



The process of shaping the world order from after the second world war until now

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Abstract

Identifying and assessing the power structure in general and the world order in particular is always a very difficult and complicated issue because of not only the difference in approaches and research criteria, but also the variability of the situation. The dynamics of the correlation of power and influence of actors, especially the powers that make the rules of the game in the international relations system. Normally, "world order" is understood as "an arrangement, division of power according to the order, rules or rules of the game generally accepted and applied to the whole world", is "a state of comparison and distribution of power and a pattern of activities or arrangements for the behavior of states, especially large powers, according to the common rules of the game for the benefit of the nation - nation and of the international system as a whole. However, the current world order is not only a model and a law governing the behavior of states in international relations formed in history, especially after World War II. It is also a consequence of the change in the correlation of power and influence among countries, especially big countries. Therefore, in this article, the authors discuss not only the state and type of the world order based on the "polar" distribution of power, but also the rules-based world order, in which United Nations system and global economic institutions, such as WTO, WB, IMF.

Keywords: World order, Rule, the Second World War, global economic

1. Introduction

Since ancient times, both in the East and in the West have formed centers of power, the model of the world order, that is, the "Heavenly Order" with China as the center and the foundation of the world order. "Peace of Rome" (Pax Romana) with an empire that had power over the Mediterranean, Southwest Europe, North Africa and Western Asia. These orders, however, operate largely according to ritual, unwritten rules, and are hardly representative of a general world order.

The landmark for the formation of the international system in general and the world order in particular was the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which for the first time defined in writing the concept of nation-nation, considering the nation-state. Nation - nation is a major subject in international relations. This treaty laid the foundation for the formation of a modern system of international relations, including the creation of a "rules-based world order" with basic principles such as respect for national independence, sovereignty, national interests, self-determination (both in terms of self-determination of religious decisions for their own countries) and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. However, the 1648 Peace of Westphalia was always challenged thereafter by the changing balance of power and geopolitical ambitions of the countries, primarily in Europe and the various entities.

The rise of France as a military power, especially the war launched by Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, broke down the Westphalia System. Until Napoleon Bonaparte's defeat at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, the victors such as Great Britain, Russia, Germany, France, Austria and many others met at the Conference (or Congress of Vienna) and came up with a solution peaceful restoration of the Westphalia system or order. This was the first time in history that on a continent-wide scale, representatives of most countries attended the conference to come to a resolution instead of relying primarily on correspondence from the capitals.

The Congress of Vienna formed the framework for the European political order whose typical features were against decentralization of power, upholding sovereign equality and respect for national self-determination - ethnicity. This order lasted until the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the polarization of power in the world in general and in Europe in particular has deepened. Germany entered an arms race and wanted to use the German-Austrian-Hungarian Alliance (founded in 1882) primarily to compete with Russia and Turkey in the Balkans. Meanwhile, Britain, France and Russia also signed military alliance treaties to counter the expansion of influence of the German-Austrian-Hungarian Alliance. Besides, in the Balkans, countries such as Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Greece also formed the Balkans alliance to resist interference and invasion from empires, especially from Turkey and the Austrian Empire - Hung. The fact that Austria's Crown Prince Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by a Serbian nationalist in Sarajevo, Bosnia on June 28, 1914, sparked the Germans to incite Austria-Hungary to go to war with Serbia and lead to World War I broke out. The war ended on November 10, 1918 with the surrender of Germany and the victory of the Treaty bloc, including Britain, France, the United States, Italy and Japan.

2. Research content and results

2.1. The Formation of World Order After the second World War

World War II ended, the Axis fascist Germany - Italy - Japan completely failed, the Soviet Union and the Allies won. This war has fundamentally changed the relationship of power between countries, the center of power in international relations, leading to the formation of a new world order both politically and economically.

The meeting of heads of state of the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union in Tehran (October 1943), especially the negotiations at Yalta (February 1945) and Posdam (July-August 1945) were rescheduled. power in international relations and from here the world formed a two-pole world system or order, one pole led by the Soviet Union and the other led by the United States opposing each other in terms of political - ideological ideologies. ideological, economic and military.

Along with that, the world also began to form the United Nations system, typically the United Nations Charter and the Bretton Woods system, including institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) (1944), General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) (1947), then the World Trade Organization (WTO) (1994)(10) life. They create common rules and rules of the game to strengthen the independence and sovereignty of nations, promote cooperation in socio-economic development and maintain world peace.

In 1991, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the bipolar world order also ended. Until the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, the United States became the only superpower, having superior strength in all aspects and the most powerful country, dominating many aspects of social life on a global scale. However, the US "unipolar moment" was also weakened quite quickly by the rise of many other countries, especially the rise of China. From this time, the world order became more volatile, complicated and unpredictable not only because of the emergence of many countries challenging the position of the US, but also the legal

system, the rules of governance. The global economy formed from the United Nations and other international institutions such as the WTO, IMF, and WB is being eroded by the barriers of many countries, especially from the hegemonic powers of big countries.

Thus, in the history of international relations, at least about 300 years ago, since the Treaty of Westphalia existed, many types of world order with different numbers of "poles" such as multipolarity (from the 1648 to 1945), bipolar order (from 1945 to 1991), unipolar order (period from 1991 to the second decade of the twenty-first century). power competition, competition and even exclusion in relations between major powers.

In fact, there has not been a model of international order in the "polar" direction that is stable and capable of solving the vital problem of mankind, that is, maintaining world peace. Meanwhile, the rules-based international order, typified by the United Nations system and the Bretton Woods system, is also being seriously challenged by the emergence of power politics, geopolitical ambitions, extreme nationalism and populism.

2.2. Unipolar world in history

In 1989 the Berlin Wall fell, in 1991 the Soviet Union disintegrated, the Cold War ended and also ended the existence of the bipolar, confrontational world order between the two blocs of socialist countries and capitalism led by two countries, the Soviet Union and the United States, each. In a quarter of a century after the collapse of the Soviet Union, a series of changes took place in the global geo-strategic landscape, security, politics, economy, society, culture... And, the world The world does not seem to be more peaceful on the road to a new order.

In the last decade of the twentieth century, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the system of socialist countries disintegrated, falling into a state of serious socio-economic crisis and a severe crisis of confidence. America and Western countries won the Cold War, a "victory without war", "without gunpowder". During the first decade after the Soviet Union was no longer on the world map, Russia - the successor to the Soviet Union experienced a "lost decade", engulfed in a political, economic and social crisis. comprehensive, close to the brink of bankruptcy. This is an opportunity for the United States - the only superpower with comprehensive strength, overwhelming economic, military and political power, to establish a unipolar world order "led" by the US, to replace the world order. bipolar world. American foreign policy according to new strategic thinking was embodied in documents, such as "Defense Planning Guidance", which was later rewritten under the title "Defense Planning for the years to come". 1990" (Defense Strategy For the 1990's) in 1991; "From Containment to Global Leadership" (From Containment to Global Leadership) has the strategic goal of strengthening the US leadership role in the global economic and political system, while at the same time being ready to use force. to prevent any one or a group of countries from attempting to compete for influence with the United States... US military bases are densely present on every continent, except Antarctica, in huge numbers. According to The Diplomat, the US currently has about 800 military bases around the world, and according to the World Bulletin, this number is 850. If you include the bases located in its territory, the US has about 5,300. keep. US military forces just have no presence in 43 countries around the world.

Along with military power is the economic power of the US: accounting for one-third of global GDP; holds most of the world's largest transnational companies; play a dominant role in the largest economic, financial, monetary and international trade organizations on the planet; USD is used as a major exchange, payment and reserve instrument worldwide; holds most of the key technologies, owns most of the scientific inventions, inventions, high-tech know-how... Besides, the strength of the US is recognized by the world in various fields, such as: education - training, communication, technology... "In terms of total resources, it is clear that America is a phenomenon in the history of world powers, which many scholars consider a global empire the first requirement in human history".

Taking advantage of the opportunity and advantage no longer to balance, "unilaterally" leading the world, the US launched a "crusade" to impose "American values", such as "freedom", "democracy", "human rights", "American development model"... around the world, in order to turn the globalization process into the process of "global Americanization". Therefore, although the Warsaw Pact - a counterweight in the era of the bipolar world order no longer exists, the US-dominated North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) continues to expand, increased from 15 member countries to 28 countries (including many countries in the previous socialist system, such as Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary,...), strongly moved to the East, close to Russian border. On a global scale, the US has established itself as the guarantor of security in Europe, the Middle East, Central Asia, Northeast Asia, and South America; unilaterally implement punitive measures, interfere in internal affairs, including military measures against independent sovereign states under the guise of protecting "democracy", "humanity", and "democracy". rights",... (the Persian Gulf war in 1991, the war in Yugoslavia in 1999, the war in Afghanistan in 2001, the Iraq war in 2003, the implementation of the defense plan. national missile defense...).

However, the period when America's sole superpower status was uncompetitive, having "overwhelming superiority over the rest of the world," did not last long. Many great changes have taken place in the world and even in the United States, causing people to start talking about the relative weakening of the US in terms of both economic, political,... in the international arena in its position as a superpower. global leadership. Journalist S. Krauthammer (Charles Krauthammer), considered the most influential commentator in the United States, who won the Pulitzer Prize in 1987, mentioned the phrase "unipolar moment" and predicted that the unipolar world order would end in about 15-20 years for three reasons. First, this is the inevitable general trend of history. Countries around the world will develop rapidly and this rise is inevitable, unstoppable, will increase its influence in the region and globally, and threaten America's superpower status. Second, America's misguided policy has created conditions for the rise of other centers of power, paralleling the decline of the United States itself. Third, the consequences of globalization also negatively affect America's superpower status.

2.3. Trends of globalization, international integration and a new world order

In the first decade of the 21st century, the world witnessed great shocks that are considered to have a strong influence on

the formation of a new world order, including events taking place in the United States. .

First, the terrorist attack on the Mall in the US on September 11, 2001. Since the Civil War, it was the first time America was attacked, suffered the scene of war. US President at the time, Mr. G.W. Bush, announced that the United States would launch a global campaign against terrorism, calling on the US military to be "ready to fight" and would attack any country that harbors a boss. terrorism. Iraq was the first country targeted by the campaign because of its alleged "possession of weapons of mass destruction" and "association with the Al-Qaeda terrorist network". However, reality did not turn out as this superpower planned. Bugged down in Iraq and Afghanistan, the US not only has not won the "global war on terror", but terrorism is spreading, threatening national security. of both the United States and the world. In 2011, although the terrorist leader Bin Laden was killed, the spirit of the notorious terrorist organization Al-Qaeda and the radical Islamic armed movements was dealt a heavy blow, but one branch of the Al-Qaeda, a variant born from this organization - the so-called Islamic State (IS) that was born in June 2014 is even more radical, more dangerous, more sophisticated, more organized more, becoming a new, unprecedented form of terrorism. Many smaller, but equally brutal terrorist forces have joined forces with Al-Qaeda and ISIS to form the world's largest terrorist network. With the emergence of IS, "terrorist now has the face of a country (although it is not recognized by anyone), has a territory, has a population, has a government organization" and has large revenues from oil sales. mining, donations, kidnapping for ransom, selling antiques... Terrorist suicide bombings have gone beyond the Middle East, spreading across all continents. The United States, many Asian and European countries (especially France) suffered successive terrorist attacks that killed many civilians. According to United Nations statistics, from 2001 to 2015, there were over 5,770 terrorist incidents of different sizes in the world. It is also worth mentioning that IS has been born in the Middle East country itself, where the US has chosen to be the front line to attack and destroy terrorists.

Reviewing the "hot zones" in the world with US intervention and the US's approach to the world after the Cold War, many researchers in the US assessed that the US had made a fundamental mistake of taking energy. strong to impose its will on other countries, and that is the cause of the collapse of the unipolar world order "led" by the US in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

Second, the financial crisis that broke out in the US in 2008, then quickly affected industrialized countries and then spread to the world, causing a sharp drop in world economic growth, many developed countries experienced through negative or no growth. If at the beginning of the first decade of the twenty-first century, Americans believed that, at the peak of economic development and prosperity, no other country in the world, besides the United States, knew what to do and what to do. However, until now that belief has been shaken. According to the data of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), when entering the 21st century, the United States accounted for 32% of the world's GDP, by the end of the first decade of this century, that figure was only 24%; the average income of each American household in 2000 was 52,500 USD, in 2008 it decreased to 50,303 USD; in 2000, 11.3% of the US population lived below the poverty line, by 2008, that proportion had increased to 13.2%; median American

household income is below 1999 levels; Up to 45% of homebuyers with installment payments could no longer afford to pay their bank loans. At the beginning of the 21st century, the US budget did not have a deficit. After 10 years, the budget deficit accounted for 10% of GDP; The unemployed "army" accounts for 10% of the labor force, in addition to that 7% of the labor force does not have enough work to do a full day's work, or has to quit to find another job; The New York Times published an article by Professor P. Crugman (Paul Krugman), winner of the 2008 Nobel Prize in economics, which commented that "but the most impressive thing in the world. The last decade is that America doesn't want to learn from its mistakes."

The European Union also experienced a particularly difficult period due to the impact of the financial crisis that led to an economic recession. Many EU countries, in which the heaviest is Greece, so far still face low growth, unstable growth, public debt crisis, unemployment, social unrest. The problem of public debt and the handling of public debt by members has caused the EU to crack. In the midst of difficulties, disagreements and contradictions begin to appear. The most concrete example is the case of Greece. The country's public debt and the problem of dealing with public debt once put Europe in front of two options, either trying to keep Greece in the Eurozone, or letting Greece leave the EU (Grexit). And finally, after a lot of debate and persuasion, the leaders of the EU made an effort to keep Greece in order to protect the integrity of the bloc, the image of the EU, and at the same time prevent domi- Slavery could happen if Greece broke up with the Eurozone. However, the surprise that came to the EU was the referendum result in the UK (June 2016) in favor of the UK leaving the EU (Brexit). This event has a very strong impact on the EU, on people's trust, cohesion and the image of the bloc.

Third, the emergence of major developing countries, the world "looks east" with the dynamic development of the Asia-Pacific region, especially the spectacular rise of China. After three decades of impressive growth, the size of the country's economy surpassed Germany, France, and the United Kingdom, and in 2010 surpassed Japan, taking the second place in the world. If at the beginning of the first decade of the twenty-first century, the GDP of the United States exceeded the GDP of China by more than eight times, by the end of that decade, this figure was only four times. Developing countries, especially big countries with emerging economies, have maintained their relatively high growth momentum even during the period when the world went through the financial-economic crisis, becoming the pillars of the world. support to prevent the world's economic growth from falling too deeply. The fluctuations on the world economic map make the G7 group of industrialized countries (including the US, Germany, Japan, France, the UK, Italy, Canada) proved inadequate. capacity to solve problems of the world economy, the Group of the world's leading developed and emerging economies - G20 (including G7, EU, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Korea and Turkey) were assessed as center for coordinating international efforts to create sustainable recovery. The world after the first decade of the twenty-first century is witnessing the formation of a new economic order, in which the voices of many major emerging economies are increasingly weighted in international affairs.

Russia began to have a new look at the end of the first decade

of the twenty-first century. The political system was consolidated, the Russian economy was revived, and the military supremacy recovered. Russia has restored its military potential to a level sufficient to deter threats to Russia's security, ensure its strategic stability and territorial integrity. The war lasted 5 days in early August 2008 in Abkhazia and South Ossetia between Georgia, supported by the US and NATO on the one hand, and Russia on the other. ended in favor of Russia, which was judged by international opinion as putting an end to the "unipolar world order" led by the US. R. Kigan (Robert Keagan), a representative of the conservative faction in the US Republican Party, said that this is a turning point in world history no less than the removal of the Berlin Wall on November 9. -1989.

Besides China and Russia, the world also witnessed the impressive rise of India, which was dubbed "the country with the largest retail market on the planet"; "cradle of the green revolution"; The "software superpower" of the world... India's GDP continuously grows at an average of 6% per year. It is forecasted that, if it continues to maintain that pace, by 2025, India will become the world's third largest economy, after China and the US.

Fourth, conflicts and riots tend to spread, causing instability and division. The "Arab Spring" that began in Tunisia swept through several countries and left severe consequences. For example, in Libya with the support of the US and the West, the country's President M. Cadaphi was overthrown, this North African country fell into ruins, becoming a base. training of many terrorist organizations and the focal point of transporting people illegally crossing the sea to Europe. The prolonged and increasingly complicated and bloody conflict in Syria began with the movement of forces opposing the US-backed government, demanding to overthrow the regime of President B. Al-Assash and push the land away. The most developed country in the Middle East is engaged in a bloody conflict with no end.

2.4. Current world order

First, the "polar" world order

About the unipolar order model. Currently, the US is putting efforts and openly re-establishing "a new world order" led by the US. The outbreak of the Russia-Ukrainian conflict has created more opportunities for the US to strengthen its alliance, gather forces, support Ukraine and weaken Russia.

As for China, "Western-style democracy causes war and chaos" and it is trying to expand its influence in the developing countries along the Asian coast and in the continental space. Eurasia .

Meanwhile, Russia believes that "the unipolar world order dominated by the West, which is holding back the momentum of our civilization". The fact that Russia launched a "special military operation" in Ukraine from February 24, 2022 is the clearest expression of Russia's determination in protecting and expanding its strategic space, against the orderly and security situation. European security is dominated by the United States.

However, the above main actors, especially the US and China, have not been able to establish a unipolar world order led by themselves because they have not established an overwhelming position in solving security and cooperation issues. global . The world's strategic trust in these big countries is not high .

About the bipolar order model. Although China has risen to superpower status, the gap in national synergy, especially

China's influence compared to the US, is still quite large, especially in technology and military. These two countries continue to compete and tend to have strategic confrontations in many areas, including values and development models.

Currently, there is no sign of these two superpowers coming to an agreement to divide the sphere of influence. More importantly, the US and China cannot independently interact with each other, but must rely on bilateral and multilateral relationships with other powerful actors, especially with the EU, Japan, and Russia, India, etc. These countries and entities can hardly accept the US and China standing on their backs to divide benefits. Meanwhile, the international community, especially the United Nations, including the five permanent members of the Security Council, has an unacceptable veto for the two superpowers the US and China to play a leading role in the world. Although the war in Ukraine has contributed to increasing polarization and division in the world, in which the EU and other allies sided with the US against Russia and the trend of Russia closer ties with China, but they have not been able to create a turning point for the world to form the US-China bipolar world order. Therefore, at present, the US-China bipolar order has not yet been formed, both in terms of the model of shared division, the "governance" of the world and the confrontational model. Second, the international order is based on rules

In today's international relations, there are two systems that are of most interest to the world, which are the United Nations and the institutions of Bretton Woods. These two systems have created the basic principles and laws for the relations between sovereign nations - peoples and they create an order that many people often call the "international order". rule-based".

United Nations System. This system was born with the creation of the United Nations in 1945 and today has 193 members and 2 observers.

According to Article 1 of the United Nations Charter, this organization was established for four main purposes: (1) Maintaining international peace and security; (2) To promote friendly relations among nations on the basis of respect for the principle of equality of rights among peoples and the principle of national self-determination; (3) Implement international cooperation through the settlement of international problems in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian fields on the basis of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. all people, without distinction of race, color, language and religion; (4) Building the United Nations as a center to harmonize international efforts for common goals.

In Article 2, section 4 of the Charter, it is clear that the basic principle in international relations is (1) Equality in national sovereignty; (2) Respect for territorial integrity and national political independence; (3) Prohibition of threats to use force or use of force in international relations; (4) Non-interference in the internal affairs of countries; (5) Respect for international obligations and international law; (6) Settlement of international disputes by peaceful means.

Article 2, Section 7 clearly states that the United Nations must not interfere in matters under the internal jurisdiction of countries. All countries join the United Nations on the principle of sovereign equality. This principle is most thoroughly reflected in the voting mechanism for decisions and resolutions at the United Nations General Assembly (countries large and small all have one vote).

In order to achieve its goals and ensure that the basic

principles are implemented, the organizational structure of the United Nations is divided into 6 main bodies including: General Assembly (consisting of all members meeting periodically annual), Security Council (this is the main political body of this organization)(20), Secretariat (this is the administrative body of the United Nations, headed by the Secretary-General, elected by the General Assembly) In addition, under the recommendation of the Security Council, the Secretary-General has a term of office every five years), the Socio-Economic Council (ECOSOC) is an organization promoting international cooperation in the socio-economic field., the International Court of Justice has the main function of peaceful settlement of international disputes, along with a series of specialized functional agencies by industry and field in all aspects of political life., economic - social, security - military and environment are established(21) to realize the goals and tasks set by the United Nations.

It can be said that the United Nations organization was born with the adoption of the United Nations Charter and institutions such as the General Assembly, the Security Council, etc., created a United Nations system. This system was formed, creating a decisive turning point in the development history of multilateral diplomacy for the sake of peace and common development of the international community.

Over 77 years of operation, the United Nations system not only provides basic principles and laws directing and regulating international relations, but in fact has been and is making practical contributions to the maintenance of international relations. and promote peace and multi-national cooperation.

However, reality shows that, in many issues and events, especially related to conflict prevention and settlement, the United Nations has not fulfilled its mission. The principles of respecting the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of countries, and not using force or threatening to use force in resolving international conflicts and disputes are frequently violated. War of aggression, interference in the internal affairs of sovereign countries, the use of democracy, human rights and economic tools, including economic sanctions, tend to increase. Superpowers and big countries still use their power and influence to influence decisions of the United Nations, dividing the world according to "poles". Even so, until now, the United Nations has played an important role in maintaining peace and promoting international cooperation. Currently, there is no multilateral cooperation mechanism that can replace the United Nations. In the context of increasing competition, conflicts between major powers, and the emergence of traditional and non-traditional security issues, the need for renewal and reform of the United Nations becomes urgent so that this organization can not only It must be the center of coordination of international efforts for peace and common prosperity, but must be the center of preventing and resolving conflicts between nations.

3. Conclusion

War, conflict, poverty... have created an unprecedented wave of migration since the Second World War, flooding into Europe and EU countries. Not getting rid of the heavy socio-economic problems caused by the impact of the global financial-economic crisis and the public debt crisis of some members, the EU has to struggle not only to cope with the wave of illegal immigrants, but also to overcome differences

of opinion among member states in dealing with this influx of refugees. The Schengen Agreement is in danger of bankruptcy because many countries erected barriers, controlled borders, prevented the flow of refugees into their countries as well as to improve the effectiveness of anti-terrorism measures.

Thus, in the 25 years after the end of the Cold War, great changes took place, which strongly influenced the development trend in the world. The decline in the relative economic, political and military position of the US and the fierce competition, gathering of forces, and division of power among the great powers, suggest that the world will likely continue to see changes in the future. Major changes have taken place in many political-military and socio-economic fields on a global scale. If the last decade of the twentieth century was a glorious decade for the United States and a "lost decade" for Russia, the first decade of the twenty-first century has been called by many Western analysts a "lost decade" of the United States", while Russia is emerging strongly determined to regain its lost international status.

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