

FIND OUT OF THE POINT OF DEMOCRACY OF PHAN BOI CHAU AND PHAN CHAU TRINH

DESCOBRIR O PONTO DE VISTA DA DEMOCRACIA DE PHAN BOI CHAU E PHAN CHAU TRINH

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Abstract: During the late 19th century and early 20th century, the French colonialists invaded and turned Vietnam into a colonial, semi-feudal society. Vietnamese feudalism and Confucian ideology are increasingly powerless against the demands of the fight against foreign aggression for national independence. Corresponding to the new circumstances, the revolutionary task of national liberation also has a different nature than before. In that context, a part of progressive Confucianism, including Phan Boi Chau (1867-1940) and Phan Chau Trinh (1872-1926) explored methods of saving the country and people according to different trends. . Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh's views on democracy on democracy show many progressive and innovative points, have far-reaching effects on socio-economic life, and are one of the typical views for a new era. A tumultuous period in Vietnam's history at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. From the approach to philosophy, political

philosophy, the history of philosophy, through the research and analysis of historical documents and other related documents, this article focuses on researching the basic content of the views and opinions. on democracy by Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh.

Keywords: Perspective. Democracy. Phan Boi Chau. Phan Chau Trinh. Vietnam.

Resumo: Durante o final do século XIX e início do século XX, os colonialistas franceses invadiram e transformaram o Vietnã em uma sociedade colonial e semifeudal. O feudalismo vietnamita e a ideologia confucionista estão cada vez mais impotentes diante das exigências da luta contra a agressão estrangeira pela independência nacional. De acordo com as novas circunstâncias, a tarefa revolucionária da libertação nacional também tem uma natureza diferente da anterior. Nesse contexto, uma parte do confucionismo progressista, incluindo Phan Boi Chau (1867-1940) e Phan Chau Trinh (1872-1926), explorou métodos para salvar o país e o povo de acordo com diferentes tendências. . As visões de Phan Boi Chau e Phan Chau Trinh sobre a democracia mostram muitos pontos progressivos e inovadores, têm efeitos de longo alcance na vida socioeconômica e são uma das visões típicas de uma nova era. Um período tumultuado na história do Vietnã no final do século XIX e início do século XX. A partir da abordagem da filosofia, da filosofia política e da história da filosofia, por meio da pesquisa e análise de documentos históricos e outros documentos relacionados, este artigo se concentra na pesquisa do conteúdo básico das visões e opiniões sobre democracia de Phan Boi Chau e Phan Chau Trinh.

Palavras-chave: Perspectiva. Democracia. Phan Boi Chau. Phan Chau Trinh. Vietnã.

1. Introduction

The development practice of nations around the world has proved that innovation is a very important job that has a decisive influence on development. And the period from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century was a period of great changes in Vietnamese history. The French colonialists invaded and turned Vietnam from an independent country into a semi-feudal colony, the feudal court of the Nguyen Dynasty was weak and resigned to being a henchman for the French colonialists. Meanwhile, the uprising movements and struggles of our people according to feudal ideology have failed in turn. In that context, the history of the Vietnamese nation raises a big question as to which path our nation chooses and what to do in order to both absorb the new, and eliminate backwardness and conservatism while still maintaining national independence. ethnicity? Faced with the urgent requirements of history, progressive Vietnamese Confucian intellectuals have advocated for reform and renewal of the country.

The cause of renovation in the late 19th century and early 20th century in Vietnam is associated with the names of Pham Phu Thu, Dang Huy Tru, Nguyen Truong To, Nguyen Lo Trach, Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chau Trinh, and Nguyen An. Ninh....Democratic thought at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century in Vietnam, reflected in the typical investors Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh, both reflected the development of national ideology and reflected the development of national ideology. political sensitivities of the thinkers.

The Vietnamese reform thinkers advocated reforms in all fields to be self-reliant and self-reliant against the French colonial invasion and regain independence for the nation. In the current context, Vietnam has achieved great achievements in all aspects of social life. Achieving these achievements, one of the important contributing factors is the innovation of thinking, especially the reform of political thinking. Currently, Vietnam is continuing the work of summarizing the reality, especially the practical implementation. experience of 35 years of renovation in order to supplement and develop theories to serve the development of the country. It is still necessary to realize and appreciate the correct, scientific, content and democratic conception of Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh in the current period of Vietnam.

2. Research methods, techniques used, research questions and research purposes

Research Methods

The article uses dialectical and historical materialism methods in research and specific methods include: analysis, synthesis, logic and history.

Techniques of use

The article uses the document analysis technique, which are the works of Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chau Trinh as well as the documents of previous researchers when studying and researching the concept of democracy of Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau. Chau Trinh.

Research question

Question 1: What are the basic contents of Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh's views on democracy?

Question 2: What are the similarities and differences between Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh's democratic views?

Research purposes

The purpose of the article is to analyze and clarify the basic content of Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh's views on democracy, thereby showing the similarities and differences between Phan Chau Trinh's and Phan Chau Trinh's views. Phan Chau Trinh on democracy.

3. Content

3.1. Phan Boi Chau's basic views on democracy

Democracy is a concept that appeared very early in Europe from the ancient Greco-Roman times. In its original sense, democracy is made up of two words: "Demos" is the people, and "Kratos" is the government, or power. That is, in terms of its etymology, democracy is a concept of the State, in which power belongs to the people (democracy = the people's mastery). However, democracy is a socio-political category, it exists and develops in the true life of the community and human society. However, within specific areas of the community, there may be different degrees of democracy. Democracy is a criterion to consider and evaluate the development level of the community. Democracy depends on many historical, economic, cultural, social, and political

factors... However, democracy is not only about democracy. is the passive product of the factors mentioned above, but on the contrary, it is also an active agent promoting the economic, cultural, social... of the community. Democracy is the result of the struggle for social progress, class struggle, national liberation and human liberation. In each historical epoch, the working people had to go through struggles and sacrifices, the results of the struggle were marked by new contents of democratic thought, with profound social and class character. Vietnamese bourgeois democratic thought at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century showed its specificity, diversity and richness due to the historical and social conditions of Vietnam and the perception of each thinker. Studying the content of political thoughts of the thinkers, we see that all ideas follow the bourgeois democratic tendencies from different angles, have their own characteristics, and are not exactly the same.

Phan Boi Chau (1867-1940) was a great cultural man and a representative of the Vietnamese national liberation movement in the early years of the twentieth century. Phan Boi Chau made a breakthrough in Confucian ideology, at first he saw that it was necessary to renew and innovate in ideology, then, when revolutionary activities abroad, influenced bourgeois democracy, he turned to the idea of bourgeois democracy. This shift is completely in line with the times, reflecting the change of social life in Vietnam. When Marxism-Leninism was spread into Vietnam and the influence of the Russian October Revolution (1917) spread throughout the five continents, especially in China and Vietnam, Phan Boi Chau's political thought continued to have a transformation. new approach, initially approaching the proletarian revolution. However, this move was not successful because he was captured by the enemy in Hue, ending his life of revolutionary activities! Thus, Phan Boi Chau is typical of the transition from monarchy to bourgeois democracy and closer to Marxism-Leninism. Phan Boi Chau's conception of a new social regime is reflected in his work *New Vietnam*. In particular, the new social system is one in which civil rights are equal. Political power is held by the people, has a strong military, has open international relations, everyone is equal, the apparatus of elites elected by the people is organized into three houses: the upper house: the upper house. , middle school, lower house. He wrote: "After it has been renovated, the people's wisdom will expand, the people's spirit will grow, and the civil rights will prosper; the destiny of Vietnam is held by the people. In the middle of the Vietnamese city, there is a Parliament building. Many political matters are decided by the public... All Vietnamese people, whether rich or poor, big or small, have the right to vote"[1,179].

In this work, the idea of a democratically elected political model replacing the hereditary feudal tyranny model is quite radically revolutionary in Phan Boi Chau's thought. Compared with

innovative thinkers such as Nguyen Truong To, Nguyen Lo Trach, Pham Phu Thu, Dang Huy Tru, and Phan Boi Chau, who showed his superiority in political thinking, he did not stop at reform but instead monarchy by democracy. In the 1920s, as a patriot who came to Marxism-Leninism, Phan Boi Chau had not yet provided the conditions for correct perception, but he had initial perceptions about the socialist regime. Meaning, he wrote: "Lenin himself, the revolutionary strategist, has won over the people and captured the whole world to establish the Lao-Nong state, whose political line is to create a world without unprecedented in the history of the past"[3,322]. Sympathizing with the new social system, he wrote the work Socialist, in which he stated that the purpose of socialism was "to make all human beings free and happy". [4,134]. It proves that he had certain perceptions about socialism, but only stopped at general understandings, from a moral perspective, so he did not understand the true nature of socialism.

In Phan Boi Chau's thought, the political purpose has made certain changes, becoming more and more clear about a better social system. Throughout his thought, the issue of national independence and the issue of political power belonging to the people were always highly appreciated and put on the top by him. These are the most progressive and valuable ideas in the history of the Vietnamese nation's struggle for and independence. In Phan Boi Chau's thought, one of the systems of view that is quite advanced compared to the Confucian contemporaries is the concept of the position, the role of the people, the power of the people, in the national revolution. Regarding the concept of the people, Phan Boi Chau has not given a complete concept, but through the division of people's classes, we can understand his concept of the people. Depending on each historical moment, Phan Boi Chau identified and classified the people into different classes. The way of dividing classes and classes, Phan Boi Chau did not have consistency but used many criteria; social status, occupation, social bloodline, or a mix of criteria. The classes are united in that, they are all brothers, compatriots, share the same sky, share the same feud, have the task of expelling the colonialists to make the country independent. Through the division of classes and classes, Phan Boi Chau mentioned the role and position of each class of people in the national revolution. During the period when Phan Boi Chau stood on the position of monarchy, he paid special attention to the scholar class and the children of the scholar class, considering them to be those who played a great role, representing the national revolution. But then, his view changed, in the work of Pham Hong Thai, he realized that the revolutionary forces were no longer scholars but workers and peasants, but they did not yet have a understanding of the revolution. This is a very thorough and insightful comment. He wrote: "... the training of the social revolution cannot succeed without relying on the majority of the people of the lower class. The majority of

the class is the workers and the peasants... Of course that is part of the agenda. intention, but the worrying thing is that most of these workers and peasants do not have a sense of revolution" [3,354]. Phan Boi Chau's recognition of the role of classes and classes, although not really scientific, has made quite positive and progressive changes. His work went from dividing classes to defining roles and class history missions that were meaningful to the division of objects and attraction of forces for the revolution. At the beginning of the twentieth century in Vietnam, no one had enough conditions to be aware of this issue, Phan Boi Chau was the first to study and divide classes and classes and on that basis, evaluate about their attitude towards the revolution, this is a job of revolutionary strategic significance.

Talking about the position and role of the people, Phan Boi Chau is a person with a rather progressive ideology, he identifies the people as having a particularly important position and role. A country has three important things: people, land, and sovereignty, in which the people's position ranks first. He wrote: "... to be called a country, one must have the people, land, and sovereignty. Without any of these three, they are not eligible to be a country. Of these three, the people are the most important. " [2,68]. And he explained the first position of the people as follows: "Without the people, land cannot exist, sovereignty cannot be established: the people survive, the country remains, the people lose the country". The ideology of upholding the role of the people has the effect of opposing the idea of "respecting the military power", completely contrary to the common perception of Confucian scholars at the time. As for the role of the people, Phan Boi Chau said that the people are the master of the country. According to Phan Boi Chau, in order to gain national independence, the country's development must depend on the people, the victory of the revolution must be made by the people. And the country is prosperous because of the people. The thought that the revolutionary cause is of the people, by the people, for the people was raised by Phan Boi Chau into a rather profound theoretical system, showing superiority compared to the views of contemporary innovators.

From determining the role of the people, Phan Boi Chau considered the task of gaining national independence the number one in order to restore the position of the people, then it was about monarchy or democracy. In a letter to Phan Chau Trinh, he said that the theory of democracy is very advanced and suitable for the times, but the level of our people is still low compared to European countries, so we are not in a hurry to raise the democratic theory. waiting for the people to realize the corrupt nature of feudalism, then it would be more beneficial to introduce the doctrine of democracy, the fundamental problem of the national revolution at this time is not the monarchy or the monarchy. Democracy is the affirmation of the role and position

of the people. He wrote: People no longer exist, but master with whom? For the people, he had a deep affection for them, but he also secretly blamed the people for their lack of independence, self-reliance and limited awareness. He wrote: "The people I love most are the people, so the people I secretly blame are also my people. Will the Vietnamese people repent and become self-sufficient?" [1,132]. Therefore, later on, he actively mobilized the people to study, improve the level of people's intellectual development, make the people have the strength to be self-reliant, to be able to bear the country's affairs.

Regarding the issue of *people's power*, Phan Boi Chau believes that it is the people who have the power in the social power system. In the work *Hai ngoai buyet thu*, he also emphasized: "Vietnam is the heritage of our people. Vietnam is the ancestor of our people" [1,132]. The view that the people are the rulers of the country, and the country is the country of the people is a fundamental shift from monarchy to democracy, of the Confucian class at that time. In addition, Phan Boi Chau also determined the dialectical relationship between the people and the country: if the country is gone, the people will no longer exist, if the country is lost, the rights of the people will also be lost, and vice versa. He wrote: "If civil rights are upheld, the people are respected, but the country is also strong. If civil rights are overlooked, the people are despised, but the country is weak. If the civil rights are completely lost, the people will lose, but the country will also lose lost" [1,26-28]. According to him, national rights and civil rights are closely related, inseparable, two sides of a unified whole. This is Phan Boi Chau's progressive and dialectical view of the relationship between country and people, national rights and civil rights.

In Phan Boi Chau's political reform thought, he not only discussed the power that belongs to the people, but he also mentioned the basic rights and obligations of citizens, as well as specific measures to create favorable conditions. enable people to exercise their rights. Among the basic rights and obligations of citizens, the rights and obligations of citizens in the political field are the most important. "The basic rights and obligations of citizens in the political field are the rights and obligations of citizens to participate in state management. That is the right to freely vote, stand for election, freedom of speech, the right to freedom of assembly, association, and participation in contributing ideas to the affairs of the state". The basic rights and obligations of citizens are realized in practice, requiring those rights to be enshrined in the constitution or guaranteed by the state by law. The regulation of citizens' basic rights and obligations in the political sphere of a regime is a measure of the degree of democracy in a society. Phan Boi Chau's thoughts on citizenship and human rights are expressed in a variety of ways, such as the right to freedom, the right to pursue happiness, the right to equality between men and women, etc. In Phan Boi Chau's

thought, the issue of rights human rights were interested in him, what he called human rights, he wrote: "Human rights mean human rights but also human rights. That human rights, that right, whenever people are worthy of their time. Yes. That the right to be a human means a human being, and everyone has the right to be a human, but not to be a horse" [13,112]. From human rights, Phan Boi Chau has elevated to citizenship or national rights. The points of view showing synchronicity, humanity, and profound humanity have always been the basic criteria and our goal so far.

Thus, in Phan Boi Chau's political thought, the issue of national rights goes hand in hand with people's ability and intellectual level, requiring the nation to understand their rights in order not to lose their rights. The national problem presented by Phan Boi Chau, we see that his thinking is very logical from discovering the limitations of the nation to finding out the causes of those limitations. From there, he proposed specific measures to improve the people's intellectual level and restore the national rights, which showed the system and science. According to Phan Boi Chau, in order to practice democracy in Vietnam, it is first necessary to raise people's intellectual level, which is education, which is also the citizen's right to education, which must first be guaranteed by the state.

In the democratic thought of Phan Boi Chau, one of the quite positive and progressive issues is the idea of equality between men and women. Phan Boi Chau was one of the first Vietnamese to advocate equality between men and women in socio-political activities. Among the ten types of people he called on to stand up against the enemy, women hold a very important position. This is a very progressive point of view. Talking about equality between men and women, Phan Boi Chau has a very correct view of women. He is not general, abstract but goes into very specific issues. Although these ideological views are not yet a complete and comprehensive system, they are somewhat revolutionary in considering specific human rights. In addition to promoting the role of women in society, Phan Boi Chau also advocates fairness in the division of social labor for women. Based on the psychological and physiological characteristics, and especially because women have to take care of both social work and housework, and women have more advantages in ingenuity and diligence, they should give priority to them. industries such as banking and commerce... Phan Boi Chau's views on gender equality still have great value so far, as our Party's policy continues to "...improve everyone's level of education." in all aspects of material and spiritual life, realizing gender equality, creating conditions for women to well perform their roles as citizens, workers, mothers, and people's first teachers" [12,120].

From the above points of view of Phan Boi Chau, the following observations can be drawn: *Firstly*, the thought of human rights is of particular interest to Phan Boi Chau from different angles, with specificity, not general, abstract, on that basis, he elevated human rights to citizenship. *Second*, according to Phan Boi Chau, ensuring the exercise of citizenship or national rights is done from two sides, one is from the political regime, the other is from the citizens themselves. Phan Boi Chau not only condemned the feudal system for losing democracy, but he also condemned the citizens for their ability to rise up to exercise their mastery. His thought shows the dialectic in considering the relationship between the state and citizens in implementing democracy. To exercise democratic rights, the first measure is to raise the people's intellectual level, to give them food and clothing to eat, and to live with all human rights. *Third*, one of the outstanding issues is that Phan Boi Chau was an early adopter of the idea of gender equality. Although Phan Boi Chau lived in a feudal society, with his understanding of the progressive ideology of mankind, he proposed very new ideas at that time. on gender equality in Vietnam in the early years of the twentieth century.

3.2. Phan Chau Trinh's basic views on democracy

Phan Chau Trinh (1872 - 1926) appeared on the Vietnamese political scene at the beginning of the twentieth century as an eloquent, honest patriot, indomitable in the face of power, a lifelong progressive scholar with enthusiasm. and persistently strive for the promotion of democracy and civil rights in Vietnam. Like Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chau Trinh proposed the idea of democracy. But the democratic ideology of Phan Chau Trinh is quite diverse, complex and has its own characteristics. The concept of democracy and democracy was presented by Phan Chau Trinh in his speeches *Militarism* (ie Humanism) and *Democratism* (ie Rule of Law), one of two articles. his last, and also one of two articles he officially addressed to the nation after fourteen years of rolling around in patriotic activities in France. Through the speech, Phan Chau Trinh wanted to explain to the people clearly what monarchism and democracy are, as well as the advantages and disadvantages of each. In the section on democracy, Phan Chau Trinh presented the following contents: the situation of Vietnamese people on the issue of monarchy and democracy, and a history of the democratic regime. In the first content, assessing the situation of Vietnamese people's intellect on the issue of monarchy and democracy, Phan Chau Trinh compared: while in European countries, every country has a democratic party in the upper and lower levels. The whole parliament, only Vietnam, even educated people argue that the word "republic" is always on

their lips, but they do not understand the meaning, let alone the people of the countryside, do not know what democracy is. to the king, worship as a god. From there, he analyzed that, because of the monopoly of the monarchy, the people only knew the king but did not know the country, so they had to "throw that scarecrow in Hue away". In the section on the history of democracy, Phan Chau Trinh briefly outlined two forms of democracy in history, that is, slavery democracy in ancient Greece and British bourgeois democracy. Here, he has not analyzed the nature, characteristics and principles of each form of democracy, but only introduced the existence of "associations" that "all the laws set forth by the aristocracy must be The meeting considers it, only if it is willing to do it" [17,798]. In order to present a democratic polity, Phan Chau Trinh first introduced how to elect the lower house of parliament, the senate, the president "the government" and then the rights of the "government" with limited limits, all of which "have the right to be elected." subject to the same law" under the "judgment" of the Judiciary. The Judiciary and the other two houses "have the same independent right. That is according to the argument that the three powers... are separate and cannot be combined in the hands of one person" and he summed up "the people's politics is the rule of law". [17,817-818].

Regarding national sovereignty and national independence, Phan Chau Trinh is a great patriot, concurrent with Phan Boi Chau, but their measures to save the country are not the same, especially the path to regain sovereignty. If Phan Boi Chau was patriotic with the policy of violence to regain independence, Phan Chau Trinh, on the contrary, opposed the policy of revolutionary violence and used the method of prayer. foreign aid to gain independence for the nation. He wanted to rely on the French colonial government to do public politics to "Open the people's mind, restore the people's climate, and live the people's life", thereby regaining the country's sovereignty, freedom and happiness for the people. The basic policy of Phan Chau Trinh is: "depending on the French for progress", that is, relying on the French colonialists for progress, from which to fight with France in terms of economy, culture and politics. That policy is called "France - Vietnam is a tie". Commenting on Phan Chau Trinh's thought, Phan Boi Chau wrote: "He wanted to overthrow the monarchy, but to cultivate the foundation of civil rights, and rely on France to overthrow the monarchy. But I mean first. overthrow the French, wait until our country is independent, then discuss other things. So while fighting with France, we have to take advantage of the monarchy (...) I want to follow the way of relying on France to overthrow the king, I like to follow the way of anti-French and Vietnamese, that's why they contradict each other" [8,116]. Phan Chau Trinh initiated and led the Duy Tan movement. He intends to establish in Vietnam an autonomous democracy.

Autonomy, that is, separation from French colonial rule. In "France - Vietnam, the post-war union of Vietnam", Phan Chau Trinh wrote: "I advocated self-rule and trusted the French. If I wanted to rely on the French, I would not take advantage of the people's resentment against the French (...). If you trust the Fa, the tricks cannot come from self-government. Self-government is not an easy thing, if you fail, you will die" [17, 541-543]. Thus, Phan Chau Trinh's policy was to rely on the French for self-rule, while Phan Boi Chau was anti-French for independence.

Regarding the position and role of the people, Phan Chau Trinh said that in a country, the people hold the most important position. The ideology of the people is the master of the country, the country is the master of the people, opposed to the idea of "respecting the military power", completely opposed to the Confucian ideology, is a fundamental thought shift from monarchy to democracy. This is a very new thing in Phan Chau Trinh's political thought compared to his contemporaries, a breakthrough compared to the feudal political thought of thousands of years. Stemming from patriotism, compassion, and hardships of the people, based on deeply humanistic thoughts, Phan Chau Trinh believes that the goal of the self-government is that the people are in control of the government. rule, can exercise civil rights freely, such as basic rights: freedom of the festival, freedom of speech, freedom of thought... The democracy that Phan Chau Trinh advocates to build, That is, democracy should come from below, that is, the people have the most important position and role. The people's wisdom has improved, the people's spirit has been revived, the people's livelihoods have prospered, the nation has been self-sufficient, and a civilized society, according to Phan Chau Trinh, is a guarantee for a substantive democracy, replacing the military. owner. Thus, democracy is associated with freedom, freedom is guaranteed by democracy. He wrote: "A race of people with a single drop of blood split, with the same language, in the land where our forefathers shed their blood, sweat, and tears, to break the cauldron into a nation. If they have been handed down for four thousand years until now, they are allowed to enjoy the rights in that land, live there, die and bury there, get rich because of that, be poor and stay there, no one can forbid them to do anything" [17,774].

In order to carry out his democratic policies, a very important content in Phan Chau Trinh's thought is to awaken the people to understand their rights. The people who understand their rights will realize the revolutionary goal. Therefore, in democratic thought, Phan Chau Trinh emphasized the role and interests of the people, the people have the right to live and enjoy the rights, to perform sacred and noble obligations to the country. In order to make people understand their mastery, Phan Chau Trinh actively spread the content of the people's rights and obligations. The aim was to make people aware of what he called morality, morality, or the relations of rights and

obligations of people in families, nations and society. According to him, morality has developed from low to high: family morality, national morality, social morality. The Vietnamese people are weak because they only have a limited understanding of the relationship between the king and me, and do not know the relationship between the country and the people, so the people do not understand their rights and obligations. He wrote: "...the people in the country do not know what civil rights are, what is love for the country, what are their obligations?" [17,72]. Limitations in the morals of the people's society, do not know what a union is, what an organization is, this is due to the feudal system. He wrote: "The people do not know the union, do not respect the common good, because three or four hundred years ago, the students in the country were engrossed in the desire for power and title, and were born with lies and flattery. know only the king but do not know the people" [17,777]. Therefore, we must arouse the national spirit, because in the past, our people were very heroic and united and knew how to defend each other. He said: "...this Vietnamese people in the early days also knew the union, knew the common good, also contributed to the wind to make storms, cut down trees to make forests, not so lonely, lazy, inactive as today" [17,777]]. From the correct perception of the state of the nation's decay during several hundred years of feudalism, Phan Chau Trinh believes that it is necessary to spread social morals to the people, awaken the people to make the people understand and the people. know their rights and obligations to the country and to the nation. He wrote: "Now, if Vietnam wants to be independent and free one day, Vietnam must have a union. But if it wants to have a union, there is nothing better than spreading socialism among the Vietnamese people. 17,779] Therefore, Phan Chau Trinh's thought has outstanding value which is to make the people aware of the role of democracy. Like Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chau Trinh has a conception of the relationship between people and the country, National rights and civil rights, he wrote: "If you call it a country, you must have land and people" [17,553], which is the most prominent dialectical relationship in bourgeois democratic thought in the early twentieth century in Vietnam. So in order for the people to understand their rights and obligations, what should the Vietnamese revolution do? Authoritarianism, Phan Chau Trinh said, must combine tradition with modernity, nation with the world. He wrote: "If we keep a little of our morality, we will save a little of European morality and bring it back together. amplify The moral chest means that all Vietnamese people know their obligations to Vietnam. With that, not only will Vietnam be rich and strong in the future, but in this world any people who want to live together on this land will not be able to despise us like today." [17,791].

Phan Chau Trinh's national view, is the reality to find the cause. This is the measure of face-to-face education. The cause of our nation's backwardness, according to Phan Chau Trinh, is mainly due to the feudal system that has made the "folks of the country weak". Since then, we can see that Phan Chau Trinh's thought has developed higher in quality than before, if before, democratic thought only stopped at the general opposition to democracy and monarchy, then here comes the idea of democracy. associated with national independence, with specific rights of the Vietnamese people, associated with the universal social category, not limited to the national category, the bourgeois democratic category. This represents the development and transformation of Phan Chau Trinh's thought and is also the basic premise for him to approach Marxism-Leninism.

3.3. Similarities and differences between Phan Chau Trinh and Phan Chau Trinh's views on democracy

| Content | Phan Boi Chau | Phan Chau Trinh |
|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| | Similarities | |
| | - Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh's views on democracy are associated with the international and regional context as well as the historical and social conditions of Vietnam in the late 19th century and early 20th century. In addition, the patriotic tradition of the Vietnamese nation; The "New Letter" thought and the influence of Marxism-Leninism in the late 19th century and early 20th century in Vietnam are also the theoretical premises that form the democratic views of Phan Boi Chau and Nguyen Xuan Phuc. Phan Chau Trinh. - The views of Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh on democracy are focused around one | |

main axis, patriotism, the highest goal that Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh aim for is national independence. - Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh both carried out the ideological transition, although it was a very difficult process, step by step linking traditional patriotism with democratic and humanistic values from the West. , or a new direction to save the country and save the people. - The views of Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh on democracy outlined very basic issues for the Vietnamese revolution in the late 19th century and early 20th century, especially in the early 20th century. That is the setting of revolutionary tasks, issues of civil rights, democracy, people's livelihood, and the role of the people in the revolutionary movement. - Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh's views on democracy have made an important contribution to creating a shift in the thinking of the Vietnamese people, which is to make a step-by-step movement of ideology from monarchy to imperialism. democracy, from feudal thinking to pre-modern thinking. Although the two men's concept of democracy did not prove its vitality, it was an intermediate stage, a very important turning point in the history of

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| | Vietnamese thought in the early twentieth century. - Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh's views on democracy in terms of success and failure, advantages and disadvantages, have left the Vietnamese revolution with valuable lessons in the revolutionary process. - Both Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh's views on democracy have limitations due to historical conditions, awareness levels and class views. | |
| | Point of difference | |
| Mission | Drive out the French colonialists, restore Vietnam. | Overthrow feudalism, implement social reform "opening the people's knowledge, reviving the people's wisdom, developing the people's livelihood". |
| The policy of saving the country | Mobilizing the masses to enlist the help of foreign countries (Japan), organizing riots to expel the French colonialists for independence, and building a constitutional monarchy | Upholding the banner of democracy, social reform, and the policy of saving the country by raising people's knowledge and civil rights. Exposing the corrupt feudal system, demanding that France amend its colonial rule |
| Method | Armed violence | Moderate reform (through economic, cultural, educational, social reform) |

4. Conclusion

On the basis of researching and analyzing the views of Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh on democracy, we can affirm that the above-mentioned scholars are not only cultists, educators, and patriots. ... but also a great thinker. In the field of political thought, Phan Boi Chau and Phan

Chau Trinh are people with progressive and innovative ideas, having a profound influence on socio-economic life, and are one of the typical ideas for a tumultuous historical period in Vietnam at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh's views on democracy are systematically and deeply expressed in many aspects, on the following basic issues:

Firstly, stemming from the socio-historical requirements and tasks of Vietnam and the historical and social conditions of the world in the late 19th century and early 20th century; on the basis of basic theoretical premises: patriotic thought of the Vietnamese nation, Tan Thu ideology, and political thought of the late 19th century and early 20th century were formed and developed. From the urgent requirements of social reality, especially the issue of national liberation and development of the country.

Second, the basic content of Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh's views on democracy has been expressed in a rich, diverse and profound way in many different aspects, but in general, they focus on democracy. The important issue is national self-reliance, raising the people's intellectual level, fostering the people's strength, and spreading the ideology of democracy and civil rights. This is one of the most prominent ideas, Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh can both come up with it from one angle or another and find a way to solve it. The issue of "the people is the root", the people are the masters have been discussed by Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh, but there have never been any fundamental theories.

Third, the study of Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh's views on democracy is quite comprehensive, profound, systematic, reflecting the reality of life and bearing the imprint of the times. Although there are certain limitations, it is clear that the thoughts and activities of Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh have made an important contribution to creating a special change in the thinking of the Vietnamese people, which is the awakening of Vietnamese people. people's awareness of civil rights, democracy, people's livelihood and national independence. The limitation of this study is that it has not analyzed and clarified the values, limitations and historical lessons when studying the views of Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh on democracy for Vietnam today.

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