

# THE VIEWPOINT ABOUT THE HUMAN LIBERATION IN THE THOUGHT OF PHAN BOI CHAU

## O PONTO DE VISTA SOBRE A LIBERTAÇÃO HUMANA NO PENSAMENTO DE PHAN BOI CHAU

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**Abstract:** In the Phan Boi Chau's thought, one of the most profound human values and meanings is the ideal and aspiration to liberate for the people and people of Vietnam from oppression, exploitation of the feudal colonialism, regaining independence for the nation, freedom for the country, happiness for the people. Phan Boi Chau has outlined the revolutionary policy; building and developing revolutionary organizations; carried out revolutionary fighting methods from neo-neo-revolutionary to revolutionary violence, combining peaceful struggle with revolutionary violence, towards determined violence.

**Keywords:** Phan Boi Chau, people's liberation, national liberation, revolutionary objectives, mission, revolutionary methods, revolutionary forces.

**Resumo:** No pensamento de Phan Boi Chau, um dos valores e significados humanos mais profundos é o ideal e a aspiração de libertar o povo e o povo do Vietnã da opressão, da exploração do colonialismo feudal, recuperando a independência da nação, a liberdade do

país, felicidade para o povo. Phan Boi Chau delineou a política revolucionária; construção e desenvolvimento de organizações revolucionárias; levou a cabo métodos revolucionários de luta desde a violência neo-neo-revolucionária à revolucionária, combinando a luta pacífica com a violência revolucionária, rumo à violência determinada.

**Palavras-chave:** Phan Boi Chau, libertação popular, libertação nacional, objetivos revolucionários, missão, métodos revolucionários, forças revolucionárias.

## 1. Introduction

Phan Boi Chau is one of the typical historical figures and a great thinker in Vietnam in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The highlight and throughout the thought of Phan Boi Chau is the ideal, aspiration for human liberation, liberation for the people and nation of Vietnam, on the spirit of the noble nation, passionate patriotism and a heart that loves people dearly. But it was not the concept of human liberation with abstract nature, people in general, but the expulsion of French colonialism, the abolition of feudalism, liberation for the people and people of Vietnam. This is a basic and decisive issue for all other issues such as human rights, national rights, independence, freedom, equality, and well-being of people, as well as that of the Vietnamese people and people.

## 2. Methodology

*Purpose:* Researching to clarify Phan Boi Chau's point of view on the purpose, the mission, the building revolutionary organization and revolutionary force together with viewpoints of Phan Boi Chau about the revolutionary methods to liberate the Vietnamese people and nation in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

*Methodology:* The paper's approach is based on the worldview and the methodology of Marxist philosophy, and the methodology of historical philosophy, political philosophy, and at the same time uses specific research methods such as analysis and synthesis, logic and history, inductive and interpretation, abstraction, generalization, comparison, comparison and literary methods for research and presentation.

*Main Findings:* The research clarifies the viewpoints of Phan Boi Chau about the liberation for the Vietnamese people, through main issues: 1) According to Phan Boi Chau, liberation career for the people and people of Vietnam is not only an urgent and vital task posed by the historical-social reality of Vietnam in the late 19th and early twentieth centuries, but also a great ideal and aspiration of the people and nation of Vietnam; 2) According to Phan Boi Chau, the determination to expel the French colonialism, abolish the feudal regime, regain independence for the nation, sovereignty for the country, freedom, happiness for the people, building a republic of Vietnam, a democratic and powerful country, is still fundamentally the main goal and mission throughout; 3) On the basis of the fairly consistent revolutionary purpose and mission of expelling the invading French colonialists, liberating the Vietnamese people and nation, thoroughly abolishing the

rotten feudal regime, building a new Vietnam follow the democratic republic and an independent, free, and powerful country, based on the great force of the people, the revolutionary way of Phan Boi Chau in each period, step by step there was a change, change in perception and action, in accordance with the change of practical social historical demand of Vietnam in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century; from policy reform, to violent struggle, combining legal open propaganda with violence, to the determined path of fighting with revolutionary violence and getting closer to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary perspective.

### 3. Literature review

The studies on the view of human liberation of Phan Boi Chau can be generalized as follows: *Research of Phan Boi Chau* by Chuong Thau (editor), Publishing House National Politics, Hanoi, 2004; *Phan Boi Chau about the author and works* of Chuong Thau and Tran Ngoc Vuong, Publisher Education, Hanoi, 2007; *Phan Boi Chau's work, people and career*, Publisher Hanoi National University, 1997 ... Especially, research on Phan Boi Chau has also attracted many foreign scientists. In France, there were monographs on Phan Boi Chau by G. Buodarel such as: *Mémoires de Phan Boi Chau*, France - Asie / Asia XXIII - 4, 1969; or *Phan Boi Chau et la société Vietnamiennne de son temps*, France-Asia / Asia XXIII - April 1969. In the US since the end of the twentieth century, there was David G's anti-colonial movement in Vietnam from 1885 to 1925. *Marn and the 100th Anniversary of the Journey to the West Movement: Phan Boi Chau Cuong De* by Do Minh Thong ... In Germany, at the Institute of Southeast Asian History, Passaw University, in 1987, *Professor Bernard Dam gave topic: Phan Boi Chau - Vietnamese cultural house, Vietnam national movement and its relations with Japan and Asia: Thought of Phan Boi Chau, the world revolution*, including 2 volumes by Shiraishi Masaya (by Translated by Nguyen Nhu Diem, translated by Tran Son, revised by Chuong Thau), Publisher. National Politics, Hanoi, 2000; *The development of thought in Vietnam from the nineteenth century to the August Revolution*, 3 volumes by Tran Van Giau, National Political Publishing House, Hanoi, 1997; *Phan Boi Chau - patriotism, cultural house of Chuong Thau*, Cultureal - Informational Publishing House, Hanoi, 2012; *Phan Boi Chau's thoughts on personality issues*, Journal of Social Sciences, No. 12 (136), 2009, *Phan Boi Chau's thoughts on education*, Journal of Social Sciences, No. 4 (128), 2009.

#### 4. Results and Discussion

##### About the purpose and mission of the revolution for the national liberation

To determine the great purpose and mission of the liberation cause for the people and nation of Vietnam, first of all, Phan Boi Chau exposed the French colonial "evil conspiracy", aimed at colonization and genocide towards our people. In the "conspiracy to genocide our people by law" of the French colonialists, Phan Boi Chau pointed out that: "In the past, the state's law had to be based on the will of the people and then follow justice is the law that is fair and can protect the people's destiny and property... Vietnamese law was previously a monarchy, an extremely tyrannical, cruel, harsh law. I hope to cancel. But since the French occupied Vietnam, they took advantage of that law to suppress the Vietnamese. They also arbitrarily increase or decrease the harshness, making us suffer, no longer know what heaven and earth to cry about" (Chau, 2000, vol. 5, p. 238). In "conspiracy to genocide by religion", he wrote: "If the French truly believe in God, respect the words of Jesus, sincerely practice the sentence: "A human being is like a century", will they ever robbed our country, afflicted our country, sucked the blood of our people, exiled our father - brother. The French just hang up a mask to cover their murderous gut" (Chau, 2000, vol. 7, p. 245).

In the "tricks to destroy our people by politics", Phan Boi Chau clearly stated: "The French know the Annamese customs very strictly; respect is often very respectful military. The French robbed our country never robbed the king, the throne was still in health, the title of king was still famous, in fact, what do they really value An Nam king?" (Chau, 2000, vol. 7, p. 261).

In the "tricks to destroy our nation by economy", according to Phan Boi Chau: "The French divided into three dishes: The first dish is to rob all of their labor. The second dish is to suck all the blood and pus of the popular class with the middle-class house. The third dish is to rob the capitalist of all economic rights" (Chau, 2000, vol. 7, p. 267-268). They "want to suck the blood of those people and give a lot, they have to put a lot of money in tax: housing tax, garden tax, land tax, license tax, boat tax, harbor tax, market tax, forest tax, giving to other taxes, not to mention them all"; they take all of the "life forces and the product forms, into their own hand"(Chau, 2000, vol. 7, p. 267-268). In the "in tricks to destroy our nation by education", Phan Boi Chau pointed out: "Education is often associated with politics ...; but the political right was strictly in the hands of the French colonialists, so in essence the education that the French colonialists carried out in our

country was a slave education: "Thanks to that education, the ancestors forgot about them, slippery relatives. He only knew that madam was a good-natured man, phrang was a saint, perhaps the Vietnamese race was not extinct! It was a French genocide education, a miraculous way to live with Europe and America, but no one more" (Chau, 2000, vol. 7, p. 263).

With such brutal and brutal genocide plots and tricks, the French colonialists "held all rights and wanted to make life and death for everyone" (Chau, 2000, vol. 2, p. 178). "Ten years from now, all their races will be destroyed. Dan Bach Viet, who survived? Such a thing is dangerous" (Chau, 2000, vol.1, p.152). All, according to Phan Boi Chau, was the invasion, domination, oppression and exploitation of the French colonialists, because "at present, our people are now losing their country" (Chau, 2000, vol.7, p. 276). Therefore, the expulsion of the French colonialism, the radical elimination of feudalism, the regaining national independence, the sovereignty of the country, the freedom and happiness of the people, were not just requirements and duties. It is very urgent and vital because the history of Vietnamese society at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, but also the ideal, is the aspiration of the entire Vietnamese people and people. Phan Boi Chau has spent his whole life, pregnant with hot blood, traveling around the country and abroad to promote patriotism and gather revolutionary forces, looking for a way to save people and save the country.

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In the process of campaigning for the innovation and revolution movement, realizing the noble ideals, aspirations and missions of liberation for our people, although in the policy and method of conducting the revolution, Phan Boi Chau has taken steps to change, but in his will, the determination to expel the French colonialism, abolish the feudal regime, regain independence for the nation, sovereignty for the country, freedom, happiness for the people, building a republic of Vietnam, a democratic and powerful country, is still fundamentally the main goal and mission throughout. “Phan Boi Chau uses national salvation as nationalism, so he wants to make our country independent. Again taking the salvation of the people as a nationalism, so if we don't want to see our people, we must make a mistake" ” (Chau, 2000, vol. 5, p. 217). However, through each different historical period, from social practice and with the process of cognitive development, Phan Boi Chau has gradually completed that purpose and task. When he was still on a monarchy-ideological stance, Phan Boi Chau said that the purpose of the revolution was “to restore Vietnam. Setting up an independent government, besides, there is no any other policy” (Chau, 2000, vol.6, p. 120). But when Phan Boi Chau had a change in perception, renouncing the monarchy to switch to bourgeois democracy, approaching Marxism, the purpose of the revolution was Phan Boi Chau supplemented and developed in a more complete and radical way, that is not only expelling the French colonialism, regaining independence for the nation, sovereignty for the country, establishing a democratic republic, but co. At the time, the feudal regime still had to be thoroughly eradicated, because according to him: “When the French enemy was expelled, the state power was restored, but if the evil regime was not removed, the worms the beetle again follows the old path and the water will one day die. The French invaders for the second time followed in their heels to invade. The monarchy and state must be abolished, because it is a very evil regime” (Chau, 2000, vol.3, p. 367).

With that policy, Phan Boi Chau had a fairly correct view on the purpose and mission of the Vietnamese revolution in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. That is to carry out simultaneously and thoroughly two tasks of counter-imperialism and counter-feudalism, to resolve the conflict between the entire Vietnamese people and the invading French colonialism, the other side is the feudal landlords' bureaucracy with labor people. That lofty and cross-cutting purpose and mission of the Vietnamese revolution was affirmed by Phan Boi Chau in *Viet Nam Quang phuc boi* and *Viet Nam Quốc Dân đảng*. “Quang Phuc quân's aim was to expel the French colonialists, restore

Vietnam and establish a democratic republic expel the French invaders, restore Vietnam and establish a democratic republic”; “Radiant for our Vietnamese people! On the earth side, Vietnam has become a powerful people, completely free!” (Chau, 2000, vol.3, p. 367).

### **About the revolutionary method**

To carry out the struggle to liberate the Vietnamese people and people from the yoke of French colonial rule and the "decadent, toxic" feudalism, Phan Boi Chau sought and experienced experiments and propose a revolutionary method with increasingly correct steps and methods. At the beginning of the path of neo-neo-revolution, Phan Boi Chau outlined the revolutionary purpose and action plan in a general way: "No matter what, we should restore the country as the only purpose. The first period will be the movement period, then the execution period, and the final construction period. This final period is after the successful restoration” (Chau, 2000, vol.4, p.47).

According to that purpose and program of action, at first, Phan Boi Chau advocated: “1. Associated with the old Can Vuong party and contacted the men in the mountains, initiated an insurrection, specialized in fighting the enemy, but the first trick was by violence; 2. To support a selective intelligent master established by the Prince, and associate with those who have learned in the dynasty to be internal hospitals.; 3. Similar to the two plans above they require an external hospital. If you want to have a hospital, you must have an exodus” (Chau, 2000, vol.6, p.120).

The above Phan Boi Chau's viewpoint, clearly not escaping the violent thought of the Van Than and Can Vuong movement, is also spontaneous and heroic, through small organizations to fight the enemy The French revenge, rather than an organized revolution, had a strict revolutionary program, objectives, and methods, bearing the nature of the national revolution.

When the *Duy Tan hoi* was founded (1904), Phan Boi Chau had a change in perception and action about the revolutionary method. He and his comrades established the *Duy Tan hoi*, led by Ky Ngoai hau Cuong De to facilitate the nation's prestige, to renew the country in all fields, to help the country and rich, the people were increasingly strong and able to stand up and chase away the French, use the way of violent armed forces with the policy of foreign aid to drive away the French, restore an independent and self-controlled Vietnam constitutional monarchy. According to Duy Tan Hoi's plan, on February 23, 1905, Phan Boi Chau and like-minded people exported to China, then to



Japan, and Xiem to find a way to save the country. Together with the core people of the neo-revolutionary movement, he mobilized the vibrant Dong Du movement in 1905-1909, set up associations to gather the masses to fight against French colonialism and bring young people to study abroad to acquire advanced scientific ideas and knowledge, serve as the core for the fight against foreign invaders, protect and build the country in the future. Phan Boi Chau has launched a comprehensive reform and reform program and plan on all fields of society, such as politics, economy, culture, and society, to build a Vietnamese society. New man, the ideal full of humanity. In *Tan Vietnam*, he wrote: "After we have renewed, our political status and diplomatic interests are all held by us. Civilization will progress more and more, the sphere of power will be more and more powerful" (Chau 2000, vol.2, p. 178), and "the people will expand, the people will grow, the civil rights will flourish; our country's destiny is held by our people. In the middle of our capital city, there is a large Parliament building. How much of politics is decided by the public. The House of Lords must wait for the Middle Parliament to agree, and the Middle Parliament must wait for the House of Commons to agree to be executed. The House of Commons is the place where the majority of the public has jurisdiction over the affairs of the House of Lords and the Middle Parliament. The people of our country, regardless of being cowardly, rich, poor, and young, have the right to vote. Above is the king should let or should be ousted; Below is the authority should be promoted or should descend, our people are all determined"(Chau 2000, vol.2, p. 179).

However, due to the ambiguity of the class issue, "Phan Boi Chau is completely unaware of the nature of the Western parliamentary regime that is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; I thought it was the government of the entire people, taking care of the general happiness of the people, especially taking care of the material and spiritual lives of the most hard working classes" (Giau, 1997, p. 139).

After going abroad to work, to be exposed to democratic revolutionary movements, as well as to receive progressive ideas, such as the thought of Mazzini (1805-1877), or to the comments of military experts and political experts in Japan ... Phan Boi Chau's perspective on revolutionary method has also changed. He felt it was necessary to combine both the peaceful fighting and the violent modes in the revolutionary method: "Education and violence at the same time" (Chau 2000, vol.6, p. 160).



The essence of the combination of these two methods, according to Phan Boi Chau, is "one aspect of encouraging students to emigrate, and another aspect of encouraging the nation to take their thoughts and actions" (Chau 2000, vol.6, p. 160).

So, returning from Japan to the country in 1907, Phan Boi Chau met Hoang Hoa Tham at Phon Xuong station to learn about revolutionary violence. After that, he converted *Duy Tan hoi* into two sects: "1. Belongs to the pacifist faction, specializing in school affairs, lectures, propaganda, and class accounts; 2. Belonging to the fierce faction, focusing on military mobilization, preparing for the armed forces, will practice in a way by blood flow" (Chau 2000, vol.6, p. 168).

Phan Boi Chau also advocated: "We should stay in the country to take the movement and organize the Workers' Association, Farmers' Association, Traders' association, Students' Association, help everyone know how to organize their unions, making people know that there are unions. So easy to promote later" (Chau 2000, vol.6, p. 148).

Phan Boi Chau's revolutionary method now is no longer just the purchase of weapons, and fighting the enemy for revenge, but an organized activity, both through propaganda and advocacy measures and violent armed measures equipped with weapons, and equipped with political and military knowledge by sending people to study abroad, strengthening their capabilities and foreign reinforcements, including the military army with the weapons of Luong Quang, the prestige of Japan, with the highest aim, was to expel the French colonialists, liberate the people, gain independence for the nation and construct the country later. "Compared with anti-French colonialist organizations of the Van Than and Can Vuong movements, Phan Boi Chau's Duy Tan hoi organization has made remarkable progress, this is a tight organization with clear principles, and the action program is quite specific" (Chau 2000, vol.6, p. XXI).

When the Dong Du movement failed, it was difficult to foster talent for the revolution and the country. Due to the resistance of the French colonialists, Phan Boi Chau decided that the method of revolutionary violence was the method basic legal. He said: "I cannot help but run through the violent path... Because every violence can look like there is a place of success in a lifetime. No matter what I have reconsidered, there is nothing more worth doing when I leave the violence" (Chau 2000, vol.6, p. 48).

From new practice and perception, when the Tan Hoi Revolution led by Ton Trung Son was successful in China in October 1911, Phan Boi Chau advocated the

dissolution of the *Duy Tan hoi* to establish the *Viet Nam Quang phuc hoi*, 1912, renouncing the monarchy and stance to the bourgeois democracy. The association's sole principle and purpose was to expel the French invaders, restore Vietnam, and establish a republic, democracy, with revolutionary violence. He clearly stated the change of stance and affirmed the principle and method of revolutionary violence in the work *Viet Nam Quang phuc hoi* and in the work *Phan Boi Chau nien bieu*, that: “Now the situation has changed, I am new proposing the public judgment to change monarchy to democracy ... As a result, most of them tend to be democratic, determined to kill the *Duy Tan hoi*, and organize a new replacement agency: *Viet Nam Quang phuc hoi* ... The first principle of the *Viet Nam Quang phuc hoi* is: “Destroying the French bandits, restoring Vietnam, establishing the Republic of Vietnam” (Chau 2000, vol.6, p. 216).

It can be said that with the historical changes and the political requirements of our country in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, Phan Boi Chau's revolutionary policies and methods have made fundamental changes. If in the Can Vuong movement, the principle, purpose, and policy were to expel the French colonialists, and restore Vietnam as before, it is not a revolution that completely changed the social regime, then coming to Duy Tan hoi was not just about expelling the French colonialists but also develop the country of Vietnam according to the example of European-American society, that is, developing according to the capitalist regime; Not only to regain sovereignty for the nation and the country, but also to establish a new government, a constitutional monarchy, and to come to Vietnam to restore the reunion is to build a democratic republic, completely revolutionary - the democratic revolution.

With the principle, purpose and view of revolutionary violence affirmed when establishing Vietnam to restore the reunion, Phan Boi Chau together with his comrades proposed the way, building the organization of *Quang Phuc hoi* with a fairly systematic and well-organized state apparatus of the Democratic Republic, with: “1. Principles of *Quang Phuc quan*. 2. Obligations of *Quang Phuc quan*. 3. Discipline of *Quang Phuc quan*. 4. The plan of *Quang Phuc quan*” (Chau 2000, vol.3, p. 336).

In the *Quang Phuc hoi* district, there was the Government Office, divided into two ministries: The Military Ministry in charge of defense with a commander-in-chief and subordinates, generals, officers, with military staff with certain levels; Ministry of Foreign Affairs with Ministers and other ministers and officials; The Reunification Association also has plans, action plans, regulations on discipline, commendation, obligation, making the

National Flag, the Military, officials, employees, printing and issuing military votes, development and enforcement of salary regimes.

From 1917 to 1923, after World War I, because the domestic situation and the world had many great changes, Phan Boi Chau's thought also had complicated changes. He had fluctuations in revolutionary ways and methods. He advocates peaceful, compromise and delusional struggle; urged the two sides, the French and the Vietnamese should not consider each other as enemies, but "treat each other equally for mutual benefits, as owners and guests" (France - Vietnam is a favor!). He "expected the French not to consider the Vietnamese as servants, like buffaloes and horses, but to consider the Vietnamese as brothers and close friends" (Chau 2000, vol.5, p. 205) and "the Vietnamese should not consider the French as another breed, as an enemy, but consider the French is like a teacher or like a good friend" (Chau 2000, vol.5, p. 206), to "join forces to keep the gate, even if the Japanese want to cut and swallow, they will not be able to drift into the mouth" (Chau 2000, vol.2, p. 204-205). He even praised Mahatma Gandhi's "nonviolent" method of fighting, the policy of not using violent struggle to shed blood, but "making a civilized revolution" which has a reformist nature, saying: "The Vietnamese people carried out the civilized revolution, and were accepted by the civilized French, success was as easy as the hands" (Chau 2000, vol.2, p. 208).

In 1924, imitating *Quoc Dan dang* of Ton Trung Son, Phan Boi Chau had advocated to reform *Viet Nam Quang Phuc hoi* to *Viet Nam Quoc Dan dang*. He and his comrades drafted documents (from the end of 1923), such as: Charter, Political Platform, Declaration, Calling letter ... of *Viet Nam Quoc Dan dang*. In December 1924, after being contacted with Nguyen Ai Quoc, Phan Boi Chau overcame the manifestations of the reformist tendencies and planned to *Viet Nam Quoc Dan dang* towards the progressive revolution. In particular, due to the influence of the world revolutionary movement, especially the Russian October Revolution, Phan Boi Chau approached Marxism-Leninism, tending to change the revolutionary ways and methods towards the subject. social meaning, support the proletarian revolutionary movement. With his enlightenment, Phan Boi Chau affirmed, socialism was like a spring wind amid a cloud of fog, like a sun shining in the middle of the night. He saw the primacy and revolutionary strength of socialism. "Socialism is the philosopher's tank to break into the stronghold of nationalism, which is also the champion of the benevolent team to destroy the capitalist party" (Chau 2000, vol.7, p. 132). But Phan Boi Chau was also aware that the way to achieve the goal of socialism is not easy

and temporary, because this is the most radical and progressive revolution, so it is also difficult. Most, and to be successful, requires the most scientific planning and method: "Socialism is not all of a sudden, but practical. To practice, we must calculate the plan carefully, with far the eyes. If we only trust the power of one person, or a locality can definitely not come to success at a certain time" (Chau 2000, vol.7, p. 134).

Thus, it can be seen that, on the basis of the fairly consistent revolutionary purpose and mission, they were to expel the invading French colonialists, liberate for the Vietnamese people and nation, and thoroughly abolish the decaying feudal regime and building a new Vietnam under a republican, democratic, independent, free and powerful regime; based on the great force of the people, the revolutionary method of Phan Boi Chau in each period, step by step there is a change, change in perception and action, in accordance with the change of characteristics and practical social historical demand of Vietnam in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; from innovation policy, to violent struggle, combining legal open propaganda with violence, and from violent struggle to peaceful struggle, but not completely separated from the violent path, and then after the experience. The experience was unsuccessful in the years 1917-1923, due to the compromise and reformist nature of the revolutionary method, he returned to the path of violence steadfastly, and moved closer to the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary views. That transformation contributed to the richness of the whole process of thought as well as the point of view on the revolutionary policy and method for human liberation of Phan Boi Chau, it is difficult to have a revolutionary, thinker any contemporaries have. It is both a testament to the philosophy and bloody lessons learned that Phan Boi Chau drew during his life of revolutionary activities, namely: "What was the plan to win in the end, even if changing tricks and motto also do not hesitate" (Giau, 1997, p. 410) is both a synthesis of ideas of a period of profound transformation of Vietnamese society in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

### **About the revolutionary force**

With revolutionary organizations such as *Duy Tan boi*, *Quang Phuc boi*, and *Viet Nam Quoc Dan dang* as the nucleus, Phan Boi Chau called for the "unanimity" of all Vietnamese people, regardless of age or youth, boys and girls, profession, ethnicity, religion, family members, social outsiders, domestic people, foreigners, all united into great power to drive away French colonialism, liberate the people clan. In the work of *Viet Nam vong quoc su*,

Phan Boi Chau generalizes all parts of society to join the revolutionary force, including five classes: 1) "A class of people is the family, the lineage of national poetry is subject to Heavenly fortune, many generations of thanksgiving to the King, for over a hundred years, they have shared a high salary, all the blood and fat of the Vietnamese people" (Chau 2000, vol.1, p. 67); 2) "The class of people ... are the ones who themselves and their families have profound enemies against the French army, definitely do not join the army with the French" (Chau 2000, vol.2, p. 68); 3) "There is a class of people whose ancestors are Vietnamese people, their wives and children and grandchildren are Catholic ... who need to destroy the French in order to protect their fellow believers and worship God"; 4) "A class of people is a class of people who are struggling to make a living. all day, running around to buy salt but not enough "; 5) "There is a class of people who are truly like humans, truly like yellow skin, truly the son of Vietnam" (Chau 2000, vol.2, p. 70).

Regarding the work of *Hai ngoai buyet thu*, he said that all classes and classes in society participated in the revolutionary force including ten classes of people: rich men, royal officers, lay men, trainees, religious people. Leather, naughty thugs, children and girls, waitresses, scribes, sheep family disciples, and in work *De tinh quoc dan ca*, he identified classes and social classes participating in the revolution. That is the "four people", including: intellectuals, farmers, workers, traders, that

"Four kinds of people, intellectuals, peasants,  
All workers and traders are brothers." (Chau, 2000, vol. 2, p. 340).

Phan Boi Chau believes: "The country is my country, the people are my people, the heart is my heart, who can forbid me from agreeing?! Wake up! Stand up! Thousands of people with one heart! "; "Twenty million people, like thunder like lightning, like rivers like sea; in the main sense, the wind and clouds must be favorable, when sheep have a deep enemy, they are also soldiers! Those vile French enemies, they will definitely be annihilated soon!" (Chau 2000, vol.3, p. 336).

However, due to the limitations of historical conditions and in the process of changing worldview and ideological stance, along with the ambiguity of class, Phan Boi Chau does not have any criteria to divide class scientifically, sometimes he based on profession, when he bases on social status and elsewhere he bases on bloodline and religion, so his view of human liberation There are also certain limitations. Firstly, he also has fluctuations, inconsistencies, even a compromise and reformist nature in the policy and method of revolutionary struggle; and secondly, Phan Boi Chau was still vague in

determining the revolutionary forces, especially in identifying the core force of the revolution, even in the work *Hai ngoai buyet thu* (The letter was written in blood from abroad), he considered the thugs as a mischief among the revolutionary forces and the wealthy, the monarch was the class most capable of revolutionizing, and was ranked above the other social classes and classes in the part participating in the revolutionary forces.

## 5. Conclusion

Phan Boi Chau is one of the typical historical figures and a great thinker in Vietnam in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century's. The highlight and throughout the thought of Phan Boi Chau is the ideal, aspiration for human liberation, liberation for the people and nation of Vietnam, in the spirit of the noble nation, passionate patriotism and a heart that loves people dearly. He traveled around the country and abroad, strived, sacrificed his whole body, looking for the way of revolution; to build and develop revolutionary organizations, and to carry out revolutionary fighting methods to realize that purpose and ideals. Therefore, Phan Boi Chau was considered by Ho Chi Minh: “a hero, an angel, who gave his life for independence, was worshiped by twenty million people in the circle” (Minh , 2000, vol. 2, , p.172).

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