

Original Research Article

Basic Contents of Nguyen An Ninh's Political Ideology and the Values Brought to the Vietnam Revolution

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Abstract: The nation's history in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries was a period that witnessed many profound changes in the nation. In that new context, the nation's history has raised an urgent question: How to liberate the nation, liberate people from oppression and exploitation, and develop the country? To answer that question, at that time, many thinkers proposed many different options, of which Nguyen An Ninh with his unique political ideology was an outstanding phenomenon during this period. The purpose of this study is to clarify the basic premises and contents of Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology; from there, we realized the great value of that ideology in the transformation of Vietnam's ideology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; the same time, clarify the values that those bring to the Vietnam revolution.

Keywords: Basic contents, political ideology, Nguyen An Ninh, Vietnam.

INTRODUCTION

The history of the Vietnamese nation in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was a period that witnessed many profound changes for the nation. In that new context, the nation's history has raised an urgent question: How to liberate the nation, liberate people from oppression and exploitation, and develop the country? To answer that question, at that time, many thinkers proposed many different options, of which Nguyen An Ninh with his unique political ideology was a prominent name during this period, etc. In the first half of the twentieth century, during the long dark years under the French colonial regime, a bright star appeared in the Vietnamese revolutionary sky, Nguyen An Ninh, a passionate patriot and revolutionary soldier, a great intellectual, courageous, and talented, leader with rich organizational and eloquent abilities in the first half of the twentieth century. That's why the late Prime Minister Pham Van Dong wrote: "Nguyen An Ninh was a patriot, a resilient revolutionary soldier, determined to fight for his fatherland and people until his last breath. Nguyen An Ninh has the stature of a revolutionary leader" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.10) or as the late General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh affirmed: "Nguyen An Ninh is a great patriot, a great intellectual if he submits to the imperialists, he will certainly be rich and live a royal life. But out of love for the country and the people, he went to the working masses, mobilizing them to fight against the imperialists and their lackeys" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.9).

Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology is quite profound and systematic, reflecting the reality of life and the imprint of the times. That is one of the outstanding, core, and throughout contents of his entire ideology. It is Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology and life of revolutionary activities that have made an important contribution to creating a shift in the political thinking of the Vietnamese people, and are a step on the path to finding the truth to liberate the people. Vietnamese people at that time. It has a worthy position in the history of Vietnamese ideology, as well as being of great significance to the practice of building the current Vietnamese political system.

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Through an arduous struggle, Nguyen An Ninh has made great contributions to the nation in terms of politics as well as culture and in researching and evaluating the person and career of Nguyen An Ninh in general. Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology in particular is extremely necessary. It is the resilient spirit and belief in the victory of the nation and our predecessors, including scholar Nguyen An Ninh, that have summed up the values of independence and freedom for today.

It can be affirmed that Nguyen An Ninh was a leading revolutionary activist in Vietnamese history in the early 20th century. He soon became one of the leading symbols of young people committed to the goal of democracy and democracy. save the country. He is a revolutionary who is active in the practice of the patriotic movement and is also active in press and academic forums. His political views and ideas were formed from his practical activities and expressed in the press and ideological media. That is the ideology about the goals and political guidelines of the Vietnamese revolution, the methods and forces of fighting to retain power, building the state polity, political parties, and the people's front, etc.

Nguyen An Ninh not only followed Marxism-Leninism but was also a person who deeply understood and applied the materialist dialectical method quite fluently in revolutionary practice and was one of the first people to spread the doctrine. Marx - Lenin entered Vietnam, he used the newspaper *La Cloche Fêlée* to publish the Communist Manifesto of K. Marx and F. Engels. Nguyen An Ninh was a revolutionary fighter through public and legal speech and press and won certain victories against the strict control of the French colonialists. There were times when he was one of the leaders on the press and speech fronts to openly and legally fight for democracy, freedom, and equality in order to enlighten the masses. Join the revolution for a bright future.

Besides, Nguyen An Ninh made important contributions to the Vietnamese revolution in the period 1920 - 1940. His views on building political parties and people's fronts to liberate the nation were proclaimed by him. Public propaganda and campaigning in the Cochinchina press contributed to illuminating the path for organizations and political parties during this time. Along with spreading his ideas, his practical activities, such as the establishment and development of the Cao Vong Youth Organization, the mobilization of the Indochina Congress, and the organization of hundreds of Action Committees in the provinces throughout the country, etc. made an important contribution to the establishment of the Communist Party of Vietnam in 1930 and created the premise and basis for the birth of the anti-imperialist Indochina National United Front at the end of 1939.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Consciousness and ideas not only arise and reflect historical, economic, political, and social conditions, but in the process of formation and development, they also have relative independence. The formation and development of Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology also followed that objective law. Indeed, Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology was not only formed and developed on the basis of reflecting the socio-historical conditions of Vietnam and the world in the late 19th - early 20th centuries but also absorbed and inherited. Theoretical premises such as the traditional cultural values of the Vietnamese people, the Three Religions ideology, the achievements of Western civilization, typically the French civilization, and especially the worldview, the methodology of Marxism-Leninism "aims to create a new remedy" to cure the disease of the people, the country, etc. It can be said that Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology is the product of the selective inheritance of values based on criticism of the above ideas.

Politics is a large field of activity that determines the historical process of social development. Politics was born when society divided classes, formed the state, fought class, and built the state, in order to protect the interests and rights of the class, protect sovereignty, and develop the nation. Politics, in its original meaning, "is participation in state affairs, the regulation of forms, tasks, and content of state activities. The political field includes issues of state regime, country management, leadership of classes, issues of party struggle, etc. Basic interests of the class and the interrelationships of the classes" (Philosophical Dictionary, 1986, p.86). The classicists of Marxism-Leninism, in specific situations, provided valuable opinions that guide the determination of political correctness. According to Lenin, the category of politics can be understood with the following contents: First, politics essentially originates from the relationship of interests between classes, social groups, and countries. Among them, the first and most basic is economic benefits. Second, the most important content of politics is the organization of state government, state power, participation in state affairs, and orientation for the state, determination of form, content, and responsibilities state service. Third, politics is a concentrated expression of economics, is the building of an economic state, and at the same time, politics is influenced by economic factors. Fourth, politics is the most complex and sensitive field related to the fate of millions of people.

Thus, starting from Lenin's point of view, politics can be seen as activities in the field of relations between classes, as well as between peoples and countries with the issue of winning, keeping, organizing, and using. use of state power; is the people's participation in state and social affairs; is the political activity of classes, political parties, and states to seek possibilities to implement the proposed policies and goals to satisfy their interests. In terms of relationships, politics is a very broad field, including many different relationships in defined space and time such as relationships between classes, between political parties and classes, between the ruling party and other parties, between the party and the state, between

the state and citizens, between citizens and citizens, and between organizations in the political system. From such an approach to politics, it can be understood that political ideology is a form of social consciousness, belonging to the superstructure, a system of viewpoints and theories that reflect political relationships - a special society between classes, and nations - nations revolve around the issue of gaining, keeping, organizing and exercising political power that takes place throughout history, as well as the attitudes of classes and peoples ethnic groups to political power that is concentrated in state power through historical eras.

The formation of Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology was bound and influenced by many factors. The contradictions in Nguyen An Ninh's ideology represent the contradictions of the times, that is, the contradictions between the entire Vietnamese people and the invading French colonialists and their ruling henchmen; between new and old elements in the national liberation movement; between the positive and negative sides of a new class of people produced during the penetration of capitalist production. Nguyen An Ninh's voice is the common voice of the nation, representing the educated Western intellectual class who are on the path to finding a new truth.

RESEARCH METHODS

To carry out the purposes and tasks of this research, the author relies on the worldview and methodology of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. At the same time, in the process of researching and presenting the thesis, the author also used a combination of specific methods such as structural system, history and logic, analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, compare and contrast, etc. This research is approached from the perspective of political philosophy, historical philosophy, and value studies.

Regarding documents, the author used "Nguyen An Ninh - Works", Literature Publishing House, Hanoi, 2009 as original documents to research the thesis; At the same time, it uses many studies of colleagues and previous researchers. In addition, the author takes the Documents of the Party's National Congress and the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam as standard documents to guide this research.

RESEARCH RESULTS

Historical and Social Conditions of the World and Vietnam in the Late 19th And Early 20th Centuries with the Formation of Nguyen An Ninh's Political Ideology

Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology was formed and developed during a period of world history when great changes were taking place in all areas of life, including economics, politics, culture, and ideology. That transformation started in the 40s of the 19th century, the capitalist production method developed strongly and became the dominant production method in England, France, and some other countries of Europe, and North America. By the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Western capitalism entered a new stage of development, moving from the stage of free competition to the stage of monopoly and imperialism. To expand their market, they invaded Eastern countries. Therefore, creating a direct impact on Vietnamese social life.

The process of forming Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology also stemmed from the urgent need to liberate the people and people of Vietnam from the rule, oppression, and exploitation of the French colonialists and the feudal landlord class reactionaries in Vietnam in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In 1858, when the Nguyen dynasty's apparatus had become corrupt and feudalism was on the way to decline, the French colonialists invaded Vietnam and stepped up colonial exploitation, quickly bringing Vietnam from a Feudal society became a colonial, semi-feudal society. The entire nation was immersed in the yoke of feudal colonial rule, the masses suffered from "one neck and two lassoes", oppressed to the extreme. Faced with this historical situation, Nguyen An Ninh was soon aware of the crimes of feudal colonialism, the corruption of the political regime that France was casually imposing on Vietnam as well as the urgent need for new government rights, a new society can bring freedom and happiness to the people.

It is these objective characteristics and requirements of the history and society of the world and Vietnam in the late 19th and early 20th centuries that Nguyen An Ninh, a person with sharp thinking and political acumen, explained, had patriotism and love for the people who reflected and generalized into his political ideology.

Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology was not only formed and developed on the basis of reflecting the historical and social conditions of Vietnam and the world in the late 19th and early 20th centuries but also absorbed and inherited the theoretical premises. Discussion of the nation and the world. First of all, Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology is the inheritance of national cultural traditions, expressed in the will for independence, self-reliance, self-reliance, and passionate patriotism of the Vietnamese people, in the traditions of the Vietnamese people. In that good system, patriotism is an outstanding value. At the same time, Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology is also the inheritance of the will to be independent, self-reliant, self-reliant, united, and overcome hardships for the country and the people.

Besides those precious traditional cultural values of our nation, the formation and development of Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology also inherited and critically absorbed the ideas of the Three Religions, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. Second, Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology is also strongly and clearly influenced by the achievements of Western civilization, which is the bourgeois-democratic ideology of Freedom - Equality - Fraternity in the Declaration of Human Rights and Civil Rights of France, that is the light of the dialectical materialist worldview in Marxism-Leninism. These are the decisive tools to shape Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology worthy of the new era. In particular, with his erudite and brilliant intellect, intelligent and creative qualities, and with his theoretical and practical capacity, Nguyen An Ninh has identified and analyzed the reality of the Vietnamese people and the times, from which his unique political ideology was built. It can be seen that Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology is the combined product of objective and subjective conditions, national cultural traditions, and human cultural quintessence.

Basic Contents of Nguyen An Ninh's Political Ideology **Nguyen An Ninh's Views on the Political Goals of Vietnam's Revolution**

Nguyen An Ninh believes that patriotism is not only expressed through words but also through practical actions. Therefore, he determined for himself appropriate political goals and political paths in certain historical circumstances. Faced with the situation of the country losing its home, Nguyen An Ninh determined that the political goal was to gain independence for the nation, to "Liberate the race! That must become the general motto of action-guiding all intelligent minds and noble souls of our country" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.386).

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the urgent need of the Vietnamese people was to liberate the country from the yoke of French colonialism, gain independence for the nation to bring about a free life prosperity, prosperity, and happiness for the people. This is also the sacred goal that Nguyen An Ninh pursued throughout his revolutionary life. In Nguyen An Ninh's ideology, the determination to fight for the independence and freedom of the nation is closely linked to the ideology of fighting for the freedom and happiness of the people. Later, the revolutionary goals were expanded and further developed in terms of human issues, awakening people to awareness of human rights, and democratic ideology, and establishing models of political organizations according to trends and stances. Socialist revolution of Marxism: "Today's socialism is not separate from life, nor from the nation. Socialism does not secede from the Fatherland, it must know how to serve the Fatherland to change and make the Fatherland great" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.387).

Besides, Nguyen An Ninh said that the fighting goal of our people at that time was to fight against oppression in society to liberate people, he wrote: "Our fighting goal is to fight against oppression in society to liberate people." hatred, ignorance, not understanding each other, against injustice, exploitation, the poor against the suffering and disasters that humans themselves have sown on humans" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p. 233). According to Nguyen An Ninh, what we need to do now is to clearly outline the path and actions that need to be taken to liberate the nation: "We grope for that race, find a way out, clearly outline the path to liberation." Launch and fight if necessary against all the bad guys that stand in our way. We must act for our race, like a shipwrecked person determined to swim to shore" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p. 390). The most important thing that Nguyen An Ninh wants to call on the masses at this time is to "wake up and fight" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p. 390) to liberate the country. Because, according to him, no one has the right to be indifferent to the pain of losing their country of the Vietnamese people: "Today, none of us have the right to be indifferent to the miserable fate of our race. Every Annamese worthy of this name must contribute all their strength until their last breath to improve the fate of the Annamese people" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.380).

At the same time, Nguyen An Ninh emphasized that the liberation of the race cannot be placed on the rulers of Indochina, he wrote: "One cannot place hope for the future of the nation on the rulers of Indochina. Duong" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.319). He believes that it is our people who understand what we need and what must be done to liberate our people. We must rely on our own strength to escape slavery. "An enslaved people must know how to rely only on their own strength to free themselves from slavery" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.440) You cannot pray to get the rights you desire: "Never have oppressed peoples kowtowed and begged to be granted their rights" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.452).

Thus, it can be seen that, for Nguyen An Ninh, the political goal is no different and more important than achieving "national independence". Because when and only when the nation is independent and the people are free, can we discuss other issues in the pursuit of happiness for the masses and develop the country to be able to compete with the region? Region and around the world. In particular, in the goal of liberating the "race", Nguyen An Ninh is very interested in the comprehensive liberation of women. Because this is a force that has a great influence on the long-term development of society. To liberate women, it is necessary to solve many problems, but first of all, it is necessary to take care of women's material life, Nguyen An Ninh wrote: "Worry about food, worry about drinking, worry about medicine, worry about living, worry about fight to protect the lives and births of the sisters, to raise their children to be healthy, to send them to school until they become adults" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p. 1110). Besides, according to Nguyen An Ninh, it is necessary to immediately resolve people's deep-rooted thinking about the status of women in society, it is necessary to form ideas of

respect in society for women to be respected protective law: "In addition, to liberate women, there must be clear legal regulations, recognized by society" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.1111).

Nguyen An Ninh's Views on the Political Direction of Vietnam's Revolution

To achieve the outlined political goals, Nguyen An Ninh determined that the revolutionary path of the Vietnamese people must go through many stages, first is to make a bourgeois civil rights revolution, then, when conditions arise, if so, carry out a proletarian revolution. This is Nguyen An Ninh's political policy. It can be seen that this view of Nguyen An Ninh is also completely consistent with the view of Nguyen Ai Quoc in the brief Political Platform of the Party in 1930, which is: "to be a bourgeois civil rights revolution and a revolutionary land to go to communist society" (Ho Chi Minh, 2011, p.1).

According to Nguyen An Ninh, what we must do for this slow-moving An Nam race is to clearly outline the path and actions that need to be taken to liberate the nation. He said: "We have to grope because that race, found a way out, outlined the path to liberation and fight" (Nguyen An Ninh - work, 2009, p.390). The important thing Nguyen An Ninh wants to emphasize is to "wake up and fight" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.390) to liberate the race, because no one has the right to be indifferent to the nation's loss of country: "Today, none of us has the right to be indifferent to the miserable fate of our race. Every Annamese worthy of this name must contribute all their strength until their last breath to improve the fate of the Annamese people" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.380). He believes that it is our people who understand what we need and what must be done to liberate our race. Therefore, we must rely on our own strength to fight to escape slavery: "An enslaved nation must know how to rely only on its own strength to free itself from slavery" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.440).

Nguyen An Ninh said: "To cure today's pain, there must be today's medicine" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.1109), and the medicine to treat the disease of He initially determined that our nation would follow the path of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. However, during the course of revolutionary activities, Nguyen An Ninh realized that the revolutionary path we follow is to follow the proletarian revolution. According to Nguyen An Ninh, that path must have national and international conditions, but, in the conditions of our country at that time, the proletarian forces were still weak so they could not make a proletarian revolution: "If we want to make proletarian revolution, there must be national and international conditions. I do not see that today there are enough conditions for a proletarian revolution in Indochina, a country where the proletarian forces are still weak" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p. 1288). Although the proletarian force is still weak, those limitations can be overcome and the fighting spirit never stops: "Revolutionaries never go out into reality, no matter how dangerous it is, they must always in reality, fight to maintain or move forward. To be away from reality for a minute is to leave it entirely for your enemies to freely control, it is to give up your rights to the ruling class, it is to tie yourself down and give your life to your enemies" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.1288).

In 1939, in the article "Nguyen An Ninh's Declaration" published in "Dan Chung" newspaper, it can be seen that Nguyen An Ninh's tendency to turn to proletarian revolution to liberate the nation was expressed quite clearly. Although, according to him, at that time our country did not have enough conditions to carry out a proletarian revolution because its strength was still too weak, he admitted the proletarian stance. According to Nguyen An Ninh, the path of proletarian revolution is necessary for the Vietnamese revolution to liberate the nation, but there must be enough conditions, a combination of proletarian revolution with national liberation revolution. Nguyen An Ninh said: "On the proletarian national stance, we must join forces with all classes of people to fight for the establishment of a democratic regime, even if it is capitalist democracy, to build our own forces and participate in politics. On the international stance, we must unite with the proletariat, with the people of other countries, and prevent the expansion of fascism" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.1289).

At that time, Nguyen An Ninh realized that, when our nation prepares all the necessary conditions, the proletarian revolution will succeed 15 years in advance: "Communists do not predict like fortune tellers that the proletarian revolution will succeed in the next fifteen years, but will refer to the proletarian revolution when there are national and international conditions to practice it, which means maybe fifteen years before" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.1289).

Thus, recognizing communism was necessary for the Vietnamese revolution with the goal of national liberation. Therefore, it can be said that Nguyen Ai Quoc and Nguyen An Ninh both promoted nationalism in this revolution. Besides, Nguyen An Ninh believes that all peoples oppressed and exploited by colonialism must realize their own practical abilities, from which they can rise up to make a revolution. Those oppressed and exploited people cannot liberate themselves if they do not prepare their forces and organization.

According to Nguyen An Ninh, depending on the historical conditions of each nation, the choice to follow nationalism or internationalism depends. He believed that if the revolution to liberate the nation were to succeed, our entire nation must devote all its heart and strength to protecting the race. After completing the task of national liberation, it is

necessary to join humanity in completing common missions, Nguyen An Ninh wrote: “Our patriotism will limit our activities within the country to let all our energies be concentrated entirely on the interests of the race because other countries have little interest in the fate of our race. Therefore, first of all, we must know for our own race, and then through our race, contribute to serving humanity” (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.433).

Nguyen An Ninh’s Views on Building the State Polity, the Political Party, and The People’s Front

Along with views and ideas about political goals and policies, methods and forces of fighting to retain power, etc. Nguyen An Ninh also proposed views on building state polity, democracy, political parties, and people’s fronts.

First, Nguyen An Ninh’s Views on Building State Polity:

One of the goals that Nguyen An Ninh aims for is to raise public awareness about building a new state polity to suit the times and the aspirations of the people. He wrote: “The state is a governing organization based on a “social contract”, so it must obey the will of the entire people” (Nguyen An Ninh, patriotic intellectual, 2001, p.73). During the process of patriotic activities, the ideology of building a new state was researched by Nguyen An Ninh from Western theoretical theories, especially the ideas of the French Enlightenment, along with the practices of some countries such as China, India, etc. in order to spread the word among the people, contribute to raising awareness of all social classes, and step by step be able to build a government in the future when the French colonialists granted independence.

Right from the time he determined the path of patriotism, Nguyen An Ninh’s approach to building a state was different from Phan Boi Chau’s view of building a constitutional monarchy. Phan Boi Chau tried to hold on to a member of the king’s family in order to raise the monarchy flag and call on the people to make a revolution to liberate the nation, and then make a democratic revolution. Nguyen An Ninh criticized Phan Boi Chau’s views as being able to rely on a constitutional monarchy model like Japan and apply it to Vietnam and some Eastern countries without knowing how to thoroughly recognize and compare the differences. Differences between Vietnam and Japan.

According to Nguyen An Ninh, this era is the era when the people are the masters, the role of the king and the feudal autocracy has ended, and the working people are the creative force, determining the development of history. He wrote: “Even if the king’s palace becomes a museum, the An Nam people will never lose the battle, will never submit. The arbitrary division of this country into three parts cannot divide our nation. On the contrary, the relationship between the South and the North has recently been strengthened, and the tie that tightens racial unity is even stronger” (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.319).

Nguyen An Ninh said that we want to solve problems of people’s livelihood, education, etc. must have sovereignty in hand, so the issue of government is the most important, he wrote: “To win freedom from an organized force, one must confront it with organized force” (Nguyen An Ninh - work, 2009, p.398). To seize power, liberate the nation, and bring a life of freedom, prosperity, and happiness to the people, Nguyen An Ninh determined that we must liberate ourselves through our own strength. In addition, Nguyen An Ninh concluded that in Western society at that time, there were two forms of government organization but also had to go through two periods: the authoritarian state and the democratic period. In particular, according to him, the democratic period is a progressive and developed polity in history.

Therefore, according to Nguyen An Ninh, the most appropriate thing in Vietnamese social life is to build a democratic state. From negating the monarchy and calling on the people to stand up to expel the colonial invaders, Nguyen An Ninh came to the idea of building a state to replace the corrupt monarchy. The democratic state polity model is based on the inheritance of historical traditions, national culture, and the absorption of progressive democratic ideas of the times.

According to Nguyen An Ninh, democracy is not too new in the nation’s history but has long-standing origins, its basis being the village organization. Nguyen An Ninh said: “Today, no one is unaware that the village institution is the basic social organization of An Nam. It is a republican establishment, with a committee elected by the people, with an internal government organization, in which each citizen has a responsibility, a duty with its own budget, the An Nam village mechanism. has made even the best modern democratic institutions jealous” (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.316).

At the same time, Nguyen An Ninh fought to protect the democratic freedoms of people in general and working people in particular. He affirmed that humans are the subjects of history, it is humans who change history and society, not gods. Nguyen An Ninh always promotes human freedom and democracy and believes that the more society develops, the more human freedom and autonomy are affirmed and developed. According to him, the working people are the true subjects of the country, thereby proposing the “democratic national” state model. Nguyen An Ninh believes that the role of the king ended with the end of the feudal era. The current era is an era dominated by the people, the working people are the creative force, determining the development of history.

Second, Nguyen An Ninh's Views on Political Parties and People's Fronts in the National Liberation Revolution:

Nguyen An Ninh is a person who closely adheres to reality in revolutionary activities, so his ideas about political parties and people's fronts are very suitable for the Vietnamese revolution. It can be seen that Nguyen An Ninh's political thinking is very sharp, sharp and highly practical. In him, there is a dialectical unity between ideology and practice of revolutionary struggle, in addition to consistency and perseverance in establishing a broad democratic front. In addition, Nguyen An Ninh also used public and legal forms of struggle to build revolutionary forces and movements. According to Nguyen An Ninh, to realize revolutionary ideals, a party organization must be established to gather the masses and define revolutionary guidelines for the people to carry out. Therefore, Nguyen An Ninh gathered, organized, and trained a core force to introduce Nguyen Ai Quoc's political party. In addition, he also actively and proactively initiated the building of the Indochina Congress movement, contributing to quickly restoring and developing the Communist Party base, while expanding the mass front to fight for democracy, and people's livelihood, creating the premise and basis for the birth of the anti-imperialist National United Front of Indochina at the end of 1939. Specifically as follows:

Firstly, the requirement of having a political party: Derived from practical research on revolutionary movements of countries around the world and a fairly long period of activities with the Ngu Long group in Paris. In France, Nguyen An Ninh realized that if a nation wanted to make a successful revolution, that nation, first of all, needed a political party organization to gather forces, to guide and lead the revolution: "Today, every nation feels that it has an urgent need to gather its forces and to voluntarily reevaluate its forces" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.20).

The issue of building a political party has been in his mind since he worked in France and met with Nguyen Ai Quoc. He also studied the operational experience of other political parties, including Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang. Nguyen An Ninh believes that the great success of the Tan Hoi Revolution in 1911 was due to the popularity of the people. Political parties must organize and call on the masses to make a revolution and define a revolutionary path for the people to carry out. He wrote that the Party "must first have an ideal as its goal, a will to persevere in the cause." pursuing this goal, methods to define the doctrine and organizational talent to bring this doctrine to victory" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.575). To liberate, the Vietnamese people first need a guiding doctrine and organization to carry it out. From the experience of the Nationalist Party, Nguyen An Ninh said that ideals need to be accompanied by a theory. Without doctrine, ideals are just dreams. In 1926, Nguyen An Ninh introduced in the newspaper *La Cloche Fêlée* the full text of the Communist Party's Manifesto, and considered it a doctrine containing revolutionary ideals to help liberate the Vietnamese people.

Second, building a united front: From the analysis of the need to establish a united party, Nguyen An Ninh raised the issue of establishing a united front from which to find suitable revolutionary methods. appropriate and most effective, and from there he affirmed: "It is time for us to tighten our ranks to implement a United Front" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p. 693). Nguyen An Ninh's practical activities demonstrate that he has unity between ideology and action, theory and practice. Under the conditions at that time, he set himself a strategic task of gathering, organizing, and training a core force to introduce to Nguyen Ai Quoc's political party.

In the second half of 1925, Nguyen An Ninh, together with Mai Van Ngoc and Phan Van Hum, actively prepared to establish the Youth with High Ambition organization to attract active, patriotic masses. According to Nguyen An Ninh, Vietnam will have a political party founded by Nguyen Ai Quoc from Russia, so he does not intend to establish a political party but only establish a patriotic organization to prepare forces for the party politics. However, the mass organization founded by Nguyen An Ninh operated like a party, positively influencing the Southern patriotic movement. That is why history books, as well as Party documents, consider this organization as a revolutionary party. In the Conference Summary Report, Nguyen Ai Quoc wrote: "The Party appointed a comrade to be responsible for meeting representatives of all parties such as Tan Viet, Thanh Nien, Nationalist Party, etc. to establish an anti-imperialist front that later individuals or organizations can join" (Ho Chi Minh, 2011b, p. 10).

In early 1936, the anti-fascist Popular Front was established in France and the French Communist Party won many seats in the National Assembly. Nguyen An Ninh considered it a unique opportunity and initiated a movement demanding the convening of the Indochina Congress. To call for and gather forces, in *La Lutte* newspaper, Nguyen An Ninh wrote a series of articles related to this issue. He realized that at this time it was necessary to take advantage of favorable opportunities in France, to boost the fighting spirit of the masses into a massive movement to prepare a people's front to fight for democracy, freedom, food, clothing, and peace. Nguyen An Ninh wrote: "The present time is more favorable than ever to convene an Indochina Congress, where all classes will have representatives to draft a set of People's Prayers containing the demands of the peoples. Indochina people" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p. 761). The ideology of establishing an Indochina Congress of Nguyen An Ninh and his comrades was supported and encouraged by the Indochina Communist Party: "The Indochina Communist Party warmly welcomes and wholeheartedly supports Indochina Congress" (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2000, p. 100). The masses as well as revolutionary organizations strongly supported it because it was suitable and met the practical requirements of the Vietnamese revolution at that time (Dinh Xuan Lam, 1998, p. 329).

Nguyen An Ninh's Views on the Methods And Forces of Fighting to Retain Power

First, Nguyen An Ninh's views on the method of fighting to retain power:

According to Nguyen An Ninh, if the Vietnamese people want to stand up for self-liberation, they need to know how to seize timely opportunities, and to do that, they need to have appropriate and clearly organized methods of struggle, not follow a spontaneous path. During revolutionary activities as well as in Nguyen An Ninh's concept, he advocated using peaceful, open, and legal methods. When conditions arose to carry out the revolution, he could not help but use violence.

At the same time as Nguyen An Ninh, Huynh Thuc Khang also relied on press and parliamentary forums to fight against the French colonialists. According to Nguyen An Ninh, in the current situation, it is necessary to rely on legal struggles, especially in the parliament, because in conditions where the revolutionary forces are still too weak, people's lives are too miserable, and the problem of fighting is difficult. Fighting for people's livelihood, democracy is necessary, he wrote: "A person who claims to be a representative of the people must, of course, intervene every day to demand democratic rights for all, must pay attention to the proclamation of rights." freedom to form unions and laws supporting the working class, etc." (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.1294).

According to Nguyen An Ninh, in terms of meetings and speeches, it is possible through this path to transform and reform colonial rule policies, and at the same time make people understand their rights. He said: "Right now we are still weak and cannot do anything against the government. We are meeting to tell the government that we do not accept being oppressed" (Nguyen An Ninh, 1996, p.223). Nguyen An Ninh believes that peaceful struggle includes many forms, but the basic ones are the press, parliament, meetings, and speeches. Although a peaceful struggle against the French colonial enemy in order to achieve improvement is extremely difficult, it is a necessary and sometimes the only method when revolutionary violence cannot be achieved. Therefore, Nguyen An Ninh is considered a typical person of peaceful struggle in the press forum.

Second, Nguyen An Ninh's views on revolutionary forces participating in the struggle to retain power:

According to Nguyen An Ninh, the revolutionary forces participating in the struggle to retain power are the forces of the entire people, including active classes and classes, for the national benefit and the cause of national salvation. The revolutionary cause is the combined strength of the entire people, not just one class or class. Nguyen An Ninh believed that it was necessary to call and gather the entire people's forces to participate in the revolution, he wrote to "unify the nation and establish a democratic country" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.1298). It is necessary to call for the enthusiasm and sacrifice of everyone. Those who have compassion for the people and country, whether small or large; Our compatriots have long been yearning for the times that will bring good fortune to our people; those who are willing to help the Vietnamese people have a brilliant future; Countless hard-working people wish and are willing to sacrifice to improve their miserable lives and claim the right to participate in the concern for the fate of the whole country, the entire nation today must pay attention to the great matter. TB can do it" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p.1298).

It can be seen that the all-people force, according to Nguyen An Ninh, is a collection of people who are patriotic, responsible to the nation, ready to fight and sacrifice for the people, for the country, etc. He viewed revolutionary forces based on the criteria of patriotism and a sense of responsibility towards the nation, not on the basis of class viewpoints. According to Nguyen An Ninh, "all people's force" is a concept that does not discriminate between classes or castes as long as they are patriots, patriots, and responsible to the nation.

Nguyen An Ninh has a rather dialectical view that, when people are oppressed and exploited by the French colonialists, they all have the same revolutionary goal of liberating oppression and exploitation, regardless of class were all colonized by the French colonialists, those who were lackeys and reactionaries. Therefore, during his revolutionary activities, Nguyen An Ninh believed that it was necessary to mobilize all forces being dominated by the French colonialists, regardless of class or class, including farmers, intellectuals, sects, middle class, youth, women, etc. And the most important thing is to know how to gather them into a united, unified bloc, this is a great revolutionary force.

Nguyen An Ninh wrote: "We are in a country where many social forces are still waiting to be liberated from slavery and the policy of ignorance. We must use all means to help the above-mentioned forces become self-aware and participate in the struggle" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p. 792). It can be seen that Nguyen An Ninh's idea of gathering revolutionary forces is objective, it is also consistent with Nguyen Ai Quoc's ideology in the Brief Political Platform and Brief Strategy of the Party, specifically that the Party must accept serve the working class and farmers, and at the same time "we must make every effort to contact the petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals, middle peasants, Youth, Tan Viet, etc. to pull them into the camp of the proletariat" (Ho Chi Minh, 2011, p. 3).

However, in our country's circumstances, where the working class has not developed much, building revolutionary forces must rely on the gathering of all other forces to benefit the revolutionary movement. Nguyen An Ninh has an objective attitude when criticizing views that overemphasize the role of the proletariat while ignoring other

revolutionary forces. He wrote: "Focusing only on the workers' movement is not always the best means to serve this movement" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p. 792). Therefore, Nguyen An Ninh said: "Marxism does not limit revolutionary action to activities of launching proletarian organizations" (Nguyen An Ninh, 2009, p. 975). He said that considering the issue of class, revolutionary forces in Vietnam must be based on the unique characteristics of the nation. Imbued with the materialist dialectical ideology of Marxism-Leninism, Nguyen An Ninh had a very objective view of the revolutionary forces participating in the struggle to maintain power in our country at that time.

Some Issues Need to Be Discussed

From the content analyzed and presented above, when studying Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology, there are a number of issues that need to be discussed as follows:

First, through research on Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology, we can divide the development of his political ideology into two periods, each period being different. There is constant development and change. The first phase is the transformation of Nguyen An Ninh from a new intellectual to a patriot - from 1925 onwards. This was the period of formation of Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology. He absorbed bourgeois democratic ideology and initially applied it to practical patriotic activities. In the second period, Nguyen An Ninh transformed from patriot to revolutionary, both active and presenting political ideology - from 1925 to 1943. This was the period of consolidating and perfecting political ideology. Nguyen An Ninh, his political ideology during this period was strongly influenced by Marxism-Leninism. Nguyen An Ninh carried out independent revolutionary activities in the country with dialectical thinking, creatively applying Marxism-Leninism, in accordance with the reality of the Vietnamese revolution.

Second, the basic contents of Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology are expressed specifically in the following contents: Firstly, about political goals and guidelines: Nguyen An Ninh believes that the political goal at this time is to fight against all unjust oppression in society in order to liberate the nation and people; To achieve that goal, he determined that the revolutionary path of the Vietnamese people must go through many stages, first is to make a bourgeois civil rights revolution, then, when conditions permit, carry out a revolution proletarian. This is Nguyen An Ninh's political policy. Second, on building the state polity, political parties, and the people's front. First of all, about building a state polity: One of the goals that Nguyen An Ninh aims is to raise public awareness about building a new state polity to suit the times and aspirations of the people. In the Final Declaration, many times Nguyen An Ninh advocated the establishment of a democratic state.

Building a democratic state and building a constitution as the legal foundation of society, in which the core of this ideology is the role of the people as the subjects of state power and rights. Constitution, the political base Nguyen An Ninh wanted to build up to that time was the spirit of the rule of law. Next, about political parties and the people's front: According to Nguyen An Ninh, to realize revolutionary ideals, a party organization must be established to gather the masses and define revolutionary guidelines for the people to carry out. Therefore, Nguyen An Ninh gathered, organized, and trained a core force to introduce Nguyen Ai Quoc's political party. In addition, he also actively and proactively initiated the building of the Indochina Congress movement, contributing to quickly restoring and developing the Communist Party base, while expanding the mass front to fight for democracy, and people's livelihood, made an important contribution to the establishment of the Communist Party of Vietnam in 1930 and created the premise and basis for the birth of the anti-imperialist National United Front of Indochina at the end of 1939.

His views on building political parties and people's fronts for national liberation, which he publicly propagated and campaigned in the Cochinchina press, contributed to illuminating the path for political organizations and party treatment during this time. Third, regarding the methods and forces of fighting to retain power: Nguyen An Ninh followed peaceful methods, using press forums, speeches, etc. in fighting activities, but he advocated using revolutionary violence when the time came to gain independence and freedom for the country. According to him, the view that revolutionary violence is not simply an armed struggle but also a struggle in the political field. Nguyen An Ninh said that the revolutionary forces participating in the struggle to retain power are the forces of the entire people, including active classes and strata, for the national benefit and the cause of national salvation.

Thus, stemming from patriotic feelings, love for the people, and the social reality of being invaded by colonialists and oppressed and exploited by feudal henchmen, Nguyen An Ninh has intelligent qualities and sensitive political thinking. Being sensitive to the times, there have been steps taken to find a way to save the country and save the people: passed school but did not become an official; absorb new progressive ideas and apply them into practice through patriotic activities through peaceful struggle, using press forums, speeches, meetings, etc. but Nguyen An Ninh advocates using revolutionary violence when the time comes to win independence and freedom for the country. According to him, the view that revolutionary violence is not simply an armed struggle but also a struggle in the political field.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the process of patriotic activities and revolutionary struggles, Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology has continuously and appropriately changed through each stage and historical period with the following basic contents: goals politics and political lines, methods and forces of fighting to retain power, building the state, political parties and the people's front, etc. Researching Nguyen An Ninh, we see that Nguyen An Ninh's revolutionary life was a continuous, cunning, courageous, and resilient struggle for the cause of national liberation and human liberation. During more than 20 years of public engagement, Nguyen An Ninh - a Western-educated intellectual who followed Marxist humanistic ideals and pioneered the flag of nationalism and democracy, has grown and developed. in deep political ideology. He went from negating feudal ideology to bourgeois democratic ideology to move towards Marxism-Leninism. In the content of Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology, there is a transition from low to high, from primitive simplicity to perfection, gradually becoming one of the quite typical models for the process of ideological transformation. Vietnamese politics in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Although the content of Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology has not reached the level of doctrine, his system of political views has shown great progress in the political ideology of contemporary Vietnamese society. Regardless, Nguyen An Ninh's progressive political ideology is still the light that illuminates the way, awakening the Vietnamese people to stand up against the French, eliminate feudalism, and build a new civilized society with a new democracy.

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