minh's ideological legacy, numerous profound propositions offer clear answers to the pressing questions of the time: What is socialism? How should socialism be built? His thought includes a comprehensive theoretical system covering the characteristics, methods, models, and stages of socialist construction. By linking national independence with socialism and situating the Vietnamese revolution within the broader stream of global revolutionary movements while preserving national identity and spirit, Ho Chi Minh's political ideology embodies a distinctive form of nationalism.

3.2. THE CONTENT OF NATIONALISM IN HO CHI MINH'S POLITICAL IDEOLOGY REGARDING THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM

3.2.1. The national element in the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam

Ho Chi Minh placed great value on the role of Marxism - Leninism, as well as on the working class and the Vietnamese labor movement, identifying the Vietnamese proletariat as the leading force and core of the revolution. Understanding the specific conditions of Vietnamese society in the early 20th century, where the working class was relatively small but the patriotic movement was strongly developed, Ho Chi Minh asserted that the birth of the Communist Party of Vietnam was the result of the integration of three key elements: Marxism - Leninism, the labor movement, and the patriotic movement. In this way, compared to the classical Marxist - Leninist view, Ho Chi Minh innovatively added the patriotic movement as a critical component in the formation of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

Patriotism and the national spirit, illuminated by Marxism - Leninism and refracted through the lens of Ho Chi Minh's creative intellect and the practical conditions of the Vietnamese revolution, are defining characteristics of his process in founding, leading, and shaping the Communist Party of Vietnam. Incorporating the patriotic movement into the Party's founding doctrine meant integrating the national element with class struggle and the spirit of the times, an adaptation of Marxism - Leninism that reflected Ho Chi Minh's independent and contextualized approach.

3.2.2. The national element in the nature, goals, tasks, and role of the Communist Party of Vietnam

The organic integration of the working-class essence and national character of the Party forms a unique identity in Ho Chi Minh's conception of the Communist Party. The realities of the revolutionary movement in both Vietnam and the broader world have affirmed the correctness of combining the class question with the national question, an approach particularly appropriate for a colonized country under imperialist domination.

The idea that the Party belongs to the people and the entire nation is not only a matter of its social foundation but also a reflection of its vanguard nature. The Party is not only the vanguard of the working class but also the vanguard of the entire nation. Ho Chi Minh recognized that the Communist Party of Vietnam must embody the culture, will, and determination of the whole nation, representing its intellect, conscience, and honor.

The Communist Party of Vietnam was not established solely for the interests of the working class but for the interests of the entire nation and all working people. The Party came into being and exists to serve the revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese people and nation. Ho Chi Minh believed that the Party's mission is to transform the fate of the nation and its people, from a state of enslavement to one of national sovereignty and self-determination, ushering in a new era of genuine independence, freedom, prosperity, and happiness.

To ensure the Party truly belongs to the people and the nation, Ho Chi Minh emphasized that the Party must maintain purity and strength. He demanded that the Party's organization constantly engage in self-correction and renewal, and that its cadres and members continuously train themselves, uphold revolutionary ethics, and eradicate individualism.

3.3. THE CONTENT OF NATIONALISM IN HO CHI MINH'S POLITICAL IDEOLOGY ON THE STATE

3.3.1. The new state must negate the colonial-feudal model and embody a profoundly national character

The fundamental issue of the revolution in a colonized and feudal country such as Vietnam was the overthrow of colonial and feudal rule and the establishment of a new state for the Vietnamese people, one that ensured national independence and served the interests of the Vietnamese homeland and its people.

Throughout the struggle for national liberation, Ho Chi Minh consistently emphasized the importance of designing a new state model after the revolution's success. In August 1945, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh and the Communist Party, the Vietnamese people rose up to win independence, overthrowing the centuries-old feudal regime and establishing a democratic republic, a government of the entire Vietnamese population. Popular sovereignty, in Ho Chi Minh's view, was not an abstract ethical concept, nor merely a rhetorical declaration; it had to be institutionalized through a constitutional and legal framework.

In Ho Chi Minh's political ideology, the supreme power of society in general, and of the state in particular, belongs to the people, as a national community comprising all classes, strata, and ethnic groups living together within the territory of Vietnam. This represents a vital characteristic of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology and is reflected in the way state power is exercised in Vietnam.

3.3.2. The principles “of the people, by the people, for the people” and the national character must be deeply reflected in the organization and operation of the new state

After achieving independence and dismantling the feudal regime, Ho Chi Minh directly led the establishment of a state apparatus that was deeply national and people-oriented. This was manifested in the structure and composition of state power institutions: a National Assembly representing the people and the nation, and a Government with a strong national and popular character. The national element was also prominently expressed in the functioning and operations of the state.

3.4. THE CONTENT OF NATIONALISM IN HO CHI MINH'S POLITICAL IDEOLOGY ON GREAT NATIONAL UNITY

3.4.1. The national element and national identity as reflected in the thought on the role and subject of the great national unity bloc

Through his study of Vietnamese history, Ho Chi Minh understood that unity is vital to the survival of the nation. Foreign powers seeking to invade and dominate other nations have always employed divide-and-conquer tactics, sowing discord, creating chaos, and exploiting divisions to rule. Internal fragmentation weakens the community, disrupts national cohesion, and ultimately disintegrates a unified country, turning it into easy prey for invaders. Therefore, to build and protect the country and ensure national unity, one must firmly oppose division and promote great national unity as the key to success.

Ho Chi Minh always linked the people with the nation, asserting that everyone has a Fatherland and that each citizen's life and destiny are inseparable from that of the nation. Conversely, the fate of the nation determines the fate of each individual. He clearly recognized and fully utilized the common characteristics of the Vietnamese people: patriotism, national spirit, and the aspiration for independence, freedom, and a strong, prosperous country that could stand shoulder to shoulder with the great powers of the world.

As the organizer and leader of Vietnam's revolutionary cause, Ho Chi Minh assumed the responsibility of leadership with a deep awareness of the people's role as the subject of revolutionary change. He recognized the political stance and specific role of each social class, and from that foundation, mobilized, gathered, and organized the great national unity bloc of the Vietnamese people in the struggle to safeguard national independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, as well as in the process of building a new social system.

3.4.2. The national element and national identity as reflected in the thought on the method of achieving great national unity

To ensure a durable and sustainable unity, different methods of mobilization must be applied appropriately to different groups. Ho Chi Minh initiated various emulation movements, especially the patriotic emulation movement. He placed great emphasis on propaganda, advocacy, and mass mobilization, encouraging the people to join patriotic organizations, which laid the foundation for the formation of the National United Front. This front included political parties, social classes, strata, socio-political organizations, mass associations, religions, and patriotic intellectuals, all united and striving toward a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam, capable of standing proudly among the great powers of the five continents.

3.5. THE CONTENT OF NATIONALISM IN HO CHI MINH'S POLITICAL IDEOLOGY ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

3.5.1. The national element and national identity as reflected in the determination of the goals of international relations

In the struggle for national independence, Ho Chi Minh emphasized the principle that the people must rely on their own strength to achieve liberation. At the same time, he called for enhanced solidarity, mutual assistance, and close coordination between the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat in colonial countries and those in imperialist metropolises, thereby generating a synergistic force to support the Vietnamese revolution. He also sought to strengthen the unity among

global revolutionary forces in pursuit of the common goals of the era: peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress. Ho Chi Minh asserted that the Communist Party must, through its entire praxis, demonstrate that genuine patriotism is inseparable from pure proletarian internationalism.

3.5.2. The national element and national identity as reflected in the determination of the principles of international relations

To ensure that each nation achieves its objectives while fostering genuine friendship and cooperation among peoples, without losing direction, international relations must be guided by clearly defined principles. As Head of State and leader of the Vietnamese revolution, Ho Chi Minh implemented international principles that both safeguarded national interests and broadened the scope of international solidarity. These included: “responding to the ever-changing with the unchanging” (i.e., upholding core principles amid changing circumstances); solidarity and friendship based on cooperation, equality, and mutual benefit; and self-reliance with a strong emphasis on promoting internal capacity as the primary foundation for national development.

Chapter 4

THE VALUE AND ORIENTATION FOR APPLYING NATIONALISM IN HỒ CHÍ MINH’S POLITICAL THOUGHT IN THE CURRENT PERIOD

Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh’s political ideology is regarded as an ideological and philosophical system addressing the national question within the Vietnamese revolutionary cause. It is vividly manifested in both his theoretical reasoning and practical political activities. It can be affirmed that the system of sound arguments on nationalism within Ho Chi Minh’s political ideology, together with their concrete expression in his practical actions, holds profound significance. These contribute not only to enriching the theoretical foundation of nationalism but also to providing direction in resolving national issues in reality. Accordingly, the value of nationalism in Ho Chi Minh’s political ideology can be identified in the following aspects:

4.1. THE VALUE OF NATIONALISM IN HO CHI MINH’S POLITICAL IDEOLOGY

4.1.1. Contributing to the supplementation and development of nationalist theory

Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh’s political ideology represents a synthesis of subjective factors, his intelligence and extraordinary personal qualities, with objective conditions - his family, homeland, nation, and exposure to progressive ideological

currents of the time, particularly Marxism-Leninism. This combination formed Ho Chi Minh's unique character and political identity, enabling him to transcend the limitations of contemporary bourgeois-revolutionary figures and to adopt Marxism-Leninism in a timely manner to meet the urgent demands of history. Through this, he led the Vietnamese people toward a path of comprehensive liberation, national liberation in conjunction with class, social, and human emancipation.

Grounded in Marxist-Leninist ideology, traditional Vietnamese nationalism, and global theories of nationalism, Ho Chi Minh introduced many original and creative theoretical contributions, forming his own distinct political identity. Ho Chi Minh significantly enriched and developed the theory of nationalism through the following primary dimensions: *First*, he expanded and deepened the theoretical understanding of national rights; *Second*, he advanced the theoretical perspective on anti-colonial nationalism and the liberation of colonized nations; *Third*, he created new theoretical points emphasizing the importance of national identity and ethnic elements in the organization and functioning of the political system; *Fourth*, it supplements and creatively develops arguments addressing the relationship between the national question, the class question, and humanity in international relations.

4.1.2. Contributing to awakening and promoting genuine nationalism in the practical struggle for national rights and interests

4.1.2.1. In the context of Vietnam's national liberation struggle

Drawing from the traditional value system of Vietnamese nationalism and the demands of Vietnam's revolutionary realities, Ho Chi Minh creatively addressed the issue of national liberation and the protection of national rights and interests, both theoretically and practically, in a manner suited to Vietnam's specific conditions and aligned with the prevailing trends of the era. He succeeded in awakening the most powerful driving force of the nation - mobilizing the strength of the great national unity bloc - and inspired the entire people to simultaneously resist foreign aggression and build the country. During the resistance against French colonialism, he directed the nation to pursue two parallel strategic tasks: conducting the people's democratic national revolution in the South while transitioning toward socialism in the North during the struggle against American imperialism. At the same time, Ho Chi Minh actively engaged in diplomatic efforts and garnered significant international support for the Vietnamese revolution. This comprehensive combination of internal strength and external solidarity created the momentum and capacity needed for the Vietnamese revolution to achieve its objectives.

4.1.2.2. In the context of global movements for the rights and interests of nations

While Ho Chi Minh deeply loved his own country, he also respected the independence of all other nations. His patriotism was inseparable from his love for humanity. He fought not only for the interests of the Vietnamese people but also for the rights and justice of all oppressed nations across the globe. Within the revolutionary landscape of the 20th century, Vietnam's victories in its two historic wars against French colonialism and American imperialism offered profound lessons and inspiration to nations in the "Third World" in their anti-colonial struggles. These efforts significantly contributed to weakening and dismantling the global system of imperialism. The Vietnamese people emerged as pioneers in the century of decolonization. And the leader who guided and stood alongside this vanguard nation was none other than President Ho Chi Minh.

4.2. CONTRIBUTING TO ORIENTING THE PROMOTION OF GENUINE NATIONALISM IN VIETNAM IN THE CURRENT PERIOD

4.1.1. Factors affecting the promotion of genuine nationalism in Vietnam

4.2.1.1. International factors

More than 30 years after the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist system in Eastern Europe, the world continues to undergo a period of rapid and complex transformation. At present, peace, cooperation, and development remain the aspirations, objectives, and driving forces of most nations. However, numerous risks are emerging that challenge, and even threaten, these prevailing trends, both regionally and globally. These risks include the effects of globalization; the resurgence of narrow and extreme forms of nationalism; instability in international relations; and growing non-traditional security threats. These developments are exerting significant influence on the global economic, political, legal, and security order, increasing the risks to peace, stability, and development worldwide. Vietnam is not immune to the impacts of this global context.

4.2.1.2. Domestic factors

Alongside the international environment, domestic factors also play a role in shaping the promotion of genuine nationalism in Vietnam, presenting both opportunities and challenges. On the positive side, the Communist Party of Vietnam has inherited the core values of nationalism as expressed in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology and has applied them to address the national question in the current context. The Party remains steadfast in its commitment to national independence and

socialism, ensuring a harmonious balance between national and class interests, as well as between national and international obligations. In addition, the country's achievements in national development and modernization provide favorable conditions. Nevertheless, significant challenges persist. These include misunderstandings or misperceptions regarding the national interest; the emergence of extremist nationalist ideologies; and hostile forces exploiting sensitive issues such as “human rights”, “ethnicity”, and “religion” to distort and defame the nature of the regime, aided by the degradation and misconduct of some officials and Party members. Territorial and maritime sovereignty disputes in recent years have further complicated the situation.

These difficulties and challenges call for new responses, requiring the wise leadership of the Party, the coordinated involvement of the entire political system, and the active participation of all citizens to provide sound strategic directions that will enable the nation to overcome obstacles, seize opportunities, and advance toward further development.

4.2.2. Strategic directions for promoting genuine nationalism in Vietnam

After nearly 40 years of Renovation, Vietnam has achieved remarkable accomplishments and unprecedented progress in national history. These outcomes reflect the synthesis of passionate patriotism, the will for national self-reliance, the power of great national unity, creativity, innovation, and the aspiration for national development. However, the country still faces numerous difficulties and challenges. To fulfill national development goals, the Party, the State, and the people must continue to inherit, apply, and creatively develop the nationalist principles found in Ho Chi Minh’s political ideology. Promoting genuine nationalism in the cause of building and safeguarding the socialist Vietnamese Fatherland today requires deep commitment to the following key directions: First, to maintain the goal of national independence closely tied to socialism, strengthen national defense and security capabilities, and protect independence, sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity; second, to build a clean, strong, and effective political system that meets the demands of the cause of building and defending the Fatherland; third, to promote patriotism, strongly awaken the national spirit, and the strength of great national unity; fourth, to expand foreign relations and international integration with the spirit of “being friends with all countries”, based on equality, respect for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and safeguarding national interests.

CONCLUSION

Nationalism is a term that has various interpretations and definitions. The issue of nationality and nationalism is not a new one, but it plays an important role in modern society.

Ho Chi Minh had an early and clear awareness of the position, role, and power of nationalism. He highly valued the role of nationalism, seeing it as a significant driving force for oppressed nations, one that communists needed to grasp and promote. Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology became a central component in his entire system of political ideology. Nationalism in his political ideology is the combination of the subjective elements of a brilliant and outstanding individual with the objective practical conditions, while simultaneously inheriting and developing the values of human civilization, both national and global, from both the East and the West.

Ho Chi Minh's nationalism is clearly expressed in his political ideology in the following aspects: making the national task the top priority for a colonized nation; emphasizing the fundamental rights that each nation must have and that no nation has the right to violate; regarding the goal of the Vietnamese revolution after gaining independence, which is to build socialism - the path to independence, freedom, prosperity, and happiness for the nation; about building a political system that truly belongs to the nation, reflecting the nation's characteristics, and embodying the people's right to self-rule; about implementing national unity to harness the power of nationalism; about international relations in order to combine national strength with the strength of the era.

Nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology holds great value both theoretically and practically. Theoretically, his thoughts contributed to the supplementation and development of nationalism theory in the treasure trove of revolutionary theory of the era. Particularly, his thoughts did not remain in theory alone but transformed the fate of the Vietnamese nation from colonial subjugation to defeating powerful invaders, entering the era of independence and freedom.

Today, although the context is vastly different from the era in which Ho Chi Minh lived and worked, it can be seen that the nationalism expressed in his system of political ideology still retains its value. To harmonize the interests of nations in the process of globalization and to develop the country towards the goal of a prosperous, strong, democratic, just, and civilized nation, it is essential to inherit, continue studying, promote, and apply the nationalism in Ho Chi Minh's political ideology.

**LIST OF AUTHORIZED WORKS PUBLISHED
RELATED TO THE THESIS**

1. Ngo Thi Huyen Trang (2022), “Ho Chi Minh's View on Assembling Revolutionary Forces and the Party's Application in Building the Great National Unity Bloc,” *Political Theory Journal*, Special Issue 1, pp. 83-88.
2. Ngo Thi Huyen Trang (2023), “Education of Traditional Patriotism for University Students in Vietnam Today,” *Journal of Theoretical Education*, Issue 3, pp. 52-56.
3. Ngo Thi Huyen Trang (2023), “Hồ Chí Minh assimilated and creatively applied the Marxist–Leninist viewpoints on the nation and nationalism”, *Journal of Political Theory and Communication*, Special Issue 1, pp. 1-5.
4. Lai Quoc Khanh, Ngo Thi Huyen Trang (2023), “The Concept of Nationalism and its Development in Vietnam,” *Journal of Law and Sustainable Development*, Volume 11, No. 5.
5. Lai Quoc Khanh, Ngo Thi Huyen Trang (2023), “Discussion on the Manifestations and Propensity of Excessive Nationalism in Vietnam”, *Kurdish Studies*, Volume 11, No. 2.
6. Ngo Thi Huyen Trang (2024), “Ho Chi Minh and Sun Yat-sen’s Three Principles of the People”, *Electronic State Management Journal*, August 12.
7. Ngo Thi Huyen Trang (2024), “The relationship between globalization and nationalism in the Present Era”, *State Management Journal*, No. 346 (11/2024), pp. 34-38.