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с Республикой Союз Мьянма

**МЕЖДУНАРОДНАЯ
НАУЧНАЯ КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ,
посвященная 65-й годовщине
начала изучения языков
Юго-Восточной Азии
в нашей стране**

Сборник материалов

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Начавшееся в 1955 году системное исследование народов и культур материковой и островной Юго-Восточной Азии, преподавание в стенах Ленинградского государственного университета языков этого региона привело к становлению в Ленинграде/Санкт-Петербурге известной научной школы, которая органично вписалась в традиции петербургского востоковедения. Сборник материалов научной конференции охватывает самый широкий круг проблем, связанных с изучением Юго-Восточной Азии. Учитывая разнообразие интересов специалистов по данному региону, тематика мероприятия включает такие традиционные для отечественной ориенталистики аспекты и направления, как языки, литература и фольклор, религии и культуры народов ЮВА, история и современное развитие государств ЮВА.

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**BEHAVIORAL MANNER OF POLITICAL SUBJECTS
IN THE SOUTHEASTERN ASIAN REGION
TO THE INVASIVE AND COLONIZED PROCESS
OF WESTERN COUNTRIES**

New geographic discoveries at the end of the XV century and the beginning of the XVI century signaled the dawn of capitalist era and opened up the confrontation of the two East-West civilizations. In this context, Southeast Asia was a populous, resource-rich region, thus it soon attracted the attention of Western colonial countries. When penetrating this region, western countries initially engaged in a predominant form of trade and missionary activity, and when the appropriate occasion occurred, they quickly turned to colonial aggression.

The political subjects in Southeast Asia have been subject to great challenges from the countries of Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, England, France and so on. Facing the threat of national-country sovereignty from Western colonialism, the ruling class of Southeast Asian countries have had the choice of situational solutions with ingenious, flexible foreign policy or tough military confrontation policy and so forth to respond the process of Western invasion and colonization. Because of the implications of the problem, in this article we mainly clarify the behavioural manners of trade, politics, security without mentioning the ones with the infiltration of Christianity because this

is the difference problem, which has been clarified by the researchers.

During this period, Southeast Asia had an unequal development among territories. In some places, centrally powerful feudal states existed, some were primitive ones, and others were in the form of groups and tribes.

Therefore, we have used political subjects in each region and each country in the region to have a more comprehensive approach to the process of invasion and colonization by Western colonists. On the other hand, this classification aims to look at the differences in the behavior of each subject. For example, how do strong feudal states behave, primitive states and non-state territories used what methods to deal with the foreign invasion of Western colonialists.

1. From the reception of commercial activities and economic exchange

What the West easily accesses to Southeast Asia's sovereign lands is nothing more than the convenience and necessity of reciprocal trade between the two sides. The XVI–XVII centuries were a flourishing period of trade flows opened after geographical discoveries. Europe very desirably find a rich source of fragrance for itself and the Southeast Asian countries have been really attractive to meet that demand. Mary Sommers Heidhues also said, “... *the desire to participate in the sale of luxury goods with China, through Southeast Asia, where trade is possible even if China is closed to the outside.*”[1] And another motive that goes hand in hand with legitimate trading is that “*merchant ships are carrying missionaries to the region, hoping to bring Christianity to the remotest regions of Asia.*”[2] This was the period when Western countries exchanged trading, most of which had cooperation between the two sides. This created a vibrant trade flow in the region in the XVI-XVII centuries. Southeast Asian states also want to trade with the West to have the necessary items such as weapons for war, luxury goods for the wealthy aristocracy. The weapon is really useful in the constant battles in Dai Viet, Myanmar, Siam, small states on the territory of Malaysia and Indonesia. In the case of Vietnam, in the late sixteenth

and early seventeenth centuries, when the Trinh Lord in Dang Ngoai and the Nguyen Lord in Dang Trong allowed Westerners to come to trade, the Vietnamese foreign trade developed, contributing to the picture of Vietnam into commercial centers at that time such as Ke Cho (Hanoi), Pho Hien (Dang Ngoai), Hoi An, Thanh Ha, Nuoc Man (Dang Trong)... Dutch, English, and French established many rest houses in Ke Cho, while Portuguese and English placed them in Hoi An. These trade relations are mutually beneficial for both sides thus have been maintained for a long time. The dynasties in the two Cochinchina had a smart attitude to Western proposals and used them as merchants of weapons and goods to develop their power. Popular Western items in Vietnam at that time were silk, fabric, pepper, pottery, handicrafts, precious wood, yellow silk, cinnamon, some frankincense, and ky nam (precious frankincense)... In return, Western countries sold wool, felt, guns, matches, glass, metals such as zinc, copper, products from Japan, China... to the kings in Dang Trong and Dang Ngoai. But in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Nguyen dynasty kings were quite embarrassed when both wanted to “open the door” to integrate into the world market and wanted to “close” to prevent colonialism, so the relations between Vietnam and the West fall into a deadlock, vicious. However, basically, the Nguyen Dynasty still implemented the “closed door” policy to the outside world.

Meanwhile, the economic picture in island nations is somewhat more dynamic. Partly because of the aroma, the West needs to concentrate mainly on the islands. For example, East Indonesia at the time of the first maritime trade was the only place in the world to grow cloves and nutmeg. In the case of Portugal, when they invaded the Bantam commercial area, they had transferred about 3.5 million pounds of pepper per year to the Indian and Chinese markets.[3]

The expansion of the market of the East India company V. O.C. of the Netherlands in the 17th century, the most prosperous period from 1623 to 1684 showed that trading activities became an effective way to reach countries in the region, especially the strong ones in the Southeast Asian continents like Siam, Burma, Dai Viet.

A conspicuous feature is that Southeast Asian political subjects mostly encourage trade and exchanges with the West in the form of pure trade. However, illegal exploration activities, violent acts and the political conspiracy behind the trade and evangelical crust have pushed relations between the two sides to different levels and states of relations.

2. To the prudent attitudes and cautious diplomatic

When the political ambitions to invade Southeast Asia of Western colonialism began by covering under economic needs, some countries in the region were aware of the potential risks. Political subjects in Southeast Asia began to implement their responding policies. Vietnam during the Nguyen Dynasty, the Chakri Dynasty in Thailand, the Kingdom of Johor and the Kingdom of Meleka all had diplomatic actions to prevent Western invasion. Preventive diplomacy is manifested by clever behavior, limited communication, specifically through the closure and opening up in some areas of foreign trade and mission. Even some countries are so wary that they only accept foreign trade and prohibit missions like Vietnam.

In Vietnam, by the eighteenth century, the commercial activity decreased in both Dang Trong and Dang Ngoai. Along with trade with Western countries, Catholicism also began to be introduced into Dai Viet. The Trinh lords and the Nguyen lords did not want the presence of this religion, so there was little support. In 1802, Nguyen Anh, with the support of a number of French, defeated the Tay Son Dynasty to establish a new dynasty. The Nguyen Dynasty proved to be a dynasty with close relationships to some French groups. When coming to power (1802), Gia Long maintained the policy of *“trying to maintain a good relationship with France within the allowable capacity.”*[4] The precautionary policy was implemented by the Nguyen kings from Gia Long to Tu Duc to escape from the colonial “pincers”. The Nguyen dynasty *“while still defending against the West such as controlling ships, carrying out defenses in dangerous places like Hai Phong, Da Nang, Thi Nai, Con Lon,... it still creates conditions for the Western merchants to trade...”*[5] In particular, the policy of precaution at a

level of toughness that is manifested most is the policy of closing and banning and killing missionary is implemented, negatively affecting the missionary activities of Western clergymen, during the reigns of Minh Mang, Tu Duc, implemented “very strictly”, which harmed the relations between the two sides and was an important chance for the French firing of guns to invade in 1858.

For Siam, from the beginning of the sixteenth century, European merchants came to Siam to trade and establish relations. For example, relations with Portugal, from the 1511s, when Portugal invaded Melaka, the reaction of the Siamese government at that time was silent because the Thai people did not understand anything about Portugal. In order to establish dominance in Melaka, Portugal went to the King of Siam to consult and ask for a cross in the great square of Siam. The Siamese king agreed to establish diplomatic relations with Portugal. In its relationship with this country, the Siamese government also restricted the opening of free trade and was limited to the Ayuthaya Capital, Mergui and Tennasserim.[6] Siam has made good relations with the Portuguese in such a preventive and scrutiny manner but has achieved some good results in the trade process, playing an important role as a stopover in the maritime itinerary Portuguese — China. Later, with the intention of taking over Siam more and more clearly through the actions of Western countries, the Siamese court ordered the closure and restriction of foreign merchants to come to trade. Until the 20s of the 19th century, under increasing pressure from Western countries, led by the United Kingdom, Siam had to implement an open door policy.

3. Forms of connecting with the Occident to gain political targets

The expansion of the Dutch company V. O.C on the old Portuguese control areas with the support of several kingdoms in Indonesia and Siam is a clear demonstration of the “symbiotic link” to gain national benefits. At the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the kingdom of Johor, a division after the fall of the Melaka Muslim kingdom when the Portuguese attack occurred, became prosperous. Upon arriving in this area, the Dutch saw Johor

as a useful counterweight to compete with the Portuguese in Melaka, and they stepped up their trade with the kingdom of Johor. In 1637, the Kingdom of Johor allied with the Dutch through a treaty signed between Emirate Abdul Jali and the Dutch. The Kingdom of Johor sent a fleet of 40 warships to help the Dutch expel Portugal from Melaka in the final battle (1640–1641).[7] This form of coalition helped Indonesia to dispel an old enemy, but gradually fell into the hands of a new enemy. To a certain extent, they have achieved some of the political goals that they pursue but do not anticipate the price to pay before a formidable colonial opponent of the Netherlands with the rising power of the first capitalist country in Europe.

Siam also had a similar action with the Netherlands when established an intimate relationship with this country in 1604. Siamese considered such action as a strategic relationship to get rid of Portugal's presence. Therefore, on 11/9/1608, Siam sent an embassy to the Netherlands and received a solemn welcome from the prince, asking the Netherlands to provide engineers to build dams, boats and even provide weapons. Siam gave the Netherlands the privilege of trading as well as the close relationship of military cooperation. Therefore, from 1628 to 1635, when Portugal and Spain waged war against Siam, the Netherlands intervened by sending five warships to assist.[8] Siam, along with the island kingdoms, contributed with the Netherlands to dispel the old enemies, instead being a "more comfortable" new opponent.

Besides, another form of association is a form of coalition to compete for benefits, expressed through the temporary alliance of Siam — England is a clear evidence of this behavioral manner. The history of Siam in the early nineteenth century shows that Siam's foreign relations under Rama III with Britain in the overall relations with Western countries were most noticeable. After capturing Singapore (1819), the UK focused its attention on Peninsular Malaysia and the Siam market. On February 10, 1822, the Anglo-Siamese treaty was signed forming the initial premise in Anglo-Siamese relations in the new situation. Two years later, the situation became more complicated when British colonists launched a war to invade Burma in March

1824. Immediately after coming to power (August 1824), Rama III immediately sent three troops to the Burmese-Siam border, surveying British military activities to wait for the opportunity. In 1825, he sent an embassy to Siam for reinforcements. King Rama III immediately agreed to help Britain to fight Burma, but did not coordinate with the British troops but independently entered the Burmese territory. In the face of strong British and Siamese attacks, the Burmese king had to proclaim his surrender and sign the 10-point inequality treaty with Britain. What is special in this treaty is that it was clearly stated that “*the Siamese king, a very honest ally of England, would enjoy many benefits.*”[9] Thus, thanks to the clever participation in the war, Siam has contributed to destroying Burma — its long-time rival, not falling into British conspiracy, on the contrary, being divided and becoming allies with Britain in the Anglo-Burmese war. Behavioral manner of “leaning on the wind” before a strong opponent of Siam solved the urgent security and political issues of Siam at that time. At the same time Siam gained the benefit of rare opportunities by taking advantage of military clashes between the parties.

The case of Vietnam is another type of alliance, which is the representative of the groups between Nguyen Anh and Ba Da Loc in assistance to help Nguyen Anh gain some advantages in military activities. The alliance was specified in *The Treaty of Versailles* (1787)[10] — officially marking the binding relationship between the governments of Louis XVI and Nguyen Anh. Later, under the Treaty of Versailles, France thought that they had a legal basis to claim its interests in Vietnam reasonably. In fact, the *bona fide* military assistance activities of Bishop Ba Da Loc are not the official assistance of the French government, but rather the voluntary action of a group of people following individual mobilization of the bishop. Some French officers and soldiers have made certain contributions to Nguyen Anh's succession such as Dayot (Mr. Tri), Philippe Vannier (Mr. Chan), Chaigneau (Mr. Thang)... Assessing contribution by the French, D. Hall said, “*the help of the French volunteer army was of great value to the Nguyen cause. Some of these men had a great role in helping train and*

organize the Nguyen army and navy.”[11] These people were ordained, used for a time for the Nguyen. However, the dynasties of Gia Long and Minh Mang did not really enjoy their presence and gradually eliminated them. However, the French government still remembered the Treaty of 1787 as if it were French assistance to Nguyen Anh in Vietnam, and there was no longer any good evidence for that, but they kept it to force the Nguyen to make certain concessions.

We can find that the behavioural manner uses the power of the West to drive away other Western forces (type of Johor) or to gain interests (type of Siamese) or to borrow the force to drive away the domestic opponent forces (type of Nguyen Dynasty) have made the relationship between the West and some Southeast Asian countries interdependent at some point. This form of association and alliance is transitory, unsustainable and all have historical consequences for each relationship.

4. Toughly reacting by military actions and fulfilling war to respond threats

The intimidating diplomatic actions and then the power of cannons and warships to attempt to invade the colony made the Southeast Asian political subjects unacceptable.

One of the first military-colored behaviors erupted when the Kingdom of Melaka dealt with the Portuguese attack in 1511. This can be seen as the earliest clash and Melaka was put in a state of passive status. The people of Melaka fought stubbornly and collapsed after a month of besieged by the Portuguese guns and overwhelming potential. Melaka became one of the territories of Southeast Asia first invaded by the West. Despite this, the sons of Melaka’s last Muslim monarch founded the Muslim kingdoms at various locations on the peninsula: the Perak Muslim Kingdom in the north, the Johor Muslim Kingdom in the south. After Melaka’s collapse, the three sides fought to gain control of the Melaka Strait for decades.

The Kingdom of Aceh was one of the leading countries against Portugal after 1526. From 1529–1587, the Acehs tried continuously to recapture Melaka from Portugal. According to D. Hall, their greatest

effort came in 1558, when a fleet of 300 warships, 15.000 troops and 400 artillery from Turkey came to surround Melaka a month.[12] The subsequent military efforts of Aceh and some of the kingdoms in Indonesia made Portugal always in tension. However, all these attacks were defeated with the policy of reinforcements from Goa to maintain the bases of Portugal.

As another example, the Burmese dynasty in the war against the British army taking place in 1824–1825 proved very tenacious. Burmese armies, under the talent lead of Bandula, caused great casualties to the British. Total British losses totaled no less than 15.000 of the 40.000 troops in the expeditionary army that died, partly from fighting, partly from illness and death in Burma.[13] However, due to the disparity in weapon power, the Burmese army also suffered great setbacks and was forced to surrender, subject to unequal terms to Britain.

The Kingdom of Brunei alone is a fierce competitor to the presence of imperial countries. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Brunei became a significant kingdom in the region, as its influence spread to the south of the Philippines and its territory extended to most lands in the northern part of the island of Kalimantan, including what is today the states of Sarawak and Sabah of Malaysia. As the first Muslim kingdom in the region, Brunei was the base for Islamization in the south of the Philippines and surrounding areas, often in conflict with Spain at the time occupying the Philippines, whose religion is Christianity, after Spain captured Luzon as an island in the centre of the Philippines.

During the Dutch expansion period, the largest independence uprising was probably the one of Prince Diponegoro. This uprising led to the Java War (1825–1830) between Prince Diponegoro and General De Kock in Indonesia. As a result, hundreds of thousands of Indonesians died, while 8,000 were Dutch and 7.000 soldiers were killed.[14] This strong military reaction caused both sides to suffer many losses, causing great difficulty for Dutch rule. After that, the protest movements were suppressed but showed the Indonesian spirit of agitation.

For Vietnam, right from the time France invaded, a wave of revolts broke out with the determination to protect the nation's independence.

People everywhere participated in fighting against the enemy from the fronts of Da Nang, Gia Dinh and Chi Hoa, the revolts against the French in the Southeast and the North, the uprising of the warring faction in Hue citadel in 1885, the Can Vuong movement, the Dong Du movement, the Duy Tan movement and so on. Tens of thousands of people joined the uprising army to fight the French colonialists with the spirit of indomitable unyielding fighting. The Nguyen dynasty itself immediately after the gunshot of the French ship fired at Son Tra peninsula encouraged the army and people to fight and won initially against the enemy. But due to the historical conditions that could not compete with the French colonialists who were stronger than the means of war, gradually discouraged and feeble, the country fell into colonial hands.

The resistance of the Nguyen Dynasty and the people of Vietnam, the spirit of the Melaka Kingdom, the protests of the Filipino tribes proved that. Most of the occupation of the western colonialism went through war, and when the victory was won, the Western countries could control the situation. During the process of rule, constantly being patriotic movements, the uprising raised out and threatened the colonial rule.

5. Finally, “reluctant openness” and acceptance of fully depending on Western countries

This behavioural manner was used by Filipino natives in a state where they had no other choice. A disjointed territory in the organization, without a complete state, made the Philippines a bait for Spain to invade shortly after the Magellan expedition, first setting foot on the islands in 1521. Spanish sailors quickly established churches and fortresses, while still searching for gold and spices. Roman Catholics were brought in and gradually the majority of people followed.

During this period, the Philippines did not form a clear political subject as a state. Instead, *“Spain did not have to deal with a problem of being a political force. The only political unit, Barangay, was a relatively small family, so the armed resistance takes place only on a local scale.”*[15] It can be understood that in this period, the Barangays were

the tribal form in the Philippines in a primitive state, not yet reaching the level of civilization compared to other countries in the region. J. S. Furnivall later called it “*multi-ethnic society*” [16] when more Chinese and other islanders resided. However, resistance was still taking place in these primitive tribes. The uprisings of the mountain tribal groups in northern Luzon and the coastal areas occasionally occur, because of the cruel punishment, heavy taxes and wrongdoing of the Spaniards. Muslims continue to resist in the southern islands of Mindanao. This was the first protest of the islanders. It was clear from the beginning that Spain was not well-received. In the end of the sixteenth century, the archipelago was almost entirely in the hands of Spanish colonialists. Despite this, the protest of the Philippines was in fact not a major obstacle to Spain because most were small and local. From the middle of the nineteenth century, marking the awakening of the Philippines people with many uprisings, special revolutionary movements after the time of 1898. General assessment of the behavioural manner of political subjects in the Philippines was the “reluctant opening” of Western values and local resistance, lack of system, did not change the situation of the country and finally accepts to be a colony for Spain during many long centuries.

In addition, other special cases, appearing as vulnerable political subjects, have had dependent behavioural manners and lack of resistance of the ruling class. We would like to denote as following.

The case of Cambodia: from the middle of the 17th century on wards, Cambodia became seriously weakened before two mighty neighbors, Siam and Dang Trong (Vietnam). The residence of Vietnamese in the Mekong Delta in the early 17th century led to a territory becoming the land of Lord Nguyen. In the west, Thais continued to invade and annex Battambang and Siem Reap provinces into Siamese territory. When the French came to Indochina to protect Cambodia since the treaty on August 11, 1863, gradually imposed their influence, rejecting the intervention of Siam. As a result, a power competition in Cambodia took place between France and Siam, while Cambodia had no counter-reaction to the “chess board of situation” being arranged. Finally, the

advantage prevailed in France with the French-Cambodian treaty ratified by Napoleon III in April 1864 recognizing French protection. Later, France also forced Siam to make further concessions when signing the 1867 French-Siamese treaty on Cambodia. Since then, the Norodom court in Cambodia has no other choice and reluctantly becomes a French colony.[17]

The case of Laos: Laos before the confrontation with the West had never been fully united but divided into many kingdoms, except the case of the unified kingdom of Laos Lan Xang of Pha Ngam in the 14th century. The relationship between Laos and the West is generally small, not as complicated as with other countries in the region. Partly due to the geographical position of Laos it is difficult to place trade in the years of the century of international maritime trade. On the other hand, the territory of Laos was not attractive to colonial countries because of the limited resources and political intervention of Siam in the long run. In the mid-19th century, France peered into this country, then intervened and gradually seized Laos in 1893. There was almost no conflict and reaction by military operations from the state. Instead of which, it is their acceptance. The kingdom of Luang Phrabang and the Principality of Champasak were still protected areas with internal autonomy, but in reality they were ruled by French envoys.

Under the oppression of the French, in 1901 a rebellion broke out in the south by a Lao — Theong named Ong Kakeo and Ong Komdam led many people to support and only until 1937 it was radically suppressed. Other uprisings such as Po Co Duot (1901–1903) and Patchay (1918–1922) were gradually extinguished.

Thus, the attitude of cooperation and opposition of Laos existed during the period of French colonial rule and it was only untied after 1945. In general, Lao people were not as strong against the colonial people as other nations. The attitude of being forced to accept openness and colonization of France was the most conspicuous behavioural manner of a country with such weak potential as Laos in the 19th century.

This reluctant openness and acceptance of the dependency determined the historical fate of nations and territories in Southeast Asia that either were born or were colonized and subjected to heavy exploitation by Western colonialism.

6. Conclusion

During nearly four centuries of penetration and colonization in Southeast Asia, Western colonial countries were faced with the different behavioural manners of Southeast Asian political subjects. Historical reality shows that many behavioural manners are implemented depending on the political position of each subject. The political subject as a strong state implements clever and tough policies and actions. Weak subjects have a passive behavioural manner and are more easily conquered. Territories that do not yet have a state polity are not uniformly behaved but the majority had few political opinions and were easily colonized.

Strong states in Southeast Asia behave differently from small states. The toughness of states is built on the basis of a political, economic and military power in the face of Western invasion. But depending on the time and the stage, that action may change.

Most of the tough behavioural manners caused major wars that most of Southeast Asian countries failed and were colonized. It is clear that the Western power on the side of military is strength as well as the ability to wage war to win prevailed over Southeast Asian countries. The first states such as Melaka, Bantaram, Vietnam, and Burma, etc. had drastically anti-Western attitudes that eventually lost their independence.

The attitude of political subjects in Southeast Asia to the intrusion of Western colonialism is a combination of many factors, including cultural values, religions, political position and military power of each subject, stipulating the behavioural actions of each subject over time. Although the end result was not as expected, the protests of the peoples of Southeast Asian countries embody patriotism in the process of fighting against Western colonialism.

Notes

1. & 2. Mary Somers Heidhues (2007), *The developmental history of Southeast Asia*, Culture & Information Publishing House, Hanoi.

3. D. G. E. Hall (1997), *History of Southeast Asia*, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, p. 386.

4. Nguyen Van Tan (2001), *Relations of the Nguyen Dynasty with Western countries (in comparison with Thailand and Japan)*, Some world history major topics, Hanoi National University Publishing House, pp. 229.

5. Nguyen Van Tan (2001), *ibid*, page 233.

6. D. G. E. Hall (1997), *ibid*, p. 387.

7. D. G. E. Hall (1997), *ibid*, p. 526.

8. Le Van Quang (1995), *History of the Kingdom of Thailand*, Ho Chi Minh City Publishing House, pp 89–91.

9. Akin Rabibhadawa (1996), *The organization of Thai society in the early Bangkok period, 1782–1873*, Amarin Printing & Publishing Public Company limited, Bangkok, page 134.

10. This treaty consists of 10 items, the main content is about French king's commitment to provide Nguyen Anh with 4 warships and 1.200 infantry, 200 artillery and 250 African black soldiers and vice versa Nguyen Anh accepted to yield the Da Nang seaport and Con Lon archipelago to France, allowing the French to freely trade and control foreign commerce in Vietnam, providing essential food and supplies for France when France at war with another country in the Far East (see also Ta Chi Dai Truong (1973), *History of Civil War in Vietnam from 1771 to 1802*, Literature & History Publishing House, Saigon.

11. D. G. E. Hall (1997), *ibid*, p. 636.

12. D. G. E. Hall (1997), *ibid*, p. 380.

13. D. G. E. Hall (1997), *ibid*, p. 876.

14. Vu Duong Ninh — Nguyen Van Hong (1996), *History of modern world*, Education Publishing House, Hanoi.

15. D. G. E. Hall (1997), *ibid*, p. 390.

16. Mary Somers Heidhues (2007), *ibid*, p. 131.

17. See also Dang Van Chuong (2004), *Siamese-Laos-Cambodia-Vietnam relations from 1778 to 1945*, Summary report of scientific thesis on the ministerial level, Hue College of Education, pages 37–41.