

NGUYEN AN NINH'S IDEA ON DEMOCRACY AND THE ASSOCIATION WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN INNOVATION AND INTEGRATION IN VIETNAM TODAY

A IDEIA DE NGUYEN AN NINH SOBRE A DEMOCRACIA E A ASSOCIAÇÃO COM O DESENVOLVIMENTO DA DEMOCRACIA NA INOVAÇÃO E INTEGRAÇÃO NO VIETNÃ HOJE

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ABSTRACT:

Over 36 years of implementing renovation, integration, and development, Vietnam has achieved many results in the economy, politics, culture, national defense, security, material and spiritual life of the people. It is the result of the thought renewal process, inheritance, and promotion of traditional values of the nation in general, including ideologies formed in the late 19th century and early 20th century in Vietnam in particular. The objective requirements of the historical conditions of the world and of Vietnam in the late 19th century and early 20th century were the basis that formed and developed the democratic thought of Nguyen An Ninh (1900 - 1943). There are many progressive innovations in Nguyen An Ninh's democratic ideology, affecting the socio-economic life at that time. His ideology was one of the typical views for a tumultuous historical period in Vietnam at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. In the new context, the work of continuing to summarize practices, combining research with previous legacies to supplement and develop theories, serving the cause of national construction, and mobilizing the synergy of both tradition and modernity to meet new requirements in the context of innovation and integration in Vietnam today is essential. From the philosophical approach, political philosophy, the history of philosophy, to the research and analysis of historical documents and other related archives, This article focuses on analyzing and clarifying the basic content of Nguyen An Ninh's democratic ideology, thereby correlating with the promotion of democracy in innovation and integration in Vietnam today.

KEYWORDS: ideology, democracy, democratic ideology, Nguyen An Ninh, Vietnam

RESUMO:

Ao longo de 36 anos de implementação de renovação, integração e desenvolvimento, o Vietname alcançou muitos resultados na economia, política, cultura, defesa nacional, segurança, vida material e espiritual do povo. É o resultado do processo de renovação do pensamento, da herança e da promoção dos valores tradicionais da nação

em geral, incluindo as ideologias formadas no final do século XIX e início do século XX no Vietname em particular. As exigências objectivas das condições históricas do mundo e do Vietname no final do século XIX e início do século XX foram a base que formou e desenvolveu o pensamento democrático de Nguyen An Ninh (1900 - 1943). Existem muitas inovações progressistas na ideologia democrática de Nguyen An Ninh, afetando a vida socioeconómica da época. A sua ideologia foi uma das visões típicas de um período histórico tumultuado no Vietname no final do século XIX e início do século XX. No novo contexto, o trabalho de continuar a sintetizar práticas, combinando a investigação com legados anteriores para complementar e desenvolver teorias, servindo a causa da construção nacional, e mobilizando a sinergia da tradição e da modernidade para responder às novas exigências no contexto da inovação e a integração no Vietname é hoje essencial. Da abordagem filosófica, da filosofia política, da história da filosofia, à pesquisa e análise de documentos históricos e outros arquivos relacionados, este artigo centra-se na análise e esclarecimento do conteúdo básico da ideologia democrática de Nguyen An Ninh, correlacionando-se assim com a promoção da democracia em inovação e integração no Vietname hoje.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: ideologia, democracia, ideologia democrática, Nguyen An Ninh, Vietnã

1. Introduction

The period of the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was a special historical stage with many changes in Vietnamese history. It was the period when the feudal system declined, and the conflict between the Vietnamese people and the French colonialists, together with the feudal system, became more and more acute. In that new context, the history of the Vietnamese people has posed big questions about the issues of national liberation, human liberation from oppression and exploitation, and national development? In response, a series of thinkers at that time came together to come up with a plan that would help reform the country in all fields. All are necessary to bring self-sufficiency to Vietnam, fighting against colonial aggression and regaining independence for the nation. One of the plans is the democratic thought of Nguyen An Ninh (1900-1943). Owing original features in ideology, political acumen, and thinking style, Nguyen An Ninh became a revolutionary soldier with far-reaching influence during two decades (1923 - 1943) of the patriotic movement in Vietnam at that time. Nguyen An Ninh was a great writer, journalist, and thinker of Vietnam in the early twentieth century. He is said to be a typical intellectual who was committed and dedicated to the cause of national liberation in the Early modern period.

Over 35 years of implementing renovation, integration, and development, Vietnam has achieved many great results, with its position and power stronger than ever. The result of the process of thinking innovation, the inheritance, the promotion of the traditional values of the nation, the summarization of practice combined with the study of the previous heritages includes: the economy is developed, politics-society is stabilized, culture - society has a groundbreaking step, national defense and security have been strengthened, and the material and spiritual life of the people is increasingly improved. All mentioned

above is to supplement and develop theories, serve the cause of national construction, mobilize the synergy of both tradition and modernity to meet new requirements in the context of innovation and integration. Therefore, continuing to study and research Nguyen An Ninh's ideology in general, including his democratic thought, is meaningful and necessary. This not only contributes to clarifying the democratic ideology of patriotic scholar Nguyen An Ninh but also enriches the awareness of the history of Vietnamese ideology in the early years of the twentieth century.

2. Methodologies and Data

The article is based on the methodological basis of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, combining logical and historical methods, analysis, and synthesis. The article uses Nguyen An Ninh's works, as well as a system of documents of previous researchers and texts related to perfecting the current political system in Vietnam.

Research questions

Question 1: What is the basic content of Nguyen An Ninh's democratic ideology?

Question 2: What is the historical significance of Nguyen An Ninh's democratic ideology for perfecting the current political system in Vietnam?

Research purposes

The purpose of the article is to analyze and clarify the basic content of Nguyen An Ninh's democratic ideology, thereby correlating with the promotion of democracy in innovation and integration in Vietnam today.

Literature review

The topic related to Nguyen An Ninh's thought has attracted many authors' attention, researched in many aspects and angles, shown through typical works.

First of all, the project General History of Vietnam, Full Episode, by Prof. Truong Huu Quynh, Prof. Dinh Xuan Lam, Assoc. Le Mau Han (editor), Education Publishing House, Hanoi, published in 2003. Or the book The historical process of Vietnam, Assoc. Nguyen Quang Ngoc (editor), Education Publishing House, Hanoi, 2004... In these works, the authors have systematically researched and presented social life through the following fields: economic, political, cultural, ideological... in Vietnam's period by the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Or in the book Vietnam historical events (1919-1945), by Duong Trung Quoc, Education Publishing House, published in 2002,

this book is part of the series "Vietnam - historical events" of The Institute of History organizes the compilation, and it is the two volumes in the chronicle of the early modern period of Vietnam's history (1858-1945), which outlines the outstanding contributions of Nguyen An Ninh in the flow of nation's history from 1923 to 1940. In addition to research on the development of thought in Vietnam during the period of the 19th century to the 20th century, there is also the work *The development of Vietnamese thought from the 19th century to the August Revolution* by Prof. Tran Van Giau, consisting of 3 volumes, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, published in 1996. This work researches the change, alternation, and struggle process of ideologies: feudal ideology, bourgeois ideology, proletarian ideology.

Secondly, in the book *History of Eastern Philosophy* by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Doan Chinh (editor), National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, published in 2012, this work is structured into 3 parts, 12 chapters, 1395 pages: Part One The History of Indian Philosophy; Part Two The History of Chinese Philosophy; Part Three The History of Vietnamese Philosophical Thought - Chapter 5 of this section from page to page the authors presented an overview of Nguyen An Ninh's profile and his thought's content during the flow of innovation thought in Vietnam by the end of 19th and early 20th centuries. From page 1301 to page 1382, the authors presented the innovation thought - the transition from feudal thought to the bourgeois-democratic thought of the innovators, in which there was also much talk about innovation thought by Nguyen An Ninh with his very own political thinking, very unique, especially very acute to the properties of the social situation. Besides, in the work *Reform Thoughts in Vietnam in the second half of the 19th century* by Le Thi Lan, Social Science Publishing House, Hanoi, published in 2002, the author presented quite deeply the conditions for reform ideas to appear in Vietnam at the end of the 19th century, some of the fundamental contributions on the ideological aspect of the innovators, pointed out the basic reasons that led to the failure of reform proposals, at the same time, the author also pointed out the position and meaning of the innovation thought in Vietnam at the end of the 19th century in history and its epochal significance.

Thirdly, the work: *100 typical characters in Saigon - Ho Chi Minh City in the 20th century*, Ho Chi Minh City Culture and Arts Publishing House, published in 2014, the book *Southern Famous People of the Literary Publishing House*, published in 2015, presenting biographies of famous Southern people from the 17th century to the present, talking about the inextricably bound of the people in the country's destiny, the obligation to build and protect the sacred southern of the Vietnamese Fatherland. Especially in the two long-term resistance wars against the French colonialists and the American imperialists. The people of the South have stood up and fought bravely with an unparalleled spirit of revolt, in which Nguyen An Ninh is mentioned as a monument of spirit and patriotism and his contributions to the movement in the

Vietnamese revolution. With the book *Walking with you all lifelong*, Tre Publishing House, published in 2006, this is the memoir of his wife - Mrs. Truong Thi Sau. In this volume of memoirs, she devoted only a small part to writing about herself. Most of her memoirs from page 18 to page 152 are devoted to writing about Mr. Nguyen An Ninh, about his ideals that he spent all her life with him through those years. Besides, the book *Nguyen An Ninh - I am just the wind blow* by Nguyen Thi Minh, Tre Publishing House, published in 2005. The book has only 457 pages, but it is a whole record of his daughter for his entire life from origin to death, presenting his thoughts, views, and political activities throughout his life over the narratives of his wife and fellow revolutionaries. The book is his family living document about him, contributing to the study of later generations about a patriotic man in the decades that opened the 20th century of many legends. In addition, the general study on the content of Nguyen An Ninh's thought through many aspects also includes research articles in some journals such as *Thoughts and activities of patriot Nguyen An Ninh* by To Buu Giam, Journal of Social Sciences, No. 5, 2003; *Nguyen An Ninh and religion* by Do Quang Hung, Journal of Religious Studies, No. 11, 2003. Understanding Nguyen An Ninh's reception of Marxist thought on religion through *Criticism of Buddhism* by Do Thi Hoa Hoi, Journal of Religious Studies, No. 1, 2004. Research on *Nguyen An Ninh Thought on Confucianism and Religion*, Pham Thi Doat's master's thesis in 1999. Besides, there are many articles, memoirs... about Nguyen An Ninh are still kept at Nguyen An Ninh memorial house - District 12, or Nguyen An Ninh church - 133 Nguyen Van Troi, Phu Nhuan District, Ho Chi Minh city such as the memoir *Remembering Nguyen An Ninh* by Nguyen Huynh Van Mot; *What do I know about Nguyen An Ninh's life*, by Nguyen Van Tran, which was recorded by Voice of Long An in November 1975. Scientific research work of student Le Huu Phuoc in 1991 with the topic: *The role and influence of Nguyen An Ninh on the patriotic movement of Vietnam in the 20s of the twentieth century*. The ministerial level's research topic of students in 2008 by Pham Thuy An with the name *La Cloche Fêlée a glorious time*. In 2009, Nguyen Thi Lien also researched *Nguyen An Ninh with the patriotic and revolutionary movement in Cochinchina (1922-1931)*. In the same year, Nguyen Van Gia Thuy also contributed to research on *Nguyen An Ninh's contributions and role in Vietnam's patriotic and revolutionary movement (1922-1943)*. *The Philosophical thought of Nguyen An Ninh* by Dr. Cao Xuan Long, Vietnam National University - Ho Chi Minh City Press, 2019. The book is structured into 03 chapters, in which chapter 1 presents and analyzes about socio-historical conditions, premise, and process of formation and development of Nguyen An Ninh's philosophical thought; Chapter 2 presents and analyzes the basic content of Nguyen An Ninh's philosophical thought; Chapter 3 presents and analyzes the characteristics, values, limitations and historical significance of Nguyen An Ninh's philosophical thought. The work has come to affirm that Nguyen An Ninh's philosophical thought is a hyphen, an important step in the proletarian trend of Vietnam in the modern period.

Through the above studies, we can see that Nguyen An Ninh's thought has been cared for and studied by many authors. Each author focuses on one or a few specific aspects of Nguyen An Ninh. Still, no specific work focuses on in-depth research to clarify Nguyen An Ninh's democratic thought, thereby relating to the promotion of democracy in renovation and integration in Vietnam today.

3. Content

3.1. Nguyen An Ninh's basic outlooks on democracy

Nguyen An Ninh (1900 - 1943) was born in a patriotic Confucian family. Nguyen An Ninh's democratic ideology was formed and developed from the objective requirements of the historical conditions of the world and of Vietnam in the late 19th century and early 20th century. In the world, Western countries and capitalism developed strongly and moved from the stage of free competition to the stage of monopoly. Moreover, productivity grew strongly, leading to the demand for market expansion. Due to those reasons, they aggressively waged wars to invade Eastern countries. Whilst, Eastern countries were still feudal, stagnant, and underdeveloped countries. Before that situation, many progressive intellectuals searched for answers to meet the requirements of social history at that time. Nguyen An Ninh, one of the progressive intellectuals, also enthusiastically participated in the current of the national renewal movement and wholeheartedly searched for an answer to the urgent question that was posed by history and society at that time. Patriotism, the spirit of solidarity, mutual affection, the spirit of industrious and creative work, the spirit of humanity, inheritance, and promotion of fine customs and traditions are the beauties of the Vietnamese nation's traditional culture. Besides, the ideology of the Three Religions has greatly contributed to the criticism of the old, the obsolete, and the backward ideology as well as the influence of bourgeois-democratic and Marxism ideology on liberties, equality, humans philanthropy in drawing out the way to freedom, which helps liberate the country and people and bring a prosperous and happy life to the people. In addition, Nguyen An Ninh's democratic ideology was also formed and developed from subjective premises through events and typical works on political ideology, religion, and culture, which profoundly influenced the historical and cultural - ideological process of Vietnam in early modern times. The theme throughout the works is the liberation of the country and the people. At work, people enjoy all their rights. In order to reach that beautiful future, there is no other way but to begin implementing revolutionary activities immediately, which should be exercised in real life.

Unlike Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh, Nguyen An Ninh has not mentioned much about the aspects and contents of democratic ideology. Starting from the reality of Vietnamese society in the

early twentieth century, he proposed an outlook of the political system that he assumed to be most suitable for Vietnamese society, which is a "democratic nation". Accordingly, Nguyen An Ninh's outlook is in stark contrast to Phan Boi Chau's traditional ideology "Can Vuong", trying to solicit a member of the royal family for raising the monarchy flag. All those actions are necessary to call on the people to make a revolution for national liberation and then a democratic revolution. According to Nguyen An Ninh, it is the era that considered people as the foundation while it is the end of the role of the king and feudal autocracy. The working people are the creative force, deciding the development of history. This concept represents the inheritance of the nation's traditional conception and the absorption of French Enlightenment ideology, especially Rousseau's. The existence of the king as well as the State is decided by the people, not by God. That existence is not forever but can be changed.

To the colonial regime, the whole nation must do their best to gain independence and freedom, and they should not do nothing or just wait for outside help. Nguyen An Ninh wrote: "In order to oppose fascism, whether in the colonial country or in your country, the best weapon is still the organization that rallies the exploited masses and educates them clear anti-fascist sentiment" [21,801]. According to Nguyen An Ninh, freedom cannot be given by something or someone, but it is the nation itself that has to gain it by itself if the nation wants true freedom. In order to win freedom, the power of the masses should be used to form an organization. Nguyen An Ninh wrote: "To gain freedom from an organized force, the existence of the organized force is necessary" [21,398]. As for the issue of national liberation and freedom, Nguyen An Ninh determined that our own strength is the key to our liberation. His ideology represents a step forward compared to his revolutionary predecessors: Phan Chau Trinh fantasizing about relying on France to overthrow feudalism and Phan Boi Chau relying on Japan to drive out the French colonialists. One of the very important things in Nguyen An Ninh's ideology is the explanation for the fall of feudalism, which is the ambiance of rule. In this regard, Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh have only mentioned the causes of corruption that could no longer exist but never mentioned the law of destruction of a regime. In Nguyen An Ninh's ideology, his explanation has not yet applied the principles of historical materialism, but he considers the fall of feudalism to be inevitable based on objective laws. From the denial of the monarchy to calling on the people to stand up to repel the invading colonialists, Nguyen An Ninh came to the ideology of designing a political regime to replace colonial feudalism. The political regime model is a "democratic nation", based on the inheritance of national historical and cultural traditions and absorption of a progressive democratic ideology of the times. The national democratic regime is also not a new one in the nation's history but has a long-standing origin that has its basis as a village organization. Nguyen An Ninh wrote: "Today, no one is unaware that

the village institution is the basic social organization of Annam. It was a republican establishment, possessing a committee of assemblies elected by the people, an home administration organization where each citizen has a responsibility, a duty with its own budget. As a result, the Annam village system makes even the best modern democracies envious. The former kingdom of Annam was just an "agglomeration" of those villages. These are living cells whose identity is guaranteed to be like a strong bond with each other, just as the agglomeration force between similar cells gives rise to man, the higher animal." [21,316]. According to this concept, a democratic nation is a regime in which people's rights are promoted and expanded in the management and administration of society. In Vietnamese society, the construction of a democratic nation is conditional on the organization and social structure of the village unit. There is no hesitation in Nguyen An Ninh's action in comparing village democracy in the Vietnamese monarchy with the world's most modern democracy. In a monarchy, although power belongs to one person, which is the king, thanks to the village mechanism, the people are free. Nguyen An Ninh wrote: "Villages became vents for the people to breathe easily despite the king's influence. It is also easy to see a strong and free life of the people, next to the fragile and fake power of the court" [21,317]. The freedom of the people in the feudal dynasties of Vietnam, to some extent, influenced social organization relations. Nguyen An Ninh wrote: "Freedom in Vietnamese villages and communes can be compared with cities - the Italian republic" [21,317]. Thus, through the survey of democracy and freedom of people in democratic and progressive countries in the world, as well as the traditional values of the Vietnamese nation, Nguyen An Ninh saw that the unification of the nation into a democratic nation is inevitable and it is also the goal of the Vietnamese revolution. Therefore, in his last statement, he advocated for the establishment of a democratic country many times. He wrote: "I have had many opportunities to write articles stating that it is not an exaggeration for the Vietnamese people to demand universal suffrage. Due to virtue of the nature of all the parliaments in the country, universal suffrage in this country is of an advisory nature, not a legislative one, as in the country" [21,1294]. Accordingly, in order to truly establish a democratic nation, it is necessary to expel the French colonialists to gain national independence and freedom. Nguyen An Ninh also pointed out that in the monopoly of indigenous colonists who strangled all social power, the contemporary monarchy is just a puppet. The people can use the right to vote to wage a struggle for the legitimate rights of the citizens to establish a democratic state; he wrote: "following the old example, we see that in the Central and North, we do not need to borrow from the constitutional monarchy of England today, but only because of our history and the monopoly that the monarchy cannot tolerate. It means, from the South to the North, our people can unanimously require democratic social reform, but that demand cannot be said to have affected the current regime... Thus, if the representatives of the people today understand the current status and are resolute, they can greatly help the unification of the

country and lead to nationalism" [21,1295]. Therefore, from the negation of feudalism and colonialism to the establishment of a model of a democratic national regime, Nguyen An Ninh outlined the basic features of a new political regime to replace feudalism and colonialism; although those basic features are drafts, they also leave certain imprints in the history of Vietnamese political ideology in particular and the history of Vietnamese thought in general.

Thus, the democratic thought of Vietnam at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, represented by Nguyen An Ninh, all came from feudal ideology. But because Nguyen An Ninh had a sharp political vision, associated with people's life, grasped practical historical requirements, absorbed the Western culture, etc., he criticized and negated the feudalism ideology from parts to the whole. Those thinkers were all trained in Confucian education; although they can then learn more knowledge from other sources, Confucian education is still the only cultural factor, which orients their political ideology. Nguyen An Ninh studied at a university of Western civilization. However, his political thought is still deeply colored with Eastern culture, and the core is Confucianism, so, although Nguyen An Ninh's democratic thought stands on a bourgeois-democratic stance, it is still not completely free from the influence of Confucian ideology. When Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chau Trinh, and Nguyen An Ninh present their thoughts, they often give Confucian principles as a basis; on that basis, they present issues of civil rights and democracy. For example, Phan Chau Trinh believes that the bourgeois democracy of the West is actually an implementation of Confucianism's thought. He wrote: "Democracy is a very powerful medicine to cure the tyranny of our country. Bringing back European civilization means bringing back Confucianism... Bringing European civilization back did not harm but made Confucianism clearer" [8,784]. Therefore, your democratic thought bears the value of humanism, Eastern morality, human rights associated with humanitarianism, not containing the legal value and laws like the West. Phan Boi Chau both criticized and abandoned class interests to find a way to save the country, but initially, Phan Boi Chau still took advantage and raised the flag of the monarchy to serve revolutionary activities and based on praising the Japanese. Phan Chau Trinh, from the beginning, vehemently condemned and thoroughly opposed the monarchy, soon followed the bourgeois-democratic ideology on the basis of relying on France. Therefore, as a proponent of bourgeois democracy, Phan Chau Trinh is considered by foreigners to be the most innovative, while Phan Boi Chau is the most traditional [31,55]. As for Nguyen An Ninh, unlike Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh, as a jurist, he advocated by way of legal struggle on the public forum of the press and academia, so the researcher Tran Van Giau said that he was a follower of "moderate patriotism". Therefore, the bourgeois-democratic thought in our country at this stage shows the diversity, richness, dynamism, and creativity of Vietnamese political

thinking. Vietnamese bourgeois democratic thought has nuances of a colonial, semi-feudal nation; the bourgeoisie was born after the working class, unable to occupy a leadership position in society. The bourgeois-democratic revolution is under the leadership of the bourgeois patriotic scholars, so this revolution, as well as the Vietnamese bourgeois-democratic ideology, are completely different from that of Western countries.

Nguyen An Ninh's democratic thought was formed in a very special context in the first decades of the twentieth century of Vietnam, so it has unique features, different from its own characteristics. Based on studying and analyzing the basic content of Nguyen An Ninh's democratic thoughts, we can determine that Nguyen An Ninh's democratic thought has the following characteristics: Firstly, democratic thought by Nguyen An Ninh shows the spirit of self-reliance and national unity. This can be considered as the center in the whole thought of Nguyen An Ninh in general, including his democratic thought in particular; Secondly, Nguyen An Ninh's democratic thought represents the ideological transformation from feudal ideology to bourgeois democracy and closer to proletarian ideology; Thirdly, Nguyen An Ninh's democratic thought is a fusion of traditional and modern thoughts, flexibility and sensitivity in absorbing modern civilized values in the content of his democratic thought.

3.2. Related to the promotion of democracy in innovation and integration in Vietnam today

Through studying the democratic thought of Nguyen An Ninh, it can be seen that, if we ignore the limitations imposed by historical conditions, awareness levels, and class views, we can relate to the promotion of democracy in renovation and integration in Vietnam today, reflected in the aspect of promoting democracy in innovation. In the historical period of the late 19th century and early 20th century, Vietnam fell into the oppression and exploitation of the colonial and feudal regimes. The patriotic thinkers of the late 19th century and early 20th century, including Nguyen An Ninh, have realized that the supreme purpose of the Vietnamese revolution is: to restore national independence and sovereignty. To achieve this goal, first and foremost, is to awaken our people from the stupor of the tyranny of feudalism.

In Vietnam's current trend of innovation and integration, socialist democracy is considered a goal to strive for, which requires the efforts of the whole political system under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam by the Government of Vietnam. There are many factors in order for democracy to be fully practiced, such as the nature of the social regime, the execution capacity of the public administration apparatus, the level of socio-economic development, historical characteristics,

cultural traditions, people's knowledge... In particular, all mentioned factors above must be built and practiced through each term and the development stages of the country. However, democratization in all areas has not been synchronized with the country's renewal requirements. There are still many limitations in the process of organizing and implementing. For example, some contents about democracy and human rights have not been concretized into laws and policies; awareness of some committees and authorities about democracy and the practice of socialist democracy is incomplete. The people's right to mastery is still violated in some places, and in some places, the implementation of democracy is sometimes a formality, separating democracy from discipline and law. This requires continuing to improve the viewpoints, policies as well as organizing implementation in the next term...Therefore, each term of the Communist Party of Vietnam congress needs to summarize reality, supplement theories, orientate to the building, and perfect and practice democracy accordingly. At the 6th Congress of the Party, we can only imagine reform for the sake of rich people, a strong country, and a civilized society. At the 8th Congress, the content of reform has added a social justice goal, which is not only fairness in benefit distribution but also equality in development opportunities for all. As for essence, democracy is the human side of democracy and the right to life and the right to development. It was not until the Ninth Congress (2001), that democracy really took shape in the innovation goal system, which is also the value chain of development: Wealthy people, strong country, democratic and civilized society. All are necessary to achieve freedom and happiness. And at the XI Congress, democracy is the top value and the basis for equality and fairness, together with solidarity and consensus. People are not only the goal and motivation of development but also the center and subject of social development. Most recently, the 12th National Congress of the Party has concentratedly demonstrated our Party's system of theoretical views on socialist democracy and building socialist democracy in Vietnam in the innovation stage. By the 13th Congress (2021), the content of democracy has basic new points, including:

First, adding content and the motto "people monitor, people benefit" to this new motto: "People know, people discuss, people do, people monitor, people monitor, people benefit" is the way to implement democracy. The institution of democratic practice should be continued to concretize and perfect following the spirit of the Platform (supplemented and developed in 2011) and the 2013 Constitution, ensuring that all state power belongs to the people. Direct democracy and representative democracy, especially grassroots democracy, should be legitimately and effectively implemented. The motto "People know, people discuss, people do, people monitor, people supervise, people benefit" ought to be done well and effectively.

Second, in order for the people to master, the role of "the Party leading, the State managing, the Fatherland Front and socio-political organizations being the core" should be clearly clarified. The Party and State promulgate lines, guidelines, policies, and laws, creating a political and legal foundation in order to respect, ensure and protect the people's right to mastery. Party committees, party organizations, organizations in the political system, party members, cadres, civil servants, and public employees set an example in practicing democracy, obeying the law, and dignifying social ethics.

Third, clarifying "The role of the subject, the central position of the People in the national development strategy, in the entire process of national construction and defense" [10,173] and "lines and policies of the Party, the State's policies and laws" should be considered the political and legal foundation for the people to exercise their right to mastery. To do that, it is necessary to require the positive promotion of society and politics, the people's intelligence, rights, and responsibilities participating in building and rectifying the Party, building a socialist rule-of-law state, the Fatherland Front and socio-political organizations, building a contingent of party members, cadres and civil servants.

Fourth, the requirement "Party committees, Party organizations, organizations in the political system, party members, cadres, civil servants and public employees must set an example in practicing democracy, obeying the law, and dignifying social ethics" in practicing democracy and performing political tasks should be clearly stated. On that basis: "Strictly and promptly handle organizations and individuals that take advantage of democracy, cause internal disturbances, destabilize socio-political stability or violate democracy, harming the people's mastery" [10,174]. The all-people national defense, people's security, and people's diplomacy in association with the all-people defense posture, the people's security posture, and the people's popularity posture should be built. It is necessary to motivate the people to participate in economic development, contributing to social management through socio-political organizations, professional social organizations, and community self-management activities. The people join in the construction, management, and enjoyment of culture.

The goal of democracy, therefore, must first be expressed in democracy in economics and democracy in politics. Along with it, democracy in culture, social development, and social management directly focus on solving social problems, social policies, and social security for people. The Party and the State, considered the most important political institutions, exist only for the people, for the sake of democracy. The people's social organizations and unions must show their practical effectiveness, stick closely to the people, make the people feel directly that how it is necessary, vital, and useful to them. If socialist democracy is the goal of national construction and development in the reform process, each

breakthrough in realizing the goal of democracy, at the same time, also reveals the strength, effectiveness, and efficiency of democracy as a motivation for development. How is democracy the driving force of progress and development shown? First of all, the benefits between individuals and communities can be realized. It is economic - material benefits, together with cultural and spiritual benefits. It is the source of active labor, promoting economic development and social development in general. It reduces and gradually eliminates the alienation of labor, morality, and lifestyle. Thanks to democracy in the relations of interest, society can get out of the State of inertia, stagnation in production - economy and business activities, promoting productivity, quality, efficiency, for personal benefit and the benefit of the community. The market economy, together with the knowledge economy, is the most important economic agent for the development of democracy. Simultaneously, democracy becomes a powerful impulse to promote economic growth in terms of speed, scale, and quality in a market economy. Democratic institutions and democratic policies (democratic regulations and ordinances at grassroots levels, especially in rural areas) promote the attitudes and behaviors of individuals and communities in innovation, development, and modernization. It is clear that democracy plays an indispensable role for our country to transform from a backward agricultural country into a modern and civilized industrial country. Why? Because mankind is the most basic factor, present in both production forces and production relations. It is necessary to gradually build new and progressive production relations, suitable to the level of the productive forces, on the basis of liberating and strongly developing the productive forces. To fulfill the mentioned requirement, there is no other choice than to unleash all creative potentials of people and society and improve people's living standards, quality of life, and standards. Democracy promotes transformation and development, makes use of resources, multiplies the strength of internal and external forces for development. Democratic dynamics manifest not only in economics but also increasingly in politics when the power and will of the people are exercised through direct democracy and representative democracy using democratic electoral mechanisms, with a clear, open, and transparent institution. Once the voice of the people is respected, the people are not only the beneficiaries of the benefits but also the participants in policy evaluation, monitoring, and inspection of policy implementation as well as the activities of public authorities in general. It means that when people actively and voluntarily participate in politics, political democracy will show its motivation with social progress and development. A democratic social environment will form positive public opinion, promoting creative actions of the masses in order to protect the regime, protect the Party and State, and anti-democratic combat acts. Only when we are able to widely apply democracy and rely entirely on the strength and will of the people can corruption be prevented. It is the best promotion of the dynamic role of democracy in the current situation in our country. Building people, developing culture, implementing the leading

national policy with education - training and science - technology, especially implementing fundamental and comprehensive renovation of national education in order to revive the national morality, make the family truly healthy cells of the society, create a breakthrough in high-quality human resources, It is impossible not to mention the motivation of democracy.

The two most important issues raised materially and spiritually are getting out of poverty, backwardness, and respecting human dignity. Socialist democracy and new mechanisms to promote democracy in society are gradually being built and developed to best meet these conditions for prosperous, free lives and human happiness. Going into the market economy and building and perfecting a socialist rule of law state, all citizens are allowed to do anything not prohibited by law, and civil servants can only do what the law allows. People are encouraged to get rich according to the law by their working effort. In fact, the innovation process shows that the private economy is clearly a driving force of economic development and is strongly encouraged for long-term development. The State takes care of solving social problems and social security, unifying economic policies with social policies, by regulatory measures to take care of the weak and disadvantaged in development to ensure social justice. Law and morality are the two pillars of support to keep society healthy, drastically reducing the damage and consequences caused by the negative side of the market economy. That strength comes from democracy in terms of society as a whole.

For each individual, democracy is a strong motivation to realize the freedom of thought, form an honest and creative personality. Democracy is the best nourishment and vitality for nurturing and developing talents, for the formation of human personality, and to thoroughly overcome the situation of clones, lies, trends, and opportunities, causing personality distortion and deviations caused by the absence or weakness of democracy. Special attention must be paid to overcoming this bottleneck, especially for young people who are in the process of forming and maturing their personalities. It is here that democracy in behavior and treatment of people, moral and lifestyle education, life organization, and social management highlights its role and dynamic effects as a breakthrough. In the policy of using people, training and fostering forces, discovering and respecting talents, treating talented people for the prosperity of the nation, a breakthrough must be on the democratic foundation whose core is respecting the value of human personality, trusting capability, respecting dignity, being objective and fair in evaluating and employing personnel, and having affirmative action policies so that people can devote themselves to their work, in the cause of serving the Fatherland, serving the people.

Practicing democracy is exercised in relationships. Practicing democracy widely, especially democracy within the Party, is to make the democratic dynamics and democratic culture bring into play its effects in all areas of social life and in human relations. All are necessary things to develop substantive democracy, overcome perfunctory democracy, fight against violations of democracy and people's mastery, and prevent bureaucracy, waste, embezzlement, and corruption with the most obvious effect. When the implementation of democracy has shortcomings, lacks substance, and is inadequate, it will be a big barrier to the development of the country. It is also a waste of endogenous resources - unable to expand opportunities to mobilize thoroughly and effectively resources, first of all, the wisdom of the whole Party and people to participate in development. The restriction on democracy also makes the strength to defend the Fatherland, especially the spiritual and cultural strength, inevitably scattered and wasted. The Resolution of the XIII National Congress has specifically added an ideological step to serve the people in the line and policy of the Party. "People enjoy" is the development of the Party's guidelines and outlooks, which has a practical and important meaning. The people are the center and the subject of the work of renovation, construction and defense of the Fatherland" [10,27-28]. Accordingly, building and promoting human resources is an important motivation, which is a vital factor and holds a decisive meaning for the construction and development of the country in the coming period. In other words, the people's enjoyment of the achievements of the development process is not only the goal but also the motivation to arouse the strength and resources of the people in the process of bringing the Party's policy and decisions into life. It is also an important motivation to actualize orientation and vision in the new period, which is an aspiration for leading the country to prosperous and happy development.

Thus, it can be seen that in the political thought of typical thinkers in the late 19th century and early 20th century, it is not only valuable and contributes to solving historical and social requirements in the second half of the 19th century and early 20th century, which were the liberation of the nation, the liberation of the country, but it also had great historical significance in the process of building and developing Vietnam today.

4. Conclusion

During the late 19th century and early 20th century, in the face of the French colonialists' invasion and domination, Vietnam faced numerous great upheavals. In terms of socio-economic aspects, the contradiction between capitalist and feudal economic relations makes society extremely disordered. The inherent conflict between the peasantry and the landlord class became more and more serious, then there were more conflicts, in which the most basic contradiction was the conflict between the Vietnamese

people and the French colonialists. That context, along with the influx of progressive Western thought trends, strongly influenced and stimulated progressive intellectuals to boldly seek answers to the current urgent situation of the country. What must be done to make the country peaceful, maintain its independence, and promote an increasingly progressive society? That situation created conditions for Nguyen An Ninh to form and develop a democratic ideology, whose goal was to find an answer to the urgent question of history and society at that time.

This study was conducted to analyze and clarify the basic content of Nguyen An Ninh's democratic thought, thereby relating it to promoting democracy in innovation and integration in Vietnam today. The results show that Nguyen An Ninh's democratic thought was not only formed and developed based on historical and social conditions, but also based on absorbing, inheriting, and applying the traditional cultural values of the nation; the influence of the Three Religions thought has greatly contributed to the spirit of criticizing the old, the outdated, and the backward; Along with the endogenous factors of the nation, Marxism and the victory of the Russian October Revolution (1917) had a great impact on Nguyen An Ninh's political thinking on the influence of bourgeois-democratic thought, Marxism, freedoms, equality, and human charity in charting the way to freedom to liberate the country, liberate people, and bring people to a prosperous and happy life in Nguyen An Ninh's innovative thought. Besides, the Tan Thu ideology and the successes that the movement achieved together with its limitations have become one of the important premises for the formation and development of the democratic thought of Nguyen An Ninh, contributing to the novelty in thinking, political stance as well as ways of finding a new revolutionary path for the nation in the direction of bourgeois-democracy. In addition, Nguyen An Ninh's democratic thought was also formed and developed from subjective premises through typical events and works, whose thoroughly subjects are peace for the nation, free the nation, and free the people. From the negation of feudalism and colonialism to establishing a democratic national regime model, Nguyen An Ninh outlined the basic features of a new political regime to replace colonialism, feudatory. Although these are brief outlines, they also leave certain imprints in the history of Vietnamese political thought in particular and the history of Vietnamese thought in general. From the study results, the article has connections with promoting democracy in innovation and integration in Vietnam today.

Acknowledgement

This research is funded by Ho Chi Minh University of Banking (HUB) under grant number 03/HD-KHCN-NCM.

We would like to take this opportunity to express my warm thanks to Board of editors, my family, colleagues and brother in assisting convenient conditions for my research paper.

Conflict of Interest

The author declare that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

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ƯỚC, Trần Mai. NGUYEN AN NINH'S IDEA ON DEMOCRACY AND THE ASSOCIATION WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEMOCRACY IN INNOVATION AND INTEGRATION IN VIETNAM TODAY. *Kalagatos*, Fortaleza, vol. 20, n.3, 2023, eK23058, p. 01-19.

Recebido: 08/2023

Aprovado: 09/2023