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THE TRANSFORMATION OF PATRIOTISM IN HAI DUONG IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY: AN EXPERIMENT AND THE CHOICE OF PATHS

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Abstract

This article examines the transformation of patriotism in Hai Duong during the early 20th century as a process of experimentation and complex competition among various paths of national salvation. Through an analysis of local historical sources, the study reveals that the ascendancy of the proletarian trend was not a predetermined outcome but rather the result of an intense process of competition and selective adaptation. This triumph was shaped by the theoretical and organizational superiority of the proletarian orientation, coupled with internal local dynamics and the inherent limitations of other patriotic movements. The findings thus highlight the diversity and complexity underlying Vietnam's revolutionary path selection process.

Keywords: *Patriotism, Hai Duong, early 20th century, ideological crisis, bourgeois democratic trend, proletarian trend, Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth League.*

1. INTRODUCTION

The history of Vietnam in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was, in essence, a dual crisis—a crisis of revolutionary methods and a crisis of guiding ideology. The failure of the *Cần Vương* movement, whose final echo was the *Bãi Sậy* uprising, was not merely a military defeat but rather the bankruptcy of the entire feudal ideological paradigm in the face of new historical demands. From that point, the nation entered a period of experimentation

with new models of national salvation, giving rise to a vibrant and intense field of ideological competition.

Within this conceptual framework, local historical studies are not mere illustrations of a broader national narrative; rather, they serve as methodological tools for elucidating the structural dynamics of macro-historical arguments. Hai Duong represents a quintessential microcosm—a site where multiple historical strata intersect: the

legacy of Confucian scholarship, the currents of bourgeois democratic thought, and the emergence of a new social force—the working class. This convergence transformed Hai Duong into a “laboratory” for the ideological transformations that defined the period.

However, existing scholarship has often treated Hai Duong from an external perspective, viewing the province as a passive geographical space subjected to the influence of larger national currents. Such an approach has left a gap in research: a lack of systematic analysis of the interactive processes—competition, inheritance, and exclusion—among different nationalist tendencies within Hai Duong’s specific socio-historical context.

Addressing these limitations, the present study offers a renewed interpretation. It argues that the ascendancy of the proletarian orientation in Hai Duong should be understood as a historically contingent outcome—emerging from the interaction between the province’s socio-economic conditions and the internal constraints of earlier historical actors.

To substantiate this argument, the study pursues three primary objectives:

1. To analyze the motivations, dynamics, and eventual deadlocks of the movements inspired by the bourgeois democratic orientation.
2. To clarify the mechanisms through which proletarian ideology penetrated and took root, emphasizing the dialectical relationship between the working class and the progressive *sĩ phu* (intellectual elite).
3. To interpret Hai Duong’s distinctive position as an experimental space where revolutionary ideologies converged, competed, and underwent selective transformation.

2. RESEARCH CONTENT

2.1. Historical context and socioeconomic transformations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries

The late 19th and early 20th centuries in Hai Duong, as in Vietnam as a whole, were characterized by the collapse of the old order and the embryonic formation of new social elements.

Politically and ideologically, the failure of the “Aid the King” movement (*Cần Vương*), whose final manifestation was the Bãi Sậy uprising (*Khởi nghĩa Bãi Sậy*, 1883–1892) led by Nguyễn Thiện Thuật, marked the end of the *Cần Vương* resistance in the Red River Delta. This failure was not merely a matter of military inferiority; more profoundly, it demonstrated the complete bankruptcy of the feudal ideological paradigm, which had served as the banner of national resistance. Rooted in the doctrine of “loyalty to the monarch and love for the nation” (*trung quân ái quốc*) and traditional forms of armed struggle, this ideology proved utterly powerless against a colonial adversary endowed with a modern state apparatus, industrial might, and a sophisticated pacification strategy.

Yet, the downfall of the *Cần Vương* movement did not extinguish the patriotic spirit. On the contrary, it left behind a dual legacy: on one hand, ideological confusion and disillusionment among a portion of the Confucian scholar-gentry (*sĩ phu*); on the other, a latent national consciousness embodied by a generation of intellectuals and patriots deeply concerned with the fate of their nation—ready to receive and internalize new currents of thought

and revolutionary ideals from abroad.

In parallel with this ideological crisis, Hai Duong’s socioeconomic base underwent profound restructuring under the impact of France’s First Colonial Exploitation Program (*Chương trình khai thác thuộc địa lần thứ nhất*). Owing to its strategic location, Hai Duong quickly became a focal area of colonial extraction policies. Numerous plantations were established, small coal mines were opened, and, notably, industrial facilities such as the Hai Duong Porcelain Factory (*Nhà máy Sứ Hải Dương*, 1907) and rice mills appeared. The construction of the Hanoi–Hai Phong railway (*Tuyến đường sắt Hà Nội – Hải Phòng*) further accelerated transformation, fundamentally altering the traditional social structure that had long been defined only by landlords and peasants.

This process gave rise to several entirely new social strata:

- The nascent working class (*giai cấp công nhân sơ khai*): Formed from dispossessed peasants employed in factories and mines under harsh conditions. Although still small in number, they represented a new mode of production and carried immense revolutionary potential.
- The urban petty bourgeoisie (*tầng lớp tiểu tư sản thành thị*): Comprising newly educated intellectuals, civil servants, and small traders who emerged alongside urbanization. They were relatively well educated, responsive to change, and receptive to modern political ideologies.
- The national bourgeoisie (*tư sản dân tộc*): A small group of contractors and small-scale entrepreneurs whose economic interests conflicted with those of French capital, yet remained weak and inclined toward compromise.

The emergence and development of these new social forces—with their distinct economic positions and inherent contradictions with the colonial regime—generated a new source of social dynamism. It was these forces, rather than the decaying feudal class, that would become the foundation and driving agents of the modern patriotic movements (*các phong trào yêu nước hiện đại*) in the subsequent historical period.

2.2. The introduction and competition of bourgeois democratic ideologies in the early 20th century

2.2.1. The armed resistance orientation and the Đông Du (“Go East”) movement of Phan Bội Châu

Phan Bội Châu’s doctrine of “restoring Vietnam through violent revolution” (*dùng bạo động khôi phục Việt Nam*), which sought assistance from Japan, resonated deeply with the widespread anti-colonial sentiment and the desire for rapid independence among many *sĩ phu* (Confucian scholars). Hai Duong, long renowned as a “land of learning” (*đất học*), quickly became a center of mobilization for the Đông Du (“Go East”) movement (*Phong trào Đông Du*). At the core of this movement were progressive scholars such as Lê Hữu Canh (Cam Giang) and Nguyễn Hữu Cồ (Binh Giang), who had renounced the traditional examination path to pursue a new revolutionary direction. They traveled secretly from village to village, persuading economically capable families to send their sons abroad for study.

These clandestine activities, however, soon drew the attention of the French colonial surveillance network. A report submitted to the

Resident-Superior of Tonkin (*Thống sứ Bắc Kỳ*) in 1908 identified Le Huu Canh as a “dangerous individual” actively “propagandizing against the Protectorate government and inciting young men to go abroad to Japan.” This report not only reveals the close monitoring of colonial authorities but also reflects their anxiety over the movement’s growing influence. The use of expressions such as “propaganda” and “incitement” indicates that the French had recognized these were no longer isolated acts but part of a coordinated political campaign posing a direct threat to their rule.

The influence of the *Dong Du* movement soon transcended the circle of scholar-activists who had initiated it, generating powerful social resonance and broad support among the populace. In Hai Duong, this was vividly demonstrated through the actions of families from “villages of scholars” (*làng tiến sĩ*) with long-standing academic traditions, such as La Tien (Ninh Giang) and Mo Trach (Binh Giang).

For these Confucian communities, education had long been the path to honor and social mobility—the pride of entire lineages. Yet, faced with the nation’s peril, this scholarly tradition was transformed into a new form of patriotism. Many families made extraordinary decisions: selling their land—the essential means of production and subsistence for peasants—to raise funds for their sons or villagers to study abroad.

This act carried profound symbolic meaning, far beyond financial contribution. It represented a transformative shift in the community’s value system. For the first time, investment in what might be termed “education for national salvation” (*hoc van cuu nuoc*)—a completely new concept—was prioritized above economic stability and traditional scholarly pursuits. This was not merely a sacrifice of material wealth but a wager of entire family futures on an uncertain path toward national liberation, embodying deep conviction and extraordinary determination.

It was from this firm material and moral foundation that Hai Duong’s young patriots, such as Le Van Bat and Pham Van Ngo, were able to reach Japan. They traveled not merely as individuals but as bearers of their homeland’s aspirations. Their presence in this modernizing center of Asia symbolized a turning point in revolutionary consciousness—both for Hai Duong and for Vietnam as a whole. For the first time, the cause of national liberation was no longer confined to isolationism or purely military struggle; it became organically linked to the pursuit of scientific knowledge, technological progress, and exposure to global models of political and social development.

2.2.2. The Reformist Orientation, the Duy Tan (“Modernization”) Movement, and the Influence of the Dong Kinh Nghia Thuc (“Tonkin Free School”)

Parallel to—and at times in competition with—the armed resistance movement, the reformist current led by Phan Chau Trinh, who advocated the principle of “enlightening the people’s intellect, invigorating the people’s spirit, and improving the people’s livelihood” (*khai dân trí, chấn dân khí, hậu dân sinh*), also exerted significant influence. This orientation emphasized that national salvation must begin with the transformation of individuals and society.

The spirit of *Duy Tan* (“modernization”) found concrete expression in Hai Duong, primarily in two domains that had a direct impact on public awareness: education and social mobilization.

The most notable and influential case was the establishment of a

modern-style school in Ninh Giang. In form, this school represented a revolution compared with the traditional Confucian examination system. Instead of focusing solely on the classics, the curriculum incorporated practical subjects such as the Quoc Ngu script (*chữ Quốc ngữ*)—a new cultural tool that allowed rapid dissemination—alongside mathematics, geography, and hygiene. In content, what made the school particularly valuable was its method of “integrated education” (*giáo dục lồng ghép*): patriotic teachers secretly included nationalistic poems, explained Phan Chau Trinh’s speeches, and recounted stories of Japan’s modernization to inspire students. They not only imparted knowledge but also instilled national pride and an early sense of civil consciousness among their pupils.

These efforts turned the Ninh Giang school into a local version of the Dong Kinh Nghia Thuc (“Tonkin Free School,” *Đông Kinh Nghĩa Thục*), creating an intellectual counter-space that directly challenged the conservative Confucian values then cooperating with the colonial regime.

Beyond education, small-scale social reform movements also appeared, though more superficial and limited in scope. The movements advocating short haircuts and Western-style clothing (*áo Tây, Âu phục*) instead of traditional long gowns and turbans (*áo dài, khăn đóng*) were not merely changes in appearance. In the political context of the time, they were symbolic acts of defiance, marking a deliberate break from what was seen as the antiquated, backward order of feudalism. Similarly, public lectures and literary discussions (*diễn thuyết, bình văn*) held in communal spaces such as markets or village halls—though quickly suppressed by French surveillance—had a notable impact. For the first time, issues of national importance were brought out of the closed scholarly sphere into the public domain, awakening critical thinking and civic awareness about the nation’s fate and people’s rights.

2.2.3. Historical limitations and contributions of the Bourgeois democratic orientation

Despite their vigor and passion, both branches of the bourgeois democratic movement—the violent and the reformist—soon reached an impasse, revealing their intrinsic limitations within the historical context of early 20th-century Vietnam. The causes of failure can be summarized as follows:

First, the imbalance of forces and the sophisticated, brutal repression of the colonial regime. The *Dong Du* (“Go East,” *Đông Du*) movement, which relied on external assistance, collapsed once France and Japan reached a political agreement, exposing the adventurism and passivity of its strategy. Likewise, the reformist “civilizing” efforts, though peaceful, were perceived by colonial authorities as latent threats to their rule and were ruthlessly suppressed through a well-organized system of police, intelligence, and prisons—mechanisms against which the loosely organized patriotic groups of the time could not prevail.

Second, and more fundamentally, were the internal limitations of the movement itself. Socially, it lacked a strong and independent national bourgeoisie (*tư sản dân tộc*) to serve as its foundation. Vietnam’s bourgeois class was still nascent, weak, and largely dependent on the colonial economy, with a tendency toward compromise. The Confucian scholars (*sĩ phu*), although exposed to new ideas, retained a mindset shaped by guild and brotherhood traditions (*phường hội, nghĩa đảng*). Their organizations were based mainly on personal prestige and informal networks, lacking a scientific political program (*cương lĩnh chính trị khoa học*), a

disciplined structure, and strict organizational methods. These weaknesses made the movement prone to fragmentation and incapable of sustaining prolonged resistance under colonial repression.

Nevertheless, despite failing to achieve independence, the bourgeois democratic phase of Vietnam's national liberation struggle made profound and enduring contributions to the country's revolutionary evolution.

Ideologically, it was the first time that modern concepts such as "civil rights" (*dân quyền*), "democracy" (*dân chủ*), "constitution" (*hiến pháp*), and "republic" (*cộng hòa*) were introduced into Vietnam's political discourse. This represented a significant intellectual awakening—breaking the monopoly of the feudal worldview and opening new horizons of thought for an entire generation.

Socially, the movement cultivated a generation of young patriots, intellectuals, and petty bourgeoisie (*tiểu tư sản*) who were politically aware, open-minded, and willing to take risks. They became the transitional social force, the vital human resource that would later embrace more radical revolutionary ideologies. In their own ideological and strategic struggles, they constantly sought a new, more scientific, and effective path to national salvation (*đường lối cứu nước mới, khoa học và hiệu quả hơn*), laying the groundwork for the emergence of the proletarian orientation in subsequent years.

2.3. The Introduction of Marxism–Leninism and the Formation of the Proletarian Movement

2.3.1. The Activities of the Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth League and the "Proletarianization" Movement

From 1926 to 1927, following the directives of the Central Committee, numerous members of the Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth League (*Hội Việt Nam Cách mạng Thanh niên*) were dispatched to Hai Duong to establish revolutionary bases. However, the decisive turning point in linking revolutionary theory with the mass movement came with the "proletarianization" movement (*phong trào vô sản hóa*) of 1928–1929. This was not merely a rhetorical slogan but a scientific method of mass mobilization, reflecting a new and systematic approach to organization and revolutionary practice—distinct from the efforts of earlier nationalist movements.

This method was exemplified by the work of committed League members such as Nguyen Hoi and Nguyen Danh Doi at the Hai Duong Porcelain Factory (*Nhà máy Sứ Hải Dương*). Rather than remaining outside as propagandists, they directly "lived, worked, and ate together" (*cùng ăn, cùng ở, cùng làm*) with the workers. Through this immersive engagement, they came to understand deeply the workers' aspirations, frustrations, and daily hardships, thereby establishing personal credibility and organic bonds that bridged the social divide between revolutionary intellectuals and the industrial proletariat.¹ Their mobilization strategy was executed methodically, proceeding step by step:

At the initial stage, they focused on addressing the workers' immediate material needs by organizing legal and semi-legal associations such as "mutual-aid societies" (*hội tương tế*) and

"funeral-assistance groups" (*hội hiếu hỉ*). These groups functioned both as embryonic welfare networks and as spaces for identifying active and reliable individuals.

In the next phase, once trust had been established, they set up reading circles (*hội đọc sách báo*). These served as clandestine channels for disseminating revolutionary materials such as the *Thanh Nien* newspaper and *Duong Kach Menh* (*The Revolutionary Path*), gradually elevating the political consciousness of outstanding workers—transforming them from individuals concerned solely with economic issues into those aware of class identity and national liberation.

These activities demonstrate the central and creative role of the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia, far beyond the notion of a mere "transitional class." They were not passive transmitters of theory but active agents—"architects" of revolutionary adaptation and localization. Through a process of intellectual "translation," they transformed abstract Marxist concepts such as "class struggle" (*đấu tranh giai cấp*) into tangible actions like fighting against beatings and demanding higher wages, and reinterpreted "surplus value" (*giá trị thặng dư*) as the unpaid labor that workers could directly perceive.

The *proletarianization* movement represented the culmination of this creative praxis. It was not merely a tactic to "enter the masses" but a two-way process of learning and self-transformation. By living and working alongside workers, these intellectuals dismantled social barriers, built credibility, and—more importantly—learned from the proletariat the language of reality, the will to struggle, and the endurance of daily hardship. Through this process, they tested revolutionary theory against practice, shed petty-bourgeois habits, and emerged as genuine revolutionary fighters—organically united with the class they sought to awaken and lead.

The culmination and inevitable result of this systematic mobilization was the successful leadership of the strike of over 500 workers at the Hai Duong Porcelain Factory in November 1928. On the surface, the strike appeared to arise from immediate economic demands—calls for higher wages, shorter hours, and an end to physical abuse. Yet in essence, under the organization and leadership of Youth League members, it embodied a profound political consciousness. The strike was conducted in a disciplined and organized manner, sustained for seven days, and ultimately compelled the employers to make concessions.

Though modest in scope, this victory carried great historical significance. It affirmed not only the practical leadership capacity of a scientifically organized revolutionary movement but also marked a qualitative leap in the Hai Duong workers' struggle—from spontaneous, fragmented resistance to conscious, organized action with clear political objectives. This event may be regarded as the first "general rehearsal" (*tổng diễn tập*)—a successful test in practice of the superiority of the proletarian revolutionary line—laying the political, organizational, and human foundations for the eventual establishment of the Communist Party in the locality.

2.3.2. From the Fragmentation of the Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth League to the Emergence of the First Communist Cells

The tireless activities and rapid political maturation of the Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth League (*Hội Việt Nam Cách mạng Thanh niên*) inevitably led to internal divisions by late 1928 and early 1929, stemming from the historical necessity to establish

¹ Hai Duong Provincial Party Executive Committee, History of the Hai Duong Provincial Party Committee, p. 42.

a genuine proletarian political party. This process had a direct and profound impact on Hai Duong, where the revolutionary movement was already gaining remarkable momentum.

The formation of the first Communist cell at the Hai Duong Porcelain Factory (*Nhà máy Sứ Hải Dương*) in June 1929 was the immediate result of that internal split. Under the influence of the Northern Regional Committee (*Kỳ bộ Bắc Kỳ*) of the Indochinese Communist Party (*Đông Dương Cộng sản Đảng*), the most advanced League members in Hai Duong swiftly took the initiative to establish a local Party cell. This event carried monumental historical significance: not only was it among the earliest Communist cells in the Red River Delta, but it also marked a qualitative leap in the revolutionary movement. For the first time, the Hai Duong working class, through its vanguard, formally stepped onto the political stage as a conscious, organized force with an independent revolutionary line.²

The development of the Party organization did not stop at the industrial centers. Following the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam (*Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam*) through the merger of three Communist organizations on February 3, 1930, Party-building efforts in Hai Duong accelerated rapidly. Only two months later, in April 1930, the Communist Party Cell of Ninh Giang District (*Chi bộ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam huyện Ninh Giang*) was established.³ This milestone was of strategic significance, reflecting the vitality and expanding influence of Marxist–Leninist ideology. The Party’s reach began to extend beyond factories and workshops, taking root in the countryside and laying the initial foundations for the worker–peasant alliance (*liên minh công–nông*)—the cornerstone of the Vietnamese Revolution.

This profound ideological transition was vividly embodied in the political journey of Nguyen Luong Bang (native of Thanh Mien). His life serves not only as a microcosm of this transformative period but also as a living testament to the intellectual and moral metamorphosis from traditional patriotism to the Communist conviction—a process that was neither linear nor mechanical but fraught with internal struggle and self-renewal.

Initially, as a passionate young patriot, Nguyen Luong Bang’s path was influenced by the prevailing nationalist and democratic currents (*khuyñh hướng dân tộc – dân chủ*). Yet, through his immersion in revolutionary practice—particularly during his years of activism within the Youth League and his imprisonment by the colonial authorities—he underwent profound ideological reflection and confrontation. He experienced firsthand the limitations of methods and the theoretical dead-ends of contemporary nationalist movements.

Thus, his embrace of Marxism–Leninism (*chủ nghĩa Mác – Lênin*) was not the passive “discovery” of a ready-made doctrine, but rather a conscious reorientation born from a crisis of faith. It represented a decisive break with outdated illusions and an embrace of a scientific revolutionary theory, even though this new path demanded greater sacrifice and discipline. His

transformation—from a patriotic youth to a committed Communist—encapsulated the intellectual and moral journey of an entire generation: a process of experimentation, discernment, and ultimate selection of the revolutionary path that would shape modern Vietnam.⁴

2.4. The distinctive characteristics of Hai Duong and their influence on the process of ideological transformation

The transformation of patriotic thought in Hai Duong was not a mechanical imitation of external models but was profoundly shaped by the unique local conditions of the province. It was the convergence of geopolitical, socio-economic, and cultural factors that created a favorable “revolutionary environment”, accelerating the process of ideological selection and crystallization more rapidly and decisively than in many other regions.

First, Hai Duong’s geo-political location and colonial economic structure generated both the “ideological current” and the “material base” necessary for revolution. Situated along the arterial transport route connecting Hanoi, the political center, with the seaport of Hai Phong, Hai Duong became an open space receptive to new ideological influences. More importantly, colonial exploitation policies led to the early establishment of an industrial nucleus in the form of the Hai Duong Porcelain Factory (*Nhà máy Sứ Hải Dương*), which produced a concentrated, disciplined working class—imbued with inherent contradictions against the colonial regime. This emerging industrial proletariat provided a stable socio-material foundation that neighboring agrarian provinces such as Hung Yen and Thai Binh lacked. Compared to larger industrial centers like Nam Dinh, Hai Duong enjoyed a unique advantage: its workforce was large enough to sustain a strong labor movement, yet small enough to evade strict colonial surveillance in the early stages—creating ideal conditions for revolutionary infiltration and organization-building.

Second, Hai Duong’s cultural heritage as a “land of learning” (*đất học*) and the transitional role of the Confucian scholar-gentry (*sĩ phu*) laid the “cognitive foundation” for ideological change. Its long-standing Confucian tradition produced a class of scholars with strong patriotic consciousness and acute sensitivity to national affairs. When Confucianism proved inadequate, progressive figures such as Le Huu Canh and Nguyen Huu Co consciously abandoned the civil service examination system to embrace new doctrines. This generation of reform-minded scholars (*sĩ phu duy tân*) played a pioneering intellectual role—dismantling the monopoly of the old ideological order and preparing society to receive more radical revolutionary theories. Their descendants—the young petty-bourgeois intellectuals (*tiểu tư sản trí thức*)—would later form the core of those who first embraced Marxism–Leninism (*chủ nghĩa Mác – Lênin*), serving as indispensable intermediaries in bridging revolutionary theory and the working class.

Third, the distinctive character of Hai Duong’s revolutionary development lay in the synergistic interaction among these factors. Hai Duong was not simply a land of workers or of patriotic scholars—it was a place where both forces coexisted and interacted dynamically within the same space and time. The earlier generation of *sĩ phu* created an atmosphere of political awakening; the emerging working class provided a disciplined and organized material force; and the new generation of revolutionary

² Institute of Party History, Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics, History of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Vol. I (1930–1945), National Political Publishing House – Su That, Hanoi, 2018, p. 67.

³ Hai Duong Provincial Party Executive Committee, History of the Hai Duong Provincial Party Committee, p. 55.

⁴ Nguyen Luong Bang, Memoirs of Nguyen Luong Bang, National Political Publishing House – Su That, Hanoi, 2015, pp. 52–60.

intellectuals inspired by Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh) acted as catalysts, linking theory with practice, and connecting the *sĩ phu* with the proletariat.

The convergence of three decisive elements—a reformist Confucian tradition, a concentrated working class, and the timely introduction of Marxist theory on a strategic terrain—transformed Hai Duong into a “historical laboratory” (*phòng thí nghiệm lịch sử*), where the process of revolutionary path selection unfolded in a concentrated, rapid, and effective manner.

3. Conclusion

The study of patriotism in Hai Duong during the first three decades of the 20th century demonstrates that this was a profound dialectical process of ideological transformation. It represented a qualitative shift—from the feudal ideological paradigm, through the experimental and crisis phase of the bourgeois-democratic orientation, to the inevitable establishment of the proletarian leadership role. This process was not merely a local phenomenon but a microcosm that reflected and concretized the broader developmental logic of Vietnam’s national liberation movement during the same period.

Hai Duong was not a passive recipient of external revolutionary currents. On the contrary, the synergy of its endogenous conditions—its geo-economic position, cultural heritage, and social composition, especially the coexistence of a reformist scholar class and a concentrated working class—transformed it into an interactive center, an organic node within the national revolutionary network. These internal dynamics created exceptional social preconditions that accelerated the processes of ideological selection and revolutionary consolidation.

The establishment of the first Communist cells in Hai Duong (1929–1930) must thus be interpreted as the culmination of an endogenous historical evolution, rather than merely the result of external transmission. The formation of the provincial Party organization marked the end of the ideological crisis period, laying a firm political and organizational foundation and ushering Hai Duong’s revolutionary movement into a new stage of development—one organically linked to the broader revolutionary cause of the Vietnamese nation.

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