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HO CHI MINH'S MULTICULTURAL THOUGHTS

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ABSTRACT

Ho Chi Minh is one of influential personages in the history of Vietnam. His thoughts became the crucial guideline in the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist and independence movements of Vietnam. So far, quite a few scholars have conducted in-depth analysis of Ho Chi Minh's thoughts from the perspectives of politics, sociology and philosophy, but few scholars have studied Ho's thoughts from the perspective of multiculturalism. Given that multiculturalism is a theory that firstly put forward by western scholars in the western world, whether the theory is applicable to traditional and communitarian oriental world has become a hot topic in academic circles. From the perspective of morality, the elements of liberty, equality and justice of multiculturalism have the function of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism in Southeast Asian countries including Vietnam. In the colonial times, French deliberately isolated Vietnamese ethnic groups through ideological control and geographical isolation, but under the guideline of Ho Chi Minh's thought, the Vietnamese broken the barrier of colonial and successfully achieve national unity and ethnic unity. This paper intends to prove that multiculturalism has the function of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism by researching the Ho Chi Minh's multicultural thoughts, which is the best practice of western multiculturalism in southeast Asia.

KEYWORDS: multiculturalism, Ho Chi Minh's thoughts, colonialism

INTRODUCTION

In modern times, Vietnam has gone through dynasticism, colonial government and cold war. During this time, a lot of multicultural problems arose, including the class contradiction between French colonists and indigenous people, and the national contradiction caused by the collusion between authority and religion. In addition, the emergence of the capitalist market in Vietnam accelerated the transformation of class contradiction to national contradiction in Vietnam. Vietnam population is about 89 million, consist of 54 ethnic groups with different languages, cultures and beliefs. Among them, the main ethnic group is Viet, which account for 85% of the total population (Vietnam Committee on Human Rights, 2012: 6). The remaining 12.23 million ethnic minorities make up 14.3% of Vietnam's population (Vietnam Committee on Human Rights, 2012: 6). Geographically, Vietnam's ethnic minorities have been living in the most backward and impoverished mountainous area since ancient times, while the Viet people live in the fertile and productive lowlands and plains, such as the Red River Delta. In addition to geographical factors, French colonization also

exacerbated the economic gap between the minority and majority groups in Vietnam. At the same time, the collusion between authority and Catholicism that spread widely in Vietnam also aggravated Vietnam's ethnic problems. Vietnam was divided into South Vietnam and North Vietnam during the cold war, and many Catholics in North Vietnam fled to south Vietnam for asylum. In the early days of independence, Vietnam was riven by political entities. In this case, multiculturalism is one of the best ways to help Vietnam realize reunification.

Since multiculturalism been put forward by western scholars, a lot of academic debates appear frequently. One debate is whether multiculturalism can be applicable to Asian countries, including those in Southeast Asia. He baogang (Kymlicka, 2004: 2) believes that the liberalism and individualism advocated by multiculturalism cannot be realized in collective, traditional eastern countries, but Will Kymlicka theoretically refuted his argument. According to Kymlicka, both eastern and western societies have the right to achieve liberty, the difference being that the western world strives for individual liberty and the eastern world strives for collective liberty. Therefore, this paper will provide more facts for Kymlicka's multicultural theory by analyzing the actual situation in South East Asia. Among them, the practice of Ho Chi Minh's multicultural thoughts in Vietnam is a suitable case.

Ho Chi Minh is an outstanding thinker, politician, nationalist and revolutionary, and he was also the founder and leader of the communist party of Vietnam, the first president and prime minister of the People's Republic of Vietnam. Under his leadership, Vietnam has successfully achieved national unity and ethnic unity. Different with other leaders who failed to revolutionize in Vietnam, he understands better what the Vietnamese people's pressing needs during the colonial times. In this regard, his experiences in several countries in the world gave him a different world view from most Vietnamese in colonial times. As a thinker, he united people of all ethnic groups in Vietnam against colonial oppression, especially the ethnic minorities who live in mountainous areas. As a revolutionary, he mobilized people from all walks of life and Vietnamese patriots scattered around the word to implement social revolution. In this respect, he used collective strength and the sense of Confucian community rooted in Vietnamese hearts to successfully launched the revolutionary. He also calls each participant in the revolution as brother and sister in the pep-talk and letter. It can be seen that Ho Chi Minh was keen to eliminate the sense of class and status in Vietnam and his multicultural thoughts really had a great impact on his political behavior and personal character. The multicultural elements in Ho Chi Minh's ideology won him the support and trust of the majority of the people to promote Vietnam's anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movement. To this day, he is affectionately known as 'uncle Ho' by Vietnamese people.

Based on Vietnam's actual situation in the colonial period, this paper discusses the influence of the colonial experience on Vietnam, so as to explain why Ho Chi Minh's multicultural thoughts can guide the Vietnamese people to implement the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial movement. There is one more point to analyze is several factors influenced Ho Chi Minh's multicultural thoughts, so as to explain how multiculturalism is practiced in the traditional, collective Vietnam. Finally, the purpose of this paper is to prove that western

multiculturalism still applicable to the construction of national countries in Southeast Asia as the spiritual weapon of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism.

METHODS

This paper mainly analyzes Ho Chi Minh's multicultural thoughts and its important role in the process of Vietnam's independence and reunification. The research method is the original documentation analysis, namely Ho Chi Minh Anthology volume I: 1920-1945, volume II: 1945-1954, volume III: 1954-1960. The books were first published in Vietnamese as the publication language. The content includes all the speeches, meeting minutes, reports, summoning letters and so on delivered by Ho Chi Minh from 1920 to 1960, which is an important reference material for researching his multicultural thoughts. Given the high research value of the original contents recorded in the anthology, the book was translated into Chinese by Chinese scholars shortly after its publication in Vietnam.

COLONIAL INFLUENCE ON VIETNAM

Multiculturalism as a political tool for building a multicultural state is practiced in different models according to the respective multicultural situation. However, each model adheres to the general principles in the dimension of values, namely egalitarian, fairness, respect for differences and tolerance. British scholar C. W. Watson (2005: 9) expressed his views on the function of multiculturalism. According to him, multiculturalism is an ideology or value that plays an important role to encourage all ethnic, class and religion groups in a country to start a social revolution. In addition, multiculturalism promotes inter-ethnic egalitarianism and religious tolerance with the aim of achieving egalitarian society, not egalitarian culture. Thus, all parties can achieve mutual prosperity in culture and material. Therefore, multiculturalism has the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialism function which can help people in Southeast Asian countries fight for national liberation. Watson's theory fits very well with Vietnam's anti-colonial and anti-imperialist experiences. Vietnam in the process of its nation building not only faces the problems caused by ethnic diversity, but also faces another multicultural problem that left over by colonial history. Vietnam was colonized by France, Japan and America. Therefore, the situation of Vietnam in the colonial times was very complicated and constantly changing. Under this context, Ho Chi Minh's multicultural thoughts are the spiritual weapon that is very supportive in solving multicultural problems in his country. Before analyzing the multicultural elements of his thoughts, the situation of Vietnam during the colonial and post-colonial times was important to understand how invaders of western countries divided this country.

France is the first occupying country to enter Vietnam. The colonization strategy is different from what was done in other colonies, such as Africa. In Vietnam, French colonial government is very concerned about its control over the minds of the Vietnamese people. Therefore, liberating the minds of the people of Vietnam and strengthening national unity are Ho Chi Minh's lifelong goals. French control of the minds of the Vietnamese people can be seen from two obscurantism policies, namely the regional segregation policy and the France-Vietnam education policy. France entered Vietnam in two stages. In the first stage (1858-67), France succeeded in taking control of southern Vietnam, then controlled the central and northern parts in the second stage from 1882 to 1883 (T. Louise Brown, 2002: 9). During the

French colonial period, Vietnam was divided into three parts geographically, namely Cochinchina (southern part), Tonkin (northern part) and Annam as part of the center (Brown, 2002: 11). In addition, France also deliberately creates a sense of antagonism between ethnic minorities who live in the highlands and the majority ethnic who lives in the lowlands. The main purpose of the segregation policy was to cut off the contact between Vietnamese people living in their respective regions. This way, ethnic minorities living in the highlands were kept in a farming society for a long time to provide enough porters for plantations, reducing their national consciousness and avoiding the emergence of strong anti-French forces.

Pay attention to the two stages of French control of Vietnam, it was not difficult to find that French colonization in Vietnam had entered the mature stage when Ho Chi Minh was born in 1890. Some events happen in Vietnam during colonial times can bear this out. Firstly, France at that time trained many agents selected from the middle class in Vietnam as the mediators between the French government and indigenous people and they were always told to be loyal to the French government. At that time, plundering land to establish plantations was the main purpose of French colonization. In this case, senior officials from the indigenous groups were used by France to plunder more lands from indigenous people. But in addition to that, they also lend money to indigenous people at unfairly high rates of interest which lead to many poor indigenous people who unable to pay high taxes and loans had to sell their land to France at very cheap prices. Losing land means lose the most important livelihoods for them. Such natives eventually have to work as the cheap labor who had to live off the French government. In fact, capitalism that was based on buying and selling land also emerged in Vietnam. In 1930, the French and Vietnamese landlords who make up 2% of the local population controlled 45% of the lands in the Mekong River Red Delta (McAlister, 1969: 70-1). Secondly, France also recruited military soldiers from local communities, especially mountainous areas. After that, all of them be sent to the European battlefield or to the civil war. These unenlightened natives believed they were fighting for "justice" and "homeland" themselves without known that they were just bled and sacrificed for France, not Vietnam.

Regarding the ethnic issues and the colonial problem, Ho Chi Minh submitted his views at the fifth international communist congress. Meeting notes from his speech as follows:

- 1) The reformists and the leaders of the Second International did not brave to put the white race on the equal footing with another race of color. Lenin has abolished this inequality and shattered the barrier that separated the imperialist civil slaves and uncivilized slaves (Ho Chi Minh, vol I 1962: 42).
- 2) "If indigenous people have organizations that can guarantee democracy and freedom or pretend to care about their rights, such as the Human Rights Association, the Civil Rights Protection Association, we will not be shocked by these problems" (Ho Chi Minh, vol I 1962: 43).

The first paragraph is Ho Chi Minh's quote from Stalin to explain his views on racial conflict. This shows that Ho Chi Minh is deeply aware of the class disparity in Vietnam not only the disparity between western races and eastern races, but also the disparity between

racers in Vietnam. Who are called civilized slaves are the middle class that became the colonial agents, who are called uncivilized slaves are ethnic minorities that live in the mountainous areas. Therefore, he thought Lenin's national view could solve these problems, achieving an egalitarian relationship between ethnic groups. In the second paragraph, he points out that democracy, justice and liberalism promoted by French civilization could help Vietnam solve the national problems, but also points out that the colonial government did not establish institutions to protect their rights. This exposed the hypocrisy of the French colonial government to Vietnam.

In the field of education, France was also trying to control the education system so that Vietnam operated under the French plans. In 1918, France introduced its first educational policy with the aim of fooling the Vietnamese people (Kelly, 2019: 2). The new education system operated by the French government in Vietnam is 'Franco-Vietnam system', but Vietnam had established a traditional education system based on Confucianism and Chinese characters before France entered Vietnam. Teachers work in local schools were believed as threaten to the French government, because most of them are patriots who lead or participate in the monarchy campaign against France (Kelly, 2019: 3). To eliminate this threat, France reviews the qualifications of local teachers based on their own standards. In addition, there were also many colonial schools built in Vietnam.

Although many colonial schools were built in Vietnam, the purpose of France was not to assimilate the local people, but to carried out education of enslavement and deceitful propaganda. At that time, all of the local schools were closed down and colonial schools only accepted local elites. Colonial schools adhere to the bilingual policy of the French government, but the curriculum is still in accordance with traditional culture. For example, adherence to colonial rules and institutional regulations is emphasized in class based on Confucian tradition that promoted virtues and rules. Whereas liberalism, democracy and egalitarianism from French civilization are prohibited from becoming teaching content. Although there are still some wealthy families who want to send their children to European countries to study, the colonial government also tries every means to stop them from studying abroad.

In this regard, Ho Chi Minh published an article entitled '法国文明的美好之处' (The Beauty of French Civilization) in 1924. He criticized French civilization in an ironic way to maintain justice in this article. In Vietnam, the ideology of tolerance, egalitarianism, liberalism, humanity became the tools for France to obtain benefits and maintain their government in the colonies. Here are a few sentences from the original text as a quote:

- 1) "Tolerance. In Indochina, the colonial authorities would collect donations from the people in the name of 'tolerance' if there were French generals or commissioners like general Josep Joffre going to Indochina.
- 2) "Egalitarianism. The French people only need to serve 18 months in the army, whereas the Vietnamese people must serve 3, 4, 5 years." At the same time, the French soled them opium, liquor and implemented the system of forced labor and plunder in Vietnam.
- 3) "Liberalism. As Gaul's proverb says: 'work is freedom', so the indigenous people were forced to be coolies "(Ho Chi Minh, 1962: vol I 53-56).

In 1945, the Franco-Vietnam system operated in parallel with the French education system, which served French children and selected children from the Vietnamese elite which constituted around 20% of the total (Nguyen, 2014: 28). In 1954, this quota reached 60% and more than 80% in 1956 (Nguyen, 2014: 28). This concession is a French strategy to weaken American influence in Vietnam. The 1954 Geneva Conference was a turning point in Vietnam's history. The conference not only ended the first Indochina war, but also started a new era where America continued to increase its supports for non-communist regimes in south Vietnam (Louise Brown, 2002: 41). However, American intervention in Vietnam was considered as a threat to the French domination in the field of culture and thought. For France, they were more willing to reduce American influence in Vietnam by training loyal local elites. This is the reason why the number of Vietnamese who studied abroad reaches its peak after America entered Vietnam. At this stage, France encourages the local elites went to France to study western ideology and culture. Some of these elites eventually became the first group in Vietnam to accept Ho Chi Minh's multicultural thoughts.

Basically, America's intention in Vietnam is different from France. France's intention is to exploit natural resources and obtain cheap labor. While the aim of America was to prevent the spread of communist forces in north Vietnam to south Vietnam. Therefore, the colonial program of the United States was designed to help south Vietnam with the development of economy, technology, ideology and culture so that it can become a counterweight to the powerful communist forces in north Vietnam. America is trying to promote the development of science and technology in southern Vietnam on the implementation of its colonial program. In addition, they also introduced western ideology to indigenous people, such as democracy, egalitarianism and liberalism. Nonetheless, there had never been an open competition between them, because America was very dependent on the government of France to increase its influence in Vietnam. However, the participation of the United State promoted the awakening of national consciousness in Vietnam. Meanwhile, America's success inspired more Vietnamese to fight for independence and unity. The success of American anti-colonial rule and the victory of the war of independence also inspired more Vietnamese to fight for independence and unity of Vietnam.

In the cold war times, the religious conflict between Vietnamese Catholics and non-Catholics is very serious. In the colonial times, Christianity began to interfere in politics and economics with the spread of Christianity in Vietnam. In this regard, France intended to strengthen its influence in Vietnam by spreading Christianity. The French government sent European pastors who could speak local languages to Vietnam to preach, especially in the mountains. Therefore, most of the locals who supported the French colonial government were Christians who believed that a prosperous and strong France can help its country to overcome difficulties, the monarchy is backward and decadent and the reform movement will cause social chaos. After the Geneva conference, many Christians in north Vietnam fled to south Vietnam with the encouragement of the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem, the French and American governments. Ngo Dinh Diem is a devout Christian who believed that elites and Christian classes could save Vietnam, so he formulated preferential policies for Christians in south Vietnam.

In the north Vietnam, the strict reform system hurt the relationship and affection between Catholics and non-Catholics. During the land reform, Christians in north Vietnam didn't even have enough land to build churches and conduct religious activities. Therefore, there were many Christians against the government of the communist party in north Vietnam by means of violence. During the cold war times, some people from ethnic minorities in the mountains of south Vietnam were recruited by America to fight in the Vietnam civil war. Faced with this situation, Chi Minh visited the bishop of Trinh Nhu Khue, Hanoi in September 1954 and decided to implement a religious freedom policy to unite Christians and non-Christians in Vietnam. In a speech at the Short Meeting of the First Land Reform Work in Thái Nguyên (September 1954), he criticized the radical approach undertaken by some cadres in land reform (Ho Chi Minh, vol 3 1963: 11). In addition, he also gave the following answers to the fourth question about Vietnamese religion contradiction in the article titled '答法国观察者记者问' (Ho Chi Minh's answer to the French Observer's question):

Question: 'what did president Ho Chi Minh think of the Catholics exodus from north Vietnam to south Vietnam?'

Answer: 'The United States tried to divide Vietnam by provoking the incident through despicable means. I'm very sorry about that' (Ho Chi Minh: vol 3 1963: 29).

FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE HO CHI MINH'S MULTICULTURAL THOUGHT

In May 1890, Ho Chi Minh was born in a traditional Confucian family and his father was a patriot who worked in the empire but was dismissed for resisting French colonization. He studied in traditional schools and mastered Chinese characters when he was a child. At the same time, French colonization in Vietnam had entered a mature stage accompanied by French bourgeoisie cruelly exploited the local people and left many problems to be solved. In 1911, he left Vietnam because he was chosen by a French chef as his assistant and worked on a French ship (Poerre Brocheux. 2007: 9). Then he began traveling in several countries including France, England, America, the Soviet Union and China. During this period, he was influenced by western ideology and joined the international communist party, and he often attended international conferences and gave speeches on behalf of Vietnamese patriotism throughout the world. Meanwhile, he also published his articles in foreign publishers to criticize the crime of colonies in Vietnam and other colonies. In 1941, Ho Chi Minh returned to Vietnam and led the Viet Minh Independence Movement. During World War II, he successfully led anti-French war and anti-Japanese war for many times. In the second part of this article, several factors influence Ho Chi Minh's multicultural thoughts will be discussed by researching the similarity between these factors and multiculturalism.

CONFUCIANISM THAT REFLECTS MULTICULTURALISM

The influence of Confucianism in Vietnam is polarization. On the one hand, the concept of hierarchy and supremacy of male power had a negative impact on Vietnam. This is used by France to fool and control indigenous people. On the other hand, Confucianism

also promotes some positive thoughts such as humanism and social harmony. Although Confucianism seems to be out of date in modern times, the moral values of Confucianism have the same meaning as the standards of multiculturalism morality. These elements were used by Ho Chi Minh to promote social harmony and eliminate hatred between ethnic minorities and ethnic majority. Multiculturalism advocated egalitarianism, tolerance, mutual respect and freedom, whereas Confucianism advocates morality, kindness, and harmonization of society. Ho Chi Minh successfully promoted social revolution by combining the multicultural elements of Confucianism with western ideology, which is called as 'revolutionary morality'.

Confucianism advocates '仁' (Ren: love and benevolence) and '礼' (Li: customs and rules). Ren refers to self-awareness and inner spiritual world, while Li refers to the social rules and external social hierarchy. The function of Ren and Li is to create a harmonious society for people from different levels in society (Dinh Van Thuy, 2013: 8-9). The hierarchical concept of Confucianism is different from the hierarchical concept of capitalism. In the East world, hierarchical systems are structured to unite people from all walks of life to form a united community or country. In this system, the ruler must love and esteem his people and the people must be loyal to their country and responsible for their respective roles in the society. Therefore, communities in Vietnam are collective and conservative. During the colonial times, Confucian scholars were the first group to fight against the colonial government. In the west world, the concept the hierarchy is the product of capitalism and the society is polarizing. In this case, the war for justice, freedom and justice broke out. In Vietnam, be faithful to the state is one of the patriotism principles of Confucianism to unite the forces of various ethnic groups to help Vietnam achieve community or collective freedom.

Ren as an ideology not only refers to family members having to love each other, but also refers to the people who live in the same community or country must be benevolent to each other. For example, '泛爱众' (pan-love) proposed by Confucius and '四海之内皆兄弟' (all humans in the world can be brothers/sisters) proposed by Confucian scholar Zixia can reflect the universal love of Confucianism. Therefore, Ho Chi Minh always considered ethnic minorities as an inseparable part of Vietnam. In November 1945, he received delegations from five ethnic groups in Viet Bac and urged them to strengthen unity, develop production and drive away western invaders. In December 1945, he held a conference at the Hanoi theater with delegates from 20 ethnic minorities. In this meeting, he renewed his call for unity, developed production and called on ethnic groups to support the interim government against foreign invasion, but he also stressed the importance of ethnic equality. In addition, he also expressed the north government's desire to help them develop the economy and improve the education system (Brocheux, 2007: 101).

In the political field, Confucianism advocates humanity with the requirement that ruler must respect the life and values of his people. In addition, Confucius promotes tolerance and advocates '己所不欲, 勿施于人' (everyone shouldn't force others to do what he doesn't want to do). In this case, Cuito Bolaffi (2003: 183) pointed out that multiculturalism refers to groups/communities with different cultures and customs can live together in the

same social environment. In Vietnam, colonial rule not only caused ethnic separatist, but also many French people immigrated to Vietnam. With a friendly and tolerant attitude, Ho Chi Minh wrote a letter to French descendants in Vietnam in October 1945 for expressing that Vietnam people also want independence and reunification. In addition, he also guaranteed the security and interests of French descendants who make a living by legal means will always be safeguarded, Vietnam people will always treat them as friends and relatives (Ho Chi Minh, vol 2 1962: 16-18). So, Ho Chi Minh's multicultural thoughts not only unite all ethnic groups in Vietnam, but also help him to negotiate and coordinate with France government.

FRENCH IDEOLOGY

'Freedom, egalitarian and brotherhood' as French national proverb was firstly proposed in the French revolution in 1789-1799. As long as Ho Chi Minh lived in France, he came to understand French ideology and spirituality. It is not difficult to find a high degree of consistency between the French spiritual and morality of multiculturalism. As a western theory, the moral standards of multiculturalism to some extent influenced by the European enlightenment, because it has a huge impact all over the world, including America as the original place of 'multiculturalism'. Meanwhile, the European enlightenment as an important factor to promote the outbreak of the French revolution also creates a conducive environment for the emergence of multiculturalism and provides a theoretical basis for the formation of multiculturalism moral principles. Therefore, this section will not look for similarities between French spiritual and the moral standards of multiculturalism, but rather seeks to find historical relations between them.

The ideology of European enlightenment such as democracy, liberalism and egalitarian as a spiritual weapon has helped the United States to win the war of independence. This means the ideology of liberalism, egalitarianism and independence has spread in America before its independence. Multiculturalism was firstly put forward by Jewish scholar Horace Kallen in the first half of the 20 Century. He pointed out his view about multiculturalism in his book entitled *Democracy Versus the Melting* in 1921 (Chang Shiyan, 2011: 159). However, the western countries at that time were still in imperialist stage and could hardly accept the new ideologies. Therefore, the moral principles of multiculturalism and France spiritual have the same source of thought based on European enlightenment. In 1919, Ho Chi Minh attended the Versailles Peace Conference and gave a MOU to delegates on behalf of Vietnamese patriots in France. The MOU contained eight requirements for Vietnam's national revolution related to liberals, democracy and egalitarianism. In the declaration of North Vietnam's independence in 1945, he cited *the American declaration of independence* and *the French declaration of human rights* which contained democratic ideology from European enlightenment as the support material (Ho Chi Minh, vol 3 1962: 3).

When viewed from the dimension of morality, the function of multiculturalism proposed by Watson happens to be based on the enlightenment ideology of French civilization. In the colonial times, the situation in Vietnam was similar to French situation during revolution times. To some extent, Vietnam as French colony has the same social

structure formed by France during colonial times. In this regard, Ho Chi Minh used his revolutionary morality that in line with the moral standards of multiculturalism to solve Vietnam's multicultural problems.

MARXISM-LENINISM THAT INFLUENCED HO CHI MINH'S MULTICULTURAL THOUGHTS

It is easy to find similarities between multiculturalism and Marxism from a moral perspective, but whether Marx's thought belongs to the moral category is always a controversial point, because Marx once criticized Rawls's theory of justice. However, it is not difficult to find his criticism directed at the part of Rawls's discussion of individualism which tend to support capitalism and the ideal society which ignores social class (Yuan Jiuohnh, 2002: 1). In this case, Marx advocated liberalism, egalitarianism and collective justice. Even though Marx did not have a clear and complete moral theory, his moral attitude was still biased towards justice.

In December 1920, Ho Chi Minh became the representative of the Tour French Socialist Party and was a founding member of the French Communist Party (Chinh, 1966: 13). The term Communism comes from the Latin 'communis', means universal and universal in English (Qin gang, 2015: 22). When viewed from its definition, communism contains elements of egalitarianism and justice. Meanwhile, the universalism promoted by Communism is in accordance with the universal spirit promoted by Confucianism. With a deep understanding of the cultural context of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh finally promoted the localization and nationalization of Marxism-Leninism in Vietnam. There are many elements of multiculturalism in Marxism, Marx's view of justice, egalitarian and national can be strong evidence. Scholars in the world have different views to the definition of multiculturalism. According to Canadian scholars C. Campell & Christian (1996: 250), multiculturalism is an ideology. He pointed out that Canada is a country consisting of many ethnic groups and every ethnic in this country should enjoy equal rights in the distribution of property. Marx believed that each class participating in labor had the right to distribute the final fruits of labor. In the distribution of property, Campbell's main objects are ethnics, while Max's main objects are classes. However, they both advocate fair distribution of property. In this regard, what must be considered is the situation of Vietnam during the colonial period, because French colonization has been caused economic disparity between ethnic groups in Vietnam caused by inequality in the distribution of wealth. During the colonial period, the emergence of a capitalist market based on land sales in Vietnam was an example.

The multicultural situation in a country must be caused by groups / communities with different cultures, ethnicities or religions, individual strength cannot cause multicultural problems in a country. Therefore, multiculturalism is inherently applicable in multi-ethnic country such as Vietnam. In this case, some scholars once argued the principle of justice in the exercise of individual rights and its relation to the community/group that the individual lives. Multiculturalism holds that everyone could have rights, but the individual rights are not innate, is given by the community or the group in which the individual belongs. Someone

who has rights doesn't mean he can do whatever he wants. This means that 'someone who have rights must belong to a group/community' (Dworkin, 2013: 154-157). Therefore, someone who wants to exercise his rights must be responsible to his community. In this case, Marx also opposes individual rights promoted by western capitalism and liberalism, because this right is selfish. According to Marx, from the relationship between power and capital can be seen that right is a form of law that based on social and economic relations. The ruling class can use this law to safeguard its rights with the aim of maintaining its own interests and maintaining the social order formed by themselves. Therefore, Marx pointed out that only when individual rights are exercised to defend the interests and freedoms of the community can it be defined as justice. According to him, justice as moral ideology should be used to limit individual behavior. He opposed guaranteeing minority (capitalist) rights at the expense of majority (working class) rights. Ho Chi Minh used Marx's view of justice to criticize the French government for controlling the local elite in Vietnam with its rights and forced them to abuse their power and exploit the working class in Vietnam. By Vietnamizing Marxism, Ho Chi Minh's goal is to break down barriers between social classes in Vietnam to achieve national unity.

Marx once pointed out that ethnic groups are the important part of a country, and the ethnic problem must be solved in the process of revolution and social construction. The common interests of all ethnic groups must be placed first and every ethnic group should be on an equal footing, no matter the majority or minority, rich or poor. Lenin also called on the communist party of the world to directly help vulnerable ethnics and ethnics that can't enjoy equal rights (Lenin, 1960: 182). In an article entitled *The Communist Party Route during the period of the struggle for democracy*, Ho said: "the Vietnamese communist party must fight against sectarianism and narrow nationalism, and the party members must learn the ideology of Marx and Lenin to improve political literacy" (Ho Chi Minh, 1962: 197).

CONCLUSION

Judging from its origin, both the moral standards of multiculturalism and the France spiritual are influenced by European enlightenment. When viewed from the similarities in the dimension of morality, many moral principles of Confucianism are the same as the moral principles of multiculturalism. Judging from the attitude, Marx and Lenin supported justice and egalitarian as multiculturalism. Therefore, these factors are important factors influencing Ho Chi Minh's multicultural thoughts. Meanwhile, its multicultural thoughts are spiritual weapon that helps the Vietnamese people achieve collective freedom.

Ho Chi Minh's multiculturalism is a formulation of western multiculturalism in Vietnam. in the Vietnamese context, his multicultural thoughts play an important role in achieving goals of anti-colonial and anti-imperialism. French colonization not only caused ethnic conflict, but also controlled the mind of the Vietnamese people. In the post-colonial period, conflicts between ethnic groups in Vietnam were mostly caused by social class disparities. In this case, Ho Chi Minh successfully applied western multiculturalism in Vietnam which is traditional and collective. In this regard, community and collective strength

are the important driving force in the practice of multiculturalism. According to Ho Chi Minh, multiculturalism is ideology or concept of value which advocates that every ethnic in Vietnam has equal opportunities in the field of economics, politics and education. In addition to this, Ho Chi Minh's multicultural thoughts also against discrimination based on race, culture, skin color, religion and another factor. Moral principle such as tolerance, liberalism and mutual respect is very useful to unite all Vietnamese people to exercise anti-colonial and anti-imperialist movement. Therefore, Ho Chi Minh's multiculturalism is an important force to help Vietnam realize its anti-colonial and anti-imperialist goals, so that Vietnam can achieve independence and reunification.

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