

Le Paria as a Transcolonial Forum: Linking Colonized Peoples and Its Significance for the Vietnamese Revolution

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Abstract

This article analyzes the role of Le Paria as a transcolonial forum linking colonized peoples in the early twentieth century, thereby clarifying its significance for the Vietnamese revolution. Founded in 1922 in Paris under the initiative and leadership of Nguyen Ai Quoc, Le Paria not only exposed the realities of oppression in Indochina but also extended its coverage to other colonial regions, including Africa, Madagascar, and India, contributing to the formation of a shared space of struggle among oppressed peoples. Through its diverse content and explicit revolutionary stance, the newspaper fostered a sense of international solidarity and strengthened the connections between national liberation movements and the international workers' movement. In the Vietnamese context, Le Paria played a crucial role in disseminating revolutionary ideas and in preparing the political, ideological, and organizational foundations for the establishment of the Communist Party of Vietnam. The article argues that, as a transcolonial forum, Le Paria significantly contributed to integrating the Vietnamese revolution into the broader trajectory of global revolutionary movements.

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Introduction

In the early twentieth century, colonialism entered a period of profound crisis, while national liberation movements across Asia, Africa, and Latin America expanded significantly, giving rise to an increasingly interconnected space of struggle. Contemporary scholarship has demonstrated that colonialism was not merely a system of economic and political domination but also a discursive structure of power that shaped perceptions of “civilization” and “mission civilisatrice” with respect to colonized peoples (Said, 1978; Cooper, 2005). In this context, revolutionary journalism emerged as a crucial instrument for resistance, enabling the reconfiguration of political consciousness and facilitating connections among struggles across different colonial settings (Ballantyne & Burton, 2009). At the same time, following Benedict Anderson’s framework, political communities are not constituted solely through territorial boundaries but also through media—especially print capitalism—which contributes to the formation of transnational “imagined communities” (Anderson, 2006).

In the Vietnamese context, the period from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century witnessed a significant transformation from patriotic movements rooted in feudal and bourgeois tendencies to a proletarian-oriented revolutionary trajectory, closely associated with the emergence of Nguyen Ai Quoc on the international stage (Marr, 1971; Quinn-Judge, 2002). Within this transformation, the use of journalism as a tool of revolutionary struggle marked a critical turning point. Among the most notable examples was Le Paria, a newspaper founded in Paris in 1922 by Nguyen Ai Quoc and other colonial activists. Beyond exposing conditions of

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oppression in Indochina, Le Paria expanded its scope to other colonial regions, thereby contributing to the formation of a shared arena of struggle among oppressed peoples (Phuong, 2021; Nhu, 2022).

Existing Vietnamese scholarship has largely approached Le Paria as a vehicle for revolutionary propaganda and as a preparatory step in the ideological formation leading to the establishment of the Communist Party of Vietnam (Phuong, 2021; Chinh, 2023; Kien, 2022). However, the dimension of Le Paria as a transcolonial forum—one that facilitated the formation of international networks of anti-colonial struggle—remains insufficiently examined. Therefore, this article aims to elucidate the role of Le Paria as a platform connecting colonized peoples, while also analyzing its significance for the formation and development of the Vietnamese revolution in relation to broader global revolutionary movements.

Methodology

This study adopts an interdisciplinary approach, combining historical methods with content analysis to elucidate the role of Le Paria as a forum linking colonized peoples. At the methodological level, the research is grounded in the perspective that revolutionary journalism is not merely a medium of communication but also a socio-political space in which anti-colonial discourse is produced and disseminated (Said, 1978; Cooper, 2005). In addition, a transnational approach is employed to analyze the connections among colonial movements mediated through print media, thereby highlighting forms of linkage that transcend national boundaries (Ballantyne & Burton, 2009).

Regarding sources, the study integrates both primary and secondary materials. The primary sources consist of articles written by Nguyen Ai Quoc and published in Le Paria, compiled in *Những bài đăng trên báo Le Paria – Người cùng khổ* (Articles Published in Le Paria – The Pariah) (Quoc, 1987). These materials provide essential data for analyzing content, language, and revolutionary messaging. In addition, archival and descriptive materials on Le Paria from official institutions, such as the Ho Chi Minh Museum (2021) and the Vietnam National Museum of History (2020), are utilized to establish the newspaper's historical context, organizational structure, and operational characteristics.

The secondary sources include both Vietnamese and international scholarship. Studies by Phuong (2021), Nhu (2022), Chinh (2023), and Kien (2022) provide a foundation for examining the role of Le Paria within the history of Vietnamese revolutionary journalism. At the same time, international works on Nguyen Ai Quoc—such as Quinn-Judge (2002), Duiker (2001), and Brocheux (2007)—are employed to clarify his international activities and political thought. Furthermore, broader studies on Vietnamese history and anti-colonial movements, including Giau (2003), Marr (1971), and Goscha (2017), help situate Le Paria within wider regional and global historical trajectories.

In terms of specific methods, content analysis is used to systematize the principal themes presented in Le Paria, including critiques of colonialism, representations of colonial life, and calls for international solidarity. The historical method is employed to reconstruct the formation, development, and impact of the newspaper within the specific context of the 1920s. On this basis, comparative and synthetic approaches are applied to clarify the mechanisms linking colonial movements and to assess the significance of Le Paria for the Vietnamese revolution.

Results

The Emergence and Mission of Le Paria

The emergence of Le Paria was closely associated with a significant turning point in the revolutionary activities of Nguyen Ai Quoc in France in the early 1920s. After joining the French Communist Party and actively engaging in the international workers' movement, Nguyen Ai Quoc

became acutely aware of the role of journalism as a tool of political struggle and revolutionary propaganda. In a context where colonized peoples were subjected to oppression yet lacked a common platform to voice their concerns, the establishment of a newspaper dedicated to them became an urgent necessity (Brocheux, 2007; Duiker, 2001).

In 1922, in Paris, *Le Paria* was officially founded under the initiative of Nguyen Ai Quoc together with revolutionary activists from various colonies. According to materials from the Ho Chi Minh Museum (2021) and the Vietnam National Museum of History (2020), the newspaper was established within the framework of the Intercolonial Union, an organization that brought together workers and intellectuals from French colonies. This indicates that from its inception, *Le Paria* possessed a distinctly international character, serving not only Indochina but also addressing the broader community of oppressed peoples within the colonial system.

In terms of organization and operation, Nguyen Ai Quoc played a central role in editing, writing, and shaping the newspaper's content. Vietnamese scholarship affirms that he was not only one of its founders but also the driving force behind *Le Paria*, directly contributing numerous articles characterized by sharp critique and strong revolutionary commitment (An & Bich, 2022; Kien, 2022). Through journalistic practice, Nguyen Ai Quoc progressively constructed a forum to articulate the voices of colonized peoples while simultaneously disseminating proletarian revolutionary ideology to a wider audience.

Regarding its mission and objectives, *Le Paria* was explicitly defined as the "tribune of colonized peoples," later evolving into the "tribune of the colonial proletariat" and the "organ of oppressed peoples." These changes reflected the evolving political consciousness and strategic orientation of the revolutionary movement in the early twentieth century (Ho Chi Minh Museum, 2021). The newspaper's content focused on exposing the exploitative nature of colonialism, portraying the harsh living conditions of colonized populations, and calling for unity and collective struggle to achieve independence and freedom (Vietnam National Museum of History, 2020).

Importantly, *Le Paria* went beyond merely documenting reality to pursue the broader objective of fostering political consciousness among colonized peoples. According to Kien (2022), the newspaper's articles contributed to raising public awareness of rights and interests, thereby promoting processes of organization and revolutionary mobilization. Similarly, An & Bich (2022) argue that *Le Paria* laid the groundwork for an international revolutionary media space in which colonized peoples could exchange experiences and coordinate collective action.

In sum, the emergence of *Le Paria* was not incidental but rather the result of a sustained revolutionary process and the theoretical maturation of Nguyen Ai Quoc within an international context. With a clearly defined mission and rich content, the newspaper became a crucial instrument for linking colonized peoples, while also serving as a foundational element in the subsequent development of the Vietnamese revolutionary movement (Brocheux, 2007; Duiker, 2001).

Le Paria as a Colonial Forum

One of the most significant contributions of *Le Paria* was the creation of a shared forum for colonized peoples, extending beyond the scope of a conventional newspaper to become a transnational political-intellectual space. Vietnamese scholarship consistently emphasizes that *Le Paria* did not merely report on conditions in Indochina but also covered a wide range of colonial regions, including North Africa, West Africa, Madagascar, and India, thereby establishing a network of information exchange and connections among anti-colonial movements (Phuong, 2021; Nhu, 2022).

First, in terms of content, *Le Paria* developed a structured set of sections that reflected the diverse experiences of colonized societies. According to Phuong (2021), the newspaper's

articles can be categorized into three principal themes: (i) denunciations of colonial economic exploitation and political repression; (ii) representations of the harsh living conditions of indigenous populations; and (iii) reports on resistance movements across different colonial territories. This diversity transformed *Le Paria* into a genuine “forum” in which marginalized voices could be articulated and disseminated. Nhu (2022) further argues that by publishing events from multiple regions, the newspaper contributed to the construction of a shared perception of a common adversary—colonialism—thereby fostering a sense of solidarity among colonized peoples.

Beyond the provision of information, *Le Paria* also played a crucial role in shaping ideological orientation and political action. Chinh (2023) contends that the newspaper contributed to establishing the intellectual foundations of Vietnamese revolutionary journalism, particularly through its integration of social critique with calls for resistance. Similarly, An (2010) identifies *Le Paria* as an early model of revolutionary journalism in which content served not only an informative function but also organizational and mobilizational purposes. Through its explicitly advocative writings, the newspaper helped cultivate political consciousness and promote international solidarity among colonized populations.

From a theoretical perspective, *Le Paria* can be understood as engaging in the “deconstruction of colonial discourse” by exposing the underlying violence of the so-called “civilizing mission.” As Said (1978) argues, colonial discourse constructs the colonized as backward and in need of enlightenment. However, through its systematic critique of exploitation, coercion, and injustice, *Le Paria* effectively inverted this narrative, revealing colonialism as a system of domination. Furthermore, according to Young (2001), postcolonial movements often emerge through the reassertion of identity and the demand for self-determination. In this regard, *Le Paria* provided a space in which colonized peoples could articulate their own perspectives and assert their agency within a broader struggle.

In addition, *Le Paria* functioned as a “communication network” connecting disparate anti-colonial movements. By disseminating information about strikes, uprisings, and resistance activities across various regions, the newspaper enabled colonized peoples to recognize that they were not isolated in their struggles. This was particularly significant in the early twentieth century, when communication infrastructures were limited. Although some general accounts, such as Thanh Lam (2007), suggest that the newspaper’s actual circulation was relatively restricted, its importance lies less in its quantitative reach than in its role as a symbolic and ideological space of connection.

In sum, *Le Paria* transcended the role of a conventional newspaper to become a colonial forum in which oppressed peoples could exchange information, construct shared understandings, and move toward collective action. This function played a crucial role in the formation of international networks of anti-colonial struggle and laid the groundwork for linking the Vietnamese revolution with broader global movements for national liberation.

Mechanisms Linking Colonized Peoples

The mechanisms through which *Le Paria* connected colonized peoples were not merely the by-product of journalistic activity; rather, they reflected a transnational form of political-intellectual organization in the early twentieth century. Following the framework proposed by Ballantyne and Burton (2009), colonial spaces did not exist in isolation but were interconnected through “networks of contact,” within which information, ideas, and experiences of struggle were exchanged and reconfigured. In this context, *Le Paria* functioned as a crucial “node” within such networks, facilitating linkages among anti-colonial movements.

First, this mechanism operated through the comparative restructuring of information. Articles in *Le Paria* did not present isolated accounts of individual colonies; instead, they situated these experiences in relation to one another, thereby highlighting shared patterns of oppression, exploitation, and injustice. This aligns with Cooper’s (2005) argument that colonialism functioned

as a global system characterized by recurring structures across different regions. By juxtaposing conditions in Indochina, Africa, and India, *Le Paria* contributed to the construction of a perception of a “common enemy,” laying the groundwork for solidarity among colonized peoples.

Second, the mechanism of linkage was reinforced through the construction of a transcolonial imagined community. According to Anderson (2006), political communities are constituted not only through territorial boundaries but also through media, particularly print. In the case of *Le Paria*, readers from diverse colonial regions—despite never encountering one another directly—could imagine themselves as part of a broader collective: a community of oppressed peoples sharing a common struggle. This shared imagination provided a psychological and political foundation for cooperation and collective action.

Third, *Le Paria* established connections by disseminating experiences and models of struggle. Articles written by Nguyen Ai Quoc and published in the newspaper did not merely denounce colonialism but also sought to guide action. The collection *Những bài đăng trên báo Le Paria – Người cùng khổ* (Quoc, 1987) reveals that many articles addressed forms of resistance such as strikes, mass organization, and alliances with the international workers’ movement. Through these contributions, *Le Paria* served as a channel for transmitting revolutionary experiences across colonies, thereby enhancing organizational capacity and political awareness among anti-colonial movements.

In a broader context, the emergence of *Le Paria* should be situated within the development of international revolutionary networks following the First World War. Goscha (2017) demonstrates that Southeast Asian activists, including Nguyen Ai Quoc, actively engaged in transnational political spaces—from Paris to Moscow—thereby forging new connections among national liberation movements. Similarly, Bradley (2000) emphasizes that Vietnamese political identity during this period was shaped through interactions with global discourses and movements. Within this framework, *Le Paria* functioned as a concrete medium through which such connections were articulated and sustained at the level of communication.

Moreover, extending the analysis to other French colonies underscores the broader applicability of these mechanisms. Jennings (2001), in his study of Madagascar and other French colonial territories, identifies striking similarities in colonial governance and indigenous responses. Such parallels reinforce the argument that colonized movements could recognize shared experiences of domination and, consequently, establish meaningful connections based on these common conditions.

In sum, the mechanisms linking colonized peoples through *Le Paria* can be understood along three principal dimensions: (i) the comparative restructuring of information; (ii) the construction of a transnational imagined community; and (iii) the dissemination of experiences of struggle. The interplay of these elements enabled *Le Paria* to transcend the limitations of a conventional newspaper and function as an effective connective instrument among anti-colonial movements, while also laying the groundwork for the emergence of international revolutionary networks in which Vietnam became an integral component.

The Role of Nguyen Ai Quoc

In the formation and development of *Le Paria*, Nguyen Ai Quoc occupied a central position, not only as a founder but also as the key actor shaping the newspaper’s content, orientation, and political significance. International scholarship consistently affirms that his period of activity in France (1919–1923) marked a decisive turning point in his transformation from a patriotic nationalist to a proponent of proletarian revolution, in which journalism functioned as a strategic instrument (Quinn-Judge, 2002; Duiker, 2001).

First, Nguyen Ai Quoc directly initiated and organized *Le Paria* within the framework of the Intercolonial Union. According to Quinn-Judge (2002), his participation in political

organizations in France enabled him to recognize the importance of establishing a common platform for colonized peoples, not only at the national level but also at the international level. From this awareness, he actively proposed and contributed to the founding of *Le Paria* as a medium for articulating the voices of the oppressed. Duiker (2001) likewise emphasizes that among Nguyen Ai Quoc's activities in France, journalism was one of the most effective means of reaching broader audiences and disseminating revolutionary ideas.

Second, Nguyen Ai Quoc served as editor-in-chief and principal author of numerous articles published in *Le Paria*. Brocheux (2007) characterizes his writing style as distinctive, combining sharp political argumentation with satirical and vivid prose, thereby both forcefully denouncing colonialism and engaging readers. The content of his writings extended beyond documenting conditions in Indochina to encompass a wide range of colonial contexts, reflecting both his international outlook and his integrative political thinking. Through his direct involvement in writing, editing, and guiding the newspaper's content, Nguyen Ai Quoc transformed *Le Paria* into a highly effective instrument of revolutionary communication.

Third, his role is evident in his capacity to shape revolutionary discourse. According to Dung (2022), in his trajectory from a patriot to the founder of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Nguyen Ai Quoc gradually constructed a coherent revolutionary ideology grounded in Marxism–Leninism while adapting it to the specific conditions of colonized societies. *Le Paria* served as one of the key spaces in which this ideological framework was articulated and refined. The articles published in the newspaper went beyond denunciation, aiming instead to raise political awareness, mobilize the masses, and promote organization and collective struggle.

In addition, Vietnamese scholarship highlights Nguyen Ai Quoc's use of journalism as a means of organizing revolutionary forces. Nhu (2022) argues that through *Le Paria*, he contributed to educating and mobilizing youth, workers, and other oppressed groups, thereby helping to establish a social foundation for the revolutionary movement. Chinh (2023) further notes that *Le Paria* was not merely a medium of representation but also a formative model for the development of Vietnamese revolutionary journalism, characterized by the integration of militancy, mass orientation, and internationalism.

Notably, Nguyen Ai Quoc's role also manifested in his ability to connect the Vietnamese revolution with global revolutionary movements. Quinn-Judge (2002) emphasizes that through his activities in France, he established networks with activists from various colonial contexts. *Le Paria* functioned as a medium for maintaining and expanding these connections, facilitating the exchange of information, experience, and ideas among anti-colonial movements. This not only enhanced the effectiveness of struggle but also laid the foundation for the internationalization of the Vietnamese revolution.

In summary, Nguyen Ai Quoc's role in relation to *Le Paria* can be understood along three principal dimensions: (i) founder and organizer; (ii) editor and principal author shaping content; and (iii) theorist and revolutionary strategist. The convergence of these roles enabled *Le Paria* to become a highly influential forum and simultaneously affirmed Nguyen Ai Quoc's central position in the formation and development of the Vietnamese revolutionary movement within the international context of the early twentieth century.

Significance for the Vietnamese Revolution

The emergence and activities of *Le Paria* were not only significant within the broader context of international anti-colonial movements but also exerted a profound impact on the formation and development of the Vietnamese revolution. From a theoretical perspective, *Le Paria* can be regarded as one of the key instruments that contributed to the ideological, political, and organizational preparation for the establishment of the Communist Party of Vietnam. According to Giau (2003), the transition from pre-bourgeois ideologies to proletarian ideology in Vietnam was closely associated with the reception and dissemination of Marxism–Leninism, in which the

role of Nguyen Ai Quoc was decisive. Within this process, *Le Paria* functioned as an important channel for transmitting and popularizing new revolutionary ideas.

First, *Le Paria* contributed to the dissemination of Marxism–Leninism and the formation of proletarian revolutionary consciousness in Vietnam. Through the writings of Nguyen Ai Quoc, key concepts such as class struggle, national self-determination, and the necessity of proletarian revolution were presented in a vivid and accessible manner. Marr (1971) argues that in the early twentieth century, ideological transformation in Vietnam occurred in the context of the crisis of earlier patriotic tendencies, thereby creating conditions for new ideas to emerge and develop. As an international forum, *Le Paria* played a crucial role in introducing these ideas to Vietnamese intellectual and revolutionary circles, thereby facilitating the emergence of a new, more radical ideological framework.

Second, *Le Paria* played an important role in enhancing political awareness and fostering an internationalist consciousness within the Vietnamese revolutionary movement. In addition to reporting domestic conditions, the newspaper provided information on struggles in other colonial contexts, enabling Vietnamese readers to recognize that their struggle formed part of a broader global movement. According to Goscha (2017), Vietnamese revolutionaries in the 1920s gradually developed an international outlook, viewing national liberation as inseparable from the global proletarian revolution. *Le Paria* served as a key medium in cultivating this perspective, thereby facilitating the integration of the Vietnamese revolution into wider anti-colonial movements.

Third, *Le Paria* contributed to the organizational preparation and development of methods of struggle for the Vietnamese revolution. By publishing accounts of resistance experiences from various colonies, the newspaper provided practical lessons in mass mobilization, organizational building, and revolutionary strategy. An (2010) observes that *Le Paria* functioned not only as a propagandistic tool but also as an organizational instrument, helping to shape the operational model of later Vietnamese revolutionary journalism. Similarly, Chinh (2023) argues that the experiences derived from *Le Paria* directly influenced the development of Vietnamese revolutionary press, particularly in integrating theoretical principles with practical mobilization.

Furthermore, *Le Paria* reinforced the role of Nguyen Ai Quoc in the internationalization of the Vietnamese revolution. Marr (1971) situates the transformation of Vietnamese anti-colonial movements within broader socio-intellectual changes, identifying the emergence of Nguyen Ai Quoc as one of the factors contributing to the shift toward more organized and revolutionary forms of struggle. Through *Le Paria*, Nguyen Ai Quoc not only disseminated revolutionary ideas but also established international connections, thereby creating favorable conditions for the formation of subsequent revolutionary organizations.

In sum, *Le Paria* held comprehensive significance for the Vietnamese revolution across three principal dimensions: (i) the dissemination and consolidation of proletarian revolutionary ideology; (ii) the enhancement of political awareness and internationalist consciousness; and (iii) the preparation of organizational structures and methods of struggle. These contributions were not limited to a specific historical moment but also laid the foundation for the long-term development of the Vietnamese revolution, underscoring the role of revolutionary journalism as a critical instrument in the struggle for national liberation.

Discussion

The findings of this study indicate that *Le Paria* was not merely a revolutionary newspaper but also a distinctive socio-political communication institution that contributed to the formation and operation of networks linking colonized peoples in the early twentieth century. From a theoretical perspective, this role can be understood as a process of discursive reconfiguration and the construction of political communities beyond the confines of the nation-state.

First, from the standpoint of discourse, *Le Paria* performed a counter-hegemonic function against the ideological framework of colonialism. As Said (1978) argues, colonial discourse not only legitimized domination but also constructed representations of the colonized as backward and dependent. Through its critical and denunciatory writings, however, *Le Paria* effectively inverted this discursive order, exposing the exploitative and violent nature of colonial rule while affirming the right to self-determination of oppressed peoples. This demonstrates that revolutionary journalism not only reflects reality but actively participates in the construction of political consciousness.

From the perspective of power structures, Cooper (2005) conceptualizes colonialism as a global system characterized by relatively uniform mechanisms of domination across different regions. In this regard, *Le Paria*'s simultaneous coverage of Indochina, Africa, and Madagascar was not merely informational but also analytical, revealing the systemic nature of colonialism. By highlighting shared experiences of oppression, the newspaper enabled colonized peoples to recognize common historical conditions, thereby fostering the basis for solidarity and collective action. This aligns with Ballantyne and Burton's (2009) argument that colonial spaces were interconnected through networks of information exchange and intellectual interaction, with journalism playing a central role in sustaining these linkages.

Another important dimension is the capacity of *Le Paria* to construct a transcolonial "imagined community." Anderson (2006) suggests that political communities are formed through media, particularly print, which enables readers to imagine themselves as part of a broader collective. In the case of *Le Paria*, this collective transcended national boundaries, encompassing oppressed peoples across the colonial world. Such a shared political imagination contributed to the emergence of a new form of consciousness in which individual struggles were understood as integral to a broader, global movement for emancipation.

From a historical perspective, the role of Nguyen Ai Quoc in shaping and directing *Le Paria* reflects the integration of theoretical insight with revolutionary practice. Studies by Quinn-Judge (2002), Duiker (2001), and Brocheux (2007) emphasize that Nguyen Ai Quoc effectively utilized the political environment in France to construct an international platform for colonized peoples. Through *Le Paria*, he not only disseminated revolutionary ideas but also established connections with other anti-colonial movements, thereby contributing to the internationalization of the Vietnamese revolution. This is further reflected in the newspaper's content, which extended beyond Indochina to encompass a wide range of colonial contexts, demonstrating a strategic and global vision.

For the Vietnamese revolution, *Le Paria* can be regarded as an important intermediary stage in the transition from patriotic movements to a proletarian revolutionary movement. According to Giau (2003), the ascendancy of Marxism-Leninism in Vietnam was closely tied to processes of ideological dissemination and organizational development during the 1920-1930 period. Within this context, *Le Paria* functioned as a medium of political education and communication, contributing to the formation of a revolutionary cadre and preparing the conditions for the establishment of the Communist Party of Vietnam. Marr (1971) and Goscha (2017) likewise emphasize that the development of the Vietnamese revolution during this period cannot be understood in isolation from international contexts and global networks of connection, in which *Le Paria* constituted a significant link.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to acknowledge certain limitations in the actual reach of *Le Paria*, particularly in terms of circulation and access to a broader mass readership (Thanh Lam, 2007). However, its significance lies less in quantitative dissemination than in its function as a "symbolic space," within which revolutionary ideas were generated, exchanged, and disseminated. It was within this space that colonized peoples could situate themselves within a global system and identify appropriate forms of connection and resistance.

In conclusion, *Le Paria* represents a paradigmatic case of the intersection between journalism, politics, and social movements in a colonial context. The newspaper not only contributed to the advancement of anti-colonial struggles but also laid the foundation for the emergence of international revolutionary networks, of which the Vietnamese revolution formed an integral part. This perspective opens new avenues for research in Party history and revolutionary history by emphasizing the importance of transnational dynamics and global linkages in the formation and development of national liberation movements.

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that *Le Paria* was not merely a revolutionary newspaper but also a transcolonial political-intellectual forum that played a significant role in linking oppressed peoples in the early twentieth century. By documenting social realities, critiquing colonialism, and advocating international solidarity, *Le Paria* created a shared space in which diverse movements could interact, exchange experiences, and shape a common understanding of collective struggle.

The role of Nguyen Ai Quoc was decisive in this process. Beyond being the founder and editor, he acted as the principal architect of the newspaper's ideological orientation, content, and organizational structure. Through *Le Paria*, he progressively disseminated Marxism-Leninism while simultaneously linking the Vietnamese revolution to global revolutionary movements, thereby contributing to the formation of an internationalist political vision.

For the Vietnamese revolution, *Le Paria* held particular significance in three key respects: (i) the dissemination and consolidation of proletarian revolutionary ideology; (ii) the enhancement of political awareness and internationalist consciousness; and (iii) the preparation of organizational structures and methods of struggle. These contributions extended beyond a specific historical moment, laying a durable foundation for the establishment of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the subsequent development of the revolutionary movement.

From a broader perspective, the study suggests the need to approach the history of the Vietnamese revolution within the framework of transnational networks rather than confining analysis to the national level. The role of *Le Paria* points toward new research directions that conceptualize revolutionary journalism as a globally connective institution, thereby deepening our understanding of the international character of national liberation movements in the twentieth century.

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