

## AWARENESS OF THE RELIGIOUS ISSUES IN VIETNAM IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY - THE CASE OF NGUYỄN VĂN NGUYỄN

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**Abstract:** *Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn was an outstanding figure in the communist movement in Vietnam in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. He was known as a political activist, journalist, writer and cultural researcher. In the early 1950s, he took responsibility for the famous newspapers of Vietnam Communist Party in Saigon, one of which was Review of Research. Writing named Our Attitude towards Religions by him has been posted on this review, N<sup>o</sup>. 4, July 1952. Prof. Đỗ Quang Hưng found it when making a study of Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn. This paper shows Đỗ Quang Hưng's analysis of the content of Our Attitude towards Religions. Through its content, it can be seen one more awareness of the religious issues in Vietnam of one of the Vietnamese communists by then.*

### **I. Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn and his work *our attitude towards religions***

Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn (1910-1953) was a political activist, journalist, writer and cultural researcher. As Trần Văn Giàu remarked “*he was the product of Cochinchina intellectuals*”. He was born in intellectual patriotic family in Điền Hòa village, Châu Thành district, Mỹ Tho province but now Châu Thành district, Tiền Giang province.

At the beginning of 30 decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn was not only a well-known political feature in the communist movements as Hà Huy Tập, Nguyễn Văn Cừ, Nguyễn Văn Tạo, Dương Bạch Mai and well-known leftist

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intellectuals, Nguyễn An Ninh, Tạ Thu Thâu, but also a feature who had made important contributions in the field of cultural ideology of South Party Committee.

His short active life was closely connected with heavy responsibilities in South Party Committee. By then he bore the responsibility for the famous newspapers of Vietnam Communist Party in Sài Gòn as *L'avant – Garde*, *Le Peuple*, *National Salvation*, *Review of Research*, *South People*... He was also a founder and leader of South (Nam Bo) Voice broadcasting station then it changed into Radio the Voice of South Vietnam...

His writings were rather famous. Many his works are collected and published in some years ago, for example *Autumn sky in August* (2002) and *Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn, the political activist, journalist, writer and cultural researcher*. (2006).

When making a study of him, we suddenly found in *Review of Research*, N<sup>o</sup> 4, July 1952, which was the voice of party committee in South Vietnam, a Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn's work on religious problem; its name is *Our attitude towards religions*<sup>1</sup>.

As we know the religious problems were very important in the resistances as well as in the revolution but works on religions of Marxists were few. We have ever dealt with some works of Nguyễn Ái Quốc, Lê Hồng Phong, Nguyễn Văn Cừ, Trường Chinh and some authors who felt sympathy with Marxism as Nguyễn An Ninh, Đào Duy Anh, Nguyễn Tử Thức. Although *Our attitude towards religions* appeared later than the works of the above authors, it had special values on content and practical significance. *Our attitude towards religions* has been a small book, but it was a propagandic book to be used by Vietnamese revolutionaries.

## **II. The content of *Our attitude towards religions***

As we know in 30 and 40 decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the religious problem had become the problem of political confliction in the cold war situation. In Vietnam, imperialist influences embroiled many religions in their political aims that betrayed the country and protested revolution. *Our attitude towards religions* was born in 1952, at the time of *The Common Letter 1950* of Vietnamese Catholic Church under French Resident Superior, J. Dooley, dragged some important parts of Catholic

community into anti-communist war. In South Vietnam, the colonies not only took advantage of Catholics but also dragged Caodaist and Hoa Hao Buddhist dignitaries and followers into this war so that revolution in Vietnam met many difficulties.

*Our attitude towards religions* appeared timely; it contributed just voice of Vietnam Communist Party and Government into dealing with “religious problems”.

*Our attitude towards religions* dealt with many important problems to meet the requirement of theory and practice in religious problems. The main contents of this work are following:

1- First of all this work dealt with “prerequisite” problem that is to accuse “*French - American colonialism in the problem of freedom of belief*”.

When accusing the exploit age of the colonial influences on religions Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn’s convincing argument had a strong absorbability on theory. He remarked that from the end of 40 decade to the beginning of 50 decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the religious problems in Cochinchina became more and more cutting because religions related to the political characteristics of Cochinchina. His comments were right. He wrote “the dream of French - American colonialisms is to exploit the contradictions of Non-Catholics and Catholics in order to have soldiers and wealth serving the war of aggression. They dully propagated that Marxism-Leninism is three no: no family, no nation, and no religion. In fact, the French colonialism, American imperialism and puppets as Bảo Đại, Trần Văn Hữu are really traitors and aggressors who have not family, ancestor and religion”<sup>2</sup>.

Through the article *Communist and Catholic*, printed in the *Truth* Newspaper we find that Trường Chinh’s style was very sharp. Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn’s style was as fine as Trường Chinh’s style. He disclosed the concrete methods of imperialist influences that they made use of religions for serving their political aims. His accusations were very lively: “In the past the French colonialism took advantage of religious belief of Catholics to take Franciscan Missionaries of Mary into their colonial government for repressing and exploiting our people. Some time the French colonialism and American imperialism competed with each other to hold Franciscan

Missionaries of Mary... For the other religions, they planted their spies in Caodaism, Hoa Hao and Buddhism...”<sup>3</sup>.

2- Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn was very good at foreign language and theory so he had a thorough grasp of the religious situation of our country and foreign countries. *Our attitude towards religions* presented the general theory of writer. In the difficult condition of the resistance he continually followed up the typical Marxist works on religions, first and foremost the works of The French Communist Party and USSR. It was interesting for him to study famous theoretical and classic works, for example *The church and the worship in USSR* by Fedorov, he translated and explained some works of Marx, Engel, Lenin, and Stalin.

With scholarly knowledge on theory, Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn could affirm that religious policy of the socialist countries was different from the religious policy of colonialist regimes. It is interesting for us to find his remarks on the role of Orthodoxy Church in Tsarism “Under Tsarism there was not freedom of belief. “Christianity” was the main religion, it depended upon the machine of monarchic government. The dignitaries, priests, bishops were government officials. Their duties were to declare a birth, a death and a marriage,... The other religions were persecuted”. Perhaps, Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn was the first Vietnamese to study the pattern of the Marxist secular state of USSR. He had some general and fine remarks: “The program of Bolshevik Party was unchanged. This program was summarized into three points: to separate the church from the government; to carry out the freedom of belief; to oppose the religious persecutions”<sup>4</sup>.

When studying the work *Religions* of Nguyễn An Ninh (published in 1932) we find that Nguyễn An Ninh was the first man who translated the famous arguments of Marx on religious theory into Vietnamese. Among these arguments there was a sentence “Religion is opium of people”<sup>5</sup>.

It is interesting for us to find that Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn was the first man who introduced Lenin’s views on religions into Vietnamese. Lenin wrote that: “Government should not interfere in religious affairs; religious organizations should not be related to government. Every one has free worship of any religions which he

like or he does not need to worship any religions. It is unable to base religious belief for classifying citizens. The official documents are not allowed to raise the religious problems of people”<sup>6</sup>.

Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn deeply studied the religious policies of Soviet government. He analyzed and pondered on the basic documents of Soviet government on the religious policies as *Decree on Religions* dated January, 1918; *Ordinance on religious problem* of USSR government dated April 25, 1926... Through the work of Fedorov (it is said that by then the communists in Saigon had more favorable conditions for reading French valuable books), Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn had valuable documents which described the situation of religious life in USSR with harmony, social progression and preservation of world peace.

It was important that Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn not only “*propagated*” the religious policies of USSR but also studied deeply the main problems of Soviet secular state, he care about the recognition of religious organizations. It was a new matter in the socialist countries by then. From the above legal documents Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn commented the views of Fedorov while was giving his expression to Soviet government. He deeply discussed the implementation of *three separable principles* in the relation between State and Church in USSR. It is sure that the following paragraph influenced the awareness of Vietnamese dignitaries, clergies, intellectuals by then. “In order to satisfy religious needs, any believers who have ever religious organization or found religious organization, can register with Soviet regional government to receive houses and cathedrals without paying money... Another law allows religions to build churches, pagodas, temples if religions require, on the condition that they must obey constructional principles”<sup>7</sup>.

He introduced the good experiences in behaving towards religions, first and foremost “superior clergies” in East Europe as Hungary, Czechoslovakia. For China, Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn paid attention to Three-Self Movements of Catholicism and Protestantism; it was current event in China by then. According to Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn this policy seemed “sensibleness” because hierarchy and superior clergies of foreign countries, more precisely of “mother churches” in European - American countries: “hope that Chinese people can not overthrow imperialism”.

It is possible to say that the above thinking of Guying Van Gying were new, they had topical signification in the reflection of party and government on religious problems by then.

3- One more content is considered to be the most important content of the work that is Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn's analysis in *Our attitude towards religions*. This is the most important matter on theory and practice because Vietnamese Communist Party had not get opportunity to show deeply and completely his attitude by then.

Following the views of Nguyễn Văn Cừ, and Trường Chinh, Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn explained his views more logically.

3.1. First of all, he set forth briefly and basically the main views of Marx and Engel on religions.

The first, Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn raised the main arguments of Marx in the work *Contribution to Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* by translating the following paragraph: "Religious suffering is, at one and the same time, the expression of real suffering and protest against suffering. It is the soul of soulless world. Criticism of religion is, therefore, the criticism of the world whose spiritual aroma is religion"<sup>8</sup>.

Until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Vietnamese people had not opportunities to read the works on social religious research, especial the views of Marx - Lenin on religion for having no the original documents. After North Vietnam was liberated (1954), we have found many French books on religions in Pasquier library now Vietnamese National Library in Hanoi. Among these books there are not two important books which were used by Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn. So we can say the translations of Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn, Nguyễn Văn Cừ, Nguyễn An Ninh, Trần Đình Long were very valuable documents to lay foundation for Marxist religion in Vietnam.

The second, Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn found the limitation of Marxists in dealing with religions because they were influenced by *leftist tendency*. To overcome these weak points, Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn based on the views of elder revolutionaries. Basing on the work *Pour connaitre la pensee de Karl Marx* (For understanding of K. Marx's thought) by Henri Lefebvre (published in 1947, Paris) Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn commented the main views of Engel which criticized the leftist attitudes on dealing

with religious problems of European countries. He commented “Engel criticized the French revolutionaries to deal with religious problems by command. Engel wrote: The first on paper, you can guide everything but nobody carries out. The second, persecution and constraint are the best method for reinforcement of religious belief.”<sup>9</sup>

Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn was not only a witness but also a revolutionary leader; he had to cope with the hot problems of religion in Cochinchina. To overcome the leftist tendencies leaving in the regional committee of party in Cochinchina, Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn continuously utilized the method “*use the facts of other countries to say the facts of our country*”. He read *Communism and Catholicism* by M. Thorez, Secretary General of French Communist Party, and he knew some experiences on dealing with Catholicism of France. From the direction of M. Thorez, the view of Engel expressed “The history of primitive Catholicism had many features as same as the contemporary movement of workers. Just as the contemporary movement of workers, primitive Catholicism was the movement of oppressed people: the primitive Catholicism was religion of slaves, of the poor who had not human rights. Catholicism was religion of nations depending upon Roman. Both organizations were persecuted, their followers were ground down and sentenced. Catholicism was charged with the enemy of human life; citizen was charged with the enemy of Government, of religion, of family, of social order. In despite of being murdered, two organizations won victory. There was nothing to block their advance”<sup>10</sup>.

At the beginning of 30 decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in Moscow, Lê Hồng Phong criticized the leftist, wrong awareness of South party committee on religious problems. He specially valued the political attitude of catholic community by then. Basing the views of the most prestigious Marxists Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn tried his best to overcome the mistaken awareness.

In reality, the case of Stalin was delicate. At the beginning of 30 decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century under the leadership of Stalin, International followed leftist direction, including religious problems. Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn skillfully found the right views of Stalin in his famous work *Marxism and National problems*. These views were necessary for the relation between our party with the other socialist countries’ parties. This relation was more and more complex.

3.2. To deal with the religious problems was one of many difficulties of our party by then because we were pressurized by the leftist tendency which affirmed that “*atheistic thought should be dominant thought*”. In fact, we should apply Lenin instructions; we should not debate where Christ was. The communists had to attach important to “*building Paradise on the earth*”.

The analyzed articles of Trường Chinh in *Communist and Catholicism* show that Trường Chinh was impregnated with Lenin instructions. Trường Chinh might be the first man to show the most important characters in the relation between religion and politics in Vietnam: *We must deal with the religious problems in the national problems*.

In *Our attitude towards religions*, Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn analyzed and made clearly above characters. He wrote: “The French colonialism and puppet groups are propagating the difference between Marxism- Leninism and religion. They pretend to be conversant with Marxism- Leninism and religion. They bring out materialism, idealism, theism, atheism. What are their aims? Their aims are looting and killing our people. Vietnamese state is looted, When Vietnamese country is invaded, we are quarreling about what right is materialism or idealism, theism or atheism. Our quarrel makes invader happy. What do we have if materialism or idealism, theism or atheism is right? Our task is to save our country, not to quarrel about materialism or idealism, theism or atheism. It is Marxism-Leninism in Vietnam now. Marxism-Leninism teaches us how to unite our people for winning victory”<sup>11</sup>.

3.3. Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn’s contributions had had the most important significances. Perhaps, he was the first party member to bring out the summing up “the mistakes of our comrades” in awareness as well as in dealing with religions. The summing up were very important. Before Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn, Trường Chinh spoke of the leftist deviation of some comrades when they overly opposed superstition. It was not long after the August Revolution (1945) they asked to abolish usages and customs, traditional religious celebrations.

From the practice of religious tasks in Cochinchina, Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn had the theoretical summing up on the wrongs of religious tasks. We can say that his following remarks about the religious problems of our Party from the August Revolution to the anti-French resistance were very valuable. This validity has



remained. According to him the mistakes of some comrades in dealing with religious problems resulted from their limitative awareness.

a- “They thought that religion is people’s poison; They based on Marx’s word “religion is people’s opium” but they did not really understand exactly what Marx meant. These remarks were: Imperialism does not respect freedom of belief so he takes advantage of religions to poison our people. For our party and our people, religions console sufferings of our people. The function of religions is only consolation. Religions can not settle the sufferings of our people. When dealing with the sufferings of our people in ocean of misfortunes and in hell on earth, religions promise another world. Opium is poison but it is an important medicine. It is used as a painkiller or sedatives. Using the words “religion is opium of people” for disparaging and protesting religions is contrary to Marxist thought, which is anti-people”.

Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn’s awareness is a notable one in the Marxist ideological history on religions in Vietnam. This awareness gets more and more valuable because we have actually discussed the famous words of Marx “religion is opium of people” in “might before” of renovation of our party’s religious policy with Resolution N<sup>o</sup> 24 of Politburo on religion (October, 1990).

Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn continued to bring out the mistakes in Vietnam Communist Party’s awareness on religions by then. He wrote:

b- “As we do not grasp firmly the essential principles of our Party and Government towards religions that we must absolutely respect freedom of belief of our people. As we have arrogant attitude towards this religion and contempt for the other religions. We consider religion as idealism. We pretend to be conversant with every thing, in fact our wrong words are disturbing National United Front.

c- We are in quandary about what to distinguish religion from superstition. We issued orders to ban superstition and worship. In some regions worship is considered to be the first enemy as French colonialism, American imperialism and puppet government. This attitude is wrong because it defies the respect for freedom of belief. Nobody can distinguish worship and religious worship from superstition. Shaman, sorcery, ritual dancing... are people beliefs. In 1940 the Indochinese

Communist Party had two comrades who were shamans to be exiled to Con Dao. ... So we must understand thoroughly the principles of freedom of belief. Our people have right to worship what religions they like. We should make our people not believe shamans, sorceries. We should not issue orders to forbid people's worship. USSR government only forbids the forms of worship which cause great damage to human life"<sup>12</sup>.

We have to quote above long paragraph because the above paragraph presents the feeling of religious life in Cochinchina by then.

3.4. Another special contribution of *Our attitude towards religions* is explaining deeply special relation between the social life and religions in Cochinchina

On this subject, we have known the important views of Lê Duẩn in the work *The Matter of Peasant in Nationalist Revolution*. Lê Duẩn had valuable instructions about the political society characters of the important religions in Cochinchina by then. Beside remarks on Catholicism he had sharp remarks on Caodaism, Hoa Hao Buddhism....

When remarking religions in Cochinchina Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn gave an important question: "Why are there many religions in Cochinchina?". He considered this problem as the last problem in his work *Our attitude towards religions*. He studied South religions from social-economy angle combining with social religious method. His method was strange by then.

Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn answered this above question as follows:

*First*, "Cochinchina lands are concentrated in Indochina banks, landlords and French colonialism. Peasants have small lands... When their lands are lost they are out of work, in this condition their religious sentiment reveals".

*Second*, Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn analyzed wholly *impasse in differentiating between social classes in Cochinchina*. He maintained that it was the main cause to create "many religions". Actually, his analysis was not new but it carried the readers along with the lively social documents.

He remarked that “the feudal system in Cochinchina is shakier than the feudal systems in Central part and North part. But this shakiness does not make feudal system in Cochinchina follow bourgeois way. Every time, landlord left their land to carry on business in city, then French colonialism hustles them back land...We can compare landlord and bourgeois in Cochinchina as silkworm and pupa. Normally, a pupa becomes butterfly to fly from cocoon. French colonialism catches butterfly and cuts butterfly’s wings then butterfly is locked in cocoon, so silkworm is a pupa forever...”.

We know that the establishment of religions in Cochinchina in first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially, Caodaism (1926) had the great role of high-ranking officials and landlords in Cochinchina. Basing psychological analyses Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn had fine remarks: “for officials and landlords this world is the soulless and heartless world and intelligence. The luxurious life does not satisfy them, as Chuang Chou dreamed the past society when was living in slave- society. He imaged that man had a free life as butterfly that could play with flowers... The bourgeoisies dream Từ Hàng Đạo Nhơn, Cửu thiên Huyền Nữ who are personages in Chinese legend”.

Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn’s original and flowery analysis contributed data to science of religion. Basing this data we can affirm that the establishment of religious syncretism as Caodaism, Taoism and harmony of Chinese stories had an important position.

Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn also thought highly of this logic when he said that “bourgeois landlords in Cochinchina were inhibited to develop. They proved helpless in face of French oppression. They dreamed to escape from this world to live in other world. Their class made them dreams the other social regime, the prosperous feudal regime. In this regime, feudal bourgeois class has an important role. They hoped to have Từ Hàng Đạo Nhơn, Cửu Thiên Huyền Nữ, Lưu Kim Đỉnh... that is the social order of immortals, Saints, Buddhas, all concentrates a noble spirit who symbolizes a king”<sup>13</sup>.

*Third*, Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn took care of peasants most because peasants were social force to relate “many religious problems in Cochinchina”. All of us know that

peasants were essential force in society, they were motive force to develop the religious movements in Cochinchina.

Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn analyzed the relation between peasants and religious phenomena. His analysis was original because he based classical analyses of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and the well-known sentence of Marx (it was translated by Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn): *Religion is the soul of soulless world, the intelligence of the unintelligent world*. Religions gave peasants “*dim beauties, dim intelligence, dim soul to make them sit down under exploitation*”. Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn also analyzed cultural psychological characters of peasants who “reclaim waste land in South”. In this land it had not a given religious belief so peasant easily followed any religions. “In short, every religion in Cochinchina manifests the deep desires of peasants on politics, society. At the same time every religion manifests the culture of peasants”.

3.5. The last contribution of this work is Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn’s answer to the important question “What is our attitude towards religious problems ?”

Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn ended his work with the valuable conclusions. His three following conclusions had great ideological and philosophic significance as well as practical significance. They helped our party deal with religious problems Cochinchina by then:

“1) We have to respect absolutely freedom of belief. Government has to carry out freedom of belief. Party members have to honor what our people honor...

2) We have to carry out correctly union of non- Catholics and Catholics and union of religions. We destroy “exploitable thoughts”... Our National United Front is clear and straight forward. We do not take advantage anybody. It is wrong for anybody to say we are exploiting our people. We have to know how to treat believers of many religions.

3) We have to make believers of every religion understand and like our writings. The bulk of our compatriots are peasants so we can write how peasants understand. We note that every religion has its doctrine. The quintessence of doctrines is on justice... On literature and art, we do not forget that our compatriots

seek visional beauty for avoiding the badness of the world. Our music, painting and books have to combine with perceptibility of religious believers...”

Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn ended his work with words to affirm his faith in Marxism - Leninism and the program of Vietnam Labour Party on which appeared publicly in Việt Bắc base (The Northernmost Vietnam base) in 1951: “Toward religions Marxism- Leninism has a faithful attitude, which is to respect absolutely freedom of belief. To base only the general principle of respect for the freedom of belief we can unite eternally all religions in the National United Front and destroy the scheme “using Vietnamese people fights Vietnamese people, war supports war”<sup>14</sup>.

### **III. Some conclusions**

1- We have to give Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn’s book a worthy position in the historical awareness of Vietnam Communist Party on religious problems. This is the first book to set forth “new awareness” of Marxist-Leninist theory on religions, in particular the important sentence “religion is opium of people”.

2- However, this book is thin. It is one of the first books which set forth briefly but basically viewpoints of K. Marx and F. Engel on religions. This book not only introduces the experiences of building secular Marxist state, USSR and the socialist countries by then, but also some essential religious problems in cold war. All of them were severe tests for the communist movements and international workers by then.

The work of Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn was one of the first works that summed up the achievements and limitations, in particular the limited awareness of leftist trend on religious issue in internal Party after the August Revolution (1945). On the other hand, this book also introduced the necessary solutions and behaviors of Vietnam Communist Party, Government and compatriots without religions to religious communities. Since then we affirmed our principle “to respect absolutely freedom of belief in order to unite eternally all religions” in the cause of national revolution and in renovation of concrete religious policies. /.

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**Reference:**


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<sup>1</sup> This work of Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn was printed in the collection under the title *Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn, the political activist, journalist, writer and cultural researcher*. This collection was published in 2006 by Hồ Chí Minh Publishing House. Basing this collection we analysis the above work.

<sup>2</sup> See Journal of Research, no4, July 1952 or *Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn, the political activist, journalist, writer and cultural researcher*. (2006) p. 245. We note that after returning to the capital Bao Dai took advantage of Catholicism to oppose the war of resistance. Hồ Chí Minh wrote many articles to unmask Bảo Đại.

<sup>3</sup> *Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn* ibid p. 346.

<sup>4</sup> *Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn*, ibid. p. 347.

<sup>5</sup> See Đỗ Quang Hưng, *Nguyen An Ninh and Religions* Philosophical Review, November, 2003.

<sup>6</sup> The above paragraph was translated from *The church and the worship in USSR* by Fedorov.

<sup>7</sup> *Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn*, ibid. p. 348.

<sup>8</sup> See *Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn*, ibid p. 351. When comparing this paragraph with the translation by Nguyễn An Ninh in *Religions* (1938) we find that Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn's translation remained the spirit of Henri Lefebvre.

<sup>9</sup> *Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn*, ibid. p. 351.

<sup>10</sup> *Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn*, ibid. p. 353.

<sup>11</sup> *Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn*, ibid. p.349-350.

<sup>12</sup> *Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn*, ibid. p. 353-354.

<sup>13</sup> *Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn*, ibid. p. 353-354.

<sup>14</sup> *Nguyễn Văn Nguyễn*, Ibid. p. 360.