

Index

2016 election results, 263–67

2021 election results, 279–83

A

abduction, 98

ability (*tài*), 24–26

abstention, 263–68, 283

abuse of office,

charges of, 102, 104, 139n68,
142n81

exposure of, 88

nepotism and, 113–19

accountability, 6, 183, 251–54. *See*

also transparency

achievements, 21–26

activists, 84

adaptability, 314

administrative units, 191, 194,

239n47, 239n48

Africa, 86–87

age qualification, 190, 196–97

agricultural products, 164–65

aid, 56–57, 85, 92, 140n71, 141n81

alcohol policy, 225–26

altar, 42

Amnesty International, 172

An, Nguyen Van, 104

Analects, 30

Anh, Chu Ngoc, 105, 143n81

Anh, Tran Tuan, 299

Annamite people, 32

anti-Chinese sentiment, 121–26. *See*

also China

anti-corruption

campaign on, 105–8, 118–19,

139n68, 258, 302–3

law on, 101, 116

anti-government content, 170

approval rating, 260–61, 280, 303

armed conflicts, 28–29, 33–34, 122,

314

Armenia, 3

arms import, 96

army, 72n54

arrests, 93, 95, 103, 105, 118

ASEAN, 4, 89, 90

assembly, 93, 174n7

asylum, 176n27

Au Lac, State of, 27

August Revolution, 23, 38, 50, 165

Australia, 92

authoritarian regimes
 elections, reasons for, 181–85
 legitimacy in, 6–9, 19–20
 monopoly of information in, 128
 percentage in the world, 134n11
 pressure on, 87
 in Southeast Asia, 3, 14n14
 authority, 18–19, 27–28, 31

B

bad governance. *See* corruption
 balance of power, 88, 99, 253, 262
 balloting, 190, 194, 214, 222
 “Bamboo Firewall”, 128, 131
 banking sector, 34, 98, 149n133,
 219–20, 223, 229, 246n114
 Bao, Le Phuoc Hoai, 149n132
 Bao Dai, 43–44
 Battle of Dien Bien Phu, 28
 Battle of the Paracel Islands, 125
 bauxite mining, 84, 231
 BBC, 129, 212, 312
 Beibu Gulf, 122
 benevolence (*nhân*), 29, 71n41
 Binh, Dao Dinh, 102
 Binh, Nguyen Van, 219–20
 Binh, Truong Hoa, 119
 Binh Duong, 126
 Binh Minh 02, 123
 black knights’ support, 3, 86–87
 blazing furnace campaign, 105–8,
 118–19, 258
 bloggers, 84, 95, 129
 blue pawn (*quân xanh*), 187, 273,
 295, 298
 bourgeoisie, 78n113, 161, 163, 171
 boycott, 124

bribery
 charges of, 102–5, 107, 142–
 43n81, 167–68
 law on combating, 139n68,
 147n111
 nepotism and, 113–19
 prevalence of, 109, 226, 312
 Buddhism, 271
 Bui Kien Thanh, 34
 bureaucracy, 49, 99–101, 139n68

C

cadres, 8, 150n135, 198–200,
 241n60
 Cambodia, 4, 56, 89, 135n25, 185
 campaigning activities, 195–96,
 240n55, 268, 291–92
 candidates
 elected representatives and, 186
 organizations for nominating,
 240n56
 probability of selecting successful,
 309–10n29
 queries regarding, 194, 239–
 40n51, 240n52
 removal of, 183, 192, 201–2,
 240n54, 243n72
 responsibilities of, 241n59
 selection criteria for, 267–71,
 283–86
 selection process of, 189–97
 unsuccessful, 293–99
 Cao Sy Kiem, 223–24
 capitalism, 28, 57, 59–60, 62,
 79–80n134
 car registration, 107
 career advancement, 115, 118,
 199–200, 220, 284

- Catholicism, 271
- censorship
- in internet, lack of, 127–29
 - of news, 233–34
 - in public places, 204–5
 - topics, 246n111
 - use of, 42–43, 45, 301
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 142n81
- Central Committee, 160, 175n22, 296, 298–99, 316
- Central Highland, 84, 112, 147n118
- Central Propaganda Department, 93, 97, 128, 130, 206, 233, 284
- centralized leadership, 159–60, 163, 175n22, 176n28, 254, 315
- chairman, 106
- Chan Dung Quyen Luc, 129
- charismatic leadership
- defining, 18, 36–37
 - of Ho Chi Minh, 37–48
 - as source of legitimacy, 20
 - See also* Ho Chi Minh
- checks and balances, 159, 253
- China
- influence from, 22, 98–99
 - firewall in, 128, 131
 - Mao Zedong, 37
 - relations with, 84, 135n25
 - South China Sea issues, 121–27
 - support from, 3–4, 10, 56–57, 86–87, 185
 - as trading partner, 90
 - war between Vietnam and, 33–34, 53, 89
- Chinese Communist Party, 7, 119–20
- Chinese culture, 22–23, 27–31
- Chinh, Pham Minh, 97
- Chu Ngoc Anh, 105, 143n81
- Chung, Nguyen Duc, 105, 112, 142n81
- church, 77n113, 84, 147n117
- citizens
- democracy, involvement in, 158–59, 169, 317
 - journalism, practice of, 127–32
 - mindset of, 31
- City for Peace, 112–13, 123–24, 298
- civil servants
- corruption among, 139n68, 141–43n81, 168
 - law on, 116–17, 150n135, 198–200, 241n60
 - nepotism, practice of, 113–19
 - recruitment process of, 150n134
 - requirements to become, 199–200
 - salary of, 150–51n135
 - in Western countries, 92
- civil society, 5, 8, 10, 85–86, 94, 174n7
- class struggle, 28, 53–54, 161
- Co, Tran Quang, 89, 135n25
- Co Gai Do Long, 129
- coercive power, 18–19, 53
- cohesion, 68n8
- Cold War, 85, 89
- colonialism, 161–62
- Comintern, 38, 44
- commodity production, 59–60
- commune level, 112–13, 169, 238n41
- communication channel, 88, 93, 101, 127–32
- communism, downfall of, 2–6, 47–48, 57

- Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV)
 hierarchy, 296
 leadership of, 6–8, 10, 106
 legitimacy of, 10–12
 membership of, 198–200, 277–80
 National Assembly (*see* National Assembly)
 National Congress (*see* National Congress)
 newspaper of, 170, 172
 resilience of, 2–6, 9, 12
Communist Review Journal, 59
 compensation, 79–80n134, 112, 118, 232
 complaints, 188, 195, 227–30, 232, 240n53
 Complete Annals of Dai Viet, 52
 confidence voting. *See* vote of confidence
 Confucianism, 23–27, 29–30
 conscription, 312
 Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam
 (1946), 33, 39, 161
 (1959), 72–73n64, 74n82, 79n133
 Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam
 (1946), 196
 (1980), 32, 47, 72–73n64, 74n82, 79n134
 (1992), 11, 166, 176n27, 176n28, 186
 (2013), 168–69, 198, 238n43
 construction projects, 106–7
 consultative conference, 192–94, 197, 201, 230, 315
 consumer goods, 56, 59
 convenience sampling, 250, 303–4
 cooperatives, 79–80n134, 164–65
 co-optation theory, 183
 corruption
 campaign against, 12, 105–8, 118–19, 139n68
 charges of, 98, 141–44n81, 178n44, 224, 246n114
 CPV, impact on, 99–104, 108–9
 and land disputes, 111–13, 147n117, 167–68, 232
 law on, 139–40n68
 and nepotism, 113–19
 prevalence of, 9–10, 109–11, 117, 167–68
 courage (*dũng*), 29
 COVID-19 pandemic, 51, 142–43n81, 280, 302
 crackdown, 105–8, 118–19, 126, 252
 criminal law, 94, 139–40n68, 306
Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right, 25
 cronyism, 113–19
 crossborder flows, 88, 90–92
Cuu Quoc, 45, 75n95
 cybersecurity, 130–32, 225
 cynicism, 272–75
- D**
- Da Nang, 178n44
Dai Doan Ket, 124
 Dak Lak Attack, 95
 Dam, Vu Duc, 105
 Dan Lam Bao, 129
 Dang Thuy Tram, 99, 138n63
 Dao, Tran Hung, 34
 Dao Dinh Binh, 102
 Dat, Giang Kim, 104
 death penalty, 104, 224

- debate session, 227–30, 233
 Declaration of Independence, 37, 45, 161
 defiance, 5, 68n8, 84, 88, 148n119, 170, 261, 316. *See also* resistance
 deity, 42, 71n45
 deliberation, 159
 democracy
 CPV's concept of, 159–60, 163, 175n22, 176n27, 254, 315
 criteria for, 251–54
 defining, 157–58, 173–74n4
 and economic development, 257–59
 election's impact on, 299–301
 framework for, 168–70
 index on, 86, 134n11
 perception of, 301–3, 315
 state of, 254–56
 Western standards of, 85–88, 90, 170–72
 See also elections; voting
 democratic centralism, 159–60, 163, 175n22, 176n28, 254, 315
 democratic legitimacy, 20–21, 181, 316
 Democratic Party of Vietnam, 162, 165, 186
 demonstration, 1–2, 122–26, 224–25, 252. *See also* protests
 demotion, 220–22
 Deng Xiaoping, 33, 222
 denunciations, 188, 195, 227–30, 232, 240n53
 destiny (*số*), 24–26
 dictatorial regimes, 8–9, 19, 181–85
 Diem, Ngo Dinh, 26, 34–36, 44
 Dien Bien Phu, Battle of, 28
 Dieu Cay, 129
 Dinh, Le Cong, 94
 Dinh, Nguyen Khac, 232
 Dinh Bo Linh, 73n68
 Dinh dynasty, 27
 Dinh La Thang, 105, 141n81, 222
 Dinh Van Thu, 149n132
 diplomatic relations, 4, 56–57, 86, 89, 96, 99, 135n25
 disciplinary actions, 220–22
 dismissal, 105–6, 144n91, 186, 220–24, 278, 299. *See also* resignation
 dissatisfaction, 229–30, 233, 268, 317
 dissidence, 1–2, 93–95, 131
 district level, 238n41
 distrust, 272–75
 divine rights, 27, 37, 42, 71n45
Doi Moi, 2, 6, 9, 58–63, 89–90. *See also* Subsidy Period
 Dong Nai, 126
 Dong Tam Commune, 112–13
 donkey vote, 268, 285
 donors, 140n71
 drivers, 225–26
 Duan, Le, 7, 38, 51, 56, 120, 146n107, 222
đức phúc, 24–26
 Duiker, William, 43–44
 Dung, Mai Tien, 105, 113
 Dung, Nguyen Tan, 126, 149n133, 220
 Dung, Pham Chi, 93
 Dung, Pham Tien, 103
 Duong Trung Quoc, 230, 231
 dynasty, 27, 43

E

Early Le dynasty, 27
 Eastern Bloc, 56, 86, 89–91
 economic collectivism, 176n27
 economic development
 vs. democracy, 257–59
 GDP, 63, 181, 302
 and living standards, 8–9, 11, 59, 62
 as performance legitimacy, 10–11, 20, 49–50, 84
 economic mismanagement, 141–43n81
 economic plans, 55–56
 economic sector, 56, 60, 61, 63, 79n134
 Economist Intelligence Unit, 254, 301
 education, 34, 40–41, 88, 91–92, 160, 261
 Eisenhower, 44
 elected representatives, 186, 191, 240n52
 election law
 on administrative unit, 239n48
 on candidates, 194–97, 314
 on election organizing groups, 207–8
 for National Assembly elections, 185–90, 239n44, 239n45
 on photo taking, 204–5
 elections
 in authoritarian regimes, 181–85
 campaigning for, 195–96, 240n55, 268, 291–92
 free and fair, 85, 251–52, 261
 law on (*see* election law)
 organizing groups for, 207–8

 process of, 189–92
 results of, 274–75, 279–83
 See also democracy; voting
 elites, 6, 23, 25, 68n8, 78n113, 88, 92
 Ellsberg, Daniel, 36
 embezzlement, 102, 139n68, 141–42n81, 224, 246n114
 emperor, 43, 71n45
 enlistment, oaths of, 30
 Epco-Minh Phung case, 224
 equality, 188–90, 253, 262. *See also* inequality
 ethnicity, 26, 112, 136n37, 171, 189
 European Union, 85, 90, 91, 98
 exile, 88
 expatriates, 202–3, 264–65, 305–6.
 See also overseas citizens
 exports, 63
 external pressure, 68n8. *See also* Western influence

F

Facebook, 128, 131–32, 170
 fact-checking, 129
 family connections, 113–19
 farmers, 53–55, 77–78n113, 164–65, 269–70. *See also* peasants; proletariats; workers
 father-son relationship (*cha-con*), 71n41
 feudalism, 21–26, 50, 54
 fidelity (*tín*), 24–26
 filial piety, 30
 financial damage, 108, 141–43n81
 Finland, 158
 firewall, 128, 131

flawed democracies, 3, 14n14,
134n11
flow of people, 88, 90–92
Forbes Vietnam, 233
foreign invaders, 22–23, 31–36
foreign relations, 4, 56–57, 86, 89,
96, 99, 135n25
Formosa Plastics, 2, 252
foundational myth, 20
“four pillars”, 106
France, 28, 38, 53, 120, 161–62
fraud, 98, 142n81, 206–8, 224,
246n114
Freedom House, 172
freedom of speech, 92–93. *See also*
human rights
full democracies, 134n11
“full member”, 277
funding, 56–57, 85, 92, 140n71,
141n81

G

Gallup, 31
gambling, 102, 142n81
GDP, 63, 181, 302
General Directorate II, 5
general secretary, 106
geographic location, 87, 297–98
Germany, 98
Giang Kim Dat, 104
Global Corruption Barometer, 110
godheads, 71n45
Government Inspectorate of
Vietnam, 258
government officials
corruption among, 139n68,
141–43n81
and CPV membership, 278

disciplinary actions for, 220–22
nepotism among, 113–19, 306
scandals involving, 102, 140n71,
141–43n81, 146n107
Great Firewall of China, 128, 131
Great Uncle (*Bác*). *See* Ho Chi Minh
greater good, 25
Guideline on Nation Building in the
Transition Period to Socialism,
57–58, 63, 79–80n134, 178n42
Gulf of Tonkin, 122

H

Hai, Nguyen Hong, 178n44
Hai, Vu Quang, 149n132
Hai Yang Shi You 981, 124–25
Hanh, Vu Kim, 43
Hanoi, 112–13, 123–24, 298
Hanoi Medical University Hospital,
200
Hanoi Moi, 124
harassment, 5, 93
healthcare, 261
heaven, 26–28, 37, 71n45
hierarchy, 150–51n135, 296
Hieu, Nguyen Lan, 200
Hinh, Tran Ky, 107
historical events, 119–21
*History of the National Assembly of
Vietnam, The*, 182
Ho Chi Minh
cult of personality, 26, 42–47
leadership of, 222
legacy of, 38–41, 74n82, 75n86,
159
life of, 37–38
as national hero, 73n68

views of, 28–29, 72n54, 99, 120, 196
 will of, 74n80, 164
 Ho Chi Minh City, 123, 297–98
 Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, 39, 102, 277
 Ho Chi Minh Thought, 47–48, 65, 74n82, 76–77n107
 Ho Duc Hoa, 95
 Ho Quang Loi, 132
 Hoa, Nguyen Thanh, 142n81
 Hoang, Vu Huy, 149n132
 Hoang Van Hoan, 120
 host country, 305. *See also*
 expatriates
 Hue, Nguyen, 34
 Hue, Vuong Dinh, 106, 299, 316
 human rights
 and democracy, 85–86, 158, 169, 174n6, 251–52
 violations of, 92–93, 95–96
 Human Rights Watch, 132, 172
 Hung Kings, 73n68
 Huong, Le Minh, 223–24
 Huong, To Linh, 149n133
 husband-wife relationship (*chồng-vợ*), 71n41
 Huu, To, 99, 138n59
 Huynh Ngoc Si, 104
 hybrid regimes, 134n11

I

illegal activities, 142n81, 152n148
 immortal saint, 42
 imperial examination system, 114
 imprisonment, 93–94, 142n81, 147n111, 147n118, 224

independent candidates, 186, 196–97, 201–2, 314–15
 Indian National Congress, 316
 indifference, 272–75
 Indochina, 32
 Indochinese Communist Party, 44, 77–78n113, 161
 industrial production, 55–56
 industrial waste, 2, 252
 infighting, 5, 99, 108, 146n107, 178n44
 inflation, 56, 59, 110
 information dissemination, 93, 127–32, 169, 231
 inhumane treatment, 92
 injustice, 99, 148n119
 inspection centres, 107
 insults, 43
 intellect (*trí*), 29, 71n41
 intellectuals, 6, 23, 25, 78n113, 88, 92, 163
 internal crises, 68n8
 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 158, 174n7
 internet, 93, 101, 127–32, 142n81, 250
 intimidation, 5
 invasion, 33, 56, 96–97
 isolation, 56, 88, 89, 185

J

Japan, 21, 68n8, 90–91, 135n26, 185, 282, 316
 Johnson South Reef Skirmish, 34
 journalists, 103, 124, 206, 208, 231, 233
 Jumon Army, 167

K

Khang, Pham Van, 149n132
 Khmer Rouge, 56, 120
 Khrushchev, Nikita, 47
 kidnapping, 98
 Kiem, Cao Sy, 223–24
 Kim Il Sung, 37
 Kinh ethnic group, 26
 Kishida Fumio, 97
 Kong Quan, 122

L

labourers, 77n113
 Lam, To, 119
 Lam Son rebellion, 73n68
 Lan, Truong My, 246n114
 land
 disputes, 111–13, 147n117,
 167–68, 232
 reform, 51–55, 64
 See also properties
 Laos, 135n25
 Later Le dynasty, 27
 Lavrov, Sergey, 96
 Le Cong Dinh, 94
 Le Duan, 7, 38, 51, 56, 120,
 146n107, 222
 Le dynasty, 27
 Le Hoan, 73n68
 Le Huu Minh Tuan, 93
 Le Loi, 73n68
 Le Minh Huong, 223–24
 Le Phuoc Hoai Bao, 149n132
 legal framework, 185–89
 legislative elections. *See* National
 Assembly elections
 legitimization model, 17–21
 Lenin, Vladimir, 37, 44, 159

leverage, 86–89
 Liberal Democratic Party, 316
 Lien, Tran Van, 104
 linkage, 87–89
 living standards, 8–9, 11, 59, 62
 loans, 56–57, 85, 92, 140n71,
 141n81
 Loi, Ho Quang, 132
 Long, Nguyen Thanh, 142n81
 loyalty, 7, 25, 30, 43, 68n8, 72n54,
 118, 261
 Ly Cong Uan, 73n68
 Ly dynasty, 27

M

Machiavelli, 27
 Mai, Truong Thi, 119
 Mai Tien Dung, 113
 majority rule, 158, 160. *See also*
 democracy; silent majority
 Malaysia, 259
 managerial positions, 198, 296–97
 mandarins, 22
 Manh, Nguyen Dang, 138n61
 Manh, Nong Duc, 48, 76n102
 Manuilsky, Dmitry, 38
 Mao Zedong, 37, 44
 marginalization, 68n8, 167, 171,
 270
 market economy, 2, 6, 9, 58–63,
 89–90
 Marxism-Leninism, 23–25, 47–48,
 52. *See also* Ho Chi Minh
 Thought
 mausoleum, 38–39
 Me Nam, 129
 media coverage
 censorship, 97, 102–3, 168

on elections, 195–96, 206, 208,
 228, 230–34
 “Memories and Thoughts”, 135n25
 meritocratic system, 6–7
 might makes right, concept of, 27
 military
 conflicts, 28–29, 33–34, 122, 314
 cooperation, 96
 officers, 30, 199, 312
 Minh, Pham Binh, 105, 299
 Ministry of Culture, Sports and
 Tourism, 73n68, 204
 Ministry of Education and Training,
 34, 91
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 96, 118,
 122–23, 125, 135n25, 143n81
 Ministry of Health, 142n81
 Ministry of Home Affairs, 119
 Ministry of Industry and Trade,
 149n132
 Ministry of Information and
 Communications, 5, 93, 130,
 233–34
 Ministry of National Defence, 171
 Ministry of Public Security, 5, 130,
 204, 223–25, 233
 Ministry of Transportation, 140n71
 minority rights, 158
 misinformation, 129–32
 MobiFone, 142n81
 monarchy, 21–26, 30, 37
 money laundering, 142n81
 monopoly, 79n134, 128, 161, 183,
 189, 202, 315
 moral legitimacy (*uy tín*), 24–26
 Mother Mushroom, 95
 Mugabe, Robert, 96

multiparty political system, 253–54,
 261–62
 museum, 39

N

Nam, Tran Van, 298
 Nam, Vu Hong, 105, 143n81
 Nam Cam, 224
 National Assembly
 criticism of, 212–13
 debate sessions at, 227–30, 233
 expenses of, 181
 law on organization of, 190, 197,
 227, 231–32, 239n46, 239n48
 power of, 139–40n68, 162–63,
 238–39n43
 press and voters, communication
 with, 230–34
 role of, 166, 182–84, 222–27
 selection criteria for
 representatives of, 267–71,
 283–86
 Standing Committee of, 190–93,
 223, 227
 vote of confidence (*see* vote of
 confidence)
 See also National Congress
 National Assembly elections
 2016 participation (*see* survey
 (2016))
 2021 participation (*see* survey
 (2021))
 defining, 238n42
 of deputies, 189–90
 democracy, impact on, 299–301
 improvements to, 314–15
 legal framework for, 185–89

- observation and press coverage of, 203–8
 - process of, 192–203
 - results of, 209–11
 - role in CPV's legitimacy, 182
 - survey on (*see* survey (2016); survey (2021))
 - transparency of, 290–93
 - in Vietnam, 189–92
- National Congress
 - authority of, 160, 175n22, 223
 - frequency of meetings, 191
 - resolutions of, 50–51, 58–62, 76n107, 101, 140n68, 223
 - See also* National Assembly
- National Defence Journal, The*, 171
- National Diet of Japan, 68n8
- National Election Council
 - consultative conference, role in, 193–97, 201
 - power of, 190, 223, 240n52, 240n54, 290
- national heroes, 34, 73n68
- National Liberation Front (Viet Cong), 18–19, 185, 200
- national security, 93
- national unification, 38, 164–65, 313
- nationalism, 20, 31–36, 72n58, 161
- natural resources, 8, 9
- nature, laws of, 71n45
- Nen, Tran Van, 299
- nepotism, 113–19, 149n132, 149n133. *See also* corruption
- Netherlands, 311
- news coverage. *See* media coverage
- Nghe An, 39, 47
- Nghi, Nguyen Thanh, 116, 149n133
- Ngo Dinh Diem, 26, 34–36, 44
- Ngo dynasty, 27
- Ngo Quyen, 73n68
- Nguyen Ai Quoc. *See* Ho Chi Minh
- Nguyen Ba Thanh, 178n44
- Nguyen Bac Son, 105, 142n81
- Nguyen Dang Manh, 138n61
- Nguyen Duc Chung, 105, 112, 142n81
- Nguyen dynasty, 27, 43
- Nguyen Hanh Phuc, 209
- Nguyen Hong Hai, 178n44
- Nguyen Hue, 34, 73n68
- Nguyen Khac Dinh, 232
- Nguyen Khac Vien, 23
- Nguyen Lan Hieu, 200
- Nguyen Minh Son, 232
- Nguyen Minh Triet, 149n133
- Nguyen Phu Trong
 - anti-corruption campaign, 105–8, 118–19, 258, 302–3
 - multiparty political system, views on, 253
 - prominence of, 7, 222
 - relations with Russia, views on, 96
- Nguyen Sinh Cung. *See* Ho Chi Minh
- Nguyen Tan Dung, 126, 149n133, 220
- Nguyen Tat Thanh. *See* Ho Chi Minh
- Nguyen Thanh Hoa, 142n81
- Nguyen Thanh Nghi, 116, 149n133
- Nguyen Thi Kim Tien, 230
- Nguyen Trai, 73n68
- Nguyen Tri Vinh, 97
- Nguyen Tuong Thuy, 93
- Nguyen Van An, 104
- Nguyen Van Binh, 219–20

Nguyen Viet Tien, 102–3
 Nguyen Xuan Phuc, 105, 119, 299
 Nguyentandung.org, 129
Nhan Dan, 97, 171
 Nhat Cuong Mobile, 142n81
 nomination
 by organizations, 197–98, 200, 239–40n51
 process of, 186–87, 192, 195–97, 201–2
 unfit for, 240n54
 non-democratic regimes, 3, 8, 86–88, 127, 182, 317
 Nong Duc Manh, 48, 76n102
 non-interference, 96
 non-probability sampling, 250
 North Korea, 37, 256
 North Vietnam, 19, 45–46, 51–55, 64, 81n157, 159
 North–South High-Speed Railway Project, 225
 numinous legitimacy, 37

O

oaths of enlistment, 30
 obedience, 18, 67n8
 October Revolution, 28
 ODA (official development assistance), 90
 Officials and Civil Servants Law, 116–17
 online debates, 132. *See also* internet
 opposition, 5, 68n8, 84, 88, 148n119, 170, 261, 316
 oppression, 88, 129–32, 147n117, 148n119. *See also* repression; resistance
 organizational power, 4–6

overseas citizens, 202–3, 260, 264–65, 276, 282. *See also* expatriates
 overseas education, 88, 91–92

P

Pacific Consultants International, 103–4
 PAPI (Viet Nam Provincial Governance and Public Administration Performance Index), 109, 114, 266–67
 Paracel Islands, 125
 partisan preference, 277
 patrimonialism, 21–26
 patronage, 7–8, 22, 115–16
 PAV (People's Army of Vietnam), 19, 199
Peaceful Evolution, 90
 peasants, 52–55, 64, 77n113, 161, 163, 165. *See also* farmers; workers
 Penal Code of Vietnam (2015), 93–94, 101, 116, 131, 147n111, 170
 pension, 151n135
 Pentagon Papers, 36
 People's Action Party (Singapore), 316
 People's Action Party of Vietnam, 129
 People's Armed Security Force, 5
 People's Army of Vietnam (PAV), 19, 199
 People's Committee, 147n118
 people's council, 176n28, 189–90, 207–8, 238n41, 238n42, 239n48
 People's Liberation Army, 124

- People's Parliament, 162
 People's Revolutionary Party, 38
 performance legitimacy, 10–11, 20, 49–50, 84. *See also* rational-legal legitimacy; socialism
 personal information, 304
 personal relationships, 113–19, 132
 personalism, 20. *See also* charismatic leadership
 pessimism, 272–76
 petitions, 127
 PETROCONs (PetroVietnam Construction Joint Stock Corporation), 141n81
 Pew Research Centre, 121
 Pham Binh Minh, 105, 299
 Pham Chi Dung, 93
 Pham Minh Chinh, 97
 Pham Tien Dung, 103
 Pham Van Khang, 149n132
 Phan Van Vinh, 105, 142n81
 Philippines, 4
 Phu, Tran, 77n113
phúc, 24–26
 Phuc, Nguyen Hanh, 209
 Phuc, Nguyen Xuan, 105, 119, 299
 Phuc Son group, 311–12
 Phuong, Nguyen Thanh, 149n133
 picture taking, 204–5
 piracy, 122
 pluralism, 253–54, 261–62
 PMU 18 (Project Management Unit 18), 102, 140n71, 141–43n81, 146n107
 police officers
 clashes with, 1–2, 112–13, 147n117, 167–68, 205
 offences committed by, 103, 142n81
 requirement of, 30, 199
 Politburo, 5, 7, 223, 230, 296–97, 299
 political apathy, 264–65, 268, 272–75, 282–83, 293–95
 political awareness, 228. *See also* debate session
 political guideline, 77–78n113, 101
 political leanings, 305
 political legitimacy, 8–9, 17–21
 political rights, 174n7
 political system, satisfaction with, 259–63, 290–93
 political training classes, 199–200, 277, 284, 315
 political resilience, 2–6, 9, 12, 67–68n8, 316
 polling location, 188, 204–5, 208, 240n52, 264–65
 poverty, 63, 253, 267
 power sharing, 6–7
 preference falsification, 19, 70n25
 president, 74n82, 106
 press coverage. *See* media coverage
 prime minister, 68n8, 106
 principles (*tam cương*), 71n41
 prison, 93, 95, 98, 142n81, 147n111, 147n118
 privacy infringements, 93
 privileges, 116. *See also* nepotism
 procedural legitimacy, 20, 184
 “professional voters”, 266–67
 Project Management Unit 18 (PMU 18), 102, 140n71, 141–43n81, 146n107

proletariats, 161, 163, 165. *See also*
 farmers; peasants; workers

propaganda
 on elections, 195–96, 202, 206
 on Ho Chi Minh, 42–43, 47
 internet for, use of, 132
 punishment for spreading, 93–95

properties, 77n113, 106–7. *See also*
 land

propriety (*lễ*), 71n41

prosecution
 for criticizing CPV, 5, 12, 93
 of high-ranking officials, 105, 107,
 141–44n81, 316

protests
 anti-China, 122–26
 clashes with police during, 1–2,
 112–13, 147n117, 167–68,
 205
 right to, 224, 252
See also demonstration

provincial level, 238n41, 240n51

proxy voting, 204, 263–67, 279–80,
 282, 289

public administration, 61

public affairs, 174n7

public consultation, 159, 169

public information campaign, 269,
 279–80, 286–90, 295

public opinion, 301–3

public order, 5, 68n8, 126, 152n148

public sector, 113–19, 306

public trust, 258

publications, 43, 233–34

purge, 105–8, 118–19, 258, 302–3

Putin, Vladimir, 96

Q

query session, 227–28, 233. *See also*
 debate session

Quoc, Duong Trung, 230, 231

Quốc Ngữ, 196, 240n58

Quynh, Nguyen Ngoc Nhu, 95

R

Radio Free Asia, 129, 212

rational-legal legitimacy, 18, 21,
 49, 84, 170, 185. *See also*
 performance legitimacy

real estate, 77n113, 106–7. *See also*
 land

rebellion, 1–2, 27–28, 73n68

recruitment process, 149n132,
 150n134, 262

red pawn (*quân đỏ*), 187, 273, 295,
 298

“red seeds”, 296

red tape, 49, 99–101, 139n68

regimes
 authoritarian regimes (*see*
 authoritarian regimes)
 dictatorial regimes, 8–9, 19,
 181–85
 hybrid regimes, 134n11
 non-democratic regimes, 3, 8,
 86–88, 127, 182, 317
 totalitarian regimes, 256

“relief of duty”, 220

religious issues, 92, 112, 147n117,
 271

rent-distribution theory, 183

reporters, 103, 124, 206, 208, 231,
 233

- Reporters Without Borders, 131
 repression, 5, 67n8, 94, 129–32. *See also* oppression
 reprimand, 220–22
 resignation, 105–6, 119, 219–20, 230. *See also* dismissal
 resilience, 2–6, 9, 12, 67–68n8, 316
 resistance, 6, 28, 67n8, 148n119. *See also* defiance; oppression
 restriction, 92–93. *See also* human rights
 resume, 197
 retirement, 107, 144n91, 220
 revolution, 28, 77–78n113, 161–62, 165, 176n27
 righteousness (*ngĩa*), 29, 71n41
 road safety, 225–26
 Roman Empire, 68n8
 royalty, 43, 71n45
 Rua, To Huy, 149n133
 rule of law, 11, 18, 158, 160, 262
 ruler-subject relationship (*vua-tôi*), 22, 24–25, 27, 30, 71n41
 rural voters, 250, 256, 260, 276, 305
 Russia, 3–4, 86–87, 90, 96, 305
- S**
 Sabeco, 149n132
 sacrifice, 25, 30
 safe landing, 107, 144n91, 220
 Sai Gon-Gia Dinh. *See* Ho Chi Minh City
 Saigon Commercial Bank scandal, 229, 246n114
 salary, 117, 119, 150n135
 sampling method, 250, 303–4
 sanctions, 88, 96, 170
 Sansha, 122
 scandals
 Pacific Consultants International, 103–4
 PMU 18, 102, 140n71, 141–43n81, 146n107
 Saigon Commercial Bank, 229, 246n114
 schools, 34, 40–41, 88, 91–92, 160, 261
 SEA Games, 303
 secret ballot system, 190, 194, 214, 222
 self-determination, 77n113, 170
 self-interest, 25
 self-nomination, 186, 196–97, 201–2, 314–15
 Si, Huynh Ngoc, 104
 signalling theory, 183–84, 220
 silent majority, 261, 313, 317–18. *See also* majority rule
 Singapore, 90, 258, 316
 Sino-Vietnamese War, 120
 smuggling, 139n68, 142n81
 inequality, 9–10. *See also* equality
 social insurance, 151n135
 social media, 128–29, 131–32, 170
 social order, 5, 68n8, 126, 152n148
 social values, 21–26
 socialism
 criticism of, 50–51
 fall of, 47–48
 land reforms during, 51–55, 64
 market economy during, 2, 6, 9, 58–63, 89–90

as state-building ideology, 161, 186, 284
 thrive towards, 81n157, 162–65
See also performance legitimacy
 socialist democracy, 160, 315
 Socialist Party of Vietnam, 162, 165, 186
 Son, Nguyen Bac, 105, 142n81
 Son, Nguyen Minh, 232
 South China Sea, 2, 11, 121–27
 South Korea, 90–91, 135n26, 259
 South Vietnam, 19, 45–46. *See also*
 North Vietnam
 sovereignty, 31–36, 71n41, 72n58
 Soviet Union, 56–57, 89, 91, 96
 Special Economic Zone Act, 1, 225
 Spring Offensive (1975), 39
 Stalin, Joseph, 7, 37, 44, 47
 Stanford Encyclopaedia of
 Philosophy (2017), 173
 State Bank of Vietnam, 219–20, 223
 state-building ideology, 161, 186, 284. *See also* Ho Chi Minh
 Thought
 statecraft doctrine, 22–23, 27–31
 statehood, 20, 31–36, 72n58, 161
 state-owned companies, 56, 61
 state-society relations, 6, 10
 Stockholm International Peace
 Research Institute, 96
 Subsidy Period, 100, 256. *See also*
 Doi Moi
 succession, 21–26
 survey (2016)
 democracy
 and economic development,
 257–59

state of, 251–56
 National Assembly
 elections for, 263–67, 275–77
 selecting representatives in,
 267–71
 political system, 259–63
 voters
 results, attention to, 274–75
 vote significance, perception of,
 272–74
 survey (2021)
 democracy
 election's impact on, 299–301
 state of, 301–3
 National Assembly Election
 participation in, 279–83
 selecting representatives for,
 283–86
 transparency of, 290–93
 unsuccessful candidates, 293–99
 public information campaign,
 269, 279–80, 286–90, 295
 voters, mindset of, 303–7
 survey limitation, 250
 sustainable governance, 67–68n8
 Sweden, 185

T

taboo, 246n111, 253–54, 261–62, 313, 317
 taxes, 77n113, 142n81
 Tay Son dynasty, 27
 television, 103
 termination of employment, 220–22
 territorial disputes, 121–27
 Tet Offensive (1968), 19
 textbooks, 40–41, 160

- Thai Binh, 167–68
 Thai Ha, 112
 Thailand, 3, 135n25
 Thang, Dinh La, 105, 141n81, 222
 Thanh, Bui Kien, 34
 Thanh, Le Phuoc, 149n132
 Thanh, Nguyen Ba, 178n44
 Thanh, Trinh Xuan, 98, 141–42n81
The Prince, 27
 “Three Builds, Three Preventions”
 campaign, 139n68
 “three principles and five virtues”,
 24–25, 71n41
 Thu, Dinh Van, 149n132
 Thu Thiem elite zone, 232
 Thuong, Vo Van, 106, 299, 311–12,
 316
 Thuy, Nguyen Tuong, 93
 Thuy, Tran Thi, 95
 Tien, Nguyen Thi Kim, 230
 Tien, Nguyen Viet, 102–3
 Tito, 222
 To, Pham Van, 149n132
 To Huu, 99, 138n59
 To Huy Rua, 149n133
 To Lam, 119
 totalitarian regimes, 256
 trade, 57, 63, 90, 96
 traditional legitimacy, 18, 21–26,
 43
 Tram, Dang Thuy, 99, 138n63
 Tran Hung Dao, 34, 73n68
 Tran Ky Hinh, 107
 Tran Nhan Tong, 73n68
 Tran Phu, 77n113
 Tran Quang Co, 89, 135n25
 Tran Thi Thuy, 95
 Tran Tuan Anh, 299
 Tran Van Lien, 104
 Tran Van Nam, 298
 Tran Van Nen, 299
 transnational networks, 88
 transparency, 290–93. *See also*
 accountability
 Transparency International, 102,
 110, 147n112, 303
 Triet, Nguyen Minh, 149n133
 Trieu, Vu Hai, 132
 Trinh Xuan Thanh, 98, 141–42n81
 Trong, Nguyen Phu. *See* Nguyen
 Phu Trong
Trung Bac Tan Van, 45, 75n95
 Trung sisters, 73n68
 Truong Hoa Binh, 119
 Truong My Lan, 246n114
 trustworthiness (*tin*), 71n41
 Tuan, Le Huu Minh, 93
Tuoi Tre, 43, 102
- U**
 Ukraine, 96–97
 United Kingdom, 91–92
 United Nations, 96, 158, 174n7
 United States
 electoral system of, 68n8, 253,
 261
 expatriates in, 305
 relations with, 57, 89
 trade with, 90–91
 war with, involvement in, 34–36
 See also Western influence
 universal suffrage, 158, 190
 urban voters, 250, 305

V

Van Don Special Economic Zone, 225
 Van Thinh Phat Holdings Group, 246n114
 video recording, 204–5
 Vien, Nguyen Khac, 23
 Viet Capital Commercial Joint Stock Bank, 149n133
 Viet Cong (National Liberation Front), 18–19, 185, 200
 Viet Minh, 21, 38, 52–53, 75n95, 78n113, 119, 162
 Viet Nam Provincial Governance and Public Administration Performance Index (PAPI), 109, 114, 266–67
 Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang, 261
 Viet Tan, 94–95, 129, 261
 Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, 90
 Vietnam Fatherland Front, 190–97, 290
 Vietnam National Oil and Gas Group, 123, 141n81
 Vietnam People's Public Security, 142n81, 199
 Vietnam Register, 107, 118
 Vietnam War, 3, 12, 34–36, 313
 Vietnam Workers' Party, 52, 78n113, 162–63
 Vietnamese language, 240n58
 Vietnamese National Party, 129
 Vietnamese Youth Federation, 97
 Vinaconex, 150n133
 Vinashin, 104, 108

Vinh, Nguyen Tri, 97
 Vinh, Phan Van, 105, 142n81
 violations, 106, 118, 142n81
 virtue (*đức*), 24–26, 29, 71n41
VnExpress, 233
 Vo Van Thuong, 106, 299, 311–12, 316
 VOA (Voice of America), 129, 312
 vote of confidence
 comparison of, 214–19
 defining, 183–84, 213
 negative scoring, 230, 233
 significance of, 220–22
 voters
 communication with, 230–34
 queries by, 194, 239–40n51, 240n52
 rural areas, living in, 250, 256, 260, 276, 305
 survey on perception of (*see* survey (2016); survey (2021))
 turnout of, 20, 202–3, 263–67, 279–81
 voting
 counts of, 207–8, 292–93
 districts, 293, 299, 305
 fraud during, 206–8
 process of, 175n22, 203–8
 rights to, 189–90, 264
 significance of, 272–74
 See also democracy; elections
 Vu, Cu Huy Ha, 95
 Vu Duc Dam, 105
 Vu Hai Trieu, 132
 Vu Hong Nam, 105, 143n81
 Vu Huy Hoang, 149n132

Vu Kim Hanh, 43
Vuong Dinh Hue, 106, 299, 316

W

waste discharge, 2, 252
Weber, Max, 17–18, 49
websites, 128–29. *See also* internet
Western influence
 on democracy, 85–88, 90, 170–72
 on education, 88, 91–92
 on human rights, 92–93, 95–96
 See also United States
whistleblowers, 169–70
Willem-Alexander (king), 311
wisdom (*tri*), 29, 71n41
workers, 78n113, 161, 163, 269–71.

See also farmers; peasants;
proletariats

World Bank, 98
World Trade Organization, 63
worship objects, 147n117
writing system, 240n58

X

Xinhua News Agency, 125
Xu Shiyu, 124

Y

Yi Xian Liang, 125
youth, 39, 97, 102, 277
Yugoslavia, 222