**TRANSFORMATION OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGY IN VIETNAM IN THE LATE 19TH CENTURY AND THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY**

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**Abstract**

The transformation of political ideology in the late 19th century and the early 20th century in Vietnam is a new development of national thought. It not only expressed and promoted the spirit of autonomy, and self-strengthening in the Vietnamese tradition, but also met the needs of the country's reality. This has urged political ideologist ideologists to study, explore and outline the progressive thought that contribute to the transformation of feudal ideology into bourgeois democracy. It is the ideology of self-autonomy, self-stengthening, democratic thought. Although these ideologies are still at an early level, not yet completed and heavy in feudal nature, they contain the origin of bourgeois democratic ideology. In this article we will focus on clarifying some contents, such as: the causes of political thought transformation; the content of transformation; and ways and methods of transformation.

***Keywords:*** *transformation; political ideology; monarchy; bourgeois democracy; ideologist.*

**Introduction**

At the end of the 19th century, Vietnam was still a feudal Dynasty, a backward country and Confucianism was the dominant ideology. The Nguyen Dynasty court which used the policy of favouring agriculture and suppressing trade caused an increasingly serious crisis. The Nguyen family was also aware of its weaknesses, fearing that the West would annex power, therefore they advocated closing border. Such trade-restricting policies not only affect the development of the commodity economy, but also create conflicts in society. French colonists began to attack Vietnam in the early days of May 9 – 1858 at Son Tra island, Da Nang city. The Vietnamese people entered an unbalanced war until 06 June1884, the Nguyen Dynasty was forced to sign the Patenotre Treaty to cede control and protection rights to French colonialists throughout Vietnam. After that Treaty, the French colonists continued to gradually apply the policy of domination in the North, Central and Southern region. Power in the three regions shifted to the French colonial government. The Vietnamese were used to implement the strategy of “using Vietnamese people tp rule Vietnamese people” under the governance of French colonialists. By the 20s of the 20th century, the French colonists had set up the system of the colonial administration on the territory of Vietnam. The feudal regime actually entered the path of irretrievable decline, which became a shadow behind the colonial political regime.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, the patriotic movement took place against the French colonialists and the feudal class was very strong, such as: Can Vuong Movement (1885 -1886) with the typical revolution of Bai Say (1883 - 1892) of Nguyen Thien Thuat, Ba Dinh Revolution (1866 - 1887) by Pham Banh and Dinh Cong Trang, Huong Khe Revolution (1885 - 1895) by Phan Dinh Phung; Yen The Movement (1883 - 1913) led by De Tham; the religiously peasant Movement in the South againsted feudal colonization. Revolution movements have aroused the patriotic spirit of the Vietnamese people to create a heroic trend against foreign invasion and feudalism. Then there was the revolutionary movement such as the bourgeois democratic revolutionary movement of Phan Boi Chau with violent armed tendencies, of Phan Chau Trinh with nonviolent trend. In addition, the struggles of the bourgeoisie, and petty bourgeois in the fields of economy, politics, culture, ideology. In 1919, there was a boycott againsted the Chinese bourgeoisie, the movement to fight against the monopoly of Saigon Port (1923), the movement fought on the press forum for freedom, democracy, propagating some progressive Western thought. Between 1920 and 1925, 25 strikes broke out, these revolutions increasingly demonstrated its level of organization and self-discipline. The conflict from these revolutions has affected the thinking of ideologists from a practical point of view. Some thinkers have proposed new, progressive ideology, reflecting the complex nature of Vietnamese social life at this stage.

**2. Theoretical basis**

Political transition (Chandranegara, I. S. 2019); (Verjee, A. 2021); (Paixão, C. 2021); (Costalli, S., & Moro, F. N. 2019); (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J., & Ruhanya, P. 2020) is the process of transition from one political form or model of power to a new one. Political transitions are often accompanied by changes in political structures, political systems, and power relations within a country or region (Wang, X., & Lo, K. 2021); (Goldstone, J. A., Grinin, L., & Korotayev, A. 2022); (Mattioli, G., et al. 2020); (Paterson, M. 2020); (Scoones, I., et al. 2020). Political transitions can occur at many different levels, from small changes in the way policies are decided and implemented to major upheavals such as changes in political regimes or political organization. Transition from a centralized political dictatorship or monarchy to a form of democracy (Gerring, J., et al. 2021); (Anckar, C., & Fredriksson, C. 2019); (Tridimas, G. 2021), this transformation involves citizen participation and influence in the policy decision process. Transitions often include increasing the power of citizens in policy making and decision-making processes. The electoral system will replace the hereditary system. This change ensures transparency, fairness and citizens have the right to participate. In our opinion, political transition is an inevitable rule of society; this transition can take place actively or passively.

Research on changing passive political ideology (Franchi, S. 2004); (Haraway, D. 2013); (Thomas, P. D. 2013); (Almahameed, Y. S., et al. 2022). Researchers believe that this is a form in which politicians focus on clarifying values influenced by social, cultural, and economic factors on the political ideology of a community. Changes in social structure, including population changes, cultural diversity, and shifts in social values, can influence a community's political ideology (Sullivan, C. T. 2020 ); (Zlolniski, C. 2019); (Lipsitz, G. 2023); (Arvin, M., Tuck, E., & Morrill, A. 2020); (Frederiksen, T. 2019). Scientists have also mentioned that changes in the economic situation can affect people's political views (Chan, Y. L. L. 2021); (Willis, R., Curato, N., & Smith, G. 2022). Studies also show that unemployment, poverty and loss of sovereignty of a society are some of the causes leading to changes in political ideology. The developments of social history can create a lasting impact on the political ideology of a community or nation. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the Vietnamese people faced the process of colonization and loss of independence, which may have created thoughts of opposition and desire for freedom. This process had a strong impact on thinkers and they initially learned about democracy passively. However, through the process of researching democracy in developed countries, they have begun to approach it and gradually become proactive, this process has had a strong impact on the Vietnamese people.

Research on political transformation in a proactive form such as (Lokšová, T., & Batista, L. G. 2021); (Novalia, W., & Malekpour, S. 2020); (Jolly, S., Cooper, J. N., & Kluch, Y. 2021); (Kutlay, M., & Öniş, Z. 2021); (Long, Z., et al. 2020), refers to the process of changing power and social structure with active participation from groups, organizations, or individuals in society. In this context, political transformation is understood as political participants proactively accessing new knowledge to promote the transformation process. This initiative involves the participation of the community, including social classes, social organizations and target groups. These groups can actively work to change politics in the direction they desire. Being proactive often involves changing mindsets and public consciousness. Education and information strategies can be used to create awareness and understanding of political and social issues. Being proactive often comes with confrontation and challenges to the existing political system.

​The political transformation in Vietnam in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was often associated with reform. Innovation and reform are cognitive perspectives and measures taken to address practical requirements with clear goals, specific programs and requirements to be completed within a certain time. Reform is the renewal of political and social affairs. Reform - a term that can be used in philosophy, politics, economics, administration, etc., but is often used in specific fields, such as economic reform, educational reform or cultural reform. Reform is different from reform, but if we use the term reform instead of the concept of innovation, it needs to be understood in a broader, more comprehensive scope. Reform can be understood as a major adjustment to the economic, political, and cultural structure of society. Therefore, innovation will create changes that are more systematic, on a broader scale, deeper and more radical in level. Innovation and reform in some cases can lead to changes in thinking as well as development orientation. The basic similarity between innovation and innovation is initiative and change. However, innovation and reform are different from innovation in that it can create unexpected consequences. Therefore, innovation and reform can only be carried out through thorough research and consideration of goals, measures, consequences... and politics, thinkers need to have enough intelligence, bravery, and confidence to implement, be brave enough to accept the cost, as well as overcome the consequences. Philosophically, innovation is also different from revolution in nature and extent. Talking about revolution is talking about the radical breakdown of the social system, thanks to which a different socio-economic form prevails. As for reform, it is also a progressive change in the whole society or each sector of society without changing the nature of the regime. It takes place within the scope and framework of a socio-economic form, a regime, without eliminating this regime and replacing it with another regime. Thus, it can be seen that social revolution has a deeper and more extensive scale, more drastic and radical nature than innovation and reform. Innovation and reform are programs and measures for people to proactively influence the process of life to promote a rhythm of development in accordance with the laws of reality. The goal of innovation and reform is for development, for progressive states of life, for people.

**Research methods**

The study of the transformation of political ideology in Vietnam at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century requires a combination of historical research methods, political science and social studies.

Approaching history is important for understanding context, the causes and results of the transformation of political ideology in Vietnam in the late 19th century and early 20th century. The basis of this research is using historical sources as political documents, the record of events and literary works of the late 19th century early 20th century.

Social research methods are used to learn about the influence of society and culture on political ideology to analyze changes in social structure, social classes and the relationship between them.

The impact of economic and social factors on the transformation of political ideology are studied. Economic development, class divisions, and social challenges could play an important role in this process.

The article uses analytical and synthetic methods to clarify issues such as origin, nature of the transformation of political ideology in Vietnam in the late 19th century and early 20th century.

**Research question**

To carry out the research, we reach out the following research questions:

- Why was there a transformation of political ideology at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century in Vietnam?

- In what way is this transformation taking place?

- What is the purpose of this transformation?

**Results**

**1. The emergence of national liberation movements in Vietnam at the end of the 19th century early 20th century**

In the development history of Vietnamese society, the process of formation and development of the nation has always been associated with the struggle against external forces of aggression to obtain and ensure the independence, national sovereignty. Therefore, independence, autonomy and self-strengthening are considered the most important content in the process of establisment and development of the Vietnamese.

Autonomous independence, self-strengthening are two different categories but there is a close relationship between them. If each nation and its people want independence need power, they need to have power; they need to have self-autonomy, self-strengthening to gain the power; the self-strengthening must be based on the principle of independence, self-autonomy. That is, we must rely on the strength of our nation to solve the work, build and protect our country, not relying on foreign help. Therefore, self-autonomy and self-strengthening play a key role in the field of politics and international relations of all nations and peoples, at the same time, it reflects the influence and strength of a nation, a country.

Ideologists have recognized the causes of the country once again losing its sovereignty, and they argue that the spirit of independence, self-strengthening of the Vietnamese needs to be raised. On that basis, political thinkers in Vietnam at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century affirmed the importance of the spirit of independence, autonomy, and self-strengthening in the struggle for national liberation. Dang Huy Tru (1825-1874) was well aware that the immediate purpose of reform was to drive out the invading enemy. He said that, “in the world, the humiliation is not being human” (Tra Linh Group 1990, pp.438). One must first liberate the nation to be achieved likey other countries. To liberate, “using self-strengthening, autonomous, gradual recovery is the best policy (Tra Linh Group 1990, pp.436). Nguyen Lo Trach (1853 - 1895) did not agree with the ideology of war; however, he harshly criticized the ideology of unconditional peace of the King of Nguyen Dynasty.

He said that in the situation where the country is weak in all aspects, there should be peace to have conditions and take time to nurture the people, he said, build up the army modernization force, wait for the opportunity to fight to turn the circumstance to win in the end. He wrote: “There is no other way to do this than to negotiate peace, taking the peace negotiation as a temporary power can be possible even if I am very stupid, I know it is not a good idea to rely on it as a long-term plan” (Mai Cao Chuong, Doan Le Giang 1995, Pp. 88). He affirms “the present world is weak, complicated, complex, very difficult to do, but if the Majesty is sincere in adjusting, encouraging and natural talent, it is not like there is no longer a chance to do it; if we don’t take action, our weakness will become increasingly serious” (Mai Cao Chuong, Doan Le Giang 1995, Pp. 90). With sharp and argumentative opinion, he directly criticized the erroneous path and cowardly, peaceful attitude of the Nguyen Dynasty. Pham Phu Thu (1821 – 1882) also shared the same view with Dang Huy Tru, Nguyen Lo Trach, he specified “ for about twenty years, he said, it should wait for a good opportunity to size, then all the land is our land, the people are our people; it is peacefully both interior and exterior, no cracks ” (Tran Van Giau 1996, Pp. 449). In order to make Vietnam's influence and position elevated, it is necessary to raise the spirit of national unity. Building a spirit of national unity is necessary to develop in all aspects, but the most important is still to build the economy, gather food supplies. After making the country rich, it must devote all its influence to regain independence for the nation. Nguyen Truong To (1830 – 1871) with erudite knowledge, extensive scientific thinking, thoroughly analyzed specific proposals and agreed basic views on the relationship between the country's reform, national self-strengthening and protecting the country. He made his point: “Currently, our most urgent thing is to first keep what is not lost, the attempt to recover six provinces is the following. To keep what is not lost, you have to rush to widen communication; to recover six provinces, we must urgently to take advantage of the opportunity to reform; this is the basic for recovery and preservation” (Truong Ba Can, 2002, pp. 464). Nguyen Truong To recognized the development of the country which depends on the strength of the economy. In order to develop our economy, we must have the capital to exploit the available resources. This requires us to end the closure, to insist on opening the door, not to close it. He saw the power of Western industrial civilization, namely France, therefore, it is necessary to take advantage of the opening to allow countries to enter into trade, investment and exploit the available potential to enrich the country. He was in direct contact with Western civilization, he was aware of the most fundamental and decisive conflict to the stability, the development of a country is an economic-social conflict.

It can be understood that the spirit of independence, self-autonomy, self-strengthening of ideologists is a solution to the renaissance of the country, in particular, it is necessary to rely on the strength of the Vietnamese people themselves, and at the same time combined with the achievements of human civilization, in order to liberate the nation, develop the country. Derived from the spirit of independence self-autonomy, self-strengthening, Vietnam innovative ideologists of the late 19th century early 20th century determined the first task, the immediate urgent purpose to be done is to strengthen internal strength, enlist external influence. After traveling to Huong Cang Port in 1865 and 1867 until 1868, Dang Huy Tru was interested in finding ways to open up work, acquiring Western technology to build the country and fight the enemy. According to Dang Huy Tru, it is necessary to develop economically to enrich the country in order to be able to self-rule. He has raised major undertakings: establishing mechanical department, opening iron and steel factories, casting guns, forming a fleet of ships, military training for valor, setting up vocational training, inviting the West educators to teach languages, texts, mathematics, graphics, techniques, sending young people to study abroad…to have the necessary knowledge for the use and manufacture of modern technical machinery for the purpose of self-autonomy. Dang Huy Tru was particularly interested in education, education is not just in forming a person's personality, to be a human, it also plays a great role in society; one of the reasons Vietnam became the subject of French colonial invasion was due to the education of Vietnam at that time in the state of conservative lapses posterity makes people weak, feeble, not against the power of the invaders. Therefore, there must be talent that meets the requirements of history and society to liberate the nation. In addition, he said that It must not only develop the economy to gain self-strengthening, the military of the country must also be self-strengthening in the matter of giving the people the will and encouragement to strive and fight, therefore, it should be strictly punished superstitious activities which affect the will, emotion, belief of the people, cause a sense of reliance on the people, and, expect to beg the superhuman forces outside without promoting “Self-strengthening” to work, to make wealth for the family and society itself.

The same view with Dang Huy Tru is Nguyen Lo Trach, to deal with the difficult extreme situation, he proposed positive ways of a lifesaving nature such as relying on dangerous and weak terrain to maintain water origin, accumulating money, rice to get enough food, training soldier with weapons to have enough military force, learning techniques to fight invaders, widening network to have support…on the principle of self-strengthening, it must be innovated: innovation is to be enough self-strengthening. He wrote: “the worrying thing of the people is not its weakness but in the absence of self-strengthening. But we have tried our best “self-strengthening”, if the time changes, we will be worried about not being able to reform in time (Mai Cao Chuong, Doan Le Giang 1995, Pp. 132). The strategy policy which is throughout his statement: “the great world today only has two ways “autonomy” and “ask for reinforcement”; in the policy of “autonomy”, if the only way abandoning the policy of “ask for reinforcement”, there are no other ways” (Mai Cao Chuong, Doan Le Giang 1995, Pp. 135). Nguyen Lo Trach always emphasizes self-autonomy, self-strengthening, taking it as a strong foundation, he said, then supplement it with a foreign reinforcement, not just rely on foreign assistance

Nguyen Lo Trach paid attention to political - educational issues. He said: “The loss of a country is due to politics - education, not to strength or weak, big or small”. To strengthen the country, it needs to “re-adjusting and reappointing politics - education on the basis of making the country increasingly rich and poerful. The rich and powerful country is “the lives of the people is more and more good, the border is more and more reinforced, a plan to defeat the enermy can be done (Mai Cao Chuong, Doan Le Giang 1995, Pp. 99). Nguyen Lo Trach used Chinese historical evidence to map out the good, the bad in the rule of the forerunner. Thereby, following the good, limitting the bad, removing those that no longer fit the conditions of Vietnam can be done. If there is an appropriate governance policy, it will pacify the people and the nation prosperously.

According to Nguyen Lo Trach, if we want to protect the country, we need to come up with a specific course of action. First, we must find the cause of the weakness and find a solution to that cause. Nguyen Lo Trach clearly demonstrates dialectical thinking in recognizing the problem. What is the cause of Vietnaemse’s crisis and stagnation, the governors must find out the cause; at the same time, they have to find solutions to fix them. “Just like a doctor who must know the cause of the disease and treat that cause,so that the disease will go away” (Mai Cao Chuong, Doan Le Giang 1995, Pp. 142). And the basic reason that Vietnam is getting worse is because the Dynasty does not have the right political path. Although the policy of governing depends on the socio-economic conditions of each country, when it is issued, it impacts again. It is because no right political path has contributed to the stifling of the socio-economic development of Vietnam during the 19th century.

Nguyen Truong To advocated “temporary postponement with France” with the purpose of letting the country strong and people rich, then discussed the struggle. Nguyen Truong To said that in order to obtain the self-strengthening it must first revitalize the domestic economy to make the people rich. During the ten years he sent Tu Duc King many economic statements and raised specific ways to develop agricultural and commercial industries.

Regarding finding a way for making people rich and the country strong, he said that it is impossible to close the border, “I watch all countries in the world from the past to the present, countries that have long-term autonomy, is due to two conditions: rich and powerful. To be rich and powerful, it should begin with the expansion of land to make crowded people, trading and exchanging with other countries. Thenwe uses knindness and faireness to interact with other countries that make themselves and the people who both benefits, he said, leaving this way there are no other paths (Truong Ba Can 2002, Pp. 484). At the same time, it is necessary to rely on the strengths of the country, the Vietnamese to open the border to exchange widely to catch up with other countries. Nguyen Truong Toy believes that if the Vietnamese are determined to adjust the old habits, think of ways to benefit the public, to benefit the private, the Vietnamese can rise up with other countries people and pass other countries, thyen no countries in the world dare to despise us.

On the basis of identifying the world situation and comparing forces between our country and France at that time, Nguyen Truong To has advocated a side of temporary postponement, temporary concession with France, on the other hand, it should set up relations with the people of other countries, to make a plan of Innovation. In the statement “The plan to make the people rich and strong” wrote in 1864, he clearly formulated the goal of the renovation: “This way is not only against France but be aware of the world. It is thought that this plan is too annoying and slow. It means that we are not aware that doin grat work requires hundreds of years os struggle. We cannot do it in just one breath (Truong Ba Can, 2002, Pp.151).

In the concept of Nguyen Truong To, the United States is an ideal model for weak peoples using temporarily postponment policy to develop: “Because I have learned all their wisdom and then take our existing intelligence and add it to the intelligence, we bouth from them. Land is our land, we borrow their cunning that grow older and older to combine with our cunning which is new and young. If we use two minds to defeat one, how can we not win? (Truong Ba Can, 2002, Pp. 394). That view expresses his true national spirit and is an expression of national self-autonomy, national self-strengthening of Vietnam in the second half of the 19th century.

Deriving from the historical situation of Vietnam at that time set the task mainly among Vietnamese ideologists in general, the innovated Vietnamese ideologists in particular had to resolve the fundamental conflict of the Vietnamese people with the invading French colonialists. Along with the movement against the French colonial invasion, the emergence of the neo-Vietnamese ideology at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was not outside the goal of expelling, the French colonialists. However, due to Vietnam's perception, weakness and strength of Vietnam’s perception in all aspects, the Vietnamese innovation need to strengthen national strength, to fully promote the internal sources of the country, combine with the scientific achievements of the new human civilization, in order to drive out the French invasion, gain independence for the country. On that basis, the position of a country, in its relationship with other nations and people, are affirmed.

**2. Tranformation from monarchy to democracy in the late 19th century and early 20th century in Vietnam**

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century in Vietnam, there was a strong shift from monarchy to democracy. However, this transformation demonstrates the specificity, diversity and richness due to the historical conditions of Vietnamese society and the perception of each ideologist. Through our research, we found that most ideologists are all bourgeois democratic. However, under a different lens, each thinker has its own characteristics when it comes to democracy.

Phan Boi Chau made a breakthrough in Confucian ideology, he initially recognized that it was necessary to innovate, reform the ideology, then, when he did revolutionary activities abroad, he was influenced by bourgeois democracy, so he turned to the idea of bourgeois democracy. This change is completely in line with the times, reflecting the change of Vietnamese social life. 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, the political ideology of Phan Boi Chau continues to take a new step, initially approaching the proletarian revolution. However, this movement was not successful because he was arrested in Hue, ended his life of revolutionary activity! Thus, Phan Boi Chau is typical for the transition from monarchy to bourgeois democracy and closer to Marxism-Leninism.

Phan Boi Chau’s concept is about a new social regime expressed in his work, Innovative Vietnam. In particular, the new social regime is a regime where civil rights are equal. Political power is held by the great governors, it has a strong military, has extensive international relations, people are equal, governors are elected by the people and are organized into three houses: the senate, the central house, the lower house.

In this work, the ideology of an elected political model which replaces the tyrannical feudal model in the hereditary style shows quite radical revolution in the thought of Phan Boi Chau. Compared with the innovative ideologists such as Nguyen Truong To, Nguyen Lo Trach, Pham Phu Thu, Dang Huy Tru; Phan Boi Chau showed superior political thinking, he did not stop at reform but replaced the monarchy with democracy. In the 1920s, as a patriot, he came to Marxism-Leninism and has not given conditions for proper perception but he has had initial perceptions of socialist regime. He wrote: “Lenin, himself, is a revolutionary strategist who has impacted the people and take the whole world to create the Lao-Nong state that the political path of the Lao-Nong State is to create out a world that has never been on the history of the past” (Phan Boi Chau. 2000, Pp. 322). He was sympathetic to the new social regime, so he wrote the work of Socialism, in which, he points out the purpose of socialism is “wanting all human beings to be free and happy” (Phan Boi Chau, 2000, Pp. 134). Proving that he had certain perceptions of socialism, but this perception stopped at the common understanding, from a moral point of view, we do not yet understand the true nature of socialism.

In the thought of Phan Boi Chau, political purposes have certain changes, increasingly clear about a better social regime. Throughout his thought, national independence, the political power belonging to the people was always promoted and prioritised by him. These are the most valuable, progressive ideology in the history of the struggle for independence of the Vietnamese people. He said that if the monarchy featured the role and the position of the King, democracy would promote the position, role and power of the people. Depending on the historical time, Phan Boi Chau identified and classified people into different classes.

Talking about the position and role of the people, Phan Boi Chau is a very innovative thinker; he identified the people with the particularly important position and role. A country with three important things is the people, land and sovereignty, in which the position of the people ranks first. Missing one of those three is not qualified to be a nation. He explained the first position of the people as follows: “Without the people, the land cannot remain, the sovereignty cannot be established:if the people survive, the country will survive; if the people die, the country will be lost” (Phan Boi Chau 2000, Pp. 68). The ideology of upholding the role of the people had an effect against the monarchy and is the opposite of the common perception of contemporary Confucians. According to Phan Boi Chau, to gain national independence, the development of the country must be based on the people; the victory of the revolution must be carried out by the people. And the water is flourishing because of the people. The revolutionary career thought is of the people, by the people, because the people are raised by Phan Boi Chau into a system of reasoning quite deep, demonstrate superiority to the views of current scholars.

According to Phan Boi Chau, to win national independence and develop the country, we must rely on the people, and the victory of the revolution must be achieved by the people, and thanks to the people, the country is prosperious. The ideology of the revolution which belongs to the people, by the people, for the people was raised by Phan Boi Chau into a quite profound theoretocal system, showed superiority over the views of innovative reformers.

From determining the role of the people, Phan Boi Chau considered the task of national independence to be the number one in order to restore the position of the people, then we talk about the monarchy or the democracy. In a letter to Phan Chau Trinh, he said that democracy theory is very progressive, it is suitable for the times but the knowledge level of our people is low compared to the European countries so it is not rushed to introduce democracy theory, it is necessary to wait for the people to realize the corrupt nature of feudalism, then it is better to propose democratic doctrine, which will be more beneficial. The fundamental problem of national revolution is not the monarchy or democracy but the affirmation of the role and position of the people.

Phan Boi Chau believed that the people have power in the social power system. The view of the people is the owners of a nation, the nation belonging to the people is a fundamental shift from monarchy to democracy, this is a very new ideology in cy political thinking, is a great step beyond the thought of the Confucian class and scholars.

Phan Boi Chau also defined the dialectical relationship between the people and the nation: if the nation no longer exists the people will also no longer exist; if the nation is lost, the rights of the people will also be lost and vice versa. According to him, national rights and civil rights are intimate relationships, not separate from each other, two sides of one unity. This is a progressive, dialectical view on relations between the nation and the people, national rights and civil rights of Phan Boi Chau.

The ideology of Phan Boi Chau on civil rights, human rights are expressed quite rich, diverse as freedom, the pursuit of happiness, male and female equality...In the ideology of Phan Boi Chau, the human rights which has been his concern is called human rights. From human rights, Phan Boi Chau has raised to citizenship or national rights. Views that demonstrate synchronicity, humanity, and deep humanity have so far been the basic criteria, our approaching goal.

In the political ideology of Phan Boi Chau, the national rights go hand in hand with the ability with the level of civil knowledge, requiring the nation to understand its rights if does not want to lose its rights. Phan Boi Chau presented the national civil rights. The right that Phan Boi Chau presented shows its logic in his mind from the discovery of the limitations of the nation to the finding of the causes of those limitations. Since then, he has proposed specific ways to raise the civil knowledge level and restore national rights, which are systematic and scientific. According to Phan Boi Chau, in order to practice democracy in Vietnam, first of all, it is necessary to improve people's knowledge level as education, this is also the right to education of citizens, first of all, the state must be guaranteed. In the democratic ideology of Phan Boi Chau, one of the most positive and progressive things is the idea of male and female equality. Phan Boi Chau was one of the first Vietnamese to advocate for equality between men and women in socio-political activities. Of the ten conscientious people he called to stand up to the enemy, women held very important positions. This is a very progressive view.

In the section on democracy, Phan Chau Trinh presented the contents: the situation of Vietnamese’s knowledge to the monarchy, democracy, history of Democracy. In the first topic, he assessed the situation of Vietnamese people's knowledge on the monarchy and democracy. In the history of democracy, Phan Chau Trinh generalized two forms of democracy in history, that was the ancient Greece slave-owner democracy and the British bourgeois democracy. To present a democratic polity, Phan Chau Trinh first came into the introduction of how to elect the lower house of parliament, senate, president “governors” then the limited right of “government”, all “are subject to the same law” under the authority of the judicial Institute.

Regarding national sovereignty and national independence, Phan Chau Trinh is a great patriot, as Phan Boi Chau, but their actions of saving the nation are not the same, especially the path of regaining sovereignty for the nation, national liberation. If Phan Boi Chau is patriotic by violent policies to regain independence, Phan Chau Trinh left, he opposed revolutionary violence and used foreign support to gain independence. He wanted to rely on the French colonial authorities to do public politics to “opening up the people’s knowledge, reviving the people’s energy, and then store the people’s lives”, to regain sovereignty for the country, obtain freedom and happiness for the people. The basic policy of Phan Chau Trinh is: “depending on French to make progress” ie based on French colonialism that assist to achieve progress, from there to defeat France in terms of economics, culture and politics.

Regarding the role of the people, Phan Chau Trinh said that in one country, the people play the most important role. The ideology the people is the master of a country, the country is the master of the people, which against the “democracy” ideology, in complete opposition to Confucian ideology, it is a fundamental shift from monarchy to democracy. This is very new in the political ideology of Phan Chau Trinh compared to the current, it was a sudden leap from feudal political ideology for thousands of years. Derived from patriotism, from mercy, the extreme destitution of the people, based on deep humanist thought, Phan Chau Trinh said, the purpose of the autonomous regime is for the people to be politically mastered, to exercise their civil rights freely, for example, basic rights: freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of thought….The democracy that Phan Chau Trinh advocated to build, is the democracy from bottom up, it means that people have the most important position and role. Raising the people’s knowledge, the people’s renaissance, the people’s prosperity, the people’s self-strengthening, civilized society, according to Phan Chau Trinh, is a guarantee of a real democracy, replacing the monarchy. Thus, democracy is associated with freedom, freedom is guaranteed by democracy. He wrote: “The people who are from a drop of blood which is ripped apart, have the same voice, in the same land where his father shed blood, sweated, shedding tears, in the same country of four thousand years to now, and is allowed to enjoy the rights in that land, to live there, die and are buried there, to be rich there, to be poor there; no one can prohibit the people to do anything” (Nguyen Van Duong, 1995, Pp.774).

To carry out its democratic policies, a very important content in the ideology of Phan Chau Trinh is the awakening of the people to understand their rights. The people who understand their rights will realize the goal of revolution. Therefore, in democratic ideology, Phan Chau Trinh emphasized the role and rights of the people, people have the right to live and enjoy the rights, to perform sacred and noble duty to the country.

In order to make the people understand their mastery, Phan Chau Trinh has actively spread the rights and role to the people. The goal is to make people aware of what he calls morality, ethics, or relations of rights and obligations of the people in the family, the nation and society. According to him, morality and ethics have developed from low to high: family morality, national ethics, social morality. The Vietnamese people are weak because there is only a limited understanding in the relations the King - Me, not knowing the relations between the nation and the people, as a result the people do not understand their rights and role. From properly recognizing the decay of the nation in the hundreds of years of feudalism, Phan Chau Trinh said that it is necessary to spread social moral ethics into the people, awakening the people to make the people understand, make the people know their rights and obligations to the country, to the people. The ideology of Phan Chau Trinh has a prominent value is to make people aware of the role of democracy. Similar to Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chau Trinh has the concept of people-to-country relations, national rights and civil rights. What should the Vietnamese revolution do for the people to understand their rights and role? According to him, first of all, it is necessary to build a new national theory, which cannot be based on the traditional authoritarian monarchy, Phan Chau Trinh said, “We must combine tradition with modernity and a nation with the world. The ethnic view of Phan Chau Trinh is practical to find the cause. This is the method of face-to-face education. The reason for the backwardness of our nation, according to Phan Chau Trinh, is mainly due to the monarchy that has made “stupid people, weak nation”.

Nguyen An Ninh who comes from Vietnamese social practices in the early 20th century, proposed the view of the political regime that, he said, best suited to Vietnamese society, that was the “democratic national regime”. Accordingly, Nguyen An Ninh views are opposed to traditional ideology “monarchy”. According to him, this era is the age of the people as the master, and the role of the King, and feudal autocracy has ended, the working people are the creative force that determines the development of history. This concept represents the inheritance of traditional conceptions of the nation and the absorption of French Enlightenment thought, especially Rousseau's thought. The existence of the king as well as the state is determined by the people, not by heaven, not to exist forever but to be able to change.

For the colonial regime, the whole nation must give its best to gain independence, freedom, freedom, and unable to wait for help from outside. A nation which wants true freedom, according to Nguyen An Ninh, must take it upon themselves, because freedom cannot be given. Nguyen An Ninh determined the national liberation, gaining freedom, have to be based on the people to liberate themselves, his thought represents a step forward compared to his revolutionary predecessors, Phan Chau Trinh had the illusion of relying on France to overthrow the feudal regime and Phan Boi Chau relied on Japan to drive out the French colonists. One of the very important things in Nguyen An Ninh thought, is that the interpretation of the fall of feudalism is to follow the rules, he said, Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chau Trinh just talked about the rotten cause cannot exist anymore, he said, not to mention the law of the destruction of a regime. His interpretation has not yet applied the principles of historical materialism, but Nguyen An Ninh considered the fall of feudalism to be inevitable under objective rules. From the denial of the monarchy, and calling on the people to stand up, to drive away the invading colonialists, Nguyen An Ninh came up with the idea of establishing a political regime to replace the colonial feudal regime. The political regime model is the “democratic country”, based on the historical traditional inheritance, national culture and the reception of progressive democratic ideology of the era. The democratic national regime is also not a novelty in the history of the nation but has a long-standing history. In this view, a democratic country is a regime in which people's rights are promoted, expanded in social management and governance. In Vietnamese society, the construction of a democratic country is conditional from the organization, social structure according to the village unit. Nguyen An Ninh did not hesitate to compare village democracy in the Vietnamese monarchy with the world's most modern democracy. In the monarchy, although power belongs to a person who is the King, but thanks to the village mechanism, the people have freedom. Thus, through the examination of democracy, the freedom of the people in democratic countries, progress in the world, as well as the traditional values of the Vietnamese people, Nguyen An Ninh found that unifying the country into a democratic country is essential, is the goal of the Vietnamese Revolution. To truly establish a democratic state, it should against the French colonialists to obtain independence, national freedom. Nguyen An Ninh also pointed out that in the monopolies of the indigenous colonists it has strangled all social power and the current monarchy is only a scarecrow. The people can use the right to vote to fight for the rightful rights of citizens to establish a democratic state.

Thus, Vietnamese democratic thought at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century by the ideologist Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chau Trinh and Nguyen An Ninh both come from the monarchy ideology. However, because they who have a deep political vision, associated with people's life, grasp the historical practical requirements, absorb Western culture... have criticized, negated the monarchy ideology. Those ideologists were basically trained in Confucian education, although they can then be trained and learn more knowledge from other sources, but Confucianism remained the dominant cultural element of their political thought. Phan Boi Chau exposed Japanese culture, Phan Chau Trinh exposed French culture, Nguyen An Ninh studied in a university of Western civilization, but in their political ideology, they are still influenced by Eastern culture, the core is Confucianism, so despite the fact that the political thought of Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chau Trinh, Nguyen An Ninh based on a bourgeois democratic stance, their ideologies are not completely rid of the influence of Confucian ideology. When presenting their ideas, Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chau Trinh, Nguyen An Ninh often put forward the principles of Confucianism as a basis, on that basis, they presented civil rights and democracy. For example, Phan Chau Trinh said that the bourgeois democracy of the West is really the implementation of Khong Minh ideology. Bourgeois democratic tideology in Vietnam at this stage demonstrates the diversity, richness, dynamism and creativity of Vietnamese political thinking. Bourgeois democratic ideology of Vietnam has its own nuances of a colonial nation, half feudal, in which bourgeois class was set up after the working class and not taking the leading position in society. The bourgeois democratic revolution under the leadership of the bourgeois patriot, as well as the ideology of bourgeois democracy in Vietnam which are completely different from that of Western countries.

**Discussion**

At the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, Vietnam experienced a period of turbulent history. This transformation not only reflected resistance and protest the French colonialists but also represented the diversity and richness of political ideologies in the Vietnamese community.

French colonial rule hasposed many challenges to political ideology in Vietnam. France invaders sought to bring about a comprehensive change during his invading time. However, facing with its suppression, the Vietnamese did not tolerate but they strongly resisted, this contributing to the creation of political diversity of ideologies. In the late 19th century and early 20th century, patriots like Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chu Trinh proposed replacing monarchy with democratic ideas. They aim for an independent and fair Vietnam, based on the principles of democracy and human rights. These movements have been heavily influenced by ideologies developed in Europe and the United States.

Facing with challenges, many patriotic movements broke out in protest against the French colonial rule. These movements are not only limited to the military but also expressed through the presentation of strong political views and opinions. The transformation of political ideology in Vietnam at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century is not only a complex process but also a source of encouragement for the national unity. The transformation of political ideology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Vietnam was a part of the history of building patriotism and ideology. These experiences play an important role in the establishment and political development of the nation and posing challenges and opportunities for the future.

The transformation of political ideology in this period has shown the strength and resilience of the Vietnamese national spirit in the context of challenges. It not only impacts the past but also contributes significantly to the foundation of Vietnamese history and national cultural identity.

**Conclusion**

In the period of the late 19th century and early 20th century, the historical situation of the world has many factors that strongly affected the idea of political innovation in Vietnam at this stage. This lively practice has questioned the Vietnamese people in general and politicians in particular what revolutionary path to protect national independence, develop the nation to keep up with other countries in the region. In this national historical context, it raises a big question: What path should our nation choose and what must we do to both absorb the new things, eliminating backwardness and conservatism while still maintaining national independence? Facing with the urgent demand of history, political ideologists have made political reforms to strenghen themselves and be strong enough to resist the invasion of the French colonialists to obtain independence for the nation. This movement is the replacement of the outdated feudal ideology with a bourgeois democratic ideology. This is a fundamental, long-term, difficult and extremely complex transformation for ideologists. Their political ideology focuses on the important content of national self-strengthening, raising people's knowledge, fostering people's strength, spreading the ideology of democracy and civil rights; national independence is the supreme goal with the spirit of “remaining constant, responding to all changes". The content of bourgeois democratic ideology by the ideologists has made an important change on the ideological level.

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