



## BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF NGUYEN AN NINH'S POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND THE MEANING OF THAT IDEOLOGY

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### **Abstract:**

The late 19th and early 20th century was a special historical period for the Vietnamese people, a period of transformation that changed the nature of society. Our country was invaded by the French colonialists and became a semi-feudal, colonial country. It can be said that Nguyen An Ninh was a typical thinker of Vietnam in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He introduced political ideas consistent with the reality of the Vietnamese revolution in this historical period. Based on an overview of the basic contents of Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology, this study aims to clarify the basic characteristics of Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology such as (i) Deep nationality in Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology; (ii) Vivid practicality in Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology; (iii) Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology represents the transition from bourgeois-democratic ideology to Marxism-Leninism. On that basis, clarify the values of that characteristic in Vietnam's revolutionary process.

**Keywords:** political ideology, Nguyen An Ninh, basic characteristics, meaning and value

### **1. Introduction**

As a unique socio-historical phenomenon, politics is born when classes and nations appear. When society is organized into a state, politics becomes the focus of all class struggles and national struggles, becoming the driving force for social development. Politics is a complex field, related to all aspects of social life and many different classes and strata in society, not simply the field of state activity. To fully and correctly understand politics requires approaching the issue from many aspects, not just a single aspect or field. Political ideology becomes an important part of the development of politics. Researching the history of political ideology helps us know the process of emergence and development of politics; from there, grasp the rules or normative issues

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of politics in order to orient the development of practical politics. It can be seen that in the fields of social ideology, political ideology is one of the important fields because it has a dominant and decisive effect on social existence.

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.

In the current reform process in Vietnam, political ideology is still the form of social consciousness that has the strongest impact on social life. Our Party has once asserted: *"There are many types of human ideology, but the most important is political ideology"* (Communist Party of Vietnam, 1998, p.35), because, *"politics touches especially complex and sensitive relationships in society"* (Communist Party of Vietnam, 1991, p. 54).

After 37 years of comprehensive renovation of the country, Vietnam has achieved great achievements in all aspects of economics, politics, culture, society, etc. To achieve those achievements, one of the important contributing factors is innovation in thinking, most especially innovation in political thinking. Political institutions and policies play a huge decisive role in the destiny of a nation, as V. I. Lenin once said: *"Politics is the actual destiny of millions of people"* (V. I. Lenin, 1977, Volume 40, p.150). Starting from the above situation and context, the need to build and perfect an increasingly strong and effective political system is a fundamental issue, Resolution of the Party's National Congress The 13th Vietnam Communist Party has clearly pointed out: *"Continue to innovate and perfect the organizational structure of the streamlined political system, operating effectively and efficiently"* (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2021, p. 229). Besides, to continue to bring the reform process to success, in the Documents of the 13th National Congress (January 2021), the Communist Party of Vietnam continues to emphasize: *"Building a culture to advance Vietnam, imbued with national identity so that Vietnamese culture and people truly become an endogenous strength, a driving force for national development and national defense"* (Communist Party of Vietnam, 2021, p. 115) At the same time, we must constantly absorb the cultural quintessence of humanity.

Therefore, studying, researching, absorbing, and inheriting the value of the political ideology of humanity in general, and the political ideology of the Vietnamese people in particular, including Nguyen's unique political ideology, is important. Nguyen An Ninh (1900 - 1943) is a necessary work for the current reform process in our country. In particular, identifying the basic characteristics of Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology allows today's world to have a comprehensive view and assessment of Vietnam's ideological transformation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; at the same time, it shows that the appearance of Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh) and the Communist Party of Vietnam is inevitable and is the choice of history.

## 2. Literature Review

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the urgent need of the Vietnamese people was to liberate the country from French colonial rule, gain independence for the nation, and bring about a revolution to live freely, prosperously, and happily 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 - work, 2009, p.387).

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 - work, 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 - work, 2009, p.1111).

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 - work, 2009, p.390) to liberate the race, because no one has the right to be indifferent to pain. 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 - work, 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 - work, 2009, p.440).

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 serve humanity"* (Nguyen An Ninh - work, 2009, p.433).

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.

### **3. Research Methods**

Theoretical research methods: the author uses research methods of social sciences and humanities such as Logic - history; analysis – synthesis; induction – interpretation, etc. In addition, the author uses the methodology of dialectical materialism; and stands on the stance and viewpoint of Max-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's Ideology.

Regarding documents, the author uses "Nguyen An Ninh - Works", as source material for research; At the same time, the author uses the research of previous scholars and researchers about Nguyen An Ninh's background, career, and life of revolutionary activities at home and abroad; selectively inheriting previous research, choosing appropriate elements to include in the research work to clarify the basic content and characteristics of Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology.

The author also focuses on researching and clarifying classic works of Marxism-Leninism on politics; The Communist Party of Vietnam's views on politics, on the inheritance of values left by our predecessors for the Vietnamese revolution; At the same time, promoting those values in Vietnam's current innovation and international integration process.

## 4. Research Results and Discussion

### 4.1 Basic Characteristics of Nguyen An Ninh's Political Ideology

#### A. Deep Nationalism in Nguyen An Ninh's Political Ideology

Nationalism in Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology is, first of all, expressed in the spirit of national independence and autonomy, in the determination to protect national independence and national sovereignty. Second, nationalism in Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology is expressed through national pride, promoting the nation's glorious historical traditions, and praising the cultural beauty of the Vietnamese people. Besides, the nationalism in his political ideology is expressed through national pride, affirming and upholding the independence and sovereignty of the nation. It can be said that in Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology, the issue of independence for the nation, freedom, and happiness for the people is the most basic driving force promoting the process of finding a way to save the country as well as the movement and development of his political ideology. Nguyen An Ninh devoted his entire life to taking care of the destiny of the nation, taking care of the fate of the people. Therefore, Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology is deeply nationalistic.

First of all, the nationalism in Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology is expressed in the spirit of national independence and autonomy, in the determination to protect national independence and national sovereignty. This is clearly shown through the contents of Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology. Like many other fervent patriots, Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology also changed, accompanying the nation and the times. During this period, our country faced the great upheavals of the era, both economically, politically, and socially, and our people's lives were extremely difficult, having to endure oppression. Therefore, patriots are trying to find a way to save the nation's destiny.

Nguyen An Ninh believes that in order to expel the French colonialists and regain independence and freedom for the nation, our people must know how to rely on their own strength to fight for the liberation of their nation, in the spirit of self-reliance. Strengthen yourself to protect yourself, thereby contributing your strength to protect the country, do not rely on, do not rely on. Nguyen An Ninh wrote: *"History has fully proven the independence of the Vietnamese people"* (Nguyen An Tinh, 1996, p. 139). He affirmed that a nation's independence and freedom can only be won by itself, not by other nations. Nguyen An Ninh wrote: *"Only one's freedom can be achieved by fighting for it is solid"* (Nguyen An Tinh, 1996, p. 374).

It can be affirmed: Nguyen An Ninh is a nationalist, because he promoted nationalism, considering it a driving force for the revolutionary movement. He believes that even socialist revolutions *"do not mean eliminating nations, but rather enhancing the value of each nation. Ethnic groups are brought to stand as equals in a community, they do not lose anything in terms of independence, still retain their own national characteristics, and are free to develop their talents"* (Nguyen An Tinh, 1996, p. 164). This was a very correct viewpoint and consistent with the practical needs of the Vietnamese revolution at that time.

Second, nationalism in Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology is also expressed through national pride, promoting the nation's glorious historical traditions, and praising the cultural beauty of the Vietnamese people. Talking about this, Nguyen An Ninh once asserted: *"Culture is the soul of a nation"* (Nguyen An Ninh - work, 2009, p. 64). Indeed, traditional cultural values are the solid foundation that creates the national cultural identity. That identity is the lasting vitality and creativity of a nation that has gone through thousands of years of history. Nguyen An Ninh emphasized the need to build an independent culture: *"I keep wanting to say nostalgic about the need to build one's own culture"* (Nguyen An Ninh, 1996, p.81), or: *"Speaking of the longevity of a race, first of all, talking about When it comes to culture, it refers to the vitality of a nation, of that race, meaning all the potential that that nation has left a deep mark on and shines brightly on its historical process. And the Vietnamese people once had a vitality to create such a culture"* (Nguyen An Ninh, 1996, p.81).

Nguyen An Ninh realized the power of culture on national issues and proved that if there is a strong culture, national independence can still be maintained. Besides, he also condemned: *"Patriotism is essentially xenophobia, patriotism incites hatred against Europe, because our invaders are Europeans, patriotism calls for revenge, separating itself from the winners and condemning their civilization, that patriotism isolates itself in the ivory tower and thinks that, there, everything will be perfect, that blind patriotism is sincere. There is nothing worthy of praise, but it only leads to the paralysis and destruction of the race"* (Nguyen An Ninh - work, 2009, p. 388).

Third, the nationalism in Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology is also expressed through national pride, affirming and upholding the independence and sovereignty of the nation. In the history of thousands of years of building and defending the country, our nation has often had to face and resist wars of invasion by foreign powers with very strong military potential. Besides, our nation has to regularly face natural disasters, storms, and floods.

To survive and develop, affirm and uphold the independence and sovereignty of our nation and people, we must unite and be creative in labor and struggle, Nguyen An Ninh wrote: *"Gain strength, add vitality to our race in the fight to gain a place for ourselves in the world"* (Nguyen An Ninh - work, 2009, p.65). It is national pride, affirming and upholding the independence and sovereignty of the nation that guides the values of the actions and behavior of the Vietnamese people. Noble values are hidden deep in the hearts and minds of Vietnamese people. However, when the homeland is in danger, the national pride, affirming and upholding the independence and sovereignty of the nation rises strongly, becoming an inexhaustible and endless source of strength, helping the people. Our clan defeated all enemies, Nguyen An Ninh wrote: *"Our ancestors knew how to face the executioner's sword to defend their cause. Let us prove worthy of our ancestors"* (Nguyen An Ninh - work, 2009, p. 504) or, *"we are in need of people capable of guiding every step for the nation, guiding light the path of the nation"* (Nguyen An Ninh - work, 2009, p.69).

National pride, affirming and upholding the independence and sovereignty of the nation, although expressed in many different contents and forms, in different periods, is

a close unity strict and immutable, which is the sense of protecting the country's sovereignty, the spirit of national independence, the will to self-reliance, self-reliance, national pride, and refusal to submit to enemies, refusing to lose their country, refusing to be slaves, Nguyen An Ninh said: *"The task of today's generation of youth is truly heavy. Our current historical period makes that task many times more difficult"* (Nguyen An Ninh - work, 2009, p.72). That profound nationalism was vividly expressed by Nguyen An Ninh not only in his political ideology but also throughout his life of revolutionary activities aimed at national liberation and people's liberation. An Ninh said: *"Our nation will never despair"* (Nguyen An Ninh - work, 2009, p.272).

### **B. Vivid Practicality in Nguyen An Ninh's Political Ideology**

Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology is not only deeply nationalistic but also demonstrates extremely vivid and sharp practicality. The highlight of the practicality of Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology is that it is closely linked to the lives of the Vietnamese people, to the requirements and characteristics of Vietnam's special social history that set the stage for the future. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, he wrote: *"Revolutionaries never stand outside reality, no matter how dangerous it is, they must always stay in reality and fight to maintain or advance. To be a little far from reality is to leave it entirely for one's enemies to freely master it, to give up, to tie oneself to the ruling class. It means tying yourself up and giving your life to the enemy"* (Nguyen An Tinh, 1996, p.29).

In Nguyen An Ninh's political thinking, the most important issue is national independence. In terms of methodology, he believes that we must use all methods and means to win national independence, and then build democratic political institutions. It can be said that the idea of national independence has been elevated into a philosophy, a noble gesture, which is the patriotism of the Vietnamese people. Nguyen An Ninh's path to national salvation, regardless of any stance or viewpoint, focuses on solving the problem of national independence in many different political forms and methods.

According to Nguyen An Ninh, the most important issue of the revolution was the struggle to make the people have a life with basic human rights. To achieve that political goal, according to him, he must propagate to the people to understand their civil rights and fight openly and legally to demand that the French colonialists ensure the people's rights. Also in his political ideology, Nguyen An Ninh paid great attention to building a society governed by law. It is necessary to rely on the law to conduct all revolutionary struggle activities. Nguyen An Ninh clearly sees the positive role of managing society by law, opposing the ideology of autocracy and political monopoly. It can be said that the rule of law perspectives have marked a transition from traditional political thinking to modern political thinking, from kingship to rule of law, and from monarchy to democracy in our country at the end of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The reason his political ideology shows profound practicality is because the viewpoints in his political ideology are the result of a process of direct reflection from socio-historical reality, and from his own love demands of Vietnamese society in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and then it returned to directly serve the demands of that

reality. Therefore, Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology and the reality of Vietnamese social history are closely linked and inseparable. This is what makes Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology imbued with vivid practicality; demonstrating his talent, virtue patriotism, and love for the people. Therefore, the practicality of his political ideology is a lesson that has great effect and significance for the next era, especially in the reform of the current political system in Vietnam.

### **C. Nguyen An Ninh's Political Ideology Represents the Transition from Bourgeois-Democratic Ideology to Marxism-Leninism**

Before that, in the second half of the 19th century, innovative ideas appeared with the policy of innovation but did not criticize or negate feudalism and new political categories did not appear. In the political ideology of thinkers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in general, Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology in particular considered and gradually negated the elements of the views, feudal ideology, absorbing new human values, including bourgeois democratic ideology and especially proletarian ideology. From there, created a negation of feudal ideology and a transition from bourgeois-democratic ideology to Marxism-Leninism in Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology.

During the early period of revolutionary activities. When Nguyen An Ninh returned home, from 1925 onwards, he advocated a public fight based on the law to demand freedom and democracy, and for the French colonialists to properly implement the law towards the colonial people. However, after a period of practical revolutionary activities, Nguyen An Ninh realized that colonialism never proposed laws to protect a colonized people, he realized the nature of reality. French people in Vietnam and the nature of imperialism.

Nguyen An Ninh's political transition took place in 1925. After a period of studying and actually engaging in revolutionary activities in the direction of radical bourgeois democracy, he clearly realized the limitations of this ideology before its time and understood the nature of the exploitation of colonial countries by the French colonialists. Nguyen An Ninh wrote the work *France in Indochina*, published in April 1925 to clearly point out France's brutal colonial policy. At the same time, the work marks a new step toward awareness of his political ideology. This work, along with Nguyen Ai Quoc's *Judgment of the French Colonial Regime*, released in 1925 in Paris, are considered the two most eloquent indictments directly attacking the so-called "civilizing mission" of the French colonialists in Vietnam. Indo-Chinese. Through the work *France in Indochina*, Nguyen An Ninh clearly pointed out the French colonialists' intention to invade our country, and criticized the French colonialists for their crimes against the people of Indochina, trampling on their freedom people, implementing a policy of ignorance to make it easier to rule, etc.

To understand the true nature of French colonialism, he had to go through experience and research, and gradually the problem of the nature of colonialism became more clearly understood. Since then, Nguyen An Ninh affirmed that if he wanted to win

independence and freedom for a nation, that nation must liberate itself, he affirmed: *"Only the right to freedom that one can fight for is solid"* (Nguyen An Tinh, 1996, p.374).

Nguyen An Ninh's ideology process of finding a way to save the country, after advocating relying on French culture, French law, and the French colonial government to make a national revolution, he came to the conclusion that a nation wants to make a revolution. To succeed, that nation must be self-reliant and self-reliant. Nguyen An Ninh wrote: *"A nation is only recognized when it fully realizes and asserts itself"* (Nguyen An Tinh, 1996, p.126).

If in the work *Ideals of An Nam Youth*, Nguyen An Ninh has finished cleaning the mind, spirit, and will of the youth to stand up for the nation's freedom, then in the work *Water France in Indochina*, he continued to think about the revolutionary path of *"using violence to confront violence"* (Nguyen An Ninh - work, 2009, p.80). By correctly recognizing the enemy of the nation and the exploitative nature of the French colonialists, Nguyen An Ninh believed that our country's revolution must change its method of fighting through violence. The view is that a violent revolution is not simply an armed struggle but also a struggle in the political field. His views demonstrate an astute political mindset.

In works written in later periods, Nguyen An Ninh went further in terms of political ideology. He vehemently attacked the French colonial government and its henchmen, pointed out the evil nature of this regime, and sought to overthrow it. Compared to other thinkers at the same time, Nguyen An Ninh's early change in political ideology was due to his ability to think for himself and his awareness of the humiliation of the people losing their country. Besides, being exposed to French culture, especially interacting with patriots: Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chau Trinh, Phan Van Truong, Nguyen Ai Quoc, and Nguyen The Truyen, helped Nguyen An Ninh understand better patriotism. At the same time, the lessons about revolutionary activities from his predecessors and fathers helped Nguyen An Ninh determine his own path for his future career in public revolutionary activities. Therefore, he was willing to embark on a dangerous path of struggle and become a true revolutionary in the late 19th and early 20th centuries with a unique political ideology during the period of Nguyen An Ninh's revolutionary activities.

#### **4.2 Significance of the Vietnam Revolution**

During twenty years of commitment to revolutionary activities, Nguyen An Ninh pioneered the flag of nationalism and democracy, and he grew and developed a profound political ideology. His political ideology is a negation of feudal ideology that is becoming outdated and backward and is a transition from bourgeois-democratic ideology to Marxism-Leninism. It can be seen that the late 19th and early 20th centuries was a historical period with many special events. When feudalism in Vietnam was on the decline, favorable conditions were created for the French colonialists to invade our country, and our country transformed into a semi-feudal colonial society. This change has caused many profound changes in Vietnamese society.

It is the rapid change in society that has caused Nguyen An Ninh to go through a long process of learning, thinking, and worrying so that from then on, there can be a change in ideology. Therefore, the process of transforming his political ideology was a search, discovery, and a very new breakthrough in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The process of transforming Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology went from the negation of feudal ideology and was a step from bourgeois democratic ideology to Marxism-Leninism.

Faced with the ideological crisis at that time, Nguyen An Ninh enthusiastically immersed himself in the flow of the country's reform movement, anxiously searching for answers to pressing social-historical questions established by the Association at that time. Therefore, standing up to escape the outdated and backward feudal ideology and finding a new vitality is the ideology of bourgeois democracy and Marxism-Leninism in the hope of finding a path to fight for people's liberation. The race has made a profound change in the entire content of Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology. With his political ideology, he completed his task for this historical period.

At the same time, Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology also demonstrated a level, a step in the development of Vietnamese ideology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He applied Western bourgeois democratic ideology to Vietnam in a flexible and creative way, in accordance with the country's actual situation. Nguyen An Ninh's democratic ideology does not stop at a general, abstract concept, only opposed to traditional monarchical ideology, but is a universal ideology, associated with the immediate interests of people, of society.

Under a sharp political vision, closely following the times led Nguyen An Ninh to make decisions consistent with reality, which was to propagate the people to understand their civil rights, and to fight openly and legally. The law required the French colonialists to ensure that the people's rights were exercised to avoid unfortunate losses in single, easily failed riots. Because, Nguyen An Ninh said that in the context at that time, the Vietnam revolution did not yet have all the elements of material strength to carry out a revolution with violence to liberate the nation.

Nguyen An Ninh followed in the footsteps of his predecessors. When Phan Boi Chau was arrested, Phan Chau Trinh died, and the uprising movement of Huynh Thuc Khang and Luong Van Can was terrorized, Nguyen An Ninh, a new generation of intellectuals, was the equal forms of speech and journalistic activities spread his political ideology to awaken generations of patriotic youth. He lectured on the ideals of young people, founded the newspaper *La Cloche Fêlée* to spread progressive ideas to awaken the nation to recognize the tasks of the times and criticize the backward, outdated, and stand-offish ideology of monarch launched a revolution to save the country and liberate the nation.

Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology with unique characteristics contributed to creating a turning point in Vietnamese ideology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Truong Van Chung, 2005). In terms of the process of Vietnamese political ideology during this period, it can be seen that Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology shouldered a

certain mission in the nation's historical period at that time, and had its own position. At the same time, his political ideology represents a level, reflecting a step in the development of Vietnamese political ideology.

Nguyen An Ninh, representing the new generation of intellectuals, political ideology comes from the standpoint of bourgeois democracy and approaches Marxism-Leninism as an ideology and a scientific worldview studies, and at the same time, his political activities were closely associated with the Vietnamese revolution. During his revolutionary activities, Nguyen An Ninh fought steadfastly in the press, ideology, and speech forums. He made many important contributions in the field of political ideology that is criticizing feudal ideology, propagating civil rights ideology, and promoting the form of public legal struggle with the French colonialists to demand fundamental rights people's version.

Nguyen An Ninh approached Marxism-Leninism in the 1920s and was the one who, after Nguyen Ai Quoc, propagated Marxism into our country on press forums, as well as had ideological debates based on the worldview of Marxism-Leninism. Dialectical materialism and historical materialism are expressed through articles such as Criticism of Buddhism, religion, Nationalism and internationalism, is it possible to make a Revolution, etc. Although he had not really converted to a proletarian revolutionary stance, his political ideology and actions began to be associated with the proletarian revolution and he stood side by side with many comrades in the Communist Party such as Ha Huy Tap, Nguyen Thi Minh Khai, etc. to discuss important issues of the Vietnam revolution.

When arrested by the French colonialists, Nguyen An Ninh was imprisoned along with comrades Pham Van Dong and Nguyen Van Linh. Although he was not a party member, he was a patriot and loved the people. Nguyen An Ninh's entire life of revolutionary activities was truly for the people and for the country. Nguyen An Ninh's change in political ideology was a process of resolving a series of internal conflicts within him as well as that of the Vietnamese people in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Nguyen An Ninh was born and raised in a family with a Confucian tradition, so when he came into contact with the values of Western culture, a new change appeared in his political ideology, which was gradual, negates feudal ideology, follows bourgeois democratic ideology but still bears the mark of Eastern culture. Therefore, Nguyen An Ninh's ideology on democracy and civil rights has the color of humanitarianism, Eastern ethics, and human rights associated with humanity and law to ensure justice and righteousness, not only a tool of power of the exploitative state.

Nguyen An Ninh, for the political purpose of saving the people, and the country, and gaining national independence, may be a journalist and speaker following the bourgeois-democratic revolution, but his intelligence and soul belong to the core of Confucianism, not the bourgeoisie. Nguyen An Ninh follows the trend of bourgeois democracy but is different from Western democratic ideology. As a legal scholar, Nguyen An Ninh advocates fighting for democratic and civil rights through legal means in the public forums of the press and academia. Therefore, it can be said that he is a moderate

patriot. Nguyen An Ninh soon approached Marxism-Leninism, and at the same time he also approached the international proletarian revolutionary movement when working with Nguyen Ai Quoc and Nguyen The Truyen in France, so when he returned home he had a path go on your own. Nguyen An Ninh believes that, with the current conditions of the Vietnamese people, choosing to follow the proletarian revolution is not appropriate, because the working class is not yet developed, and workers' awareness of the revolution is still limited.

Regarding Marxism-Leninism, Nguyen An Ninh was trained in France and exposed to progressive human culture, so he had a positive and proactive awareness and spread this ideology into our country, creating so it had a pretty good influence on the Vietnamese revolution. He realized that Marxism had contents suitable for the Vietnamese revolution, and he diligently researched Marxism. In Secret Report No. 133-S, dated January 10, 1928, the Chief of Cochinchina's Secret Police said they searched Nguyen An Ninh's luggage when he returned from France to Saigon with Nguyen The Truyen. In Nguyen An Ninh's luggage, there was a receipt for his book purchase at a large bookstore on Saint Martin Avenue in Paris with many classic works of Marxism such as Manifesto of the Communist Party, and ABC of Marxism. Communism, Road to Uprising, Marx's Economic Theory in 4 volumes, etc. In particular, in 1926, Nguyen An Ninh published the full text of the Communist Party's Manifesto in La Cloche Fêlée newspaper under the strict control of the French colonialists, in order to propagate Marxism in Vietnam.

Thus, the transformation of Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology was a process of starting from the feudal ideological stance, then negating it, to bourgeois democracy and approaching Marxism-Leninism. Firstly, in terms of a starting point, Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology comes from feudal ideology, but because he has a sharp political vision, is linked to people's lives, and grasps practical requirements of history, early absorption of Western European culture, especially French culture during the years studying abroad, etc. Therefore, he criticized and negated the feudal ideology in part and in its entirety. Second, it can be seen that in Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology, although in the early stages, he was influenced by the bourgeois-democratic stance, it reflected the goals and interests of the entire nation, not the interests of the entire nation goals and interests of the bourgeoisie.

Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology has a unique characteristic, which is the integration of the values of Western bourgeois democracy, the traditions of Eastern humanitarianism, and the purpose of liberating the Vietnamese people. Third, the process of transforming political ideology from bourgeois democracy to proletarian tendencies carried out by Nguyen An Ninh has the effect of contributing to the intermediary stage in the development process of the history of Vietnamese political ideology, creating a new atmosphere, new nuances, paving the way for a new ideology, proletarian ideology, to penetrate Vietnamese social life in preparation for the birth of Communist organizations and the establishment of Communist Party of Vietnam.

## 5. Conclusion

Studying Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology, its characteristics, and his revolutionary life, it can be seen that his purpose was to make a revolution to liberate the nation, save the country, and save the people. Therefore, no matter what form his political ideology is expressed in, it is only a means to serve national liberation. Nguyen An Ninh's political ideology is expressed in many diverse and rich forms such as speeches, journalism, political essays, monographs, etc. In particular, Nguyen An Ninh was one of the first people to use the form of speech to present his political ideology to the public. His speaking activities had a profound influence on young people and intellectuals at that time, Tran Van Giau once said that Nguyen An Ninh was the one who awakened the sleepy generation of young people (Giau, 1993). At the same time, it was Nguyen An Ninh's speeches that inspired Tran Van Giau to come to revolution. Along with his speaking activities, Nguyen An Ninh's journalistic activities had a widespread influence among intellectuals, especially the newspaper *La Cloche Fêlée*, which had a strong influence, causing the colonial government to use many measures to prevent. The newspaper presented many fundamental issues of revolution in a colonial country such as: whether a revolution is needed or not, revolutionary goals, revolutionary methods, revolutionary forces, and experiences of revolutions in the world, etc. At the same time, necessary issues to enhance civic responsibility, national consciousness, etc. were all mentioned by Nguyen An Ninh.

### **Conflict of Interest Statement**

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

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