

Phan Chu Trinh's Ideology on National Self

Vo Van Dung¹, Dinh Thanh Tung² and Phung Thi An Na³

Abstract

Phan Chu Trinh is a famous Vietnamese intellectual in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He believed that national self-strengthening is the decisive factor for the existence and the development of a nation. He emphasized that the spirit of national autonomy and national solidarity is considered as a weapon against oppression, to protect the national culture and identity. Phan Chu Trinh had searched for a new moral foundation for the nation based on the combination of East and West. He believed that it was necessary to expand the people's knowledge, revive the people's morale, and restore the people's livelihood in order to strengthen the national self-strengthening. His ideology had expressed a strong desire for national patriotic tradition, a sense of national independence and national self-strengthening. His contribution is not only to the Vietnamese but also to the expanding impact on the world political philosophy. In this article, we will clarify the Phan Chu Trinh's ideology on national self-strengthening and his contribution to the world political philosophy.

Keywords: *Self-Strengthening, Nation, Political Philosophy, World*

INTRODUCTION

Along with the movement of national history and social practice, there is the movement of forms of social consciousness, including the movement of different ideological trends. In the period of the late 19th and early 20th centuries there was a turbulent period of history in Vietnam, the invasion of the French colonialists and the decline of the Nguyen Dynasty which turned Vietnam from an independent country into a semi-feudal colonial country. Responding to the demands of history, ideologist, politicians, patriotic scholars, revolutionaries have actively researched, discovered, and tested the path toward national salvation. Although they share a different historical mission, ideologists have proposed ideological pathway of struggle for national liberation in different trends. The bourgeois democratic trend was one of the typical trends at that time. Similarly to other patriotic scholars, Phan Chu Trinh (1872- 1926) was a famous Vietnamese ideologist and politician, he proposed his views on national self-strengthening, focusing on improving position and strength of the community. Research on this ideology helps to have better understand the important perspective of the national factor in political philosophy. With passionate patriotism, he contributed to raising the national spirit by his system of political ideology.

During his life of revolutionary activities, Phan Chu Trinh left us many deeply valuable ideologies such as "Ethics and morality from the East and West", about the people's enlightenment, "fostering the people's knowledge" and " the people's livelihood" marks a great progress compared to previous traditional ideas. To this day, Phan Chu Trinh's ideology of national self- strengthening still remains valid. To make a country develop, it is necessary to build, consolidate and develop the nation's bravery. The sense of national independence and self- strengthening needs to be preserved and fostered, which will create the basis for each nation to proactively integrate with the world. The sense of national self-strengthening must be synchronized in all fields to ensure sustainable development. Besides building a sense of national self- strengthening, promoting the strength of national unity is extremely important. Developing countries, including Vietnam,

¹ University of Khanh Hoa, No. 01 Nguyen Chanh street, Loc Tho Ward, Nha Trang City, Khanh Hoa, Vietnam. Email: vovandung@ukh.edu.vn, Phone: +84 948666159. <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8137-6939>

² Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics Address: 135 Nguyen Phong Sac - Nghia Tan - Cau Giay - Ha Noi. Email: thanhtungp@gmail.com, Phone: +84915448339, <https://orcid.org/0009-0002-9321-3904>

³ Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics Address: 135 Nguyen Phong Sac - Nghia Tan - Cau Giay - Ha Noi. Email: Phunganna81@gmail.com, Phone: +84 345112012. <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-9569-8272>

must wage a very difficult and complicated struggle to escape poverty and backwardness, against hostile forces to protect national independence and national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Theoretical Basis

On the origins of nationalism (Mylonas, H., & Tudor, M. 2021); (Wimmer, A. 2019); (Fetzer, T. 2020); (Linz, J. J. 2020); (Bonikowski, B. 2016) has been mentioned by researchers and given many different views. According to Eastern researchers, nationalism originated in Japan and was widely used by thinkers in Vietnam in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, some other opinions say that nationalism appeared during the Renaissance and the Enlightenment period (Kohn, H. 1938); (Duara, P. 2021). Up to now, researchers on nationalism still do not have a consensus on its origin. So what is nationalism? According to (Hechter, M. 2000) nationalism is the collective action of making national borders coincide with the governance of that country. (Calhoun, C. 2017) believes that nationalism is not just a doctrine, but more than a way of exchanging, thinking and acting. (Smith, A. D. 2000) commented, nationalism is a type of culture, including ideas, language, myths, symbols, and consciousness in correlation with the world. (Calhoun, C. 1993) synthesizes views on nationalism and emphasizes that this ideology became popular in 1815 and this was the time of strong development of the movement for national independence. (Eriksen, T. H. 1993); (Eriksen, T. H. 2007) argues that nationalism originates from political principles, such as emotions or movements. (Beissinger, M. R. 1996) emphasizes, of course, nationalism in Germany in the 19th century; twentieth-century Arab nationalism; New nationalism appeared in the anti-colonial movement; Nationalism in East Asia will be completely different. (Hechter, M. 2000) has proposed three basic types of nationalism: State nationalism; Peripheral nationalism; Irredentist nationalism; Unification nationalism. Based on the theory of ethnic Cleansing (Ahmed, R. Q., & Khan, R. 2022), it has been emphasized that in the process of national development, two types of nationalism and exclusive nationalism have been formed: inclusive nationalism and exclusive nationalism. (Brown, D. 2003) said that nationalism in Southeast Asia has assumed that these countries all have nuclear ethnic groups, with the role of creating the nation. Core ethnic groups are associated with a cultural role, and usually have the largest populations, while ethnic minorities usually have smaller populations. Inheriting the above viewpoints, we believe that a nation is a stable community of people with a common origin, culture, history, living together in the same territory and sharing the same interests and obligations.

Self-reliance (Keizer, A. G., et al. 2019); (Krause, U., & Schmidt, H. 2020); (Skran, C., & Easton-Calabria, E. 2020) is a form used to talk about an individual, organization or country that is capable of being independent and self-reliant in many different fields. Self-reliance often comes with the ability to self-manage, make independent decisions, and handle challenges without depending on outside help. From a personal perspective, self-reliance is used to describe the ability to be independent in decisions and actions. At the organizational level, self-reliance is often related to financial capacity and autonomy in management decisions. At the national level, national self-reliance often includes the ability to defend oneself, propose and implement foreign policy, and sustainable development in the economy. We believe that self-reliance does not mean isolation, but it can be placed in relationships, cooperation and communication with the international community. However, internal strength is still an important and decisive factor.

National self-reliance (Eder, J. 2023); (Hall, K., & Blake, B. 2019); (Matseketsa, B. B., & Mhlanga, J. 2020) refers to the autonomy of a country or people in all areas. National self-reliance means making oneself stronger, not being inferior to other people or other peoples. In other words, national self-reliance means taking care of one's own affairs and building strength for the nation without depending on other nations. Every nation has self-respect, will and desire to rise. National self-strength can simultaneously demonstrate the will and capacity of the nation. In particular, the self-reliance of each individual will make an important contribution to the formation of self-reliance and self-reliance of the nation.

Studies say that, between national self-reliance and the growth of the country (Nwoke, C. N. 2020); (Chacko, P. 2021); (Gross, J., & Böhm, R. 2020); (Smith, R. E. 2021) are closely related, in which national self-reliance is the source of development. National self-reliance comes from pride in history and culture (Allifiansyah, S. 2023); (Hutagalung, H., et al. 2022); (Weldetsion, G. G. 2023); (Nuriadi, N., & Melani, B. Z. 2021) and it will become material when it penetrates the masses. It is clear that the spirit of national self-reliance is the driving

force for comprehensive economic and social development. Research also shows that national self-reliance plays an important role in maintaining unity, reducing conflicts and strengthening internal strength. National self-reliance is an important factor in the national development process, but needs to be combined with openness and international cooperation to ensure sustainable and positive development.

Research Method

This paper studies a historical figure and ideologists of Vietnamese ideology from a historical person - ideologist, so it is close to the basic methodological principles of historical philosophy. In order to obtain the purpose and task of research well, the article must be rigorous in history, that is, comprehensive, multidimensional and historical in research, under the historical conditions that the nation was oppressed and exploited by colonialism and feudalism and the proletarian revolution has not yet succeeded, Phan Chu Trinh's views should be examined from different angles and in specific time and space.

This paper uses historical methods to understand the conditions for the formation of ideologies and examines and evaluates Phan Chu Trinh 's views and thoughts according to specific historical conditions. Relying on historical methods to examine events and topics raised by research questions. On the basis of historical data, the movement and development law of opinions and ideologies are obtained.

The research team will be faithful to the text of the literary to understand and study scientific research. At the same time, studying the origin of the text, comparing the text are analyzed and clarify Phan Chu Trinh 's ideological content in various historical stages.

The research team will collect books, newspapers, magazines and other materials about Phan Chu Trinh 's ideology inside and outside the country, and then his archives and his document. Then, the group will classify the literature resources for use in the subject research process.

In this way, this paper analyzes the origin, essence and ideologies of Phan Chu Trinh's philosophy, politics, religion, culture and science. On this basis, it summarizes the conclusion of Phan Chu Trinh 's thought.

There are many controversial views in the research on special historical figures. Phan Chu Trinh is just a patriot, a revolutionary, a ideologist and a philosopher. Therefore, the article also adopts the method of group discussion to get an objective evaluation and judgment.

Research Questions

In order to study Phan Chu Trinh 's ideological theme of national self-strengthening-a great contribution to world political philosophy, we put forward the following three questions:

- Why does Phan Chu Trinh emphasize the role of national self-strengthening in national development?
- What is Phan Chu Trinh 's goal in promoting national self- strengthening?
- What is the main content of Phan Chu Trinh 's self-strengthening ideology? How do these contents integrate into the political philosophy of Vietnam and the world?

FINDINGS

To Strengthen The Nation, We Must Foster The People's Knowledge.

Faced with this situation, education in Vietnam is still greatly influenced by Confucianism. Confucianism advocates importance to morality, ignoring wisdom, and governors, it is necessary to have morality, to have morality for the people, to have morality for sympathy with heaven and earth, and to have good weather. Confucianism not only teaches morality, but also natural science. The main materials for teaching and learning are the four books, the five classics and the teachings of saints. This led to the content and method of learning, and the examination was very empty, which was no longer suitable for the times. Confucianism is no longer suitable to explain the new phenomena in social life. On the other hand, in the court, governors forget the pain of dehydration, so people like him feel small compared to the nation's fortune.

After the French invasion, a new culture-Western Europe, like a "soft wind", blew into Vietnam, forming a new air flow of life. However, France clearly saw that it was education at that time that made it easier for them to govern. In order to overcome this situation, Phan Chu Trinh believes that it is necessary to foster the people's knowledge. Enlightening people's knowledge is to broaden people's hearts, improve people's knowledge and knowledge, fostering talents by gorgonizing schools and colleges in new ways, pay attention to scientific and technological knowledge, eliminate depraved customs, resist superstitions. Establishing progressive education and culture, and educating qualified people are to adapt to civilized life; in the end, the Vietnamese people will have enough strength to persuade the French colonists to hand over their autonomy to us. On the one hand, Phan Chu Trinh opposed Confucianism, on the other hand, he vigorously promoted Mandarin, set up schools to teach practical knowledge, eliminated depraved customs, publicized with poems and newspapers, and popularized bourgeois democratic ideologies the people. Once the "the people's knowledge" is opened, new conditions will be created in the struggle for national independence.

Different from other revolutionaries, Phan Chu Trinh realized the root cause of Vietnam's invasion by colonists. He clearly saw, the deep-seated reason of social and cultural backwardness in our society compared with the West, which lose our country. To save the country, we must bridge the gap between people's knowledge, transform our own nation and bring it to a innovative era. He advocated innovation by opening schools, teaching by talents, and using various forms of poems, books and newspaper speeches to open up wisdom and awaken people's hearts. To be enlightened, Phan Chu Trinh defined that all people and all genders must learn and learn all the civilizations of other nations. He admires the scientific achievements that developed countries have brought to mankind. To be self-autonomy and self-strengthening, we should learn things well, know their own shortcomings and in order to apply them to the development and opening up of the people's knowledge, so we should learn foreign languages, especially French and French letters. This is one of his progressive ideology.

In order to open people's knowledges, Phan Chu Trinh believes that we should learn in a practical and fundamental way to serve the "people's livelihood" life, rather than learning the mediocre and frivolous poems of the previous generations. The content of his study is brand-new and comprehensive, such as literature, mathematics, engineering, economy, morality, social management, military and so on. He paid attention to develop historical philosophy.

Phan Chu Trinh also believes that in order to fostering the people's knowledge, we must choose the majors needed by society in order to develop the nation, liberate the country and improve people's living standards. We should combine the two activities, that is, the activities of teachers and the activities of learners. According to Phan Chu Trinh, studying is to acquiring knowledge and applying it to real life; studying is to reach the destination, to enter the essence of the circumstance.

His ideology of awakening the people's knowledge has really changed the old thinking of the nation, promoted a new and higher level of understanding, and is more in line with the development of the times. Opening the people's knowledge arouses us a new perspective, a comprehensive and the whole perspective, and a profound open concept. In particular, opening the people's knowledge is the declaration and resolute action which aimed at eliminating Confucius-Mencius ideology and outdated customs and habits that have ruled Vietnam for thousands of years, so as to establish a very progressive educational movement, that is, pragmatism.

Ideology Of Inspiring People's Spirit

Phan Chu Trinh has clearly seen that the level of Vietnamese's knowledge is still very low, and its cultural and social life still lags behind other countries in the world, especially France. Because of this, he advocated opening the people's knowledge. Because in his view, only by opening the people's knowledge can we regain autonomy and help our country get rid of the conquered and oppressed state and gradually move towards national independence. At the same time, it is necessary to inspire people's spirit, awaken patriotism, self-strengthening and self-strengthening among the people, so as to help them realize their true rights and interests and form a great unity of national unity, so as to improve morale and enhance their ability to fight against semi-feudal colonial system. Phan Chu Trinh believes that the stagnation and decline of the Vietnamese nation is not due

to its essential disadvantage, but at the beginning of history, the Vietnamese has a tradition of founding a country for thousands of years and has become a country with independence, sovereignty, cultural stability and sustainable development. When he thinks about the glory of the past, he regrets the backwardness of the country now. He strongly criticized Nguyen Dynasty as the source of blurring the atmosphere of our nation. "Kings sit idly in the palace and his life is only know how to tread on the people's neck" (Phan Chu Trinh, 2005, V 1, pp. 368). In addition, since the French colonists began to invade Vietnam and implemented many ruling policies, the people have fallen into poverty, illness and ignorance. "Phan Chu Trinh said.

"For those who are far-sighted and think carefully,

Think for myself, think about it!

Turning bad in character shouldn't have been caused by outsiders,

Once rotten meat, bugs were born! "(Phan Chu Trinh, 2005, V 1, pp. 369)

It can be seen that Phan Chu Trinh has made progress in recognizing the importance of "internal" in the process of defending and protecting the country. Therefore, in his view, if the Ruan Dynasty and the monarchy are not overthrown, the people will not realize their rights and stand up. He appealed: "We must wake up each other now, we must unite to fight against those ruthless kings, we must destroy it, we must push it down, we must seize it from the source, cut off its roots, and completely destroy the power of the devil that has plagued us for thousands of years; Otherwise, we will never see the light of the sun and the moon again! (Phan Chu Trinh, 2005, V 3, pp. 136). He asserted that the weakness of our nation is because we are not self-strengthening and unwilling to learn, and then we have lost the traditional spirit and strength of our nation for thousands of years. Phan Chu Trinh inspected the history of the country and came to the conclusion: "Historically, the Vietnamese nation is not a despicable nation, nor is it an unintelligent nation. Why is it that under the protection of more than 60 years, it is blindfolded and refuses to learn your good things?" (Phan Chu Trinh, 2005, V 3, pp. 261). According to Phan Chu Trinh, the others respect their careers, but our people like to become a mandarin; the others like venturing to distant places, like staying at home; the others accumulate small capital to get rich, but our people are unreliable as the company is dissolved as soon as it is established, the others unite with the nation, but our people they only see personal interests, regardless of race. At present, "only the Vietnamese themselves are humble, so we are suppressed" (Phan Chu Trinh, 2005, V 3, pp. 252). After realizing the advantages of France, Phan Chu Trinh clearly saw that our country was too weak and backward, and it was understandable when he advocated relying on France and "relying on France for progress". However, he still pointed out their shortcomings and the crimes they committed. Most of the policies of French colonial rule made the "spirit" of the Vietnamese increasingly weak.

Therefore, in order to overthrow the colonialists, Phan Chu Trinh believes that we must awaken national self-esteem, patriotic tradition, self-strengthening and self-autonomy, and move towards civil rights and democracy. Phan Chu Trinh vigorously publicized and inspired the people to carry forward the unity spirit of our nation. This is a long tradition of the Vietnamese people. Phan Chu Trinh redefined the patriotic concept that every people should have, that is: "The so-called nation means having land and people. Patriotism should also know the way. Looking at the causes of depravity and make up for the shortcomings; The fool wants to be smart, the victim wants to do well, the deceased wants to be alive, and the loser wants to have. Why can't I express my love? " (Phan Chu Trinh, 2005, V 3, pp. 84). It is nobody's business to arouse people's spirit, which includes intellectuals, farmers, businessmen, women and youth... The point is that Phan Chu Trinh talked about women's status and equal role in maintaining and developing society, from which social movements realized that women must fight for women's rights and equal rights. According to the law of development, a society must have a strong economy if it wants to develop. In order to do this rule, apart from improving the "spirit", Phan Chu Trinh also put forward effective measures to organize the "fostering spirit" forces into groups.

According to him, to "inspiring the people's spirit", "First of all, rely on yourself!" (Phan Chu Trinh, 2005, V 3, pp. 226), and then the Civil Rights Act. He called on everyone to fight for, use the legal protection of the government, stand up and demand the right to live and be a human for ourselves. He called on: "We should use the theory of human rights to inspire people's feelings and call on our compatriots to work together to

unite the society" (Phan Chu Trinh, 2005, V 3, pp. 355). In addition to initiating civil rights, we must also educate the people about civil rights awareness. First of all, the people are aware of their relationship with the country and national rejuvenation, and realize that they should have national qualifications, be self-strengthening, self-autonomy and self-exempt. Secondly, the ideology of civil rights must make people aware of their responsibility to stand up and take joint responsibility and their right to send representatives. The elected person must realize that he is the representative of the country. Thirdly, people can freely organize, operate, trade, spin, raise mulberry trees and farm fields, and abolish unfair oppression and exploitation of the government. Fourthly, Phan Chu Trinh has brought people the awareness of civil rights with open knowledge, such as the freedom to study, the freedom to read innovative newspapers, the elimination of backward customs and habits, and the construction of a cultural and civilized lifestyle. Fifthly, he put forward a model of the new era. They are those who dare to give up backward outlook on life, consciously and know how to exercise their rights to study, think and make a living, and hope to first let people receive education and improve their knowledge, thus inspiring people's spirit and people's livelihood.

Phan Chu Trinh has a right view. He puts the people in the highest and most sacred position. By studying civil rights and promoting democracy, he inspires their self-strengthening, self-improvement and national self-esteem. He believes that the people play a huge role in saving the country and that the revolution is the career of the people.

Phan Chu Trinh's view of fostering the people's spirit is as the flame to favor the people's spirit and the essence of the Vietnamese nation. In the process of propaganda, let people know his theory, and he skillfully uses the language that is easy to understand and closer to the Vietnamese people. He said: "We must unite and take back our legal rights. Write an article in the newspaper, express your wishes and appeal to France's humanitarian ideal. I'll feed you if you make a hullabaloo about. People must solve problems when we demand justice. Phan Chu Trinh, 2005, V 3, pp. 226). In addition, in order to "inspiring the people's spirit", Phan Chu Trinh also called on people to change their clothes, abolish depraved customs, outdated rituals and eliminate superstitions... this idea developed rapidly and had a wide influence on Vietnamese society at that time.

In this way, Phan Chu Trinh's "inspiring the people's spirit" made a great contribution to the revolutionary process of our nation at that time. Through a profound insight of Confucianism, he saw that Vietnam's "system" needs to be consolidated and really effective. He didn't forget to give it to the younger generation in the future, the future master of the country, go ahead. He said: "Modern young people, we place our hopes on you. On your way forward, the elderly and weak like me will have to follow you with sticks to avoid falling down on the road" (Phan Chu Trinh, 2005, V 3, pp. 229). It can be seen that he not only thinks about the present, but also thinks about the future of the country. He is really a man with both "heart" and "vision", a character worthy of our cherish and learning.

Post-Livelihood Ideology

Phan Chu Trinh believes that under the influence of semi-feudal colonial rule, not only the "people's knowledge" and "people's spirit" have changed, but even the "people's livelihood" itself has been deeply affected. Most people live in a poor and backward environment, and the deep reason comes from Confucianism. The purpose of Confucian education is to be an official, a senior and a person with status in society, so it does not attach importance to the development of economy, industry and commerce. All dynasties in Vietnamese history paid attention to the development of agriculture, but not to commerce. By the end of the 19th century, with the policy of "closing borders", that is, not interacting with neighboring countries and other developed countries in the world, trading and doing business, Nguyen Dynasty reiterated this concept again. Until later, when the French colonists began to invade Vietnam, the economic situation began to change obviously. However, France did not expand production forms and different economic sectors but focused on resource exploitation. The government does not teach business, its interests are not open, and it only knows how to collect more taxes again and again. Phan Chu Trinh advocates post-livelihood and is a self-strengthening national economic development through the following measures: opening up production, developing industry and commerce, organizing people to open up gardening, establishing trade associations, producing domestic

goods and domestic consumption... its purpose is to improve people's life, improve and develop people's material and spiritual life in an all-round way.

To achieve this goal, we must first remove the remnants and obstacles of the feudal system, gradually strive for national independence, and establish a strong democratic bourgeois country and a just society. Let the people carry out self-innovation through propaganda, advocate Confucianism and actively use mandarin letters. On the other hand, let people know the trend of the times and understand that Vietnam is a civilized country in essence, with a favorable geographical position and rich resources. However, the Vietnamese people do not enjoy these resources, while the country is still backward and poor, while other countries are civilized. Phan Chu Trinh believes that to develop the economy and ensure the "people's livelihood" is really effective, we must pay attention to business. Because whoever has mastered trade will have mastered the law of commodity circulation. He advocated the development of business, the establishment of shops, the opening of trade, the teaching of people with jobs, the establishment of wasteland business associations, and the development of land mining plantations. He believes that whoever wants a rich romantic life in the world, without worrying about his conscience, points out that buying and selling and farming fields are luxurious and rich, and will not commit the crime of bribing citizens. According to Phan Chu Trinh, a nation that wants to develop its economy must develop industries in order to create products for social life. From this, we can appreciate Phan Chu Trinh's understanding, because according to him, in addition to "practice" on the issue of "people's knowledge", we also need "experiments" on the issue of "people's livelihood". He noticed that our nation's commerce is still too weak to compete with Chinese businessmen with business experience. Therefore, he wrote a petition asking the protectorate government to change its policy accordingly in order to create conditions for economic development. He wrote: "The business in our country is very naive. However, assuming that French governors helps to build it, it can be developed, and it is not difficult to compete with China people. Moreover, even if it can't help to slim down, it should be treated with a fair attitude, so that our people can compete with China businessmen themselves, and even if they can't catch up, they will not lose too far. Today, this malady has become a huge force, and French officials have secretly supported Chinese people, so the business in our nation has been suppressed" (Phan Chu Trinh, 2005, V2, pp. 281).

Having been exposed to western progressive ideology for a long time and living in France, Phan Chu Trinh found that their production technology was very advanced and developed. After comparing our production technology, he expressed dissatisfaction, thinking that this may be the reason for our slow economic development and slow innovation. Therefore, to consolidate the "people's livelihood", Phan Chu Trinh suggested that people should be good at improving machinery and technology and learn from western countries in commodity production. Only when there are many and excellent commodities we can meet domestic demand and trade and compete with other countries in the world, our economy can develop and be sustainable. In this view, Phan Chu Trinh is very close to Marxism and thinks that machines are a very important factor in productivity, second only to human factors. It can be seen that the economic nature he understands here is not a self-sufficient economy, but a commodity economy. This kind of production must communicate with foreign countries, and a large number of commodities must be ensured to meet domestic demand and export in order to accumulate for the economy.

Phan Chu Trinh recognizes the role of career development in social and economic development. He made his own plan to establish plant growers, textiles, trade associations, commodity production facilities and residential sales to serve and revitalize national production. This can be said to be a new discovery, which is helpful to create positive changes in social and economic life. In addition to developing the economy in the direction of promoting the commercial sector, Phan Chu Trinh also said that it is necessary to transform agriculture, open up land for agricultural production, expand economic exchanges with other countries, and encourage people to change customs, and lifestyles to adapt to new lifestyles, thus creating innovation in social lifestyles and lifestyle in China.

At the same time, Phan Chu Trinh also realized the problem of ownership, which is a particularly important issue in the modern society. He pointed out that the country's development must be based on the policy promoting industry and commerce, transforming agriculture, producing and exporting agricultural and forestry products, and relying on France to develop its economy. He encouraged people in the south to study, do joint

ventures, improve machinery, do business with time, produce a large number of commodities and trade with foreign countries in order to gain more capital and expand the development of the country and people's lives.

It can be said that from enlightening people's knowledge, giving up the learning style that does not pay attention to the content but only picks up (old) clichés, offering Chinese alphabet classes, applying scientific knowledge and eliminating extravagant traditions, to "invigorating people's spirit" and awakening the spirit of self-improvement, the people realized their rights and opposed autocratic rule. The above two concepts will inevitably lead to the third concept is "livelihood". These three thoughts are always unified, supporting each other and being "illuminated" by the ideology of "East-West Ethics". It can be affirmed that Phan Chu Trinh is a person with a modern vision. He pointed out that the strength of national independent rejuvenation will depend on the strength of vocational rejuvenation and improve the country's economic and financial potential. Most innovative ideologists, including Phan Boi Chau, only look at the country's economic development as a whole and aim at improving people's lives. Phan Chu Trinh believes that the national economy must be the development of commodity economy and invigorating people's livelihood, is a favorable condition for improving "people's knowledge" and "inspiring people's spirit". So that people's lives can be fully developed day by day, they can enjoy the rights of freedom and democracy, and they can fulfill their responsibilities and obligations before the fate of the country.

Phan Chu Trinh's ideology had progressive content, suitable for the needs of the times, especially during the period when Vietnam was under the protection of the French colonialists. The urgent need here is to raise people's knowledge, so that the Vietnamese people clearly understand their roles and rights, so that from now on, people will be able to stand up against the French colonialists. reclaim freedom and democracy. Phan Chu Trinh inherited the innovative view of Luong Khai Sieu, Montesquieu, J.J. Rousseau, raised the flag of educational innovation, criticized the colonial and feudal regimes, proposed "Democracy" and the Duy Tan movement. That's why we believe that Phan Chu Trinh's ideology has a harmony between East - West, Confucianism - Taoism - Buddhism. These ideologies complement each other to form a characteristic of democratic thought. bourgeois. This thought and revolutionary character are the spirit throughout Phan Chu Trinh's ideology. He criticized and rejected the morality of the Nguyen Dynasty because he believed that the Confucian morality modeled on the Vietnamese feudal court was no longer consistent with the historical and social requirements set by the Nguyen dynasty which released at that time, did not bring any benefits to the development of the people and country of Vietnam at that time. Not only that, Phan Chu Trinh's policy of reforming education was deeply revolutionary because Phan Chu Trinh's reform was based on the bourgeois democracy of the French colonialists, not of a violent revolutionary nature, developed quite thoroughly to the extent that ideologists of the same time criticized and denounced... Phan Chu Trinh proposed an educational model of Western nature.

With passionate patriotism and the desire to restore national independence and restore sovereignty to the country. Phan Chu Trinh said that the cause of the Vietnamese's loss of country is because the people are not aware of their value, position, and responsibility towards themselves, their families and the country, he exclaimed. that: Vietnam has slept for a hundred years so it has not seen the transformation of the world. Suddenly the big dream woke up, running around inside and out, crying and screaming, fighting in all directions, water flowing and wind flying, regardless of life or death. Therefore, one of the methods to solve the problems posed by Vietnamese history - national liberation, people liberation, and human liberation that Phan Chu Trinh raised and implemented is that the Vietnamese people need to improve the people's spirit. According to Phan Chu Trinh, to build new ethics, it is necessary to learn Western ethics on the basis of inheriting the positive values of national ethics. Desiring to build a good society, Phan Chu Trinh aims to build people with basic moral standards according to him. It can be seen that Phan Chu Trinh's ideologies always aim at a good life for people and the development of the country. This is his consistent stance in thought and action, which is his career. Ethical perspective is an important method that contributes to implementing the policy of opening up people's will, stirring up people's energy, and improving people's lives to develop the country and make people have a better life. According to Phan Chu Trinh, to build new ethics, we must learn Western ethics on the basis of inheriting the positive values of national ethics. He advocates training to create a model of a new age person, a model of a humane person, with a practical mind, curious about knowledge, who knows how to learn and

what needs to be learned to progress in order to keep up with the world, to be the will to take risks, have the spirit of solidarity and love for each other.

According to Phan Chu Trinh, morality and ethics are completely not identical, they are two sides of the same issue and have a clear difference. When considered in terms of content, morality is only a part of morality, but when considered in terms of stability, morality never changes. Depending on each historical period and each country, morality can change to suit the culture and interests of the ruling class. According to Phan Chu Trinh, ethics are standards of good behavior that are formed, developed and perfected in history and society, and that people are required to perform throughout their lives as human beings, in order to affirm their role, their position, value in the natural world, in society as well as solving the requirements of the country. According to Phan Chu Trinh, "Ethics of the East and West" play a very important role, not only for each person themselves, but it also has great significance for Vietnam. For each individual, these are the standards for humans to affirm their existence in the relationship between humans and humans, and between humans and the living and inanimate natural world. For a nation, morality has great historical significance. It not only creates value and strength for each nation, but it can also create internal resources to solve socio-historical problems. In addition to thoroughly addressing the common moral standards that people must follow to affirm their value as human beings, which is loving people, benevolence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge, and trust, Phan Chu Trinh also sets out the ethical standards that must be presented in each specific relationship in society. He believes that in each different relationship there must be specific ethical standards prescribed for each position in society.

DISCUSSION

Phan Chu Trinh, one of Vietnam's famous intellectuals in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, had profound thoughts on national self-strengthening and left important contributions to political philosophy. rule the world. Phan Chu Trinh emphasized the meaning of national self-strengthening and considered it a decisive factor for the existence and development of a country. Phan Chu Trinh affirmed that if we want the nation to be independent and revive the country, we cannot help but integrate with the world to study and absorb human knowledge to enrich the knowledge and cultural capital of our nation. It can be seen that patriotism has now overcome traditional frameworks and concepts to become modern national consciousness. His ideologies express a strong desire for patriotic traditions and a sense of national independence and self-strengthening, suitable for current circumstances. Therefore, it has penetrated into the consciousness of the masses, forming a great solidarity of the entire people with a unified purpose and will. Faced with the reality of that period, where many Asian and African countries were oppressed by imperialism, Phan Chu Trinh affirmed the need to awaken national consciousness to regain independence and freedom.

Phan Chu Trinh opposed feudalism and emphasized the importance of social and cultural progress. While Vietnam's modern intellectuals were still wandering around, bound by the ideology of "Patriotic" and "Can Vuong", Phan Chu Trinh boldly declared war on feudal institutions and proposed the ideology of democracy. permission. In terms of ideology, he surpassed other ideologists of his time. He emphasized the two words civil rights and made it a loud sound that made the entire Vietnamese people wake up. Phan Chu Trinh was one of the first people who initiated civil rights in Vietnam. He was soon aware of the important position and role of the masses in the cause of liberation, to truly master politics, to enjoy all the rights required of a citizen, on the basis of "freedom" and "equality". He considered education and knowledge development as important tools to improve democracy and social development.

Phan Chu Trinh's ideology of national self-strengthening is not only meaningful to Vietnam but also has an impact on world political philosophy. His approach to the circumstances of freedom, democracy and progress is considered an important part of the history of world political development. In the current international context, the ethnic factor has become an extremely important task. Developing countries, including Vietnam, must wage a very difficult and complicated struggle to escape poverty and backwardness in order to protect independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity. To do that, we must strive to consolidate and strengthen the great solidarity bloc at home and abroad. Every country must aim to build a common world, a common home for a good future.

CONCLUSION

From the study of Phan Chu Trinh's ideology on national self- strengthening - the great contribution to world political philosophy has shown that, he advocated establishing a new morality based on the combination of the East and the West, and established the moral standards required of a human being, of which patriotism is the highest standard. The ideology of enlightening the people's knowledge, inspiring the people's spirit, and people's livelihood is seen as a new wave to awaken the Vietnamese people. This wind has blown the idea of freedom and equality to all Vietnamese people. His ideologies expressed a strong desire for patriotic tradition, a sense of independence and national self- strengthening. At the same time, he also promoted civil rights and democracy among the people, helping the citizens understand their rights and obligations towards their family and country. Phan Chu Trinh's entire life of work, as well as his reform, political and revolutionary ideas, is a great contribution to the nation and has a worthy position in the history of Vietnamese ideology in particular, and the world in general.

Acknowledgement

To complete this work, we would like to thank the Department of Labor, War Invalids and Social Affairs of Vietnam for providing research data. We would like to sincerely thank the Principal University of Khanh Hoa; Director of Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics for creating time and favorable conditions for the author.

REFERENCES

- Ahmed, R. Q., & Khan, R. (2022). The rise of peripheral nationalism in Pakistan and the Pashtun Tahafuz movement. *Asian Ethnicity*, 23(2), 215-229. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2020.1785840>
- Allifiansyah, S. (2023). The Genesis and Self-Reliance of Indonesian Local Game Developers as the National Creative Workers in Contemporary Indonesia. *Communication & Society*, 36(4), 67-81. <https://doi.org/10.15581/003.36.4.67-81>
- Beissinger, M. R. (1996). How nationalisms spread: Eastern Europe adrift the tides and cycles of nationalist contention. *Social Research*, 97-146. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40972340>
- Bonikowski, B. (2016). Nationalism in settled times. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 42, 427-449. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-081715-074412>
- Brown, D. (2003). *Contemporary nationalism*. Routledge.
- Calhoun, C. (1993). Nationalism and ethnicity. *Annual review of sociology*, 19(1), 211-239. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.so.19.080193.001235>
- Calhoun, C. (2017). The rhetoric of nationalism. *Everyday nationhood: Theorising culture, identity and belonging after banal nationalism*, 17-30. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-57098-7_2
- Chacko, P. (2021). A new quest for self-reliance: East Asia and Indian economic nationalism. *The Journal of Indian and Asian Studies*, 2(02), 2140005. <https://doi.org/10.1142/S2717541321400052>
- Duara, P. (2021). The Ernest Gellner Nationalism Lecture: Nationalism and the crises of global modernity. *Nations and Nationalism*, 27(3), 610-622. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12753>
- Eder, J. (2023). 14. Self-reliance and autonomous development. *Handbook on Alternative Global Development*, 250.
- Eriksen, T. H. (1993). Formal and informal nationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 16(1), 1-25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.1993.9993770>
- Eriksen, T. H. (2007). Nationalism and the Internet. *Nations and nationalism*, 13(1), 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8129.2007.00273.x>
- Fetzer, T. (2020). Nationalism and economy. *Nationalities Papers*, 48(6), 963-973. <https://doi.org/10.1017/nps.2019.123>
- Gross, J., & Böhm, R. (2020). Voluntary restrictions on self-reliance increase cooperation and mitigate wealth inequality. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 117(46), 29202-29211. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2013744117>
- Hall, K., & Blake, B. (2019). *Collective self-reliance: The case of the Caribbean community (CARICOM)*. In *From Dependency To Development* (pp. 197-206). Routledge.
- Jam, F. A., Sheikh, R. A., Iqbal, H., Zaidi, B. H., Anis, Y., & Muzaffar, M. (2011). Combined effects of perception of politics and political skill on employee job outcomes. *African Journal of Business Management*, 5(23), 9896-9904.
- Hechter, M. (2000). *Containing nationalism*. OUP Oxford. ISBN: 0-19-829742-4
- Hechter, M. (2000). Nationalism and rationality. *journal of world-systems research*, 308-329. <https://doi.org/10.5195/jwsr.2000.226>

- Hutagalung, H., Purwana, D., Suhud, U., Mukminin, A., Hamidah, H., & Rahayu, N. (2022). Community Self-Reliance of Rural Tourism in Indonesia: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. *Qualitative Report*, 27(7). <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2022.5215>
- Keizer, A. G., Tiemeijer, W., & Bovens, M. (2019). Why knowing what to do is not enough: A realistic perspective on self-reliance (p. 157). Springer Nature. <http://library.oapen.org/handle/20.500.12657/22868>
- Kohn, H. (1938). I. NATIONALISM. In *Before America Decides: Foresight in Foreign Affairs* (pp. 13-26). Harvard University Press. <https://doi.org/10.4159/harvard.9780674594852.c3>
- Krause, U., & Schmidt, H. (2020). Refugees as actors? Critical reflections on global refugee policies on self-reliance and resilience. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 33(1), 22-41. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fez059>
- Waheed, M., & Jam, F. A. (2010). Teacher's intention to accept online education: Extended TAM model. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Contemporary Research in Business*, 2(5), 330-344.
- Linz, J. J. (2020). From primordialism to nationalism. In *New nationalisms of the developed West* (pp. 203-253). Routledge.
- Matseketsa, B. B., & Mhlanga, J. (2020). Self-reliance and refugee empowerment programmes in Zimbabwe: A National Security Approach. *African Journal of Terrorism and Insurgency Research (AJoTIR)*, 1(2), 5-21.
- Mylonas, H., & Tudor, M. (2021). Nationalism: what we know and what we still need to know. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 24, 109-132. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-041719-101841>
- Nuriadi, N., & Melani, B. Z. (2021). The ways of self-reliance development: comparative study of the old man and the sea and Robinson Crusoe. *Linguistics and Culture Review*, 5(S2), 1533-1547. <https://doi.org/10.21744/lingcure.v5nS2.2042>
- Nwoke, C. N. (2020). Rethinking the idea of independent development and self-reliance in Africa. *African Review of Economics and Finance*, 12(1), 152-170. <https://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC-1d057a8210>
- Phan Chu Trinh (2005), Complete works, volume 1, 2, 3, Da Nang Publishing House, Vietnam.
- Skran, C., & Easton-Calabria, E. (2020). Old concepts making new history: refugee self-reliance, livelihoods and the 'refugee entrepreneur'. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 33(1), 1-21. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/fez061>
- Smith, A. D. (2000). The Sacred Dimension of Nationalism. *Millennium*, 29(3), 791-814. <https://doi.org/10.1177/03058298000290030301>
- Smith, R. E. (2021). Declarations of 'Self-Reliance': Alternative Visions of Dependency, Citizenship and Development in Vanuatu. *Oceania*, 91(2), 236-256. <https://doi.org/10.1002/occa.5309>
- Wimmer, A. (2019). Why nationalism works. *Foreign Affairs*, 98(2), 27-34.
- Weldetsion, G. G. (2023). Eritrea's Self-reliance policy and the Road to Sustainable Food and Water Security (Doctoral dissertation, SOAS University of London). <https://doi.org/10.25501/SOAS.00040447>