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**HO CHI MINH'S
HERITAGE
IN VIETNAM AND
ABROAD**



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HO CHI MINH'S HERITAGE IN VIETNAM AND ABROAD

The monograph includes the articles by scholars both from Russia and Vietnam written under scientific cooperation project between Moscow and Hanoi state universities. The research explores various aspects of Vietnam national leader and first President Ho Chi Minh's heritage important for his native country and over the world. These aspects are Ho Chi Minh's contribution to the cause of national liberation, party and state building, economic and foreign policy, formation of a new culture and morality. The monograph conceptualizes Ho Chi Minh's ideology, describes his activities at the Communist International and several countries, especially in Russia and China.

The title is dedicated to the scholars, teachers and students studying Vietnam and Orient, as well as a wide range of readers.

Keywords: President Ho Chi Minh, heritage, national liberation, Vietnamese Communist Party, governance, rule-of-law state, political and socio-economic system, new culture, morality, new mankind, international revolutionary.

The assessments and conclusions presented in the enclosed papers are entirely those of the author's and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the organizations — sponsors of this title.

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BRIEF INFORMATION ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Britov Igor V.: Lecturer, National Research University “Higher School of Economics”, igorviet@mail.ru

Gorchakova Tatiana E.: Ph.D. (Economics), Leading Researcher, Deputy Director for Science, Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, tatiana.gorchakova@gmail.com

Kobelev Evgeny V.: Ph.D. (Hist.), Leading Researcher, Center for Vietnam and ASEAN Studies, Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, evgeny.kobelev@mail.ru

Kolotov Vladimir N.: D.Sc. (Hist.), Prof., Chair of the Far East History Department, St. Petersburg State University; Director of the Ho Chi Minh Institute, v.kolotov@spbu.ru

Kuleshova Natalia S.: D.Sc. (Polit.), Deputy Director, Prof., Institute of Asian and African Studies Lomonosov Moscow State University, kuleshova-nataly@mail.ru

Larin Vadim P.: Researcher, Center for Vietnam and ASEAN Studies, Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, vad25550218@yandex.ru

Lokshin Grigory M.: Ph.D. (Hist.), Leading Researcher, Center for Vietnam and ASEAN Studies, Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, gloksin@gmail.com

Mazyrin Vladimir M.: D.Sc. (Econ.), Chair of the Centre for Vietnam and ASEAN Studies, Institute of Far Eastern Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences; Prof., Institute of Asian and African Studies Lomonosov Moscow State University, mazyrin_v@mail.ru

Novakova Oksana V.: Ph.D. (Hist.), Associate Professor, Institute of Asian and African Studies Lomonosov Moscow State University, oksana_novakova@mail.ru

Sokolov Anatoly A.: Ph.D. (Philol.), Senior Researcher, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, ansokolov@mail.ru

Sokolovsky Alexandre Ya.: Ph.D. (Philol.), Professor, Head of the Subject Group for the Philology of East and Southeast Asian Countries, Far Eastern Federal University (Vladivostok); Director of the Center of Vietnamese Culture (FEFU), yalishanda@mail.ru

Syunnerberg Maxim A.: Ph.D. (Hist.), Associate Professor, Institute of Asian and African Studies Lomonosov Moscow State University, hongik@mail.ru

Dinh Tien Hieu: Doctor, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Do Quang Hung: Doctor, Professor, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Do Xuan Tuat: Doctor, Associate Professor, Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics, Vietnam

Kieu Van Nam: Lecturer, FPT University, Vietnam

Le Trung Kien: Doctor, University of Fire Prevention and Fighting, Vietnam

Le Van Cuong: Doctor, Associate Professor, Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics, Vietnam

Mach Quang Thang: Doctor, Professor, Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics, Vietnam

Ngô Thi Khanh: Doctor, People's Public Security Academy, Vietnam

Nguyen Anh Cuong: Doctor, Associate Professor, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Nguyen Anh Tuan: Doctor, Associate Professor, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Nguyen Cao Son: Doctor, People's Security Academy, Vietnam

Nguyen Duy Quynh: Doctor, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Nguyen Hai Yen: Doctor, Banking Academy, Vietnam

Nguyen Manh Cuong: Lecturer, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Nguyen Nghi Thanh: Doctor, Hanoi University of Home Affairs, Vietnam

Nguyen Ngoc Diep: Lecturer, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Nguyen Quynh Nga: Lecturer, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Nguyen Thi Kim Hoa: Lecturer, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Nguyen Thi Thuy Hang: Doctor, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Nguyen Thu Hong: Doctor, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Nguyen Thuy Van: Doctor, Associate Professor, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Nguyen Van Kim: Doctor, Professor, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Nguyen Van Tai: Professor, Doctor, Political Academy, Ministry of National Defence, Vietnam

Nguyen Van Thang: Lecturer, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Pham Ngoc Anh: Doctor, People's Security Academy, Vietnam

Pham Quoc Thanh: Doctor, Associate Professor, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi, thanh.pham131@gmail.com

Phung Chi Kien: Lecturer, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Tran Mai Uoc: Doctor, Associate Professor, Banking University Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam

Tran Ngoc Lieu: Doctor, Associate Professor, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Tran Thi Dieu: Doctor, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Tran Thi Minh Tuyet: Doctor, Associate Professor, Academy of Journalism and Communication, Vietnam

Tran Thi Quang Hoa: Doctor, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Trieu Quang Minh: Doctor, Academy of Politics — Region 1, Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics, Vietnam

Truong Thi Quynh Hoa: Lecturer, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Vu Hong Huy: Doctor, Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee Commission for Popularization and Education

Vu Thi Minh Thang: Lecturer, VNU — University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi

Vu Thuy Trang: Doctor, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences and Humanities

INTRODUCTION

Ho Chi Minh was the hero of national liberation, eminent cultural celebrity, a great leader of the Vietnamese revolution, founder and trainer of the Communist Party of Vietnam. He has been “one of the most influential political figures of the twentieth century”,¹ a figure in history who became a legend in his lifetime and “remembered not just as the liberator of his dominated nation and people but as a modern sage offering a new perspective and hope for those who are struggling uncompromisingly to remove injustice and inequality from the earth as well.”²

Ho Chi Minh’s ideology is a great spiritual asset of the Party and the nation, a great contribution to enriching the cultural treasure of human ideology and culture. Realizing the value of Ho Chi Minh’s ideology, the Seventh National Congress of the CPV affirmed that along with Marxism—Leninism, the Party took “Ho Chi Minh’s ideology as a foundation of ideology, a guideline for action.”³ Resolution No. 09-NQ of the 7th Politburo (February 18, 1995) affirms: “Marxism—Leninism, Ho Chi Minh’s ideology is revolutionary and scientific doctrine, the spiritual weapons of the worker class, working people and the whole nation.”⁴ The Ninth National Congress of the Party continued to emphasize: “Our Party and people are determined to build Vietnam in the socialist way based on Marxism—Leninism and Ho Chi Minh’s ideology.”⁵ Directive

¹ Duiker, W.J. (2000). *Ho Chi Minh: a life*. New York: Hyperion Books. P. 2

² UNESCO và Ủy ban Khoa học Xã hội Việt Nam (1990). Hội thảo quốc tế *Chủ tịch Hồ Chí Minh: Anh hùng giải phóng dân tộc và Danh nhân văn hóa*. Hà Nội: Nxb Khoa học xã hội. Tr. 37.

³ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (1991). *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ VII*. Hà Nội: Nxb Sự thật. Tr. 127.

⁴ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2003). *Văn kiện Đảng toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. T. 54. Tr. 219.

⁵ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2001). *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ IX của Đảng*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 84.

No. 23 of the Secretariat, March 27, 2003, regarding to the promotion of research, propaganda and education of Ho Chi Minh's ideology in the new period, also clearly indicates the need to accelerate doing research and learning his ideology. Ho Chi Minh's ideology is a comprehensive and profound system of views on the basic issues of the Vietnamese revolution. Ho Chi Minh's ideology has paved the way for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution under the leadership of the CPV in the last more than 90 years. Today, in the cause of innovation, accelerating industrialization and modernization of the country, Ho Chi Minh's ideology along with Marxism—Leninism continues to be the basis of ideology and guideline for the Party's actions. It is a summary of history, highlighting the profound origins of all victories of the Vietnamese revolution in the revolutionary periods, and also specifying the theoretical and practical basis for the victory of the innovation cause. Just as the X Congress of the CPV has affirmed: "Innovation is not isolated from but keeps awareness, creative use and development of Marxism—Leninism, Ho Chi Minh's ideology which are taken as the ideological foundation of the Party and the guideline for revolutionary actions;"⁶ The XI Congress of the CPV (1-2011) continued to emphasize that Ho Chi Minh's ideology "is a tremendous and precious spiritual asset of our Party and people, forever paving the way for the revolutionary cause of our people to win."⁷ This shows the special importance of Ho Chi Minh's ideology not only to the past, the present, but also to the future.

In that spirit, the continuation of doing research and further clarification of Ho Chi Minh's contributions to the victory of the Vietnamese revolutionary cause is of practical significance. The cause and ideology of Ho Chi Minh have been living forever because he led a life faithful to the country, filial piety to the people and devoted to humanity. As a true patriot, Ho Chi Minh's nationalism was not narrow-minded nationalism but combined smoothly with pure internationalism. He loved his country but respected any other country, loved his people but loved all humanity. He fought not only for national rights but also for human rights — for unhappy people all over the world. It can be said: "The greatest advantage of President Ho Chi Minh is not only fighting for a flag, for a liberation on the surface [...] but a fight for human dignity [...] and thanks to that, the revolution launched by Ho Chi Minh was

⁶ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2006). *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ X của Đảng*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr.70.

⁷ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2011). *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ XI của Đảng*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr.88.

world-class.”⁸ Therefore, Ho Chi Minh was honored to be the one who “redrew” the world map in the direction of justice and humanity. Ho Chi Minh has been living forever because he left the most brilliant era in the history of the nation and the era of anti-brutal colonialism on a worldwide scale. After the October Revolution, with the vision of a genius, Ho Chi Minh recognized the signals of a new era in human history, so he chose the development path of the Vietnamese nation to be national independence is closely linked to socialism. Under his leadership, Vietnam made the August Revolution and became a symbol of revolutionary heroism when defeating the mightiest aggressors. Not only creating a brilliant era in the nation’s history, did Ho Chi Minh also open an era of anti-colonialism on a worldwide scale. Today, imperialism still exists in very sophisticated forms such as financial, cultural invasion, military threat... When the era of opposing power, oppression still not over, the world still needs the truth that Ho Chi Minh set out: Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. Ho Chi Minh has been living forever because he had a system of ideological stature. Throughout history, the Vietnamese people have got many great people but no one has thought as fully as Ho Chi Minh did. In particular, his ideology did not stop at the theory but has changed the life of the Vietnamese nation.

When the world today is still full of injustices, Ho Chi Minh’s ideology of liberation, peace, and innovation for development is still “invariant” in a world of “universal variables”. It constantly encourages the oppressed peoples to fight for their right to life in independence, freedom and happiness. Ho Chi Minh has been living forever because his morality has become the norm of human morality. In human history, there have been many thinkers discussing morality, however, Ho Chi Minh not only promoted morality but also was a shining example of morality. If his talents and intellect have made people admire, his morality has captured and inspired every object because human instinct is to reach truth, goodness and beauty. Today, when science and technology develop rapidly, in order to develop sustainably, mankind needs morality because without morality and conscience, science will only bring great misfortune and misery, great tragedies. Therefore, Ho Chi Minh will forever be the model of leadership that people aspire to seek, his ethics is still the standards that people need to reach.

⁸ *Hội thảo quốc tế về Chủ tịch Hồ Chí Minh* (1990). Hà Nội: Nxb Khoa học Xã hội. Tr. 39.

Celebrating the 50th anniversary of the hero of national liberation and outstanding cultural celebrity Ho Chi Minh “going into eternity”, on September 9, 2019, in Moscow — the land where President Ho Chi Minh has spend many years of his life, Institute of Asian and African Studies, Lomonosov Moscow State University and University of Social Sciences and Humanities, Vietnam National University, Hanoi, coordinated organizing an international scientific seminar on the topic *The Cause and Ideology of Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam and the World*, with the presence of numerous leading scientists on Ho Chi Minh of the Russian Federation and Vietnam. In the information age, the imprint of the people is often very fragile but the interest of numerous scientists in the cause and thought of a great man who “has gone away” half a century ago, partly spoke of the vitality and bold impression of Ho Chi Minh’s heritage in the history of Vietnam and the world. In this solemn workshop, the scientists of the two countries affirmed the vitality of the cause and ideology of Ho Chi Minh on many aspects. The scientists attending the conference, despite using different methods, despite choosing different research issues, all affirmed: Ho Chi Minh was a leader at the turning point of history and one of the greatest figures of the twentieth century. That person has become a legend since he was alive and will forever belong to the future. Not only being a great event in the scientific life of the two countries, this Russia—Vietnam scientific conference is also a very vivid and touching demonstration of the strong friendship between the two peoples. It contributes to bringing the comprehensive strategic partnership between our two countries into depth.

After the workshop, on the basis of exchanging materials and ideas, the scientists from Vietnam and the Russian Federation have spent a lot of time to continue doing research and perfecting their studies, forming a monograph titled *Ho Chi Minh’s Heritage in Vietnam and Abroad*. In addition to the introduction and conclusion, the book is structured into 5 parts, with 29 chapters written by leading researchers on Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam and Russia. Hopefully, everyone who is interested in this topic can find valuable scientific documents and suggestions here.

On the occasion of President Ho Chi Minh’s 130th birthday, we would like to introduce the monograph to our beloved readers.

PART 1
THE CAUSE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION
AND HO CHI MINH'S IDEOLOGY

Chapter 1
HO CHI MINH, A VIETNAM NATIONAL
LIBERATION IDEOLOGUE

*“We can not solve our problems with
the same level of thinking that created them”*

Albert Einstein

The paper examines various English translations of the term Tư tưởng Hồ Chí Minh. The author concludes that Ho Chi Minh Ideology is more accurate than the traditional version, Ho Chi Minh Thoughts. This ideology, which constitutes the Comintern techniques adapted to Vietnamese reality by Ho Chi Minh, underlies the state power in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and is the national idea of contemporary Vietnam, a critical technology whose elaboration opened the way to national liberation. The ideology of Ho Chi Minh is also the ideological ground of successful economic reform effected in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Stemming from the conception of neurological levels, the author reveals the technique of changing the beliefs and actions of the Vietnamese public under the influence of the Ho Chi Minh ideology.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh Ideology, national liberation, adapting Comintern techniques, combining the political and philosophical thought of the West and the East

Vietnam's history is permeated with wars against aggressors, and heroic struggle for independence, therefore the thoughts of Ancient Chinese sage Sun Tzu fit perfectly an analysis of the new and modern

history of Vietnam. In his famous book *The Art of War*¹ he points out that warfare rests on five fundamental phenomena, namely, (1) The Moral Law²; (2) Heaven; (3) Earth; (4) The Commander; (5) Method and discipline.³ And Sun Tzu goes on to say that “the Moral Law causes the people to be in complete accord with their ruler, so that they will follow him regardless of their lives, undismayed by any danger.”⁴

And it is precisely this role of The Way or The Moral Law (Chinese 道; Vietnamese *Đạo*) in a broad philosophical sense implied by Sun Tzu that Ho Chi Minh Ideology did and does play in Vietnam. For the Vietnamese people who went through horrendous trials in the 19th and 20th centuries, the development and dissemination of this spiritual heritage played the key role in effectively furthering the national liberation movement (NLM).

It would appear that the phrase *Ho Chi Minh Thoughts* very much in circulation both in Russian and in English is a somewhat inept translation of the source term from Vietnamese when it comes to describing Ho Chi Minh Ideology (Vietnamese *Tư tưởng Hồ Chí Minh*).

This kind of approach distorts a systemic nature of his views of the world and techniques of fighting for national liberation, since *thoughts* are characterized by a disjointed mixture of separate opinions on various matters, which is certainly not so in this case.

According to the definition accepted in Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh Ideology is the result of Marxism—Leninism Vietnamization,⁵ and that is certainly an ideology. If one uses the phrase *Ho Chi Minh Thoughts* to translate the original, this means that in the course of ideology Vietnamization the quality of the ideological product deteriorated tangibly, so that the latter lost the right to be called ideology becoming some kind of thoughts instead.

It appears that we had better start getting out of the maze of obvious logical contradictions. For instance, why ideologue Ho Chi Minh is seen as the creator not of an ideology, but of Ho Chi Minh thoughts. If that is the case, he ought to be called a thinker perhaps? Then one

¹ Tôn Tử. *Binh Pháp*, Chinese 兵法 (Sun Tzū. *The Art of War*).

² 道 Way

³ Sun Tzū (2009). *The Art of War*. Translated by Lionel Giles. M.A. Pax Librorum Publishing House. P. 3 (First published in 1910).

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2001). *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ IX của Đảng*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 83.

might arrive at a logically unsound conclusion that Ho Chi Minh was an ideologue without an ideology.

The existing confusion in Russian and in English is largely due to the politically motivated ideological hierarchy that was operational in Soviet times. Similar approaches encountered resistance both in the West (Albania and Yugoslavia) and in the East (China). At the time Moscow was considered the ideological Big Brother of the Communist world, whereas the kid brothers could count on little more than an ideological contribution in “thoughts” format, as the Chinese hieroglyphs 思想⁶ (Chinese *sixiang*) were translated, and that gave rise to the Vietnamese term tư tưởng. Meanwhile, translating the Chinese term *ideology* as *thoughts* was strictly with regard to the spiritual heritage of Mao Zedong, while his followers could only hope to make a theoretical contribution 理論⁷ (Chinese *lilùn*; Vietnamese *lý luận*) to the development of the Great Helmsman’s ideas.

It would appear that nowadays following obsolete ideological dogmas of those distant years in the Big Brother-Kid Brother format is no longer relevant.

So, in the circumstances it appears logical to resort to the classical Confucian approach and use the-rectification-of-terms method (Chinese 正名 *zhèngmíng*; Vietnamese *học thuyết “Chính danh”*), calling ideology *ideology*. Incidentally, Ho Chi Minh in his day did precisely this by rectifying terms and giving proper names in Vietnamese to the realities of the then geopolitical situation, ways of overcoming the latter, and objectives of national construction, which determined the format of the national-liberation struggle by the Vietnamese people for generations to come. Developing a system of new meanings on a national scale, which became a watershed in Vietnam’s modern history resulting in the emergence of a new state, is defined as ideology, scientifically speaking.

The traditional way of giving a political leader’s system of views his name, by analogy with Leninism, Stalinism, Maoism, etc., in the case of Ho Chi Minh Ideology does not seem altogether pertinent, since in contrast to the ideological systems referred to above, it managed not only to outlive its maker, but already 50 years after the demise of the national leader, having survived two generations of the DRV leaders, and ten generations of their SRV counterparts, is nowadays the official ideology of the ruling party and of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, exerting a systemic large-scale influence on all spheres of state construction.

⁶ Ideology.

⁷ Theory.

Therefore, in this case one has extra grounds for passing on to term recification and calling ideology *ideology* instead of *thoughts*.

At the conference named “The Cause and Ideology of Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam and the World”, that was successfully held in Moscow on September 9, 2019 the participants hotly debated the subject of correctly translating the phrase Tư tưởng Hồ Chí Minh. The Russian and the Vietnamese speakers cited substantiated comments in favor of their stand. Respected Russian Vietnam expert E.V. Kobelev, summing up the discussion, displayed veritable wisdom in the style of Ho Chi Minh, which helped the audience reach a consensus: “With time the thoughts of Ho Chi Minh are increasingly turning into the ideology of Ho Chi Minh.”

Ho Chi Minh himself never used the expression Tư tưởng Hồ Chí Minh, which first appeared in official documents of the 7th congress of the CPV in 1991.⁸ However, this is not to say that the phenomenon of Ho Chi Minh Ideology as such did not exist, for it is a quintessence of his spiritual heritage.⁹

Ho Chi Minh Ideology forms the basis of state power in the DRV and SRV, the national idea of contemporary Vietnam, a critical technology whose development opened the way to national liberation. In fact, we talk of the key ingredient of Vietnam's victory in Indochina wars, and also of the ideological foundation of successful economic reforms implemented in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. The issue, for all its topicality, is yet to be explored properly by present-day Orientalist scholars, as it is prone to the influence of ideology and propaganda. Failure to understand the key motives and mechanisms of the national-liberation movement in Vietnam formulated by Ho Chi Minh made the powerful opponents misinterpret the emerging situation and eventually suffer a crushing defeat. It was the Comintern techniques adapted by Ho Chi Minh to Vietnamese reality that allowed the Vietnamese people to rise to fight for national liberation and win in an unequal struggle with the world's mightiest countries (France, the United States, China). Ho Chi Minh Ideology organically combines various trends in the political and philosophical thought of both the West and the East.

When tackling the problem of the colonial regime that several generations of Vietnamese fighters for independence vainly tried to solve, Ho Chi Minh discovered a highly effective Moral Law or the Way 道,

⁸ *Từ điển Hồ Chí Minh học* (2017), Tạ Ngọc Tấn (chủ biên). Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 531.

⁹ *Ibid.*

a technique of attaining objectives, i.e. rising to a higher systemic level, which is something none of his predecessors managed to do.

It is a known fact that people perceive the world around them in the light of their ideas. The mechanism of fundamental changes from ideals to behavior at the individual and group levels has been minutely explored by psychologists. The works of Robert Dilts, who followed up the ideas of Bertrand Russell (1872—1970) and Gregory Bateson (1904—1980) about the role of logical or neurological levels, help understand the mechanisms of forming and changing human behavior¹⁰ (see Figure 1).

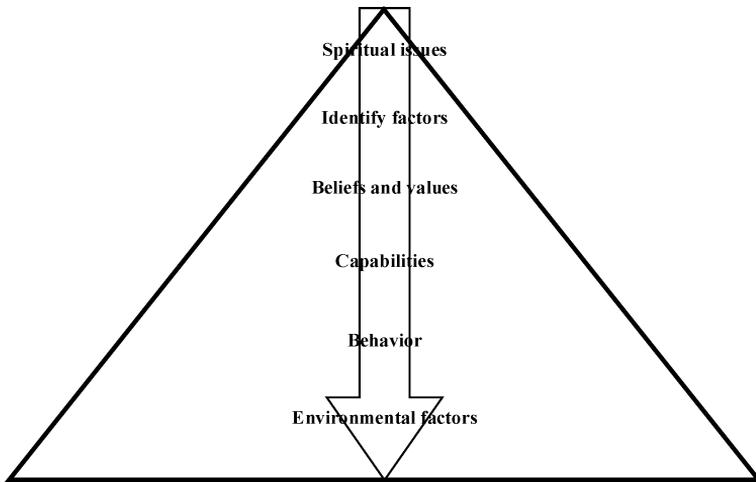


Figure 1. The pyramid of neurological levels according to Gregory Bateson and Robert Dilts

Under this theory, human behavior is determined by a hierarchy of neurological levels, where each type of activity, from spiritual to sensory, has a corresponding level responsible for it. This kind of division is necessary because then psychic and neuro processes do not get confused, and so ideals and convictions are separated from behavior models and conditioned responses.

Robert Dilts, falling back on the ideas of Gregory Bateson, believes that “the levels model proposes that there is a natural hierarchy of levels within an individual or group that function as different logical types of

¹⁰ Dilts R.B. (1999). *Sleight of Mouth: The Magic of Conversational Belief Change*. Dilts Strategy Group. P. 247.

processes. Each level synthesizes, organizes and directs a particular class of activity on the level below it. Changing something on an upper level would necessarily "radiate" downward, precipitating change on the lower levels. But, because each successive level is of a different logical type of process, changing something on a lower level would not necessarily affect the upper levels."¹¹

Using this model helps separate different-type neurological processes, because "Beliefs, for example, are formed and changed by different rules than behavioral reflexes. Rewarding or punishing particular behaviors will not necessarily change someone's beliefs, because belief systems are a different type of process mentally and neurologically than behaviors."¹²

This conception in terms of political psychology is borne out by instances from Vietnam's history. For example, French colonialists tried to suppress the national liberation movement by means of intimidation techniques and resorted to cruel reprisals, yet they failed to drastically change the behavior models of the Vietnamese. Throughout the 80 years of the overt existence of the colonial regime, the system of various penalties proved helpless before the power of the national cultural tradition. The reason was that lower-level changes (sensory perception) do not have a long-term influence on the upper level (values). The effect of this mechanism is precisely what explains the rule of the higher the pressure, the stronger the resistance, yet for efficient resistance there should be an operational multi-level complex where at various levels all aspects of human activity are presented in a systematized way, from ideals, goals and strategies, to technologies and specific actions. Then and then only will there be a chance of changing human behavior and winning.

Table 1 shows changes occurring at relevant neurological levels.

The changes occurred from the top downward, from a higher level in terms of hierarchy and abstraction, to a lower one, specifically talking, and spread in society thus changing both individuals and society at large, as well as the context of struggle for freedom, and altering external conditions.

Let me observe that this analytical model was developed in the West by major experts in cybernetics, mathematics and psychology for several decades in the second half of the 20th century, whereas Ho Chi Minh practiced a similar system in the course of political struggle on a nation-

¹¹ Dilts, R.B. *Op. cit.* P. 246.

¹² *Ibid.*

Table 1. Characteristic changes at various neurological levels

Neurological level	Characteristic changes
Spiritual issues ↓	The highest spiritual level. World outlook, ideology, strategy, system of goals and priorities
Identity factors ↓	Changes in self-awareness and modification of political and social role
Beliefs and values ↓	Getting inner permission and motivation for active political struggle for one's rights (party system). Distinctions between good and bad, right and wrong...
Capabilities ↓	Using available resources to change movement vector and choosing adequate technology
Behavior ↓	Changing behavior forms and, accordingly, politically relevant actions
Environmental factors	Going beyond restrictions and rising to fight, which caused changes in external conditions

nal scale way back at the start of the 20th century, being conscious of the power of the printed word!

The Vietnamese revolution seems to me to be under-explored from the point of view of political psychology. If one applies the neurological levels model to analysis of changes in the political system and Vietnamese society of the 20th century, one will find that the appearance and dissemination of Ho Chi Minh Ideology caused their profound systemic transformation.

The Ho Chi Minh Ideology contains in a concentrated form a multi-level program, which, once ingrained in the people's consciousness, starts materializing, changing people's beliefs and motivating them to active work to transform the environment they do not see as right. The program contained the mission, objective, directives, permissions, and powers that motivated people to use resources and develop techniques, as well as new trends, forms and methods of struggle.

The Ho Chi Minh Ideology, having taken a grip at the spiritual level, triggered off a chain reaction while consistently and systemically affecting lower levels, which it filled with new content. Anyone, having familiarized oneself with even some of its content, will get a different vision of the problem of national liberation and ways of solving the latter.

Dissemination of Ho Chi Minh Ideology among the masses brought forth truly revolutionary, i.e. radical outlook transformations, which resulted in changing the behavior of millions of his fellow-countrymen, and so also the system of political power in Vietnam.

The table given below shows how Vietnam's population perceived the surrounding world and its place therein before and after Ho Chi Minh Ideology spread in the country.

Table 2. Changes at different neurological levels prior to and after introduction of Ho Chi Minh Ideology

Neurological level	Answer to question	Changes occurring before Ho Chi Minh Ideology	Changes occurring as the result of employing Ho Chi Minh Ideology and key Ho Chi Minh quotes
Spiritual issues ↓	For whom?	?	People of Vietnam. "Vietnam is a unified country. The Vietnamese nation is united. Rivers may dry up, mountains may rub down, but this truth will never change." ¹³
Identity factors ↓	Who?	Feudal system/ colony or smth else	Modern Vietnam is heir to the glorious history of great ancestors "The Hung Kings founded this country and you and me must preserve it." ¹⁴
Beliefs and values ↓	Why?	Backward culture and country defeated in war, deprived of sovereignty and to be exploited and/or assimilated or denationalized	Independence — Freedom — Happiness "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." ¹⁵

¹³ The Vietnamese original reads: "Nước Việt Nam là một. Dân tộc Việt Nam là một. Sông có thể cạn, núi có thể mòn, nhưng chân lý ấy không bao giờ thay đổi." President Ho Chi Minh once said: "The southern region is the flesh and blood of Vietnam. Rivers may be shallow, mountains may be eroded, but the truth will never change."

¹⁴ The Vietnamese original reads: "Các vua Hùng đã có công dựng nước, Bác cháu ta phải cùng nhau giữ lấy nước."

¹⁵ The Vietnamese original reads: "Không có gì quý hơn độc lập, tự do!"

Neurological level	Answer to question	Changes occurring before Ho Chi Minh Ideology	Changes occurring as the result of employing Ho Chi Minh Ideology and key Ho Chi Minh quotes
Capabilities ↓	How?	Collaboration or local uprisings of traditional type	CPV is a new-type political party, modern technology of liberation revolution. “Cohesion, cohesion, great cohesion. Success, success, great success.” ¹⁶
Behavior ↓	What to do?	To die upright or to live kneeling down	Struggle for own interests “We will sooner sacrifice everything, but we will not tolerate loss of the country, we will not be slaves. The time has come to save our country. We must sacrifice even the last drop of our blood to preserve the country.” ¹⁷
Environmental factors	Where? When?	Colonial regime or fight against it underground or in emigration	DRV/SRV. Broad international recognition as result of successful struggle. “Only great cohesion will ensure our glorious future.” ¹⁸

Depending on the neurological level of problem processing, people took decisions answering various questions: who are we and what do we live for; what is right and what is wrong; what can be done and what cannot; what can be accepted and what cannot; and also what should be done and in what way to change the world around us. As Ho Chi Minh Ideology was being developed and disseminated, the minds of increasing numbers of his fellow-countrymen underwent changes that altered their attitude to life and their behavior.

The Table shows that in the colonial period the content of all neurological levels was blurred, which engendered cognitive dissonance. That

¹⁶ The Vietnamese original reads: “Đoàn kết, đoàn kết, đại đoàn kết. Thành công, thành công, đại thành công.”

¹⁷ The Vietnamese original reads: “Chúng ta thà hy sinh tất cả, chứ nhất định không chịu mất nước, nhất định không chịu làm nô lệ. Giờ cứu nước đã đến. Ta phải hy sinh đến giọt máu cuối cùng, để giữ gìn đất nước.”

¹⁸ The Vietnamese original reads: “Có đại đoàn kết thì tương lai chắc chắn sẽ về vàng.”

confused people, preventing them from closing ranks in the fight for their rights, and would not allow them to find the point of force application.

The contents of the last column are no result of random concurrence of circumstances, but of purposeful work both by Ho Chi Minh himself and the system of views he created, which at various levels, in a system-like manner, overmastered the hearts and minds of his fellow-countrymen, changing their mindset, while they, having changed themselves, changed the world around them.

Skilful use of the language, which enables people to interact, in a sense helps program the consciousness and behavior of individuals, i.e. change the world. It was no accident that the Gospel according to St. John in the New Testament starts thus, "In the beginning was the Word..." (Gospel according to St. John 1, 1)¹⁹

The words uttered and written by Ho Chi Minh changed first the thinking of people, which then altered their convictions and behavior models. The Declaration of Independence written by Ho Chi Minh contains the following lines, "...we... solemnly proclaim to the world: Vietnam is entitled to be free and independent. The Vietnamese people is determined to give all of its spiritual and material energy, sacrifice its life and prosperity to defend it right to freedom and independence."²⁰

Ho Chi Minh managed to find the kind of words, which, once penetrating the minds and the subconscious of his fellow-countrymen, started an inbuilt program; as the program ran, changes occurred successively at various levels, which resulted in launching the process of national liberation. It was the Ho Chi Minh Ideology that proved to be the main ingredient, invisible to the uninitiated, of the strength and victory of the Vietnamese people in its struggle against the mighty opponents.

The next stage in the NLM spearheaded by the Communist Party of Vietnam created by Ho Chi Minh differed in that now there was a point of force application on the national scale. Precisely for that reason the NLM under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh became a sort of spring that used to be shoved off by the colonialists, but at that moment retreat ended, and the spring coils started to compress. The energy of its rebound put up an ever more efficient resistance, until it destroyed the colo-

¹⁹ *The Bible*. Retrieved on September 20, 2019 from URL: <https://www.bible.com/bible/1/JHN.1.KJV>.

²⁰ *Toàn văn Hiến pháp nước Cộng hòa xã hội chủ nghĩa Việt Nam*. Retrieved on September 20, 2019 from URL: <http://nld.com.vn/thoi-su-trong-nuoc/toan-van-hien-phap-nuoc-chxhcn-viet-nam-201311281149826.htm>.

nial regime and restored popular power in Vietnam. The process was long and difficult, and required the nation's entire strength to be exerted, plus the backing of influential allies.

Nowadays, in the 130th year of Ho Chi Minh's birth, one can say that the Vietnamese people has fulfilled the behest of its national leader, and at the moment the united independent Vietnam is dynamically developing in Southeast Asia, preserving its political stability, successfully furthering a multi-structure economy, inexorably defending its national interests; the country firmly stands on its own feet, and looks ahead with confidence.

The spiritual heritage of Ho Chi Minh in today's Vietnam is being creatively developed on a scientific basis, and the leading role in that belongs to the Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics founded by Ho Chi Minh in 1949.

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Chapter 2

CAUSE AND IDEOLOGY OF HO CHI MINH IN VIETNAM AND THE WORLD

The author submits to attention a historical portrait of Ho Chi Minh, one of the greatest figures of the twentieth century. His desire, as he said, is that of supreme desire, for the country of Vietnam to be completely independent, and the people to be completely free and happy. In the letter sent back to posterity (later known as the Testament), he stated his last wish is that the entire Party, the entire people unite to strive and build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, rich and strong Vietnam, and make a worthy contribution to the world revolution history. Ho Chi Minh's whole life was involved in the struggle to liberate the nation, to liberate society and to liberate people, not only within his country but also for all humanity.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh, Vietnam, independence, freedom, happiness

Ho Chi Minh — the patriotic son of Vietnam

Ho Chi Minh was the one who joined his left-wing comrades in the French Socialist Party to establish the French Communist Party; also the founder and leader of the Communist Party of Vietnam by example; founder of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the head of state for 24 years (1945—1969); founder of the Vietnamese people's armed forces; the founder of the united national front; a vanguard in the fight for world progress.

There are so many positions and merits but no medal hangs on the Ho Chi Minh's chest. At one time, the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam intended to give Ho Chi Minh the Golden Star Medal, the highest medal of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, but he meant not to accept, instead he said that until the country was

unified then the people of the South would represent all the people of Vietnam and give him that medal. It is true that on the Ho Chi Minh's chest there were no medals of Vietnam but underneath that thin shirt lay a heart beating along the strive the nation's development. Ho Chi Minh was the one who left the trace in the Vietnam's twentieth century, the tragic century, the century full of poetry as well as blood and tears, and for the following centuries, a spiritual legacy that is as vast as it is precious, the ideology that bears his name — the ideology of Ho Chi Minh.

Ho Chi Minh is a person with great aspirations. His desire was not to make himself materially rich. His desire, as he said, was that of desire, a supreme desire for the country of Vietnam to be completely independent, and the people to be completely free and happy. In the letter sent back to posterity (later known as the Testament), he stated his last wish was that the entire Party, the entire people unite to strive and build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, rich and strong Vietnam, and make a worthy contribution to the world revolution history. Ho Chi Minh's whole life was involved in the struggle to liberate the nation, to liberate society and to liberate people, not only within his country but also all of humanity.

Ho Chi Minh escaped all personal temptations, just as he quoted Mengzi to advise the Communist Party of Vietnam members to be irrevocable in riches, immovable in poverty, unyielding before might. He used the power of the people which entrusted himself to his position as the President to bring benefits to the people, to the country, to working man around the world. In the Testament, he wrote that, all his life he entirely devoted to serve the Motherland, the revolution and the people; now even though he had to say goodbye to this world, he had no regrets, only regret not being able to serve much longer and more.

Ho Chi Minh's whole life was hard, full of worries toward the great cause. Orphaned at the age of 10, he took care of his mother's funeral at the imperial city of Hue all by himself. He went abroad to find a way to save the country without a penny, using his white-collar physique to do the hard labor to earn money to live and operate. He was twice imprisoned, received a death sentence without being present; suffered countless adversities. He was subjected to manhunt by colonial police; suffering from the unknown, in spite of being wholehearted toward the independence of the homeland, the freedom and happiness of the Vietnamese people, for the liberation of the needy labor yet unfortunately time and time again he was misunderstood by superiors, friends, comrades and his own students.

It seems that the greats often experience much arduous and hardship. Ho Chi Minh perseveres in righteousness, defends the right and is

full of altruism. Since the beginning with nothing at hand, Ho Chi Minh has been highly appreciated, encouraged and trusted by the intellectuals or the seniors. However, there were criticisms. The *La Dépêche Coloniale* newspaper had harsh criticisms of the articles from Nguyen Ai Quoc when Nguyen Ai Quoc denounced colonialism. The newspaper said that Nguyen Ai Quoc was an ambitious individual and also claimed that Nguyen Ai Quoc has no mission assigned by the Vietnamese people. Nguyen The Truyen, a Vietnamese patriotic intellectual at this time in France, wrote “Un bolsévick jaune” in the French newspaper *Le Paria*, No. 9, on December 1, 1922, which states: “Is Mr. Nguyen ambitious? Yes. But what is Mr. Nguyen’s ambition? His ambition is to liberate his brothers and sisters who fell under a brutal exploitation circle. Is there any more noble ambition than that? ... Your chest has no medals. Your pocket has no government checks. But he carries the aspiration of an oppressed nation.”¹ “Nguyen Ai Quoc has the ambition to free the people from the shackles of the French colonialists, to bring freedom and happiness to the Vietnamese people... Nguyen Ai Quoc, who was not authorized by the Indochinese government to express his opinion in *Le Paria* but the voice of Nguyen Ai Quoc reflected the aspiration of the Vietnamese people to want the very basis of prosperity and freedom. The voice of Nguyen Ai Quoc is the voice of the entire Vietnamese people. So, you guys at *La Dépêche Coloniale* just shut up, do not slander.”²

Phan Chau Trinh, while living in France, had had many arguments with Ho Chi Minh. Phan Chau Trinh disagreed with the revolutionary method of Ho Chi Minh. Phan Chau Trinh said that: “For a long time, me and you and Phan (Phan Van Truong — MQT annotated) talked about many things, until now, you also disliked my method of improving people’s cultural standard, theirs spirit, then improve their livelihood. And at the same time, I did not like your method of crouching gentleness while seeking talents, treating internal conflict based on the current climate, and even the theory of capturing humanity’s heart of Phan.”³ Phan Chau Trinh advised Nguyen Ai Quoc: “I recommend you should arrange to return, devote your talents to inspire people, exhort

¹ Dang Hoa. *Nguyen Ai Quoc — Ho Chi Minh: a Great Character*. URL: <http://www.tiasang.com.vn>, September 5, 2007.

² Ngo Dang Loi (2008). *Nguyen The Truyen — a Respectable Intellectual*. Yesterday and Today, No. 312, July. P. 19— 0.

³ Thu Trang (2000). *A Letter from Phan Phan Trinh to Nguyen Ai Quoc on February 18, 1922*. Activities of Phan Chau Trinh in France (1911—1925). Ho Chi Minh City Publishing House. P.176—181. See also *Nhan Dan newspaper*, May 19, 1983, No. 10553.

compatriots to join forces to defeat the oppressive power then it can succeed for sure.”⁴

Although he did not agree with that method, Phan Chau Trinh, who was very frugal with praise, wrote in a letter dated February 28, 1922 to Ho Chi Minh: “Actually, up to now, I don’t look down on you, but on the contrary, I do admire you.”⁵ Phan Chau Trinh also wrote: “Mr. Nguyen, I have been frank with you about my worries. Now I am like a bird in a cage, like a fish in a bowl. Besides, the old tree has its roots, old people are confused, my situation is like withering flower, the nation is in turmoil, thus though having little breath in these old lungs we have to scream in anger, may it shake away this coma. And you are like a poplar tree with plenty of energy, studying far and wide, solid theory ... I wish you success and hope to see each other again in our homeland.”⁶

Phan Boi Chau was from the same hometown and of the same generation as Ho Chi Minh’s father. Phan Boi Chau was an enthusiastic patriot who wanted to save the country through bloody coup to create a republic of the bourgeois parliament, but was not successful, he was captured by the French colonists and placed under house arrest in Hue. Phan Boi Chau affirmed that there was another person who was better than his generation, who stood out to finish the job which they couldn’t and won the nation’s independence — that person was Nguyen Ai Quoc.

Ho Chi Minh incarnated into the people with the best moral values. He embodies the best values that anyone with conscience desires to achieve. Ho Chi Minh’s life has become a new moral textbook for generations of patriotic Vietnamese. Ho Chi Minh’s ethics has the power to move, to go into the core of the righteous people, transforming into the power that makes people always rise to the values of Truthfulness — Compassion — Forbearance.

Ho Chi Minh — the exemple of humanity’s working man

Ho Chi Minh is one of the noteworthy figures in human history that has a strong impact on the process of civilization development and progress in the world. Ho Chi Minh was the vanguard in the twentieth century — a century of decolonization. He was the pioneer of the people of Vietnam and of mankind’s labor force that attack colonialism

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

to bring independence and freedom for all nations and every human being. Colonialism is the biggest stain in the history of mankind. The colonists invaded the colony but were concealed by beautiful words such as “civilized and brought about civilization”.

Ho Chi Minh chose colonialism as the biggest target to destroy. He strongly denounced colonialism in every forum and used every weapon he had. Ho Chi Minh is an international soldier working diligently in the communist movement, international workers movement and the national liberation movement. Ho Chi Minh had a special quality that was compatible with the requirements of the Communist International thus the Communist International's paid attention and appointed him to a broader environment, with the role of helping the Communist International to deal with national and colonial issues at an international level, not just confined to the French Communist Party itself. He officially became a member of the Communist International in 1924.

Ho Chi Minh courageously and positively denounced colonialism. He devoted a whole work in French, entitled *Le Procès de la colonisation française* (published in France in 1925), to convict French colonialism with evidences, authentic words, and awaken people to understand the true nature of colonial rule. During that time, he spoke many times on the activities of the French Communist Party, at anti-colonial propaganda clubs, awakened even the colonists for various reasons were presented in France.

Ho Chi Minh used press forums to publish edgy articles that he took data and other information right from France to denounce colonialism. The author Nguyen Ai Quoc has appeared regularly in the newspapers *La Revue Communiste*, *Inprecorr*, *L'Humanité*, *Le Paria*, *La Vie Ouvrière*, *Le Journal du Peuple*, *Le Libertaire*, etc.

Unfortunately, life is not simple. Ho Chi Minh was misunderstood by the incorrect views of the Communist International on some of the most crucial issues of the national liberation revolution in colonial countries. The saddest misunderstanding came from Ho Chi Minh's students because they brought Ho Chi Minh's views in the documents establishing the Communist Party of Vietnam in early 1930 to compare with the viewpoints on gathering revolutionary force of the VI Congress of the Communist International (1928). Ho Chi Minh did not argue with those ideas but continued to engage in field activities.

Ho Chi Minh came to the peak of colonialism and revolutionary measures in practice. Ho Chi Minh accepted, coped with, and suppressed, kept himself active and waited for the opportunity, initiated and

effectively implemented his views. The era and historical settings produced Ho Chi Minh's political guts. He firmly and clearly showed that courage, especially in the most difficult times of his life and at those moments when the destiny of the nation was greatly in peril.

History requires great individual, just as K. Marx put it: "Every social age needs its great people and if there were no such great people, the era would create such people."⁷ And time has chosen its main character, which was Ho Chi Minh. History always follows its own steps, sometimes twisted, bumpy, but eventually it follows a pattern. Starting in a favorable period for Ho Chi Minh when he returned to Vietnam in early 1941, but there were many ahead. But that exactly what has absorbed and has lingered in Ho Chi Minh a great joy when writing the Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, solemnly proclaiming to the people of the country and the whole world: "The nation of Vietnam has the right to freedom and independence, and in truth has become an independent and free country. The entire people of Vietnam are determined to bring all spirit, force, life and wealth to stand firm, to keep that freedom and independence."⁸

Ho Chi Minh passed away at 9:47 am on September 2, 1969. The world mourned and highly appreciated Ho Chi Minh's life and career for the Vietnamese revolution and for the progressive development of humanity. Going through the telegrams, letters of condolence of many heads of state, famous politicians in the world, foreign political organizations to Vietnam in those historic September days, whether how many percent is pure diplomacy? I suppose there is no such way when people considered Ho Chi Minh as a lifelong figure who sacrificed his own for the progress of Vietnam and humanity.

Ho Chi Minh lived a life of consecration to the nation, to humanity in need of labor. Ho Chi Minh is a cultural soldier, a knight of UNESCO who actively addresses global issues. The biggest problem that Ho Chi Minh raised and directed his whole life to as well as the Vietnamese nation and other peoples of the world was solving *the struggle to liberate people*. For Ho Chi Minh, all activities, all struggles were in that direction. Ho Chi Minh gathered a whole vector of power into that. From that most core issue, Ho Chi Minh raised and directed to solve the issue of peace, peace for the people of Vietnam and peace for the world, a true peace, lasting peace which ensures basic independent national rights, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity. That principle became the

⁷ C.Mác và Ph. Ăngghen (1962). *Tuyển tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Sự thật, t. 1. Tr. 284.

⁸ Hồ Chí Minh (1995). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 4. Tr. 4.

framework for all political agreements, which were reflected in the Geneva Agreement on Indochina on July 21, 1954 and the Paris Agreement on ending the war and restoring peace in Vietnam on January 27, 1973. Ho Chi Minh is a man of peace. Ho Chi Minh considered the peace to be principle of conduct between peoples, between one nation and another. But Ho Chi Minh's key is that it must be a true peace. Before the invaders, Ho Chi Minh sometimes made concessions, but the more enemies invaded the more he called on the whole nation to fight for peace, not peace at all costs such as in the cowardice of a slave.

Ho Chi Minh said, "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." Independence, freedom are independence, freedom in a true peace, in cooperation with friendship of all peoples in the world — powerful or weak. Ho Chi Minh strives for ethnic groups to come together, to exchange, to create friendship, cooperation and development. Ho Chi Minh's life itself is a symbol, embodying that.

Maybe some Vietnamese feel normal about that, but for the world, in the world stage it is interesting to see that Ho Chi Minh is the one who addresses and practices the most actively for protecting environment and ecology. The world is becoming more insecure than ever. The abuse of nature is anti-cultural behavior. Conquering nature is like an aggressor dominating another race. Mankind itself is a part of nature. People will lose the ability of cultural subjects to escaping the natural adjustment system — that is ecological balance. It is the modern man who, despite mastering science and technology, is the worst disruptor of ecological balance.

Ho Chi Minh has launched the *Tree Planting New Year* since late 1959. How strange and interesting it is, reading in the Testament, to see that Ho Chi Minh's view on the environment, the ecological arena — the global issue — is very clear. Ho Chi Minh directly addressed the issue of handling his remain after his death. It was very touching to see that Ho Chi Minh thought about keeping sanitation and saving agricultural land, planting trees, and worried about the ecological environment after his death.

Ho Chi Minh is a special person because the entire Vietnamese people for generations have honored him as their beloved leader. For a long time, and in many successive generations, true Vietnamese have considered Ho Chi Minh to be celebrity, great national hero like folk heroes Tran Hung Dao, Le Loi, Quang Trung, etc. And, Ho Chi Minh's ideological and moral values have become the values of national culture, of folklore naturally propagated from generation to generation, such as the source of breast milk to nourish life, the souls of Vietnamese

patriots, like the alluvial class, which fostered the fertility of the national cultural life. This is truly not the result of personal worship but the inner-respect of Vietnamese patriots.

The world has its own rule, which has been designed rather unfair but many people understand and take advantage of that. There is still the scene of the strong bullying the weak, the rich oppressing the poor. There is still the scene of the weak, the poor accompanied by cowardice, low self-esteem, resignation to other forces, self-withdrawal in a dynamic and developed world. The world is now filled with sweet smells, holy things. The world is full of intelligent people. But the world is full of the bitter, sour taste. The world has the bogeyman. And, the world has also evil things that honest, kind people cannot accept.

Ho Chi Minh was the one who immersed himself in the most important events of the Vietnamese nation and in the events in the world in which he lived. Ho Chi Minh has left behind many positive and important imprints for the development of the Vietnamese nation and the progressive civilization of humanity; not only for the period in which he lived but also for the future after his passing. Ho Chi Minh is a part of modern Vietnamese history and also a part of the history of human social evolution from the 20th century onwards. People often call persons like this great people or celebrities — people of the time, those who remain forever. The mirror reflected Ho Chi Minh's life has those things there. And it seems that Ho Chi Minh often goes ahead, goes in, or accompanies, not after major events in the world. Ho Chi Minh exerted a strong impact on them as well as on the other side of mankind's events and in return they affected him.

Each person's feeling about the values in Ho Chi Minh's life with different moods and also those feelings can be changed for many reasons. This proves that the values of Ho Chi Minh's life, especially his thoughts, are very lively, they always accompany the modern world and are always being developed, that is, when they are in fact, those values renew themselves, get new energy from life, from so many people that more or less, whether subjective or accidental, referring to His ideology, following His thoughts.

Conclusion

Ho Chi Minh is a modern historical figure that Vietnamese and international researchers find very intriguing. That attraction was not emanating from his position but the quality of the human being who always strived for progress. He was a pioneer in the struggle for good,

promoting everyone to take charge of his life. It is also a key to ensuring human rights. Therefore, Ho Chi Minh was honored by the Communist Party of Vietnam as “The Great National Hero”, honored by UNESCO as the Hero of National Liberation and Outstanding Cultural Figure, and was praised by the Vietnamese patriots of the same generation and the later generations consider dear “Uncle Ho”, rather than some people who argue that such honors come from personal worship.

Ho Chi Minh embodied the value of charity, a man who took independence for the homeland, freedom and happiness of the Vietnamese people as a goal; the cause of liberating Vietnamese and international people as targets. Ho Chi Minh, with his life, career and ideology lives forever with the common step of humanity. Ho Chi Minh's ideology, his life is the value of social progress. With that in mind, Ho Chi Minh's career also goes with humanity, which is a shining point for those who want to move towards civilization and progress. Ho Chi Minh's human values are eternal values, the values of culture, and thus it activates every healthy thought and action towards Truthfulness — Compassion — Forbearance.

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Chapter 3

HO CHI MINH'S CONCEPT ON HUMAN AND HUMAN LIBERATION — ITS VALUES IN THE RENOVATION CAUSE IN VIETNAM TODAY

During the course of revolutionary activities, the issue of liberating people and bringing happiness to people is the highest purpose of President Ho Chi Minh that he generalized into a humanistic philosophy. After all, the essence of it is problems of life and human being. In life and to be human, we need to love our country, our people, the suffering and oppressed humanity. Ho Chi Minh's thought about man and the liberation of man is the inheritance and development of traditional values of the nation and the quintessence of human cultural ideology, and at the same time acquires Marxist—Leninist doctrine about human being to be suitable with modern Vietnam historical and social conditions. Ho Chi Minh's thought on people and human liberation contents main ideas of Ho Chi Minh's conception on people (that is both a goal and a driver of revolution) and liberation of people (for building new socialist people). The greatest and most sustainable value of Ho Chi Minh's thought about people and human liberation is the issue of promoting people's activeness, initiative, self-awareness and creativity in the revolutionary cause in Vietnam. Today that thought still holds its value, with great scientific and revolutionary significance in the cause of comprehensive national renovation.

Keywords: human, human liberation, traditional value, nation

Ho Chi Minh's concept of people and liberation of people

Ho Chi Minh did not give a complete concept of the person, but based on the worldview, dialectical materialism, he gave deep ideas

about the whole person. *Ho Chi Minh's concept of people* can be summarized as follows: Man is a whole unit between biological and social aspects, the subject of social-historical relations; creative subject and enjoyment of the material and spiritual values of society. In Ho Chi Minh's conception, man is a *social entity*. That socialism is formed in the totality of social relations with many different levels. "The word Human, narrowly means family, brothers, relatives, friends. Broad sense is country people. More broadly is the entire human race."¹ People here are both specific members and communities in society. In Vietnamese people community, it is clear that the *relations of family, brothers, relatives* are very important. Moreover, the unique feature in the Vietnamese community is the "*compatriot*" relationship, with the same origin as "children of Dragon, nephew of Fairy". That explains why Ho Chi Minh attaches great importance to the strength of the Vietnamese community, looking for ways to foster and promote that power during the Vietnamese revolution. It is one of the profound foundations of the Communist Party of Vietnam policy of great national unity during the process of leading the Vietnamese Revolution and in the current period of national renewal.

When studying human origins and nature, Marxist—Leninist philosophy places people in the history of material production to consider, thereby asserting, labor is the main condition, deciding the formation and development of human resources, human development, changing the human's natural existence conditions, changing the human nature, and at the same time forming and developing the social quality of the person. Through labor, people assert themselves as the *creative subject* of all material and spiritual values. Creative labor is a human value, the highest value of man. Acquire the Marxist—Leninist viewpoint, in Ho Chi Minh's thought, *people are first of all workers and working people*. Therefore, in Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh refers to workers, farmers, intellectuals, soldiers etc., they are the workers — the subject of new social creativity. Because of the consideration of people in material production, seeing the creative nature, the role of historical subjects and the true values of people, Ho Chi Minh said that "in the sky there is nothing more precious than the people." He teaches officials to be grateful to the ordinary working people because the rice we eat, the clothes we wear, the means we use are created by the labor of the people. Ho Chi Minh thoughts about the *working people as the subject of creative social history* become one of the theoretical bases for the Communist Party of

¹ Ho Chi Minh (1990). *State and Law*. Hanoi: Legal Publishing House. P. 174.

Vietnam to determine the model of socialism of Vietnam with the basic characteristics of goods. The first is “a people-led society”. In planning policies the Party and the State must always stem from the interests of the working people. All guidelines and policies of the Party and the State, if no longer suitable to the aspirations and interests of the people must be abolished.

People in Ho Chi Minh's thought are *also the unity between the individual and the social person*. The human is both a unique entity with its own qualities, while possessing the qualities of a system of social relations in a dialectical unity between the common and the particular. Therefore, Ho Chi Minh asserted that socialism doesn't deny individuals, tramples on personal interests, but on the contrary, more than any other social regime in history, socialism always respects personal interests, creates the best conditions for the free as well as comprehensive development of individuals.

Ho Chi Minh doesn't only emphasize and care about collective people and social people but also pays great attention to an individual. Not only in thought, in theory, but also in practical activities. He is very interested in each specific person. He closely studies the mind, aspirations, shares joy and understands the needs and benefits of all the classes of people from farmers, workers, soldiers, women, young people to elderly people and children. In practical direction, Ho Chi Minh doesn't only encourage and promote collective spirit, revolutionary heroism, but also arouse the good qualities in each specific person, making those virtues “bloom like spring flower.”

To properly resolve the relationship between the individual and the social person, Ho Chi Minh is interested in resolving the *relationship of interest*. He who knows how to harmonize individual and collective interests, near and far interests, material benefits and spiritual interests etc., creates motivation to bring forth positive human factors. In the process of national renewal, the Vietnamese Communist Party has paid attention to social policies for the sake of people. This is also a scientific basis so that in the new era of revolution, the Communist Party of Vietnam attaches great importance to the gathering, organizing and solidifying of all strata of the people in the united national front, creating synergy to effectively promote the cause of national comprehensive renovation.

People in Ho Chi Minh's thought are the *unity between people of class, ethnic group and humanity*. When referring to people, Ho Chi Minh not only refers to “Eastern people”, “Asians”, “Europeans” etc. but also more specifically refers to “yellow people”, “white peop-

le”, “black people”, “Indochinese”, “French”, “Vietnamese” etc. Thus, people always belong to a race, ethnic group, which belongs to certain country. Besides talking about ethnic people, he pays special attention to class people. Ho Chi Minh often says “the oppressed”, “the exploited”, the “capitalist”, the “dictator”, the “workers”, the “peasants”, etc. According to Ho Chi Minh: “Although skin color varies, there are only two types of human beings in this world: the exploited and the exploiter. The only true friendship is proletariat love.”² Therefore, when participating in the founding of the newspaper *Le Paria*, he placed himself on the side of the working class to speak up to oppose oppression, exploitation and struggle to free people from all alienation. For Ho Chi Minh, true Marxist thinker, *class struggle is the means to liberate human*. Ho Chi Minh did not absolutise class struggle but depend on specific conditions and circumstances to be able to put national interests ahead of class interests. He is critical of those who apply a dogmatic class perspective to Vietnamese conditions, but he attaches great importance to class struggle. From the beginning, he determined that the Vietnam revolution must follow the socialist path and take Marxism—Leninism as the basis of thoughts. That is the class goal and ideology of the working class. For Ho Chi Minh, liberating the working people from oppression and exploitation, building a socialist society — a society of rich citizens, strong country, democratic, just and civil etc. are always the highest goals, which become the ambition to strive throughout the life of his revolutionary activities.

The revolutionary career of Ho Chi Minh that Vietnam strives to sacrifice for is to achieve national independence, to advance towards the socialism and to make a worthy contribution to the revolutionary cause of the world's people, which is to liberation human. In order to realize the cause of human liberation, *it is necessary to combine the goals of liberating the class, the nation and humanity with a thorough grasp*.

In Ho Chi Minh thoughts, the issue of the liberation of the working people is closely related to the liberation of the class and the liberation of the nation because the basic interests of the working people are consistent with the interests of the class and the nation. Therefore, the struggle to liberate the working people, to liberate the proletariat and the peasantry is not only to liberate the proletariat itself, but also to free the class and the nation from yoke, oppression and exploitation. The

² Hồ Chí Minh (2002). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 5. Tr. 266.

liberation of the working people, the liberation of the class and the national liberation can only be achieved completely and thoroughly by the implementation of the proletariat revolution, the successful construction of the socialism and the communism. That liberation career will be completed only when the exploited classes, oppressed people and workers around the world are free from oppression and slavery.

In the context of the history of the Vietnamese nation, Ho Chi Minh always emphasized the thought of gaining independence and freedom for the nation. It is the starting point for the ideology of combining national liberation, liberation of the class and working people and also a red thread throughout Ho Chi Minh's life and career. In July 1945, while preparing the conditions for the revolution, despite being gravely ill, Ho Chi Minh advised his comrades: "At this moment, a favorable opportunity has come, no matter the sacrifice, even if Truong Son mountain range is burned, we must be determined to gain independence."³ At this time, if we cannot solve the issue of national liberation, can not demand independence and freedom for the entire nation, then not only the entire nation will be forever subject to the life of slavery, but also the rights of department and class cannot be reclaimed for thousands of years."⁴

Reclaiming national independence and freedom and protecting it are the lifelong goals and careers of Ho Chi Minh and the whole Vietnamese people. "Vietnam has the right to freedom and independence, and has truly become a free and independent country. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to bring all their spirit and power, lives and possessions to uphold that freedom and independence."⁵ "Vietnamese people would rather sacrifice everything, but definitely will not lose their country and will refuse to be slaves."⁶

Ho Chi Minh also affirmed the motivation to liberate peoples due to the power of the oppressed and exploited people themselves: "People will not be able to do anything for An Nam people without relying on the great and unique motivations of their social life."⁷ He put this perspective into practice of propaganda among revolutionary masses: "Brethren

³ Đại Tướng Võ Nguyên Giáp (2006). *Tổng tập hồi ký*. Hà Nội: Nxb Quân Đội Nhân Dân. Tr. 130.

⁴ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2000). *Văn kiện Đảng toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 7. P. 111.

⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Toàn tập. Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.* Tr. 480.

⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 1. Tr. 467.

in the colonies etc.! Let us tell you, your liberation can only be done now by the effort of yourself.”⁸

Ho Chi Minh, while concerned with class issues, still emphasized national strength, considering “Nationalism is a great driving force of the country.”⁹ He has fully realized and systematically and deeply dealt with the relationship between ethnic issues and class issues. According to Ho Chi Minh, independence and freedom are just necessary, sufficient conditions to build a new social regime, all workers in the world have a common goal of escaping oppression and exploitation, living happily and freely, that is, implementing the communist regime. He asserted: An independent country where people do not enjoy happiness and freedom then there is no meaning in such independence. Therefore, the issue of national and class liberation must be conducted simultaneously and integrated in a revolutionary process in Vietnam.

Originating from the viewpoint of considering the Vietnamese revolution as an integral part of the world revolution, He advocated raising the banner of national independence and socialism — that is, combining the class-national power — era, along with the Communist Party of Vietnam, took the Vietnamese revolution from victory to victory.

Ho Chi Minh's thought on people is both a goal and a driving force of the revolution

Man, freedom and happiness are the centers of Ho Chi Minh thoughts

The highest, most inclusive and frequent goal that Ho Chi Minh offers his entire life to is the independence, freedom and happiness of man. That is the greatest benefit of Vietnamese people. “I have only one ultimate desire... independent nation, happy and well-off people.”

Throughout Ho Chi Minh's whole life, He struggled for the purpose of liberating people. In the press release of “*Le Paria*”, He wrote: “Going from liberating the slaves losing their country and the suffering laborers to freeing people.” In Ho Chi Minh, the love for the Fatherland is closely linked to the deep love for the people. He has a deep love for humans. “My love for the people and humanity never changes.” In his Testament, “In the end, I leave immense love for the entire people, the whole Party, for the children and the youngsters. I also send cordial greetings to com-

⁸ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 2. Tr. 127—128.

⁹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 1. Tr. 466.

rades, friends and international children and the youth.”¹⁰ He defines the purpose of socialism as human happiness. “What is the purpose of socialism? To put it simply and easily understood is: continuously improving the material and spiritual life of the people, first of all the working people.”¹¹ His striving ideals are not abstract but specific and are associated with the interests of man and person. He raised the basic criteria of socialism are “the rich people and the strong country.”

Ho Chi Minh stressed that the Party and the state must always take care of people. “First is the work for man.”¹² As long as there are Vietnamese people who are exploited and poor, “the Party still hurts, because they feel they have not fulfilled their duties.”¹³ Therefore, the Party must have a good plan for economic and cultural development, in order to constantly improve the lives of the people.

Ho Chi Minh considers people to be the most precious, He is infinitely loving and trusting people

Ho Chi Minh always treasures human life. Following the humanitarian tradition of the nation, during the process of leading the Vietnamese revolution, he always protected people and minimized the sacrifices of blood and lives of the people. To protect the lives of people He advocated setting up war zones and evacuating people during the war. For the army, he had always directed and encouraged the soldiers to win the first battle as well as fought to win in order to minimize blood sacrifice of soldiers. During the August Revolution, he led the entire Party and people to create opportunities and seize opportunities to launch the revolution with the least bloodshed. He developed creative arts and knew to win step by step, determined to organize the masses to fight for the revolution. “It is better to sacrifice everything but definitely not to lose your country, to refuse to be a slave.” “As this favorable time has come, no matter the price to sacrifice, even burning Truong Son mountain range must also be determined to gain independence.”¹⁴ In the critical moments of the revolution, he called upon his army officers and soldiers “to die for the country.”

Ho Chi Minh pays great attention to saving labor cost. He is always interested in the policy of pampering people, assuring people, nurturing

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Tr. 624.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Tr. 22.

¹² *Ibid.* Tr. 616.

¹³ *Ibid.* Tr. 587.

¹⁴ Võ Nguyên Giáp (1969). *Từ nhân dân mà ra*. Hà Nội: Nxb Quân Đội Nhân Dân. Tr. 130.

people, putting savings into national policies, resolutely fighting embezzlement and wastefulness. The educator of cadres must respect people's properties. Ho Chi Minh always believes in the good side, the progressive side of people, the absolute power of people. Ho Chi Minh always sees the face of progress, the polarity of the person and believes in people, including those who have lost their ways. Ho Chi Minh treasures the good, even the smallest of each.

In Ho Chi Minh, tolerance and belief in people are vast and sublime. People recognize Vietnamese people in unity in diversity. "The five fingers also have long fingers. But the short ones all fit in the hands. There are people different among many millions, others but this or other have the same ancestors. So we have to be understanding and generous. "In the case of a great degree, one must realize that as a Lac son or a Dragon, everyone has more or less some patriotism."¹⁵

Ho Chi Minh always believed infinitely in the strength of the entire people organized and united in the revolutionary struggle. In his farewell letter from Paris to Russia on June 1923, He wrote: "What do we do? For me, the answer is clear: return to the country, go into the masses, awaken them, unite them, train them, lead them to fight for freedom and independence."¹⁶ In the context of extremely fierce war, he called on the people: "The war can last for 5 years, 10 years, 20 years or longer but the Vietnamese people are determined not to be afraid! Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. On the day of victory, our people will rebuild our country more and more beautiful!"¹⁷ Thereby expressing absolute confidence in the strength of the people.

The greatest motivation of the Vietnamese revolution is the great unity of the entire nation.

"Unity, Unity, Great Unity, Success, Success, Great Success"¹⁸

Ho Chi Minh believes in the power of human will, especially of young people. He advises the youngsters:

"Nothing is difficult,
Only fear unbalances heart,
Digging mountains and filling the sea,
Determination ensures victory."¹⁹

¹⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 246—247.

¹⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 1. Tr. 209.

¹⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 15. Tr. 13.

¹⁸ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 13. Tr. 119.

¹⁹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 6. Tr. 440.

Ho Chi Minh asserted and deeply understood the viewpoint of Marxism—Leninism: Revolution is the cause of the masses to practice the Vietnamese revolution. He believes strongly in the strength of Vietnam's patriotic traditions. "Our people are of one ardently patriotic heart."

His trust has a scientific and practical basis. People oppressed and exploited will have revolutionary power moving to the bottom: "Behind the negative obedience, the Indochinese people hide something simmering, screaming and will explode horribly when the time comes."²⁰

He discovered the historic mission of the Vietnamese proletariat in a semi-colonial country. He asserts that peasantry is the revolutionary root, "The country takes the people as the root."²¹

Regarding promoting and using the role of human motivation

People and working people are not only the goal of the revolutionary career but also the driving force of the revolution: "No matter what is made by people, and from small to large, from near to far, all are the same."²²

Ho Chi Minh also emphasized that the revolutionary career and revolutionary achievements were all of the people, by the people and for the people. "Our country is a democratic country, all jobs are done for the benefit of the people, from government agencies from the whole country to the village are all public workers of the people, that is, to shoulder the common work for the people, not to overwhelm the people like during the period under French and Japanese rule."²³ Ho Chi Minh builds the relationship between the goal and the revolutionary motivation, resolves the relationship between the near and far goals, concretizing the socialist goals in accordance with each revolutionary period. Socialism in his concept is very specific, close to the needs and aspirations of all classes of people. He set out policies to gradually realize that goal.

Ho Chi Minh is interested in the combination of material benefits and spiritual interests. Where attaching importance to promote the role

²⁰ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 1. Tr. 40.

²¹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 551.

²² Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 241.

²³ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 56.

of political — spiritual motivation. People attach great importance to propagating and educating and timely encouraging positive human actions.

Ho Chi Minh sets and implements a social policy towards people, launching revolutionary movements to promote the creative activeness of all classes of people. At the same time, he focuses on discovering and overcoming negative factors and opposing individualism.

Ho Chi Minh addresses the relationship between correct use and good use of people. He conceptualizes “using people as carpentry.” People are interested in recruiting, fostering and using talents inside and outside the Party. In the matter of cadres, his idea is to combine old and young cadres to promote advantages and overcome weaknesses in cadres. In essence, the thought that considers people a decisive motivation, in which the staff has a direct role to decide the success or failure of the revolutionary career.

Ho Chi Minh thoughts on building new socialist people

Regarding the role and significance of the strategy to build new people

In Ho Chi Minh thought, human beings are placed at the center of socio-economic development. “Socialism can only be built with full enlightenment and the creative labor of tens of millions of people.”²⁴ According to Ho Chi Minh, building new people is an integral part of socio-economic conquest. Building new people is of special importance, it must be one step ahead of the socio-economic situation. It is preparing people for social development. “If you want to go forward to socialism, you have to have socialist people.”²⁵

The strategic goal of building new people is to train good citizens and cadres, succeeding the cause of our Party and people. Comprehensive human development, both “ethical” and “specialized” prioritize revolutionary ethics, considering ethics as the root of the new human personality. In building new people, Ho Chi Minh considers building a contingent of cadres and party members to be the top job, the “original work of the Party”. People must be trained “to work, to be people, to be officials.” Ho Chi Minh is interested in education — training young ge-

²⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 8. Tr. 495.

²⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 12. Tr. 11.

neration, the future owner of the country. He asserted: Fostering the revolutionary generation for the next life is a very important and very necessary job.

About the new model of socialist people

Ho Chi Minh's conception of the Vietnamese human model is the inheritance of traditional human values in history. The revolutionary ethics in Ho Chi Minh thought is the inheritance and development of traditional values of human morality to new heights. People develop Eastern ethical categories: Humanity, meaning, wisdom, faith, integrity, loyalty etc forming the concept of revolutionary ethics.

The new model of socialist human personality is generalized by Ho Chi Minh as virtues and talents (i.e. qualities and manpower). That model is based on large axis, common standards are ethnic — international, traditional — modern, individual — community. In which morality is the root of the revolution. "The revolutionary must have morality, without morality, even if talented, he cannot lead the people."²⁶ The quality and capacity of the new human being according to Ho Chi Minh's thoughts are generalized: Patriotism, love of socialism; loyal to the Fatherland, the people, and the Party; a revolutionary ethic needs, thrifty, integrity, righteousness and impartial will; have the traditional ethics of the Vietnamese people of kindness, tolerance, filial piety, humility, honesty, simplicity, community solidarity, adaptability; brave, creative mind; love to labor; Have a sense of discipline; eager to learn, to progress; have good professional capacity; have modern knowledge; have a healthy and varied cultural life, etc. New human qualities and capacities are associated with revolutionary tasks at specific historical periods. Ho Chi Minh generalized into specific personality models: Party members' personalities, personality of cadres, military personnel, police, women, farmers, workers, youth, students, children etc. People who perform different duties and tasks shall have specific standards.

In terms of the content, new methods of building people

Ho Chi Minh determined that building new people was comprehensive human development. "For the sake of ten years, a tree must be planted; for a hundred years' sake, man must be planted."²⁷ The whole person is one who has both virtue and talent (both ethical and speciali-

²⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 292.

²⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 9. Tr. 222.

zed) in which virtue is the root. But that is not the old morality, but the new one, for the common good of the Party, the people and humanity. The basic requirements of morality are to be loyal to the country, to be filial to the people, to love the people, to be needed, to be economical, to be honest, to be impartial, to be indifferent and to have a proletarian international spirit.²⁸ Talent (or expertise) is the capacity of the person to fulfill the task assigned, expressed through continuous learning, improving literacy, science, technology and reasoning.²⁹ In order for people to develop comprehensively, it is necessary to cultivate and train in practical activities, combining education and self-education. The qualities and capacities of the human person are not “descended from heaven” but rather “developed and strengthened by daily struggles and training.”³⁰ Education is the work of the whole society, playing a particularly important role, especially for the younger generation. What kind of people does the society need, through education, people like that will be trained and appear? Education is closely linked to self-education. It is the process of self-improvement, self-implementation of revolution in everyone. It is the difficult and complicated process of revolution within ourselves as difficult as the social revolution. It is impossible to carry out a revolution in society without revolution in yourself and vice versa.

Ho Chi Minh cares about educating the whole people, raising the intellectual level, encouraging people to study throughout the lifetime. He affirmed that the cause of education was the cause of the entire Party and the people. In the education method people are interested in orienting the values — the right benefits. Education by self-cultivation and self-training fundamental. Through the collective, through the emulation movement to educate and train people. Practice regular criticism and self-criticism. Ho Chi Minh attaches great importance to setting good examples and good deeds. “A living example is worth more than a hundred propaganda speeches.”³¹ Education is through anti-individualism, building and fighting. The problem of building new people always involves regulating the Party. “What needs to be done first is that the Party will be revised.”³² Ordinary people remind cadres and party members to set an example for the masses to study and follow.

²⁸ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 112, 122, 128, 222, 235, 289, 291, 308 etc.

²⁹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 36.

³⁰ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 9. Tr. 293

³¹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 1. Tr. 263.

³² Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 15. Tr. 623.

Making creative use of Ho Chi Minh's thoughts about people and liberating people in the cause of renovation in Vietnam today

Ho Chi Minh thoughts about people and liberating people are the scientific basis for the directions and views of the Communist Party of Vietnam in the cause of renovation in Vietnam today.

Taking care of human interests, satisfying people's increasing needs is realizing Ho Chi Minh's view of people as both a goal and a driving force of development of the Vietnamese revolution. The purpose of socialism is human freedom and happiness, satisfying human needs both physically and mentally in order to promote human activeness, initiative, self-awareness and creativity in the revolutionary cause in our country. It requires a combination of value education and continued innovation and improvement of social policies. On the basis of a correct, proper concept of values, people can act properly, positively and creatively. Values orientation — the right benefit to overcome the social standard deviation in the context of the impact of the current market economy. Those values are paying an interest in the work of thought, culture; improving the quality of political and ideological education, making officials and party members always realize their goals, ideals of revolution, and loyalty to the revolutionary cause of our Party and people.

Reform the social policy system towards an increasingly harmonious settlement of benefit relationships, thereby adjusting social relationships. Views on people and promotion of human factors must be concretized by the regime, policies and laws of the State, the implementation of social justice, concern for people, and step by step realization into the reality of social life. In the current new circumstances, it is necessary to continue renovating and perfecting social policies for people. Well combine ideological and political education with care of material and spiritual interests of all strata of people. Democratizing all aspects of social life. Democratization is a process of building prerequisites and conditions for all human activities to be carried out on a democratic basis, promoting people's activeness, self-awareness and creativity, ensuring that the value of socialist democracy is expressed more and more fully in the reality of social life.

In order to realize socialist democratic values in social life, a synchronous system of solutions must be implemented. First of all, it is necessary to widely attract people of all classes to participate in state management, truly mastering their destiny and mastering new society. Close

coordination of representative democracy and direct democracy. Overcome all manifestations of formal democracy, extremist democracy, and taking advantage of democracy to oppose the regime. Promoting democracy goes hand in hand with strengthening socialist discipline, law and legislation. Using democracy in the Party, in the state apparatus as the core of democratization of socialism. Renewing, reforming and perfecting the state apparatus — the tool of the working people to be the social master, overcoming the expression of bureaucracy and corruption, being far from the masses. Well implement the grassroots democracy regulations, strengthen democracy to liberate all creative capacities of the masses, contributing to social and political stability, creating favorable conditions for the renovation cause to succeed.

Perform well promoted democracy and strengthen discipline in society. There are synchronous and feasible solutions suitable to specific characteristics of each type and each field of activity in order to well implement the regulations on grassroots democracy. Developing the cause of education and training, serving the cause of national renewal. Education — training really must be considered as a leading national policy to comprehensively develop the new Vietnamese people. The goal of education and training is to raise the people's intellectual level, train human resources, foster talents on the basis of developing the human personality of Vietnam both "ethical" and "specialized".

In order to promote the role for education and training in the renovation cause, it is necessary to well handle the relationship between training and use; actively solve employment issues for workers; combining raising people's intellectual standards and developing human resources, simultaneously raising the quality and efficiency of education and training in the new situation. Special attention must be paid to the education and training of officials. To build a scientific organizational system and an education and training organization system on par with the requirements of the country's construction and development cause in the new period. The Vietnamese Communist party affirmed: "To take care of building the Vietnamese people to develop comprehensively focus to foster patriotism, national pride, morality, lifestyle and personality. Creating a dramatic change in awareness, a sense of respect for the law, all Vietnamese have deep understanding, pride, honor the history and national culture... to build people with scientific worldviews, towards goodness and beauty. Integrating ethical construction and practice with the implementation of human rights, basic rights and obligations of citizens. Enhancing the intellectual capacity, fostering knowledge for Vietnamese people etc. Building and promoting the lifestyle of one for all

and all for one.”³³ The 12th National Party Congress continued to emphasize and supplement: “Building Vietnamese culture and people to develop comprehensively, towards good — American beauty, imbued with the spirit of the nation and humanity — democracy and science.”³⁴

The cause of innovation requires placing people to the center, considering it both a goal and a driving force of development. Independence, freedom and happiness are the highest goals of innovation and in particular human liberation industry in general. The goal of the current cause of socialist construction in Vietnam is the rich people, strong country, democracy, justice and civilization, which is the centralized expression of the goal of liberating people in the current period.

Ho Chi Minh thoughts about man and the liberation of man are a comprehensive, rich and profound system of views that is at the center of his whole mind. Because Ho Chi Minh's entire purpose and revolutionary life was to liberate the class, to liberate the nation and to liberate the people. This is the inheritance and creative development of human ideology in the ideology of national culture and mankind which directly decides to be Marxism—Leninism. President Ho Chi Minh thoughts on human liberation and human development have been developed to a new level in line with the Vietnamese revolutionary practices up to now, still valid, scientifically significant and revolutionary, holding central role in the cause of innovation in Vietnam today.

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³³ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2014). *Nghị quyết Hội nghị lần thứ chín Ban Chấp hành Trung ương Đảng (khoá XI)*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 49—50.

³⁴ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2016). *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ XIII của Đảng*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. P. 126.

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Chapter 4

THE ROLE OF HO CHI MINH IN THE VICTORY OF VIETNAM IN 1945 AUGUST REVOLUTION

The victory of the Viet Minh forces under the leadership of the Indochinese Communist Party and Ho Chi Minh during the August Revolution in 1945 which opened a new history in the development process of the Vietnamese, brought Vietnam back to independent country with the first democratic republic regime in Southeast Asia, beyond centuries of feudalism and semi-feudal colonial rule for nearly a hundred years. This is a great event in the progress of the Vietnamese people in which Ho Chi Minh has made an enormous contribution. As a leader he crystallized the intelligence and quintessence of the Vietnamese as well as the world to lead the entire people to struggle for national liberation and build a new advanced regime. Highlighting Ho Chi Minh's contribution to the August Revolution, the article attempts to provide analysis and recognition on the basis of his historical documents and practice, contributing to further clarify the greatness of Ho Chi Minh.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh, 1945 August Revolution, Vietnam, new regime

Forming political thought and method of revolt for revolution

In July 1920, after reading and understanding the basic ideas of V.I. Lenin in the *First Draft of his thesis on ethnicity and colonial issues*, Ho Chi Minh suggested that the revolution of national liberation in Vietnam must follow the proletariat revolution: “*saving the country and li-*

berate the nation, there is no other way than the proletarian revolution."¹ In the work of Duong Kach Menh, published in 1927, he distinguished two types of revolution (the class revolution and the ethnic revolution), and identified the nature and tasks of the Vietnam revolution at that time as follows: "ethnic revolution". In the first political platform he advocated: "Overthrow of the French imperialist and feudalist factions, make Vietnam completely independent, set up a government of labor farmer military and organize an army of workers and peasants"; "confiscating all the great imperialist properties to the Government"; "confiscating the lands of the imperialists to public and divide for the poor." In the 1930s Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary theory was not appreciated, so he had to persistently continue to study at Lenin International School and overcome many challenges to return to Vietnam to chair the 8th Conference (5-1941) of the Central Committee of the Indochinese Communist Party with decision: "change the strategy" and pointed out: "The current Indochina revolution is not a bourgeois revolution which has to solve two problems: anti-imperialism and land reclamation, but it is a revolution that only has to solve one problem — "to liberate nation". The conference clarifies: "In the current issue, the class must be placed under the life and death of the nation and the people. If we cannot solve the issue of national liberation and do not demand independence and freedom for the whole nation, then the whole nation still live under slavery forever, but the rights of the department and class can not reclaim for thousand years." Therefore, the slogan of "demolishing landlords, dividing land for people" must be temporarily put aside. The conference advocates to resolve ethnic issues within the framework of each country in Indochina, in order to implement the policy of "self-determination of people". "People living in Indochina is depending on their will, organize the Democratic Republic or stand alone as an arbitrary nation." "The independence and freedom of people will be recognized and respected."²

Ho Chi Minh advocated the method of armed uprising and the entire people rebelled, considering armed uprising as the central task. The 8th central Conference released the policy: "Always prepare a force ready, aimed at the most convenient opportunity to fight the enemy..." Under certain circumstances "with the available forces we can lead a

¹ Hồ Chí Minh (2011). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia, t. 12. Tr. 30.

² Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2000). *Văn kiện Đảng toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 7. Tr. 113.

partial uprising in each locality, and can also gain victory and pave the way for a great general uprising.”³

According to Ho Chi Minh, an armed uprising in Indochina “must be a mass uprising rather than a rebellion. The uprising must be prepared by the masses.”⁴ According to Ho Chi Minh, the power of the entire people is unbeatable and the greatest that no force can compare. In that mass of people, he clearly determines what is the lead force and each force has a specific position, role, etc. Writing in Duong Kach Menh (Revolutionary Path): “Revolution is the common affairs of the people”, the force of the national liberation revolution including the whole nation: “the ethnic revolution has not been categorized, it means that the scholars, the peasants, the merchants all agreed to oppose the power”, in which “peasantry and workforce are the root of the revolution”, and the “master of the revolution”, but “students, small traders, small owners... are companionship.”

He gathered that force which clearly reflected the ideological unity of him. The first political platform advocated of gathering of workers, peasants, bourgeois, intellectuals, middle farmers; enlist or neutral rich peasants, middle landowners and bourgeois of Vietnam... All these forces must be led through the vanguard of the Communist Party. The Party must be strong, persistent, self-sacrificing and united. The Revolution must have a Party to lead in order to “mobilize and organize the people inside, and outside to contact the oppressed people and the proletariat everywhere. The Party can stand firm, then the revolution to be success, just as the boater can stand firm, then the boat will run.”⁵ The determination of the Party’s right leadership is a leading factor in the victory of the revolution, along with Ho Chi Minh’s method of armed uprising, which is crucial to the victory of the August Revolution.

Preparing forces

According to Ho Chi Minh setting up forces include political forces, armed forces and revolutionary bases. All these forces participated directly in the struggle.

Political forces include all enlightened and organized people. “In order to have an armed army, there must be an advocacy army and a political army first, so it must be done immediately, so that the political

³ *Ibid.* Tr. 112—132.

⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 520.

⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 12. Tr. 289.

army will be more and more crowded. There must be enlightened people who voluntarily hold guns to gain victory.”⁶ Ho Chi Minh suggested: “To be liberated, people can only depend on themselves, on their own forces.”⁷ Ho Chi Minh emphasized the revolutionary factor must be organized very well. To succeed, the help of the Communist International and the people of the world must be enlisted. However, “if we want people to help, we have to help ourselves first.”⁸

In fact, Ho Chi Minh directed out the development line of the Viet Minh front in Cao Bang and through that he pointed to establish the Vietnam Independent Alliance Front (Viet Minh for short) in the Central Party Committee Conference (May 1941) — “how to awaken the ancient national spirit among the people”, unions in the Viet Minh all have the name of national salvation so that they have the spirit to fight for national salvation.⁹ Ho Chi Minh’s organization of the Viet Minh front was more national, creating a more effective impulse. The revolutionary and organizational method of Ho Chi Minh converged to one point: putting the nation first. He emphasized: “While organizing a national saving organization, it is crucial that the members don’t have to understand communism, but it is more important that they have the spirit of saving the country and they want to fight for national salvation.”¹⁰ Therefore, mass organizations developed every where in Viet Minh Front such as: Farmers for national salvation, Workers for national salvation, Youth for national salvation, Women for national salvation, Children for national salvation... “the national salvation is the common thing. Everyone who is Vietnamese has to shoulder a part of the responsibility: people who have money should contribute money, people who have goods should contribute goods, people with talents should contribute talents.”¹¹

The armed forces relied on the increasingly enlightened masses. At the end of 1944, he issued a directive to set up a Vietnam propaganda and liberation team with the guiding idea that “politics is more important than military.” Therefore, on December 22, 1944, in Tran Hung Dao forest, the Vietnamese propaganda and liberation group was estab-

⁶ Vũ Anh (1960). *Hồi ký Bác Hồ*. Nxb Văn học. Tr. 120.

⁷ Trần Dân Tiên (1975). *Những mẩu chuyện về đời hoạt động của Hồ Chủ tịch*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 33.

⁸ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 2. Tr. 320.

⁹ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam. *Văn kiện Đảng toàn tập*, t. 7. Tr. 124—125.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Tr. 125.

¹¹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 3. Tr. 230.

lished, initially with 34 soldiers, led by Vo Nguyen Giap. Relying on the Ho Chi Minh's idea of armed forces, later Vietnam propagated liberation of the army and the National Salvation Army was unified into Vietnam Liberation Army (5-1945). The armed forces expanded more and more widely in localities and grassroots level.

For Ho Chi Minh the armed uprising was not a pure military struggle. In his work "The Path of Liberation", he said that: armed uprising meant use weapons to chase the bandits. It is a great struggle in politics and military, it is an important thing, right to succeed, wrong to failure. Ho Chi Minh pays attention to military personnel training and research military theory. He researches on the military in China, notes the basic military insights. He is also interested in researching and disseminating experience in the organization, construction and operation of the armed forces at the grassroots level. He wrote about Chinese Guerrilla Experiences, French Guerrilla Experiences, Russian Guerrilla Experiences. Ancient military legacies of the ancient people were filtered by translating the magic of using Ton Tu's army, the magic of Khong Minh's general. In particular, he edited many training materials for military personnel, typically Guerrilla Tactics.

In the construction of revolutionary bases, this is a matter of great concern, because the revolution must have a standing place to solve potential problems. In order to have a firm foothold in the hearts of the people, he attaches great importance to the elements of human and geography. In 1940, while being in China, Ho Chi Minh considered building a base in Cao Bang, then developing to Thai Nguyen. In early 1941, he chose Cao Bang to be the first place to stand because it was a place with "good movement before", "with a protective fence of the masses", and a place with a dangerous terrain, "move forward can fight, retreat can keep". From Cao Bang province has to develop forward delta province, the revolution will win. During the Japanese resistance period to save the country, when the liberated area in Viet Bac was expanded, including the provinces of Cao Bang, Bac Can, Lang Son, Ha Giang, Tuyen Quang, Thai Nguyen, Ho Chi Minh instructed to establish the League Area of liberation and consolidating into revolutionary bases for the whole country.

The preparation of Ho Chi Minh's forces demonstrates a readiness to violent struggle not only with the assistance from the regular army in a limited area but also with the support of the whole people, aimed to overwhelm the government with the political force of the people. With his thoughtful preparation, as soon as the revolution would have a chance, it will surely succeed.

Seize the opportunity and launch uprising promptly

As a master of creating power and getting opportunity, Ho Chi Minh acutely senses the importance of opportunity. In his poem “Learn chess”, he wrote: “In time, one pawn makes success.”¹² Ho Chi Minh accurately identified signs and predicted the right opportunity. This is reflected in the letters, articles and speeches such as Dear compatriots (June 6, 1941), History of our country (February 1942), Letters to compatriots nationwide (October 1944). In particular, in the last part of the History of our country, Ho Chi Minh made a genius prediction: “1945 — Vietnam independence!” In his Letter to the Nation, Ho Chi Minh stated: “The invaders are nearing their destruction. The Allies are about to compete for the ultimate victory. The opportunity for our nation to liberate is only for a year or a year and a half. Time is very urgent. We have to do it quickly!”¹³ On the basis of those forecasts, Ho Chi Minh and the Party Central Committee actively, initiatively prepared the forces ready to wait for the opportunity, further promoting that opportunity to quickly mature, forming a development leap of the revolution, resulting in the victory of the national liberation struggle.

By May 1945, Italy and Germany were defeated in Europe, Japanese fascist who were dominating Vietnam, completely isolated and in danger of being annihilated. After being the main of contributing to destroy Nazi Germany, implementing commitments with the Allies, on August 9, 1945, the Soviet Red Army declared war on the Japanese fascists. Within a week, the Soviet Red Army destroyed the Dongguan army, liberating Northeastern China and North Korea. Earlier on August 6 and August 9, 1945, the United States dropped two atomic bombs on two Japanese cities — Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing tens of thousands of people and leaving long-lasting consequences.

Through radio, from August 12, Ho Chi Minh learned about the surrender ability of the Japanese army, and at the same time, he also knew the sense of the revolutionary people. The ruler did no longer dominate as before and the people was no longer tolerate the yoke of domination as before. Ho Chi Minh recognized the opportunity for uprising officially appeared and this opportunity only existed for about twenty days, from August 15, 1945 (the emperor officially proclaimed surrender to the Allies) to September 5, 1945 (Allied forces pulled into

¹² *Ibid.* Tr. 324.

¹³ *Ibid.* Tr. 538.

Vietnam to disarm the Japanese army). He urgently directed the National Conference of the Party (August 14 to August 15) and the National Congress (August 16 to August 17) in Tan Trao, established a national uprising committee and the Vietnam National Liberation Committee — The Provisional Government after the victory of the revolution. Ho Chi Minh wrote: “Dear people! The time of decision for our nation’s destiny has arrived. Nationwide people stand up to bring our strength to liberate for ourselves. Many oppressive peoples of the world are vying for independence. We cannot hesitate. Go on! Go on! Under the Viet Minh flag, courageously go forward!”¹⁴ Ho Chi Minh advised: this time a very favorable opportunity has come. Regardless of the sacrifices, even burnt whole the Truong Son mountain range must be set to gain freedom and independence. He predicted the risk was still ahead, so he pointed out: we had to bring down the government and stand in the position of the owner of the country to welcome the Allies to disarm the Japanese army.

With a thorough preparation in all aspects, along with mastering the opportunity and taking the opportunity in time, the August Revolution won in the “fast, compact, low bloodshed” way. The victory of the revolution shows an extraordinary ability of Ho Chi Minh, greatly contributing to the cause of national liberation of Vietnam.

The success of August Revolution

In response to the guidelines and policies of the Communist Party and Ho Chi Minh, the uprising began on August 14, 1945. Up to August 18, 1945, the uprising won victories in the countryside, the Northern Delta, most of the Central region, a part of the South and the towns of Bac Giang, Hai Phong, Ha Tinh and Hoi An.

In Hanoi, on August 17, 1945, the General Staff Association of the Nazi minions of Japanese government held a large rally at the City Theater Square with the participation of thousands of people to support the government that was headed by Tran Trong Kim. Under the leadership of the Northern Party Committee and Hanoi Party Committee, the Viet Minh’s National Salvation Associations were in the inner and suburban areas and some government of districts in Gia Lam and Ha Dong adjacent to Hanoi secretly mobilized the public to participate the meeting with more than 20 thousand people, crowded in front and around the City Theater. When the rally was just opened, suddenly a red

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Tr. 596.

flag with a yellow star appeared on the stairs of the Opera House in the cheers and encouragement of the masses. Police and security guards were bewildered. The members of the Viet Minh's Propaganda Department rushed to seize the speech forum, informing the people that the Japanese fascists surrendered unconditionally and introduced the policies of saving country of Viet Minh, calling people for standing up and overthrow the puppet government of Japan, take the government to the people. The rally was turned into a demonstration, march of prestige, starting from the City Theater Square spread across the streets of Hanoi. Whole Hanoi jubilantly heated up rebellion.

On the morning of August 19, 1945, following the call and the implementation of the Viet Minh's Directive, thousands of Hanoians in the city rose up in the forest of red yellow star flags with primitive weapons, along with tens of thousands of people in the suburbs went straight to the city center. At 11 o'clock, the rally began. After a series of guns saluting the flag and Tien Quan Ca song (after that it become national anthem), a representative of the Revolutionary Military Committee recited Viet Minh's summons, the Japanese surrendered, the government returned to the people, and established the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The masses chanted slogans in response and rejoicing. The rally turned into an armed demonstration to occupy Phu Kham Su (the headquarters of Japanese Government), security guard camps and puppet government facilities.¹⁵

In Hue, on August 22, 1945, at the request of the Viet Minh to abdicate, Bao Dai accepted to abandon the throne and become a free citizen of Vietnam — name Vinh Thuy. On August 25, in front of thousands of Hue people gathered at the Ngo Mon Gate to witness the end of Bao Dai's abdication in Vietnam. In the South, on August 25, 1945, Viet Minh forces organized demonstrations and successfully seized power in Saigon.

Thus, within only 12 days, from August 14 to August 25, 1945, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh and the Party, more than 20 million Vietnamese people from the North to the South conducted successfully the general campaign. On September 2, 1945, at Ba Dinh Square, Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh officially read the Declaration of Independence affirming the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The victory of this revolution as Ho Chi Minh wrote: "The August Revolution overthrew the monarchy for centuries, broke the colonial

¹⁵ *Biên niên sự kiện lịch sử Mặt trận Dân tộc Thống nhất Việt Nam (1930—1945)* (2004). Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 1. Tr. 412.

chains for nearly 100 years, and brought the government back to the people. People, built the foundation for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, independence, freedom and happiness. It was a huge change in our country's history. The successful August Revolution has made us become a part of the world's big democratic family."¹⁶

Conclusion

The August Revolution in 1945 was a great event in Vietnamese history, marking the leap of the Vietnamese nation. For the first time, the Vietnamese people have won the government throughout the country; a new state of the people, by the people, for the people was born. This victory proves the highest ability of Ho Chi Minh in understanding time and people. He soon formed the idea of saving the country and liberating the people to follow the proletarian revolution, appreciated highly the strength of the great national unity bloc under the leadership of the Communist Party, knew early to prepare the armed forces of all people with the foundation of the bloc of workers — farmers — intellectuality, always preparing all conditions to be ready to wait for the opportunity, ready to launch the explosive power of the nation to win the government to the people. The victory of the August Revolution was the victory of Ho Chi Minh's ideology.

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¹⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 12. Tr. 25—26.

Chapter 5

HO CHI MINH AND THE VICTORY OF THE RESISTANCE AGAINST THE FRENCH COLONIALISTS

The three Indochinese countries' resistance against the French colonialists continued from 1946 to 1954 in the international, regional and national contexts and was complicated by the impacts of the bipolar world order, tense confrontation of capitalist and socialist forces and the outbreak of the Cold War. Despite facing difficulties and hardships of the seemingly unbalanced war, three Indochinese countries gradually overcame historic tough times and reached the final victory. Contributing to this achievement, President Ho Chi Minh's enormous role was observable and well-defined in three aspects. He generated and completed the guiding thoughts; performed as the supreme leader of outstanding capabilities and the pioneering revolutionary soldier on major fronts. This article focuses on clarifying Ho Chi Minh's roles in defeating the French colonialists (1946—1954) based on the mentioned fundamental aspects.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh, role, resistance, the French, victory

The anti-French resistance: contexts and process *Pre-war contexts*

Three Indochinese nations' anti-French resistance in the period 1945—1954 was under the international context of various landslide transformations. The period was mainly characterized by the formation and gradual realization of bipolar world order, increasing conflicts between capitalist and socialist forces, the outbreak and initial phase of the Cold War.

The years 1945—1946 should be the transitory phase from the World War II (WWII) to a new history of international relations.

Arguably, despite the two-year duration, what happened in 1945 and 1946 was the basis of a wide range of developments in world politics long afterward. Preponderantly, the following features should be in the spotlight.

Firstly, the US and the Soviet Union (the USSR) were rising to become the two leading powers after WWII. Taking advantage of not being heavily devastated (for the geographical position was far from main European battlefields), advanced economy, profuse supply of capital, highly-developed technology, atomic monopoly, the US soon asserted its overwhelming strengths. In spite of suffering from huge physical damages and casualties, the USSR still possessed extremely powerful military forces. Inasmuch as the Stalin regime successfully moved the entire national advanced high industry to Central Asia and the Far East in the nick of time, the Soviet economy appeared to recover fast and was able to aid Central and Eastern European countries in their post-war reconstruction.

Secondly, in the context of entrenched contradiction between capitalist and socialist ideologies, and the rise of the US and the USSR as their representatives, the bipolar world order — i.e. the Yalta order — was established over time at the end of WWII.

In the years 1947–1954, there were significant changes on the world stage, among which the remarkable ones were the firmly-established bipolar world order and the Cold War as the result. The order lasted until the collapse of the USSR in 1991 and was identified in the stage 1947–1954 by five different traits as follows:

Firstly, this was not a legally-sustainable order. The agreements prerequisite for it were in the form of announcements or oral agreements, which were unofficially confirmed and kept secret for a long time.

Secondly, during this time, the rest of the world was seemingly incomparable to the US and the USSR. A majority of nations and influential decisions in international relations were dependent on the two superpowers.

Thirdly, this was a highly-conflicting order, in which there were probabilities of nuclear brinkmanship and inherent arm races during its existence. It was not until the period 1985–1991 that cooperation was assigned high priority based on Gorbachev's new political thinking.

Fourthly, ideologies helped designate the order in a pivotal way via the confrontation between capitalist liberal democracy and socialism.

Fifthly, the appearance and non-stop advancement of nuclear weapons held key to determining the order.

It can be argued that “the most unique product of the US—USSR conflict as well as the East—West conflict was the Cold War.”¹ This was “a specific international phenomenon which lasted from the end of WWII to the late 1980s, when Germany was reunified, the USSR and Eastern European countries changed political regimes. The East—West confrontation was at the heart of the Cold War.”² The warfare existed for almost half a century in distinct stages. After the stage 1945—1946, the years 1947—1954 saw the outbreak and internationalization of the Cold War that conflicts among parties concerned were escalating. The US—USSR tension pervaded the world bit by bit through certain hot-spots, earliest in Europe, especially in Germany, then in China, the Korean peninsula, Indochina, Cuba etc. A massive war between the capitalist and the socialist would have happened if the two sides had not decided to de-escalate in late 1953 and early 1954 in the Korean peninsula and Indochina. Many years afterward, the tension remained unpredictable and it was reasonable that “perhaps the scariest event of the cold war was the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 that occurred when the Soviets had begun building nuclear missile sites in Cuba, and President John F. Kennedy risked nuclear war to force them out.”³

The war officially broke out in Europe then spread rapidly across the globe, especially in Asia. In the years 1945—1954, two of the dominant hotspots in Asia were the Korean peninsula and the Indochinese peninsula. From 1950 to 1953, the North and the South were fiercely struggling in the Korean war. Scratching beneath the surface, it was not merely a civil war but a fast-internationalized one which represented the observable two-sided conflict. In the end, the two armies accepted a draw followed by a ceasefire without a final peace agreement. Not less complicated was the situations in Indochina. At the outset, the first Indochinese war took the form of national resistance against the French colonialists of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Nevertheless, under the control of the mainstream international status-quo, the war was increasingly interfered with by other forces. The pro-communist ones in Indochina, especially in Vietnam, received incremental funds from the USSR and China-backed socialist bloc. Adversely, the US also strongly

¹ Trần Nam Tiến (chủ biên), Nguyễn Tuấn Khanh, Trần Phi Tuấn (2008). *Lịch sử quan hệ quốc tế hiện đại, 1945—2000*. Hà Nội: Nxb Giáo dục. Tr. 43.

² Nguyen Khac Huynh. *The Cold War, the East-West Confrontation and the Vietnamese Revolution*. Review of Military History, 2008, No. 3. P. 1.

³ Rourke, John T. (2007). *World Politics — International Politics on the World Stage, Brief*. New York: McGraw-Hill. P. 44.

supported the French army and the local reactionary authorities. Nine years later, the war finally ended up with the signing of *the Geneva Accords* of 1954, which unambiguously implied the capture of the world powers' political intentions.

Before the end of WWII, the colonialists had been aggressively planning to re-establish the previous oppressive regimes in their former colonies. Under the guise of official summits, they blatantly separated the world irrespective of other nations' sovereignty and their eagerness to contribute to the Allies' triumph.

In Southeast Asia, the imperialists rapidly reinvaded some countries and rebuilt their corresponding colonial authorities:

In the case of the Philippines, until the autumn of 1944 and the spring and summer of 1945, the revolutionists, whose troop had reached an estimated 100,000 soldiers, had been fighting thousands of battles and killed thousands of Japanese ones. Not only were the Japanese but the Americans were also present in the Philippines with 375,000 soldiers, who were powerful and well-equipped, making it impossible for Filipinos to follow their chosen developmental path.⁴

The British army soon returned to Myanmar and Malaysia. In Myanmar, capitalizing on political dissent among the nationalist leaders, they implemented the policy of mobilizing the opposition to exacerbate the conflicts and avert uncontrollable social backlashes. In Malaysia, 25,000 British soldiers landed right after August 1945, disrupting the national independence movements in the context of complicated relationships among Malaysian communities.⁵

In Laos, the Japan-backed puppet state was toppled down and the national coalition government was founded on September 15, 1945. However, in the meantime, the Chiang Kai-Shek's army, in the name of the Allies, moved massively into the territories of Laos. Benefiting from the situation, the French colonialists sent troops to Vientiane and Luang Prabang as early as 1946, gradually expanding their occupied areas and forcing the King of Laos to sign an agreement acknowledging that Laos was assigned a membership status in the Indochinese Federation while the French wielded decisive powers in socio-economics, politics, defense and diplomacy.

⁴ Vietnam National University. *Proceedings of Scientific Conference, 55th Anniversary of the August Revolution and National Day on September 2 (1945–2000)*. Hanoi: VNU Press, 2001. P. 33–34.

⁵ *Ibid.* Tr. 35–36.

In Cambodia, hiding behind the British army, the French troops soon deployed forces to occupy major areas. In January 1945, the Cambodia—France Provisional Treaty was reached and Cambodia received the status of an autonomous member state in the French Union.⁶

Thailand was the only Southeast Asian nation that was not invaded due to the fact that colonial forces yielded higher returns when using the territory as a leverage to attack others.

Various complex happenings entangled the situation of Vietnam. At the Yalta Conference, the Big Three agreed that “Southeast Asia, South Asia and West Asia were still under the traditional influence of the West, thus claiming the domination of the West over those areas.”⁷ This made the independence of Vietnam unacceptable internationally, “regarding diplomacy, there had been no country recognizing and setting up diplomatic relation with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Vietnam was under the influence of the imperialists. The Vietnamese revolution was enclosed and isolated”⁸. At the Potsdam Conference (July 1945), the powers decided to split Indochina into two parts, namely the North and the South, which were temporarily designated by the 16th parallel south and controlled by the Chiang Kai-Shek’s army and the British army respectively.

Even though the de Gaulle administration was mired in the fiasco of the fight against the German army and had to live in exile in Britain during the war, the French authority in Indochina underwent a seemingly effortless coup d’état staged by the Japanese, the French colonialists had always succumbed to the intention to invade Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. To do so, France urgently accomplished two main tasks: “(i) recovering the French’s powerful position and enlisting other powers’ consensus in paving the way for their return to Indochina; (ii) aggressively preparing for the expeditionary force’s conquest of Indochina with Vietnam first and foremost.”⁹

In respect of diplomatic mobilization, the French were not highly supported by others from early on, the US par excellence. This could be traced back to the President Roosevelt’s idea of launching an Internati-

⁶ Nguyen Phuc Luan. *President Ho’s Diplomatic Choices After the August Revolution*. International Studies, 2005, No. 61 (2). P. 6—7.

⁷ Nguyễn Quốc Hùng, Hoàng Khắc Nam (2006). *Quan hệ quốc tế, những khía cạnh lý thuyết và vấn đề*. Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 39.

⁸ Vu Quang Hien. *Understand the Party’s Foreign Platform in the Period 1945—1954*. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House, 2005. P. 33.

⁹ Vu Duong Ninh. *The History of Vietnam Foreign Relations 1940—2010*. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House, 2014. P. 77.

onal Trusteeship Committee for Indochina to alternate the former colonial authority, resolutely revoking the French's recapture of the area. On the contrary, when the end of WWII was approaching, the de Gaulle authority's uncompromising attitude and the reality of world politics diluted the US's hard-line approach. "Being subject to the global strategy, the US perceived 'the spread of the Communist threat over Southeast Asia' whereas it was unable to have a heavy hand in Indochina on grounds of high priority to Westearn Europe (then China)."¹⁰ On August 24, 1945, President Truman announced that the US did not rejected the French's return to Indochina. Notwithstanding not directly approving of the French's offer, the US endorsed positive arrangements and negotiations between France and Britain.

Unlike the US, Britain was willing to help the French's return to Indochina. That could be notably attributed to the fact that they were simultaneously dealing with a myriad of problems in Myanmar, Malaysia, and Syria, thus being unable to stay in Indochina for so long. The British understood that "if the liberation movements in Indochinese countries were successful, then people in the British colonies would possibly rise up in revolt for independence."¹¹ In addition, Britain did not want the US to entirely dominate strategically-important Indochina. Hence, being fully backed by Britain underpinned the French reinvasion of former colonies. "In the name of disarming Japanese troops, the British, who entered and stationed in the South, helped the French to reinvade Vietnam. They even armed Japanese soldiers to shore up the French. The fact that Britain threw their weight behind France led to a shooting committed by the French that killed tens of local people gathering for Independence Day in Saigon on September 2, 1945. On September 23, 1945, the French attacked Saigon, starting their second invasion."¹² By December 19, 1946, the French colonialists had been carrying out successive and disruptive violent actions to provoke the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They also uninterruptedly took vicious actions to dismantle national unity of Vietnam, generating alarming turbulence in terms of politics and security.

As of 1950, the situations of Indochina began to go down another road after its descent into the East—West confrontation. Accordingly,

¹⁰ Vu Quang Hien. *National Resistance as the Only Choice of the Vietnamese People*. History of the Party, 2006, No. 11. P. 19.

¹¹ Vu Duong Ninh. *Op. cit.* P. 79.

¹² Nguyen Quang Ngoc. *The Progress of Vietnamese History*. Hanoi: Vietnam Education Publishing House, 2010. P. 304.

“the conflict in Indochina was transformed from an essentially local anticolonial struggle into a focal point of the Cold War. One factor in that transformation was the arrival of communist forces across the border in China. The other was decision by the United States, spurred by the growing fear of the spreading red tide in Asia, to enter the struggle on the side of the French.”¹³

The internationalization of the war stemmed not only from systemic reasons but also realities on the battlegrounds. After a short time of fighting the Viet Minh, the French recognized the long-termness of the war. If so, their potentials would not be sufficient to bear the derived burden and thereby need allies' assistance, namely the US. The US security officers adjudicated that “Indochina, especially Vietnam, is the key to protect Southeast Asia,”¹⁴ thus categorically inducing the White House to intervene more directly and deeply. Consequently, “albeit warmly expressing friendship on September 2, the US implicitly advocated the French's return to Vietnam and, from 1950 to 1954, strongly helped the French to counter the Vietnamese revolution. This was the initial phase of the US's a-quarter-century war to dominate Vietnam.”¹⁵

Strikingly enough, “the foundations of nominally-independent governments in Indochina made it easier for the US to legitimize its support for the French. Because of being unable to defeat the Viet Minh, France intrigued to make havoc with the local politics by forming native governments in Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam.”¹⁶ These political movements of the West prompted the USSR and China to consolidate their political influences. In proof of that, “in January 1950, the French National Assembly ratified the Elysée Accords, officially recognizing Bảo Đại as the head of Vietnam [...]. Not long afterwards the US also recognized the Bảo Đại regime. As opposed to that [...], both China and the USSR recognized the Ho Chi Minh government [...]. The Cold War, as a result, landed in Southeast Asia and Vietnam.”¹⁷

Facing this circumstance, as of 1950, the communist nations, China and the USSR first and foremost, were bent on directly and mul-

¹³ Duiker, William J. (1994). *U.S. Containment Policy and the Conflict in Indochina*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. P. 87.

¹⁴ Phan Doan Nam (2004). *The Geneva Accords of 1954: 50 Years in Retrospect*. International Studies, No. 1 (56). P. 4.

¹⁵ Herring, George C. (1998). *America's Longest War*. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House. P. 7.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* P. 19.

¹⁷ Pham Quang Minh (2015). *Triangle Relations Between Vietnam—USSR—China in the War Against the US (1954—1975)*. Hanoi: VNU Press. P. 62.

tifacetedly assisting the Indochinese revolutions, among which was the anti-French resistance. The bottom line of this was that “the Soviet foreign policy gave prominence to taking full advantage of international situations to reach strategic targets, tilting the balance toward undergirding spheres of influence and the eastern and western safety belts of the Soviet Union.”¹⁸ On the other hand, “the self-dissolution of the Communist Party of Indochina (1945) and the fact that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam had shown ‘neutrality’ in East-West relations and yet to conduct land reform impelled this country’s leaders to suspect the Vietnamese communists of pursuing ‘nationalist’ thoughts.”¹⁹ In China, after WWII, the Chinese Civil War was reheated, thereby leading to limited communications between the Communist Party of Indochina (the CPI) and the Communist Party of China (the CPC) while both of them were taking actions of their own accord.

War process

Basically, the anti-French resistance of three Indochinese countries was implemented through the following main phases:

Phase 1 (from December 19, 1946 to the victory of the Viet Bac Campaign in autumn — winter 1947): On December 19, 1946 at midnight, according to President Ho Chi Minh’s appeal, the resistance officially broke out. The platform of resistance was soon defined as: *National, comprehensive, long-term, self-reliant*. As of December 19, 1946, to the victory of the Viet Bac campaign of 1947, the Vietnamese people and troops weakened the enemies, withdrew from urban fronts to enhance forces, then counterattacked them in the Viet Bac Campaign. In the wake of expanding occupied territories, the French mobilized more than 20,000 soldiers to begin a massive attack on Viet Bac base. Aggressively and effectively resisted by the Vietnamese, the French suffered from catastrophic damages and had to capitulate. The Viet Bac Campaign defeated the massive attack and the strategy of *attack fast, win fast*, safeguarding the leadership of Vietnam and gearing the resistance toward a new direction.

Phase 2 (from 1948 to the Border Campaign of 1950): After the Viet Bac Campaign, the French colonialists had to redirect the war; the stra-

¹⁸ Nguyen Phuc Luan (2006). *The International Lines of the August Revolution of 1945 in Retrospect*. International Studies, No. 66 (3). P. 12.

¹⁹ Nguyen Van Tri (2013). *Capitalizing on the Aid and Support of China and the Soviet Union and the Anti-French Resistance of Vietnam (1950–1954)*. Historical Studies, No. 2 (442). P. 39.

tegy of *attack fast, win fast* was modified into long-term war in conjunction with the policy of escalating war by war, fighting Vietnamese by Vietnamese. For the revolutionists' part, after the victory of the Viet Bac Campaign, their armed forces evolved intensely, making much headway on guerrilla warfare in Northern Central and Southern Vietnam behind the enemy. In June 1950, Standing Committee of the CPI decided to launch the Border Campaign aimed at decimating the enemy, freeing up the Vietnam-China border, connecting Vietnam with communist forces, and upholding the Viet Bac base. In the aftermath of the Border Campaign, the French lost a huge number of troops whereas the Vietnamese confiscated a great deal of military equipment, liberated a long border from Cao Bang to Dinh Lap (Lang Son), thus connecting with the world, overturning the complexity of war and gaining strategic positivity on the battlefields.

Phase 3 (from 1951 to the Geneva Conference of 1954): From 1951 to the Dien Bien Phu Campaign, the resistant army took advantage of strategic positivity to counterattack and defeat the enemy. After the failure on border fronts, the French insisted on rebalancing the war by sending more troops, substituting commanders, requiring the US for more aid. To hold the Northwest of Vietnam and Upper Laos, the French constructed Dien Bien Phu into a robust military base, which was the second-largest after the Red River Delta. In December 1953, the leaders of Vietnam decided to launch the Dien Bien Phu Campaign and gained the final victory on May 7, 1954. The results of the Dien Bien Phu Campaign and the Geneva Conference signified the complete victory of the anti-French resistance.

Ho Chi Minh's roles in the triumph of the war

As the top leader of the whole resistance, Ho Chi Minh should be the protagonist in the following prime aspects: *the founder and perfecter of thought on national independence and unification; the outstanding leader of the resistance; the pioneering soldier.*

The founder and perfecter of thought on national independence and unification

Ho Chi Minh's thought on national independence and unification figured prominently in instructing the whole anti-French resistance. He used to affirm that: "Freedom for my people, independence for my country, those are the only things I want, those are the only things I un-

derstand.”²⁰ Ho Chi Minh’s thought on national independence and unification is a system of scientific and thorough viewpoints consisting of:

Firstly, national independence is a natural, sacred and inviolable right of every country. He once wrote in *the Proclamation of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam*: “All peoples on earth are born equal; all peoples have the right to live, to be happy and free.”²¹ The history of humankind shows that independence is a all-or- nothing problem of all nations. Precondition for socio-economic development and people’s happiness is set only when a genuine independence is achieved. Therefore, safeguarding independence should be all people’s permanent duty. The time under French colonialism was a dark age in the history of Vietnam, during which the Vietnamese were suffering from unimaginable oppression and cruel exploitation. The distress and stigma of being enslaved fanned the flame of patriotism, which was then well led by the Communist Party of Vietnam (the CPV) and President Ho Chi Minh and embodied in various victories later on.

Secondly, national independence should be actual rather than nominal. Ho Chi Minh entrenched self-determination on home and foreign affairs within national independence. For Him, an authentic independence never originates from the act of “charity”, “ask and give.” Accordingly, right after claiming national independence, He said vociferously that: “The Vietnamese people share an ordinary will of desiring independence [...]. All of the three words which are Freedom, Equality, Fraternity have made France an advanced nation, and that is the only thing we crave.”²² By the same token, all countries have to be autonomous on all national affairs without any external interventions.

Thirdly, national independence is the ultimate goal of the revolution for national liberation. Precisely identifying this goal was crucial to winning the war against the French colonialists and the Japanese, which culminated in the August Revolution of 1945. Only after Vietnam had become a sovereign nation, did the CPV and President Ho Chi Minh make and implement further policies for the next revolutionary phases.

Fourthly, national independence is inextricably entwined with territorial unity and integrity. In spite of having regained independence after the August Revolution, Vietnam was invaded by the French colonialists, and the American imperialists afterwards, making Ho Chi Minh keep

²⁰ Trần Dân Tiên (1994). *Những mẩu chuyện về đời hoạt động của Hồ Chủ tịch*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 44.

²¹ Hồ Chí Minh (2011). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 4. Tr. 1.

²² *Ibid.* Tr. 213.

national unification in his mind in any case. In the New Year poem of 1963, He wrote that “Nước Việt Nam ta là một, Dân tộc Việt Nam ta là một. Dù cho sông cạn đá mòn, Nhân dân Nam, Bắc là con một nhà”²³ (meaning that the North and the South of Vietnam are one). For Him, national independence and national unification are interrelated.

Fifthly, national independence need bring happiness and wealth to people and be associated with socialism. He said: “I have only one desire, the ultimate desire, that the country be independent and free, the people have enough food, clothing and housing, are able to learn.”²⁴ The ultimate target of Vietnamese revolution is to deliver happiness and prosperity to people because, in Ho Chi Minh's opinion, “if the nation were independent without the people's happiness and freedom, then independence would be in vain.”²⁵ It gave Ho Chi Minh platform for demonstration of the rule of national independence in close association with socialism.

Applying these mentioned viewpoints to the anti-French resistance, Ho Chi Minh then pinpointed the following arguments:

Constantly affirming that the independence and territorial unity of Vietnam is true, natural and inviolable. He said: “Vietnam is one, Vietnamese nation is one, nobody is allowed to infringe upon that sacred right of us.”²⁶ The stage 1945—1946 was the challenging time for the infant independence of Vietnam. Although the nation was at risk, Ho Chi Minh's determination of unification remained vibrant. In *The letter to the South* (1946), Ho Chi Minh wrote that: “The people of the South are Vietnamese. [...] This truth is unchangeable!”²⁷ He also wrote: “The Centre, the South, the North all belong to Vietnam. We share common ancestors, thus being brothers. [...]. No one can drive a wedge between children of one family, no one can separate France, then no one can separate Vietnam.”²⁸

Pointing out compelling reasoning to legitimize the Vietnamese revolution. At a meeting in July 1946, after having been asked a question about the solution to the South's avoidance of being affiliated to Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh answered that: “the South shares common ancestors with us, why doesn't the South want to be in Vietnam? The people of Basques

²³ Ho Chi Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 14. Tr. 12.

²⁴ *Ibid.* Tr. 187.

²⁵ *Ibid.* Tr. 64.

²⁶ *Ibid.* Tr. 532.

²⁷ *Ibid.* Tr. 280.

²⁸ *Ibid.* Tr. 469—470.

and Breton are French in spite of not speaking French. The people of the South speak Vietnamese, so why think about obstructing the unification of Vietnam?"²⁹ Facing the French's hostile attitude, right in Paris, Ho Chi Minh confidently spoke: "[...] division and separation cannot bring about well-being. It is unreasonable to think that the French Union will be stronger based on weak, divided and separated Vietnam. The French Union can only hold its role in the condition that it remains steady, unified, and close-knit; and only when each member of it remains steady, unified, and close-knit does the condition exist."³⁰

Uninterruptedly *enhancing the beliefs of the Party, the people and the army in the success of national unification while frequently reminding about specific must-do tasks in the long-term cause*. In *The appeal for national resistance* (December 1946), He declared that: "[...] We would rather sacrifice everything than lose our independence and be enslaved [...] Though our resistance is hard, with our determination to sacrifice, victory will be ours! Long live independent and unified Vietnam! Long live our victorious resistance!"³¹ After the signing of *the Geneva Accords of 1954*, the North and the South were temporarily separated and would be unified by a free and democratic general election before July 1956. In this period, President Ho Chi Minh gave many speeches, wrote lots of articles to interpret *the Geneva Accords*, encouraged, and stimulated the Vietnamese to fight for the general election.

As a whole, President Ho Chi Minh unreservedly considered national independence and unification as the ultimate and most important goal of the national liberation revolution of Vietnam. This leading thought was requisite for winning the anti-French resistance.

The outstanding leader of the resistance

In the entire process of leading the war, President Ho Chi Minh directly, or indirectly via the ICP's undertakings, made clear-sighted and timely policies to effectively resolve decisive problems as follows:

Firstly, in dealing with the French aggressors, President Ho Chi Minh adopted the strategy of "*peaceful to move on*" in order to minimize dire effects of damages by the French and prolong preparation time for the inevitable war. History shows that the strategy is totally proper. Ho Chi Minh later evaluated that: "we needed peace to build the country, so we were forced to make concessions on peace-keeping. Even though

²⁹ *Ibid.* Tr. 315.

³⁰ *Ibid.* Tr. 328—329.

³¹ *Ibid.* Tr. 534.

the French colonialists reneged on their promises, nearly one year of peace provided us time to improve essential forces. When the French deliberately broke the war, then we couldn't bear anymore and initiated the national resistance."³²

It is important to note that the goodwill for peace recovery remained apparent after the day of national resistance. The stance of the ICP, at the very beginning of the resistance, was "take full advantage of diplomacy to shorten the Vietnam—France bloodshed."³³ As the leader of the Party and the head of the State, Ho Chi Minh continued embarking on diplomatic activities to find another therapy for the issues of Indochina. In January 1947, Ho Chi Minh wrote: "We want to recover peace immediately to stop further bloodshed between the Vietnamese and the French. We appreciate all of their blood. We are looking forward to peaceful actions of the French Government and people. If not, we are mandatory to fight till the end for national liberation."³⁴ These diplomatic activities illustrated the goodwill of Vietnam, proving that Vietnam entered the war against France only as a last resort.

Secondly, after the outbreak of the resistance, Ho Chi Minh, together with the ICP, laid bare the ultimate goal of the war as "the objective and political purpose of the resistance is definitely the objective of people's national and democratic revolution: *national independence, farms for farmers, moving on to socialism*."³⁵ This was specifically claimed in *The political platform of the Labour Party of Vietnam* as follows: "The current basis tasks of the Vietnamese revolution are fighting the imperialist invaders, gaining genuine national independence and unification, shaking off feudal and semi-feudal legacies, helping farmers to own farms, developing the people's democracy, laying groundwork for socialism. Those three tasks are intertwined. However, the main and immediate task is to entirely emancipate the nation. It is time to mobilize all forces for the victorious resistance."³⁶

³² Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 7. Tr. 28.

³³ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2003). *Văn kiện Đảng toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 8. Tr. 186.

³⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 24.

³⁵ Steering Committee of War Summary under the Politburo (2014). *Summary of the Resistance against the French Colonialism — Victory and Lessons*. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House. P.205.

³⁶ Đảng Lao động Việt Nam (1951). *Chính cương Đảng Lao động Việt Nam*. Retrieved on August 14, 2019 from URL: <http://tulieuvankien.dangcongsan.vn/ban-chap-hanh-trung-uong-dang/dai-hoi-dang/lan-thu-ii/chinh-cuong-dang-lao-dong-viet-nam-1448>.

Thirdly, to this end, Ho Chi Minh led the Party, all the people and the army in undertaking all related guidelines and affairs. Particularly, the *strategic guidelines* were: *National, comprehensive, long-term, mainly self-reliant*. In terms of struggle methods, Ho Chi Minh espoused the method of attaching armed struggle to political struggle, in which the former is decisive. As far as *founding resistance forces* is concerned, according to the call that “Twenty million Vietnamese people are determined to overthrow hundreds of thousands of reactionary colonialists,”³⁷ Ho Chi Minh propelled the Party and the State toward encouraging people, whose armed forces are of first magnitude, in combating the enemies. *When it comes to the rear of the resistance*, the task of constructing the revolutionary authority and nation was under His scrutiny. Because “the main issue of all social revolutions is about government,”³⁸ Ho Chi Minh, right after the August Revolution, gave prominence to the formation of the State of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam — the first democratic state in the history of Vietnam. In the time of resistance, the democratic republic institution was kept establishing for the better under Ho Chi Minh’s leadership. It was not only the firm rare but also the foundation for post-war national construction. In the area of *foreign affairs*, Ho Chi Minh was steadfastly mindful of unity among three Indochinese countries, rightful aid from socialist brothers, supports of international communities for the just anti-French struggle.

With the above-mentioned accurate policies, Ho Chi Minh proved to be of superb talents and leadership in the anti-French war.

The pioneering soldier

Ho Chi Minh was not only a thinker, a leader of genius but also a pioneering communist soldier in the combat against colonialism. In certain fronts, especially political and diplomatic ones, Ho Chi Minh directly participated in the struggle for the Indochinese people’s legitimate rights and interests. His significant diplomatic contributions certainly substantiate the argument.

While the negotiation process between Vietnam and France was getting stuck, Ho Chi Minh was striving to maximize peaceful time with the French. On March 6, 1946, in Hanoi, President Ho Chi Minh and

³⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 179.

³⁸ Vu Quang Hien (2009). *The Democratic Republic of Vietnam — The Result of a Typical National Liberation Revolution*. State Management Review, August, Vol. 163. P. 2.

Vu Hong Khanh³⁹ signed the *Preliminary Agreement* with J. Sainteny. The agreement included many important clauses. Correspondingly, the French Government recognized the Democratic Republic of Vietnam as a free nation which possessed government, national assembly, army, finance and was in the French Union. In return for that, Vietnam approved of the French entering the North to substitute for the Chiang Kai-Shek's army and had to withdraw after five years. The Agreement also required both sides to cease fire in direction to an official agreement. From April 19 to May 11, 1946, the delegation of the Vietnamese Government met with the French counterpart in Da Lat to discuss the related concerns, which were the topics of the official negotiation in France. Nonetheless, no agreement was reached in the event. From July 6 to September 10, 1946, the official meeting was held in Fontainebleau but finally failed due to the fact that the French was inclined toward colonialism and unwilling to hear justifiable requests of Vietnam. They were even preparing for war while the meeting was still taking place. On September 14, 1946 at night, before returning home, President Ho Chi Minh had signed a *Modus vivendi* with Moutet, who is the representative of the French Government, to expose the goodwill for peace of Vietnam and facilitate preparations for resistance.

In late 1949 and early 1950, Ho Chi Minh joined major diplomatic activities in person to break the French's siege, paving the way for Vietnam connecting to the outside world. More specifically, "On January 18, 1950, China recognized the Democratic Republic of Vietnam [...]. On January 16, Ho Chi Minh crossed the Vietnam—China border to go to Longzhou, and then Guangxi, Nanning, Beijing [...] met with Chinese leaders like Liu Shaoqi, Zhou De, to name but a few. At the meeting [...] China [...] supposed that previous conditions did not allow them to support Vietnam and they would strive to aid the Vietnamese resistance from now on."⁴⁰ Subsequently, Ho Chi Minh departed for the Soviet Union. In Moscow, President Ho Chi Minh met with leaders of Soviet Union such as Stalin, Kaganovich, Molotov, Khrushchev, and scored many formidable diplomatic successes. By these efforts, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union sent a telegram to Vietnam on January 30, 1950, declaring that: "After pondering the request of the Government of the Democratic Republic of

³⁹ The Governmental Council appointed Vu Hong Khanh instead of Nguyen Tuong Tam for not attending the ad hoc meeting before.

⁴⁰ Vu Duong Huan. *On Foreign and Diplomatic Policies of Vietnam*. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House, 2018. P. 260.

Vietnam and knowing that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam represents the majority of Vietnamese people, the Government of the Soviet Union comes to the decision to form relations between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and exchange ambassadors”⁴¹. Afterward, by March 1950, Vietnam had been recognized and established diplomatic relations by numerous other socialist nations.⁴²

On the basis of these diplomatic gains, the Viet Minh army not only got politically backed but also received a vast amount of military aid, thereby “by June 1, 1954, Vietnam received the aid of 21,517 tons of materials costing 136 million Chinese yuan (approximately 34 million rubles). Specifically, regarding weapons and technical equipment, “we were provided with 24 75-mm mountain artillery guns, 24 105-mm howitzers, 76 37-mm anti-aircraft guns (from the Soviet Union), 12 H6 rocket artillery guns (from the Soviet Union), 715 transport cars (685 from the Soviet Union).”⁴³ Besides, “the aid from China included not only materials but also human resources, namely mentors for many sectors and levels.”⁴⁴

Conclusion

In the tense and complicated contexts of world politics in general and Indochinese area in particular after WWII, Indochinese countries’ anti-French war ended up with final victory, regardless of countless difficulties. Vastly contributing to the achievement was President Ho Chi Minh’s indispensable roles, which can be demonstrated as:

Firstly, Ho Chi Minh formed and elaborated the thought on national independence and unification, which was the guidance on the anti-French resistance.

Secondly, Ho Chi Minh precisely led the resistance to surmounting high-stakes moments of history by timely and appropriate policies.

⁴¹ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union. *Vietnam—Soviet Union 30 Years of Relations (1950—1980)*. M.: Progress Publishers (Soviet Union), 1983. P. 9.

⁴² North Korea (January 31, 1950); Czechoslovakia, Democratic Republic of Germany (February 2, 1950); Romania (February 3, 1950); Hungary, Poland (February 4, 1950); Bulgaria (February 8, 1950); Albania (March 13, 1950).

⁴³ Vu Quang Hien. *Op. cit.* P.152.

⁴⁴ Nguyen Van Tri (2009). *Sino-French Relations in Resolving Indochinese Issues at the Geneva Conference of 1954*. Historical Studie, No. 6 (398). P. 48.

Thirdly, not only was the thinker and the leader but Ho Chi Minh was also a pioneering communist soldier in all fronts of the war, especially the political and diplomatic ones, with remarkable contributions.

In summary, Ho Chi Minh should be the very embodiment of amalgamating all of the three roles, namely *thinker*, *leader*, *soldier*, with one another. His great contributions and legacies deserve to be honored, succeeded and developed by the Vietnamese and all peace-lovers around the world.

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Chapter 6

FEATURES IN HO CHI MINH'S THOUGHT ON DEMOCRATIC STATE

Through applying Marxist—Leninist theory on state into specific conditions of Vietnamese society, especially on the basis of researching and summarizing practices of building people's administration, Ho Chi Minh raised a system of unique views about the new state in Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh's thought on the democratic state contains many new, creative features, even different from some specific views raised by Marx, Engels and Lenin. These are really valuable instructions for the construction of a socialist law-governed state in Vietnam today, both theoretically and practically. In the framework of this article, the author focuses on explaining a number of issues: 1) state model building, 2) democratic character of the state where powers belong to the people, 3) the state by the people, 4) the state for the people.

Keywords: features, Ho Chi Minh, thought, state, democracy

Choosing state model

First of all, it should be affirmed that, although he hadn't use the concept of "law-governed state", from very early and throughout the revolutionary life, Ho Chi Minh always advocated building a democratic state. In June 1919, on behalf of the patriotic Vietnamese in France, Ho Chi Minh submitted a copy of the *The Claim of the Vietnamese People* to the Versailles Peace Conference to demand that the French government give basic freedoms and democracy to the Vietnamese people. The seventh and eighth articles in the claim showed that, for the first time, Ho Chi Minh had the idea of a regime in which the

spirit of rule of law permeates all aspects of social life. Such a law-governed state must be organized and operated on the basis of a democratic constitution.

The idea of building a law-governed state had been made clearer before the August Revolution broke out. He convened the Tan Trao National Assembly with representatives of regions, political parties, national-saving organizations to determine major issues of revolution, including the appointment of the National Committee for Liberation. After that, Ho Chi Minh put a lot of energy himself into preparing and pronouncing *Declaration of Independence* in front of the Vietnamese people and the world to assert that the birth of a new social regime in Vietnam is possible according to the wishes of the entire people, that “the entire Vietnamese people are determined to bring all spirits and forces, lives and wealth to maintain that freedom and independence”¹. In particular, in the first meeting of the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, among the six urgent tasks that needed to be done immediately, there was the task of “organizing as soon as possible the general election” because “in the past, we were ruled by the monarchy, and then the colonial regime was no less tyrannical, so our country did not have a democratic constitution.”² Not only that, Ho Chi Minh, along with the Party, was extremely determined to accomplish the goal of building of the law-governed state. Implementing Ordinance No. 14 dated September 8, 1945 on the General election to elect the National Assembly, overcoming many difficulties caused by foreign enemies, on January 6, 1946, the General election took place. Simultaneously, with the implementation of the General election, a Committee for Constitution Drafting was established headed by Ho Chi Minh. It is worth noting that the Draft Constitution, after being discussed, supplemented and amended by the Government Council on November 10, 1945, was published in the *National Salvation* that included the paragraph:

“In order to let all Vietnamese people to participate in the constitution of the country, the Government publishes this Draft Constitution so that everyone can read it carefully and be free to discuss and criticize.”³

¹ Hồ Chí Minh (2002). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 4. Tr. 4.

² *Ibid.* Tr. 8.

³ National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, Office of National Assembly (2000). *History of Vietnam National Assembly 1946—1960*. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House. P. 40.

This is a manifestation of Ho Chi Minh's spirit of democratic rule of law. Through the revision and discussion process in the National Assembly, on November 9, 1946, the first Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was passed by the National Assembly. This was a milestone on the way to build a law-governed state of the people, by the people, for the people according to Ho Chi Minh's thought.

Besides attaching importance of building a democratic Constitution as a legal foundation for the political regime, for the new Vietnamese State, Ho Chi Minh also attached special importance of the construction of a legal documents system. In his lifetime, President Ho Chi Minh directly led the compilation of the 1946 and 1959 Constitutions, signed decrees to announce 16 laws, and enacted 613 decrees, including 243 decrees on regulating state organizations.

Ho Chi Minh also attached special importance of the propaganda and popularization of laws, to education for raising the knowledge of the people. He also attached great importance to the quality of the contingent of state cadres, including the requirement of being exemplary in law observance.

It can be affirmed that Ho Chi Minh always attached great importance to the construction of the constitutional and legal system stipulating the organization and operation of the state apparatus, organization, management and administration of society. This is a clear expression of Ho Chi Minh's thought about building of a law-governed state of the people, by the people, for the people in Vietnam.

However, what is even more important — the democratic nature of the state, the laws and the political regime in Vietnam. As a “professional politician” as he himself acknowledged, Ho Chi Minh was soon aware of the issue of political power and is an important one that needs to be thoroughly solved in terms of both theory and practice. As early as the 1920s, in many fighting articles, Ho Chi Minh fiercely and acutely criticized the nature of the colonial state apparatus. Those criticisms, on the one hand, exposed the evil nature of imperial colonialism. It was a political victory. On the other hand, it was this critique that developed Ho Chi Minh's political thinking, preparing him with theoretical and practical bases to form ideas about a new, truly democratic state — a goal of the Vietnamese revolution. In *Duong Kach Menh* — the first political textbook of the Vietnamese revolution — He clearly stated that “we have sacrificed our lives for revolution, so we have to do it radically, by which it means powers belong to all people after revolution.”⁴

⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 2. Tr. 270.

A democratic character of the state where powers belong to the people

The viewpoint of political power belonging to the people and serving the interests of the people is the core and throughout view of Ho Chi Minh's thought on state. All of the diverse manifestations of this thought would continue to be developed in Ho Chi Minh's thought in association with the next stages of the Vietnamese revolution, especially after the August Revolution when Ho Chi Minh was the direct head of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The concept of state in Ho Chi Minh's thought also developed. In 1930, he defined the foundation of "Government of workers, peasants and soldiers"; On August 16—17, 1945, at the Tan Trao Conference, the concept of "People's State" was used and on September 2, 1945, the concept of "Democratic Republic of Vietnam" was officially presented. This change closely followed by the development of Ho Chi Minh's thought in defining social forces as the subject of state power. It can be affirmed that, by 1945, the state of the people had been clearly defined in Ho Chi Minh's thought.

As mentioned above, the viewpoint of political power belonging to the people and serving the interests of the people is the core and throughout view of Ho Chi Minh's thought on state. At the *8th Party Plenum* (May 1941), Ho Chi Minh identified that "After the fight against France and Japan, a new democratic Vietnam will be established in the spirit of new democracy. The revolutionary government of the new democracy was not the right of a single class, but the whole nation, except for the minions of the French—Japanese empire and the traitors."⁵

By 1946, that democratic thought was governed by the Constitution: Vietnam was a Democratic Republic. All authority in the country belonged to the entire Vietnamese people, regardless of race, girl, class and religion. When a term of government ends, it will have to hand over the rights to the people and the people will give that rights to a new government "elected" by the people. Ho Chi Minh's thought on state power belongs to the people also showed that he often associated people with the concepts of state, government, parliament, etc. For example, in the period 1945—1946, the term of "People's State" and "People's Government" had a very high frequency of appearances in President

⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 7. Tr. 114.

Ho Chi Minh's articles and speeches. These terms are used by Ho Chi Minh for the government officials at all levels and, especially, for the people. This affirmation is a reminder that government officials must always remember their rights and responsibilities as well as educating the people about their completely new position. Since the Constitution of 1946 was enforced, Ho Chi Minh's thought on state continued to have extremely rich development with many dimensions. Democracy, according to Ho Chi Minh, generally meant that political powers belong to the people, "in our country, the government is of the people, owned by the people"⁶; "The people are the bosses who hold the government. The people elected representatives on their behalf to operate that administration. That is democracy."⁷ This is the affirmation, or, more accurately, the determination, that Ho Chi Minh raised when the national liberation revolution was still taking place.

The mastery of the people was clarified by Ho Chi Minh in relation to the status of the state cadres who directly hold the state power. "Our country is a democratic country, the highest position is of the people, because the people are the masters."⁸ Ho Chi Minh clearly affirmed that the purpose of state activities was for the common good. In other words, the state is part of society and works for the common benefit of all working people and the whole society. He said: "those who were elected would have to strive to maintain the independence of the Fatherland, strive for the happiness of their people."⁹

Ho Chi Minh urged government officials to keep in mind that government agencies from the central to the villages were public servants, which had to shoulder the common affairs of the people, not to suppress them. Here we see that Ho Chi Minh pointed out the connotation of the concept of "public service", and understand that this is a definition of Ho Chi Minh about the function of the state.

According to Ho Chi Minh City, government officials need to have a lot of qualities and truly work for the people. Ho Chi Minh criticized three types of cadres: First, the cadres who bear in mind the old ideas, turning themselves into revolutionary officials, abusing their power. The second are those who may not be pragmatic, but their actions may jeopardize the way of uniting the entire people. Third, the ones who do not improve their qualifications and have improper working methods. He

⁶ *Ibid.* Tr.218.

⁷ *Ibid.* Tr. 218—219.

⁸ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 6. Tr. 515.

⁹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 145.

pointed out that “to be loved by the people, [...] anything harmful to the people must be avoided.”¹⁰

The connotation of democracy in its relationship with authoritarianism was also clarified by Ho Chi Minh. Ho Chi Minh's discussions about authoritarianism pertain to democracy and are the means of ensuring and enforcing democracy. The focus of Ho Chi Minh's thought was on democracy. He wrote: “Democracy is the most valuable asset of the people [...] democracy also needs to be authoritarian to uphold democracy.”¹¹

Ho Chi Minh's idea of democracy was built on the basis of the people's awareness of their unrivaled power. He wrote: “In the sky, nothing is more precious than the people. In the world, nothing is strong as the united force of the people.”¹²

Taken all together, Ho Chi Minh gave a comprehensive perspective on democracy:

“MY COUNTRY IS DEMOCRATIC

All benefits are *for the people*.

All powers are *of the people*.

Renovation and construction are *the responsibilities of the people*.

The cause of resistance war and national construction is *the work of the people*.

Governments from communes to central government are *elected by the people*.

Mass organizations from the central to communes are *organized by the people*.

In short, powers and forces are all *in the people*.”¹³

The state belongs to the people

In Ho Chi Minh's thought, the people as the subject of state power are understood as the whole people except for traitors. He saw clearly the endless source of strength of the great national unity bloc, only through which the people have the strength to win, hold, and exercise their powers, including the state power.

The people show their mastery at first in elections. That was an indispensable requirement because that were the people who created this

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Tr. 47.

¹¹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 8. Tr. 280.

¹² *Ibid.* Tr. 276.

¹³ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 698.

regime. Ho Chi Minh specified: "The general election is an opportunity for the entire nation to freely choose talented and virtuous people to take up the work of the country. In the general election, everyone who wants to take care of the country has the right to run for office; citizens have the right to vote."¹⁴

According to Ho Chi Minh, state officials from the central to local levels are elected by the people and to "work for the people rather than rely on them." Therefore, the people have the right to control the state and control the government. Government control is also a democratic right. In Ho Chi Minh's thought, the people's right to control the state comes with the right to criticize the state. The people must regard criticism of state as a political right and also a responsibility. Criticism must contain a constructive spirit and must be in the right way.

We can see that Ho Chi Minh stood in the position of the people to build His ideas about the state. Ho Chi Minh believes that the people occupy an extremely important position. Political power is central to all social revolutions. In Ho Chi Minh's thought, the state is of the people, by the people and for the people; State power rests with the people. The state is nothing more than a tool created by the people, it is given to the people by the people and the officials are the public servants of the people in order to help them realize their good aspirations. The state never stands apart and stands over the people.

The state is for the benefit of the people

In Ho Chi Minh's thought, the state power belongs to the people, owned by the people, and the state must do everything to bring a happy life to the people. He wrote that "our government promised to make everyone happy." Bringing benefits to all people was considered by Ho Chi Minh as a guideline to all activities of the state.

It should also be emphasized that in Ho Chi Minh's thought, the state must take care of all national elements. The state must have the responsibility to educate people and open their arms to the generosity and kindness. Of course, to those who intentionally go against the interests of the people, no matter who they are, the state will definitely punish them. He pointed out "that attitude of the Government clearly expresses a single desire to give people full freedom and independence and to allow all national elements to enjoy such independence and freedom."¹⁵

¹⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 133.

¹⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 45.

It can be said that, in Ho Chi Minh's thought, being for the people is the nature of democracy. That is the basic difference of our society's democracy from bourgeois democracy. In capitalist societies, all power in society is in the hands of "a few people" and therefore all benefits belong to them. Investigate famous bourgeois revolutions in the world and witness democratic life in major capitalist countries like Britain, France, and the United States as well as what they do in colonial countries, Ho Chi Minh was acutely aware of the lies behind those democracies, and he determined that the Vietnamese revolution did not follow the path that those countries had followed.

The state, according to Ho Chi Minh, is of the people, "our State promotes democracy to the utmost extent, it is due to the fact that the nature of our State is of the people. It is to promote democracy to the highest level in order to encourage all the forces of the people to bring revolution forward. At the same time, it must be unified to the highest level to unify the people's leadership to build socialism."¹⁶

When talking about the state, Ho Chi Minh made a point of view about the people managing the state. This is a step further clarifying the issue of people's responsibility for the state. It is worth noting that the state carries out activities to serve the interests of the people, and it is to create conditions for the people to participate in state management at the same time. He wrote that "only our regime can really serve the interests of the people, the working people at first, ensure all the rights of the people, expand democracy so that the people can really participate in managing the state."¹⁷

According to Ho Chi Minh, one of the prerequisite issues for the democratic state is making it possible for the people to assume the role of ownership. Ho Chi Minh attached special importance to the education of the people. At the first meeting of the Provisional Government on September 3, 1945, Ho Chi Minh said: "We have an urgent duty to educate our people. We must make our nation a courageous, patriotic, labor-loving nation."¹⁸ He asked the people that "all Vietnamese must know their rights, must have the knowledge to be able to participate in the construction of their country, and first of all to read and write the national language."¹⁹ The best way of political training for the people is that cadres must set examples for the people.

¹⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 9. Tr. 592.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* Tr. 593.

¹⁸ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 8–9.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Tr. 36.

Conclusion

Ho Chi Minh built a comprehensive, profound and vital system of views on the basic issues of the Vietnamese revolution, including the state. Ho Chi Minh's thought on the democratic state has many new features, even different from some specific views raised by Marx, Engels and Lenin. Ho Chi Minh's thought on the democratic state up to now remains valid. On that basis, the task of the communists is to supplement and develop to realize a truly democratic state. If we recognize ourselves as communists, declare Marxism—Leninism as the basis for thought and guidance of action, we cannot negate the critical role of these mentioned viewpoint.

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PART 2

HO CHI MINH

AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM

Chapter 7

HO CHI MINH IN THE PROCESS OF THE VIETNAMESE COMMUNIST PARTY FOUNDATION

Since its foundation, the Communist Party of Vietnam (the CPV) has carried out its historic mission of national liberation and been taking the country along the path of socialism. With the talented leadership of the Party, along with active participation by the Vietnamese people, the revolution led by the Party has achieved significant victories, typically the August Revolution of 1945. To have such successes, the role of Ho Chi Minh was undeniable. Before Ho Chi Minh, there had been no patriotic leader in Vietnam who had a comprehensive and thorough revolutionary stance to combine national liberation with democracy. It was only in the Ho Chi Minh's era that revolutionary stance, which was expressed in the first Party platform, was truly comprehensive.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh, foundation, Communist party, leadership

The formation and revolutionary leadership of the CPV

Within seven months, from June 17, 1929, to January 1, 1930, there were three communist organizations in Vietnam: Indochinese Communist Party, An Nam Communist Party, and Indochinese Commu-

nist Federation. The foundation of these communist organizations was consistent with the inevitable development trend of national history and the era.

The development of the workers' movement and the patriotic movement increasingly required the lucid leadership of a unified revolutionary force. Indochinese Communist Party and An Nam Communist Party discussed a lot about unifying the organization but did not agree. Therefore, the communist movement in Vietnam at the end of 1929 and early 1930 was still in a state of organizational dispersion. Under these circumstances, the Communist International sent a letter to the communists in Indochina demanding reunification into a single party. The letter stated that "Up to now the first one to form a Communist Party is still very slow in the development of the revolutionary movement in Indochina. There is no single communist party during the mobilization of mass, workers, and peasants is growing, which is a great danger to the very near future of the Indochinese revolution"¹. The letter further stated, "The most important and necessary task of all Indochinese communists is to create a revolutionary party of the proletariat, which is a communist party. It must be a single party, and only that party is a communist organization in Indochina"².

The Communist International entrusted Mr. Nguyen Ai Quoc — Ho Chi Minh with the responsibility of "uniting the true communist elements" to form a single party.

At the behest of the Communist International, in the winter of 1929, Ho Chi Minh left Thailand for Hong Kong to grasp the specific situation, preparing a plan to carry out the enormous task assigned by the Communist International. The hot issues posed to him were to study and resolve the previous disagreements of communist organizations to reach an agreement, preparing documents for the new party, the date, and venue for the meeting.

In that situation, Nguyen Ai Quoc had to prepare documents, food, accommodation, transportation for delegates, liaise with party organizations at home and abroad, etc. At the beginning of January 1930, all preparations were completed. He decided to convene the Conference on the occasion of the Oriental New Year — the Year of the Horse, to give delegates convenient access and to distract the secret agents.

¹ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (1977). *Văn kiện Đảng 1930—1945*. Hà Nội: Ban Nghiên cứu lịch sử Đảng Trung ương, t. 1. Tr. 10.

² Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam. *Op. cit.* Tr. 10—11.

From January 6 to February 7, 1930³, the Unification Conference was held at a worker's house in a poor labor village in the Mekong peninsula, near Hong Kong (China).

After a period of urgent work, the delegates unanimously agreed with comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc's opinion on unifying the existing communist parties in the country into a single party named the Communist Party of Vietnam. The conference authorized comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc to draft the Party's brief outline, the Party's brief tactics, and the Party's brief statute.

On February 7, 1930, the Conference adopted the Party's brief outline, the Party's brief tactics, and the Vietnamese Communist Party's brief statute. The Conference also agreed on the unification of mass organizations and the adoption of the brief statutes of the Workers' Association, the Farmers' Association, the Communist Youth Union, the Women's Union, the Red Salvation Society, and the Empire Protestant Association (The united national Front against the empire), etc.

The Conference also agreed upon the plan to unify the grassroots party organizations and mass organizations in the country, procedures for appointing the provisional Central Committee and discussing the contact to recruit the Indochinese Communist Federation. The conference agreed on the next working method: When returning home, the delegates took the name of international delegates to carry out the work of the unification conference.

The unification conference also decided to publish the first documents of the Party to encourage the ardent Party members and masses to enthusiastically enter a new phase after the Communist Party of Vietnam was born. The Party's brief outline, the Party's brief tactics, and the Party's brief statute breathed a new wind into the mass movement and the whole Party.

With the strenuous activities of the delegates attending the Party founding conference, within a short time, the party committees of the two former parties were united into a unified organizational system.

³ According to the report of Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc to the Communist International, after the foundation of the Communist Party of Vietnam (the autograph written in Russian is now stored at the Archives Department of the Central Office of the Party), the Unification Conference took place from January 6, 1930. The conference discussed and decided on many very important issues, so it took place in one month, not 5 days as what had been written before. It can be affirmed that the two documents mentioned above are the most accurate basis for the Party Central Committee to redefine the Party's founding date.

Mass organizations also agreed upon the new charter. Provisional party committees in provinces were established.

On February 24, 1930, a critical conference was held in Saigon to consider the Indochinese Communist Federation's request to adhere to the CPV. There were two representatives on behalf of comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc (Communist International Representative) attending the conference: Chau Van Liem and Nguyen Thieu; the two representatives of the provisional central committee: Pham Huu Lau and Hoang Quoc Viet and the Provisional Secretary of the Southern Party Committee: Ngo Gia Tu. The Conference unanimously recognized the Indochinese Communist Federation to join the CPV. In terms of organization, the Conference decided that the Indochinese Communist Federation sent one person to the Provisional Committee of the CPV in Cochinchine.

Thus, after only a half month, three communist organizations in Indochina were united in a single party — the CPV.

The unification conference of communist organizations in Vietnam in February 1930 was as meaningful as the Congress for Party Foundation. This important event marked the completion of the mission entrusted by the Communist International, laying out a revolutionary strategic line and an accurate, creative and suitable Party building strategy under the social conditions of a colonial semi-feudal country.

Considering all aspects, the Party's brief outline, the Party's brief tactics, the Party's brief statute, which were adopted by the Conference on February 7, 1930, were the first Platform of the Party.

The Party's First Platform — the flag of national independence and socialism

Before Ho Chi Minh, there had been no patriotic leader in Vietnam who had a comprehensive revolutionary stance. No one paid attention to the land issue for the farmers, yet to appreciate the power of industry — agriculture, and was not aware of the revolutionary leadership' position of the working class also. Only after the birth of the Vietnam Youth Revolutionary Association and followed by communist organizations were the right revolutionary views based on Nguyen Ai Quoc's ideology formed.

In terms of assessing the situation and nature of the Vietnamese revolution, the Party's first Platform deeply analyzed the social nature of Vietnam as a colonial and semi-feudal country. In that society, French imperialism implemented the monopoly policy to make "indigenous capital belongs to the French capital, because French capital greatly

prevents reproductive power, making indigenous technology impossible to open up...”⁴. Since the invasion and domination of Vietnam, the French empire had “occupied our lands by setting up plantations, causing farmers to lose their land and become desperate. They find all ways to squeeze our people”⁵.

In the Platform, the Party pointed out not only two fundamental contradictions but also based on the characteristics of Vietnam to outline the main conflict that needs to focus forces on resolving the conflict between the Vietnamese nation and the France empire. They were incumbent feudal rulers, great landlords, and comprador bourgeoisie. To focus the spearhead of the revolutionary struggling against the empire, the Party advocated “nationalization of all plantations and lands of the empire and anti-revolutionary landlords in Annam to divide among the poor plowing people.”⁶ For “the rich peasants, the middle, and small landlords and the capitalists of An Nam, who are not yet clearly anti-revolutionary, it needs to take advantage, at least make them neutral.”⁷

Regarding the goals and objectives of the revolution, the Platform manifested on two levels for a proletarian revolution in the colonial country. At its first stage, its purpose was to carry out the political revolution to overthrow the imperial rule to gain independence and democratic freedom for the people. Afterward, the victory of the political revolution would create the premise for the people to gradually build a society toward prosperity, happiness and fairness, democracy, and civilization.

After orienting the revolutionary goals and objectives, the Platform clearly outlined the strategic task of the revolution, which encompassed both the content of the national democratic revolution and the social revolution. However, the outstanding and pioneering mission is to oppose the French empire, regaining independence, freedom, and prosperity for the entire nation.

According to Ho Chi Minh, the people’s democratic revolution towards socialism is closely related to each other, influencing and promoting each other, the previous successful campaign is a premise for the next campaign toward victory. It is the campaign of national liberation in the political and economic sectors. Carrying out the close combination of these two revolutionary movements is the combination of national, class, and people freedom in Vietnamese society.

⁴ Hồ Chí Minh (2011). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 3. Tr. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.* Tr. 20.

⁶ *Ibid.* Tr. 22.

⁷ *Ibid.* Tr. 3.

Therefore, between the two periods, the people's democratic national revolution and the socialist revolution have no separation, and no need to conduct a second political revolution to solve the government's problems such as Russian Revolution (February Revolution and October Revolution in 1917) and Chinese Revolution (1945 and 10-1949). It proves that, right from its foundation, the Communist Party and comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc grasped the principle of continuous revolution of Marxism—Leninism, the experience of the world revolution, understood the characteristics of Vietnamese social history and recognized the dialectical relationship between the stages of the social revolution led by the CPV.

The first Platform of the Party is the flag of national independence and socialism in the Vietnamese revolution.

To summarize the process of development and victory of the Vietnamese revolution over the past 50 years, the Fourth National Congress of the Party (December 1976) pointed out that “Raising the flag of national independence and socialism is the accurate line throughout the entire history of the Vietnamese revolution since the Party became a celebrated victory's flag of the Vietnamese revolution.”⁸

About the motivation and revolutionary force, the development of the viewpoint of “the workers and peasants are the roots of the revolutionary; and the students, small traders, and small landowners are also oppressed by capitalism, but not as miserable as workers and peasants; those three classes are just friends of the workers and peasants”⁹ as Nguyen Ai Quoc wrote in his work on Revolutionary Road. According to the Platform's assessment, the working class and peasant class were the two basic classes that were oppressed and exploited more severely by the French empire. They were the two main driving forces for ensuring the victory of the Vietnamese revolution.

As for the class of “intellectual bourgeoisie, middle-class farmer,” the Party has advocated that “it is indispensable to contact them to bring them to the proletariat side.” At the Second National Congress of the Party, based on the reality of the mass movement, the Party affirmed: “The bourgeoisie in general... is one of the significant driving forces of the revolution.”¹⁰

⁸ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (1977). *Báo cáo chính trị của Ban Chấp hành Trung ương tại Đại hội Đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ VI*. Hà Nội: Nxb Sự thật. Tr. 182.

⁹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 2. Tr. 288.

¹⁰ *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ II của Đảng* (1965). Hà Nội: Ban Nghiên cứu lịch sử Đảng Trung ương. Tr. 91.

In addition to the working and peasant class, the petty intellectual bourgeoisie, the Party also advocated attracting and take advantage of the “rich farmer, middle and small landowners and Annamese capitalist who are not clear on the counterrevolutionary side... Any parts that have appeared against the revolution must be demolished.”¹¹

Through the First Platform, the Party correctly resolved the relationship in the united national Front, correctly analyzed the characteristics of each component, and adequately arranged the position of each class in the revolutionary force. The Party divided the class of landlords into three categories: large landlords (owning 100 acres of land or more), medium landlords, and small landlords, as well as expressing their political attitudes. The Party’s strategy was to take full advantage of the contradictions in the ranks of the enemy to weaken them and demolish them. As for the masses, the strategy contributed to both building a national solidarity block and struggling to gradually eliminate the disadvantages left by history, making the unenlightened masses attached to the cause of national liberation.

Based on the scientific analysis of the bourgeoisie characteristics in Vietnam, the Party affirmed that it must demolish the counterrevolutionary bourgeois forces and advocate to enlist “who are not counterrevolutionary.” While considering the indigenous bourgeois as part of the revolutionary force, the Party denoted the principled stance that, in solidarity with the upper classes, it shouldn’t make concessions in an unprincipled way but “to get in the manner of class compromise.”¹² In the Platform, the Party also correctly resolved the violent revolutionary method “to overthrow the French imperialists and feudalists,” “to make Vietnam completely independent,” “to create a worker and peasant government, the revolutionary army.”¹³ It was to develop Ho Chi Minh’s revolutionary ideology.

With His revolutionary, violent viewpoint, Ho Chi Minh educated party members and the masses to raise patriotism, radical revolutionary spirit, self-reliant will to resist imperialism; at the same time, to oppose the reformism and personal assassination methods “or inciting people to be violent without being organized, or making people dependently and forgetting the self-reliance.”¹⁴ He pointed out that the power of revolutionary violence is the strength of a well-organized, politically enlightened masses.

¹¹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 3. Tr. 3.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.* Tr. 1.

¹⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 2. Tr. 282.

Ho Chi Minh soon recognized the issue of revolutionary opportunities properly. In his book titled *The Revolutionary Way*, he summed up the anti-French movement and drew one of the failure's causes of his predecessors. In early 1930, Ho Chi Minh advocated discussing with the Nationalist Party of Vietnam to postpone the Yen Bai uprising. He pointed out that: once the empire failed in the war somewhere, it was an opportunity for the revolution to explode and win.

The Platform asserted that Party leadership was a decisive factor in all victories of the Vietnamese revolution. In the process of preparing to establish the Party, Ho Chi Minh not only advocated admission to the Party of advanced workers but also admitted to people from other classes who had a passionate patriotism and radical revolutionary spirit. However, to avoid misconceptions about the class nature of the Party, in its Platform, the Party made it clear to the Party members and the public that "The Party is the vanguard of the proletariat."¹⁵ The right determination of the Party's class nature, the definition of the leading role of the working class for the revolution and the policy of uniting the entire people in the national front based on the alliance of workers, farmers and intellectuals are the key issues that make the Party fully capable of leading the Vietnamese revolution and bringing revolution to victory.

The First Platform of the Party showed a radical revolutionary line. Radical revolution is embodied in all the basics of the revolution: correctly identifying revolutionary properties, purposes, objects, and tasks; determining the relationship between anti-imperialistic and feudal duties; determining the relationship between the two stages of the national democratic revolution of the people and socialism revolution; identifying the leading role of the Party and working class for the revolution; correctly assessing the immense force of the peasantry, the position of the bloc of workers, farmers, intellectuals and the national united front in the revolution; upholding the principle while expanding the national united front; identifying violent revolutionary methods; identifying the Vietnamese revolution as an intimate part of the world proletarian revolution, etc. The radical revolution in the Platform was the development of Ho Chi Minh's famous viewpoint nearly ten years before establishing the Party that "only the liberation of the proletariat can liberate the nation; only both of these liberations can be the cause of communism and the world revolution."¹⁶

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Tr. 3.

¹⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 1. Tr. 411.

The Party Platform, when penetrated the masses, became a tremendous revolutionary power. Just a few months after the Party was born, a revolutionary climax revolted throughout the country. From the climax, our Party built a solid coalition of workers, farmers, and intellectuals, ensuring the absolute leadership of the Party and the working class to the revolution. That was a glorious beginning in the history of the Vietnamese revolution. After 30 years of struggle and victory of the Vietnamese Revolution (1930—1960), assessing the political line in the Platform, President Ho Chi Minh wrote that “That platform was very suitable to the eager aspirations of the majority of Vietnamese people. The Party has united the great revolutionary forces around its class, and the parties of the other classes have been either bankrupt or isolated. Therefore, the leadership of our Party — the Party of the working class has been constantly stronger.”¹⁷

The role of President Ho Chi Minh in the CPV foundation

A significant milestone affirming that Ho Chi Minh found the way to save the country was when he officially read the first draft theses on National and Colonial Questions of V. I. Lenin. After approaching the draft theses, he set out the way to save the country, in which preparing the conditions for forming a political party, namely the Communist Party, was an important task. Ho Chi Minh played a particularly important role in establishing the Communist Party of Vietnam:

Propagating Marxism—Leninism in Vietnam to transform public awareness, especially the working class, to make the Marxist—Leninist ideology step by step prevail in social life, transforming the patriotic movement powerfully, gradually moved to the stance of the working class. That was the starting point for the process of establishing the Party afterward. Ho Chi Minh prepared content to spread Marxism—Leninism into Vietnam in a simple, concise, understandable manner, matching the level of the masses. Articles, lectures with simple words and useful contents were transmitted quickly to the masses.

Ho Chi Minh made a lot of effort to prepare for the organizational issue and staff training. He conducted many training classes in Guangzhou (China) and established the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth Association (6-1925) (the predecessor of the Communist Party) to prepare officials

¹⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 12. Tr. 407.

and spread Marxism—Leninism. That was a precursor organization with a transitional nature and was suitable for Vietnamese revolutionary practices at that time. It helped the patriotic Vietnamese people to absorb his revolutionary ideas and creative thinking. It was his success in preparing the necessary conditions for the Party foundation.

Ho Chi Minh discovered national factors in the foundation of the CPV. According to the principle of Marxism—Leninism, the Communist Party was born as a product of a combination of Marxism—Leninism and the workers' movement. While the Vietnamese working class had not grown in number, to establish the Communist Party, he attached great importance of spreading Marxism—Leninism into the Vietnamese workers' movement and patriotic movement. According to him, a true party cannot be an isolated, closed organization, but must be organically and closely linked to the nation and classes; it must represent the struggle of the nation and classes.

It was unifying the communist movements, founding the CPV. After a long time of effective operation, the Vietnam Youth Revolutionary Association gradually lost its historical role. The strong development of the revolutionary movement in the country required a pioneer revolutionary party that was strong enough to lead the movement forward. From the middle to the end of 1929, in Vietnam, three communist organizations had appeared to meet that demand: Indochinese Communist Party, An Nam Communist Party, and Indochinese Communist Federation. The birth of the three communist organizations marked the enormous development of our country's revolutionary movement. However, in the course of operation, these organizations lashed out at each other, reduced the prestige of communist organizations, and negatively affected the rising revolutionary movement. Therefore, Nguyen Ai Quoc convened a conference to unite the communist organizations in Hong Kong (China). Ho Chi Minh chaired the conference and analyzed the factional and divisive activities of the three communist organizations and their harms. The conference agreed to unite the Vietnamese communist organizations into a single party named the Communist Party of Vietnam.

The meaning of the Party's birth with the Right Platform

The foundation of the Communist Party of Vietnam reflected the inevitable development of Vietnamese society based on inheriting favor-

able conditions from the outside, namely the victory of the October Russian Revolution, the foundation of International Communist, and the birth of many Communist Party across continents. Mastering Marxism—Leninism, Ho Chi Minh's thoughts, standing under the flag of proletarian internationalism, since the Party leadership, the Vietnamese revolution integrated with the world revolutionary movement. Under the leadership of the Party, the Vietnamese revolution combined the basic elements: the nation with the class, the nation with the international, the nation with the era, the nation's independence with socialism. The appearance of the CPV in the political arena marked the end of the revolutionary period influenced by bourgeois ideology, opening a period of establishing the unique leadership role of the working class and the proletariat ideology in the Vietnamese revolution. Commenting on the event of the foundation of the CPV, summarizing 30 years of the Party's activities, President Ho Chi Minh wrote that "The foundation of the Party was a crucial turning point in the history of Vietnam's revolution. It proves that the proletariat has grown up and been strong enough to lead the revolution."¹⁸

**The birth of the Communist Party of Vietnam
was a combination of Marxism—Leninism with worker movement
and patriotic movement**

Lenin affirmed that the Communist Party is the product of a combination between Marxism and the worker movement. This general rule was applied creatively by Ho Chi Minh to the conditions in Vietnam, where the working class was still small in number, but lots of the proletariat and oppressed people who have the patriotism to fight foreign aggression. The combination of Marxism-Leninism with the worker's movement and the patriotic movement led to the birth of the CPV in February 1930.

The establishing laws of the Party are not only useful to build the party in the national democratic revolution but also in the stage of building socialism. From these laws, we are aware of the elements that make up our Party: Marxism—Leninism, worker movement, patriotic movement. Therefore, to build a strong political, ideological, and organizational Party requires us to build all three factors mentioned above. At the same time, we need to realize that these factors develop constantly.

¹⁸ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.* T. 2. Tr. 406.

The birth of the Party was the result of the high and unified development of the worker movement and patriotic movement throughout the country

The CPV is the offspring of the revolutionary movement of workers, peasants, working people, patriots, and became mature through the struggle against imperialism, feudalism, and capitalism. This lesson has implications for strengthening and developing the revolutionary movement of the masses.

The Party's revolutionary strategies and lines expressed in the First Platform accurately reflected the requirements and aspirations of the working class, the peasantry, and the entire Vietnamese people, under the development laws of the era. Therefore, the First Platform became the flag of national independence and socialism, a light for the development of our country's revolution. To have these achievements, the great merits of Ho Chi Minh are undeniable as Comrade Gus Hall, General Secretary of the American Communist Party asserted reasonably that "Comrade Ho Chi Minh is an important person who appeared at the right time, matching the requirements of history, with the right ideology. That's why he makes history"¹⁹.

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¹⁹ *Thế giới ca ngợi và thương tiếc Chủ tịch Hồ Chí Minh* (1970). Hà Nội: Nxb Sự thật. Tr. 78.

Chapter 8

HO CHI MINH'S IDEAS ON YOUTH EDUCATION AND ITS APPLICATION BY THE VIETNAMESE COMMUNIST PARTY AT PRESENT

Youth education is an important component in the strategy of “new man” building of Ho Chi Minh. According to Ho Chi Minh, educating youth is an extremely necessary and important work; youth education content must be comprehensive; the method of educating young people must be diversified and suitable with the characteristics of the youth. Deeply and thoroughly aware of Ho Chi Minh’s ideas about youth education, the Communist Party of Vietnam always affirms the position and great role of young people in the development process of the nation, take care of educating and fostering young people into classes who are both “moral” and “expert” and continue the excellent works of our ancestors. Those are the basic issues explained in the content of the article.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh ideas, Communist Party of Vietnam, youth education

Ho Chi Minh’s ideas on youth education were formed very early, as soon as he recognized the outstanding contributions of talented youth and young heroes in the nation’s history of national building and defense. That is a solid basis for Ho Chi Minh to have a strong belief in Vietnamese people and young Vietnamese. That belief helps Ho Chi Minh to correctly identify Vietnam’s revolutionary forces and its motivation, seeing the potential in the strength, intellect, courage, intelligence and creativity of the young generation of Vietnam in their career to overthrow the empire and its minions, build a new and just society.

With a passionate patriotism, youthfulness, lofty ideals and great determination, Ho Chi Minh went to find a way to save the country when he was a young 21 years old. During his youth, Nguyen Ai Quoc — Ho

Chi Minh had great activities and great dedication in denouncing and exposing the crimes of imperialism and minions; found the right way to save the country, prepared the ideology, politics and organization for the foundation of the Communist Party of Vietnam; building an international solidarity block, associating Vietnam's revolution with the world revolution. From the important maturing steps of his youth, Ho Chi Minh has become more and more aware and confident in Vietnamese youth.

Inheriting the views of the founders of Marxism—Leninism; summarizing the history of world revolution and Vietnam revolution, Ho Chi Minh found that young people have outstanding advantages: young and vigorous, the majority of society, enthusiastic, quick-minded, with big dream and dedication, willing to sacrifice for noble ideals. If rightly cared, educated, trained and mentored, youth were then able to “move mountains and fill oceans” and became trusted successor of the Party in the cause of national liberation, class liberation and social liberation. The example of Ho Chi Minh's youth is a vivid example of the need for the Party to enlighten the youth, educate the youth in a revolutionary organization, through practice to promote their great role in the cause of fighting for independence, national construction and development, contributing to the victory of the world revolution.

Contents of Ho Chi Minh ideas on youth education

Ho Chi Minh ideas on youth education can be generalized in the following three basic points:

Educating youth is an extremely necessary and important task

Based on Marxist methodology and rich practical knowledge, Ho Chi Minh showed the Vietnamese people clearly: if you want to gain independence for the people, bring freedom and happiness to the people there is no other way than the revolution of the proletariat. This is a long process of struggle, full of hardship and sacrifice. Human life is limited; each generation can only do a certain part of the entire great revolutionary career. Therefore, revolution is the career of many successive generations. Educating young people to prepare for the next revolutionary force is a rule to ensure that the revolution wins victories in all stages, promoting society's continuous development.

Ho Chi Minh soon discovered the great potential of the younger generation in the revolutionary career and the urgency to arouse the revolutionary movement of Vietnamese youth. Right when he was trying to find a way to save the country, in his letter “*To Vietnamese youth*”, Ho Chi Minh said that, youth was a class that represents the vitality of a nation, so to “revive” the nation, it must first “revive” the youth. From the practice of revolutionary leadership, he made a very famous point: “In order to build socialism, socialist people are first and foremost.”¹ Therefore, we “must plant trees for the benefit of ten years, must educate people for the benefit of a hundred years.”² Youth education becomes an important part of the strategy “planting people.”

Ho Chi Minh said that: young people were the one who help the older generation and lead the future youth; were a pioneer in the cause of economic and cultural development and in the cause of socialist construction; were a basic force in the army, police and self-defense militia energetically preserving the order of national security and defense. He wrote: “Union members and young people in general are good, in everything they are eager to volunteer, not afraid of difficulties, have the will to proceed.”³ From objective assessments, reflecting the revolutionary nature, role and great strength of youth, HCM loved, trusted and affirmed young people: The country will prosper or decline, weak or strong, in large part due to the youth.

Along with affirming that the youth is a dynamic, creative, energetic force, with beautiful ideal and can undertake and fulfilling the difficult and arduous tasks assigned by the revolution, Ho Chi Minh said: fostering young generations, building revolutionary forces for the next generation is important work, it is the preparation of the necessary factors to build future society. Ho Chi Minh recognizes the finality of every human life in the flow of history. Therefore, he said that educating, training young people was a career of “planting people” in order “to teach young people to be good citizens, good workers, good soldiers, good officials of the country,”⁴ that is the work of preparing revolutionary forces for the next generation. It was very elaborate, persistent and enduring work.

¹ Hồ Chí Minh (2011). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 12. Tr. 123.

² Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 11. Tr. 528.

³ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 15. Tr. 612.

⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 8. Tr. 448.

Youth education content must be comprehensive

In the education of young people, it is required to be comprehensive, including virtue, intellect, body, beauty and productive labor, in which the primary task is to educate revolutionary ideals, make them inherit the great will of the generations of their forefather, turning revolutionary ideals into revolutionary wills, into strong actions to build and defend the Fatherland.

He pointed out: to teach the younger generation the ideals of revolution, patriotism, love, self-reliance, resilience, determination not to be inferior to anyone, and determination not to be enslaved; make the young generation have a right understanding of the inevitable development path of the nation, about socialism and the way to socialism in Vietnam; shape the young generation to believe in the leadership of the Party and the future of the country. Besides educating the young generation imbued with Marxism—Leninism, equipping them with the materialist worldview, methodology dialectical and revolutionary worldview, in order for the young generation to have a right view of nature, human society, and have a scientific belief in the goal of revolution and right actions; instill in the Party's guidelines and policies, the State's policies and laws; energetically emulate learning, labor, and pioneering to carry out revolutionary tasks.

According to Ho Chi Minh, the youth's revolutionary ideals and wills can only be sustained and developed on the basis of revolutionary morality: "diligence, thrift, honesty, integrity, fairness, impartiality." So it's essential to educate them revolutionary morals, "training them into successors build socialism both "moral" and "expert",⁵ capable of undertaking the tasks of the revolution in the present and the future, so that every perfect person will reach the true — the good — the beautiful. Ho Chi Minh asked the Party to take care of revolutionary moral education for young people, to build a comprehensive education to train talented people and nurture talent.

Ho Chi Minh was also very interested in educating young people about labor love, with a respectful attitude towards intellectual labor as well as manual labor. He said: "Work is our sacred duty, our source of life, our source of happiness. In our society, there is no humble profession, only those who are lazy and dependent will be shamed."⁶ In his

⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.* T. 15. Tr. 612.

⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 13. Tr. 69.

“*New Life*”, written in 1947, he stated: “It’s indispensably to advise students to participate in labor. This is also very important. *The first* is to make them respect the need for labor. *The second* is to train them to get used to suffering. *The third* is to train them the self-discipline to work for livelihood, not to cling to society. *The fourth* is its benefits to health.”⁷ Ho Chi Minh pointed out that the labor education in schools is the main stage in the whole cause of socialist education in order to train the younger generation with both scientific knowledge and basic knowledge of industrial and agricultural production techniques, ready to participate in the building of socialism.

**The method of educating young people
must be diversified
and suitable to the characteristics of the youth**

Ho Chi Minh said: “The brain of young people is as pure as a white silk, dye it blue will turn blue, dye it red will be red.”⁸ Therefore, education depend not only on the content and type of education, but also on the educational method. Ho Chi Minh attaches great importance to the methods and the measures of educating and fostering young people for them to become a powerful revolutionary force, revolutionary soldiers who deserve to inherit and shoulder the responsibilities of the Party and the nation.

One of the basic principles for developing the educational method used by Ho Chi Minh in educating cadres, party members in general, and young people in particular, is the unity between theory and practice. In particular, he attaches great importance to some of the following basic educational methods:

Firstly, the method of Learning with practice must be associated with reality. Starting from the point of view of the educator as a science, Ho Chi Minh affirmed that learning and practice must be combined with each other, must implement well the guideline of education combined with production labor. He said that “Learning with practice and practice must be associated with reality.”⁹ Ho Chi Minh has derived from the content, requirements of the revolutionary career, from the psychological characteristics, the personality of the youth that give instructions and thoroughly grasping the principles of learning associ-

⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 121.

⁸ *Hồ Chí Minh — Về vấn đề giáo dục* (1990). Hà Nội: Nxb Giáo dục. P. 56.

⁹ *Ibid.* P. 191.

ated with practice, theory associated with practice, education associated with production labor, incorporating school, family and social education.

He affirmed: “Youth education cannot be separated from but rather must be closely linked with social struggles.”¹⁰ Therefore, young people must be put into practice in revolutionary struggle practice; building an equal and democratic environment in education so that young people develop their talents; diversify education and manage educational work well among young people; gather young people into mass organizations to foster and develop. It’s said that young people want to become a really talented and useful to society, they should not grind, not rote, but learn to think, learn to practice, to experiment and practice.

Secondly, the method of dialogue, combining learning with fun, and education tied to emulation. Ho Chi Minh said that in order to raise the awareness level of workers, it is necessary to have a dialogue in the learning process in a democratic, frank, not cruel way. According to Ho Chi Minh, in the education process, everyone is free to express their opinions, whether true or not. When everyone has spoken out, found the truth, then the freedom of ideas turns out to be the freedom to submit to truth. Accordingly, Ho Chi Minh called on officials and teachers to respect the opinions of students, should not be prejudiced against other ideas contrary to their own.

The reminder: teaching should avoid the way of indoctrination; learning should avoid parrot-like learning. In order for the dialogue process to take place actively and positively, he addressed the teachers: “the lesson must be well prepared and select the ones that are suitable for students’ age.”¹¹ He said that the new education we build is an education where everyone has the opportunity to promote their creativity, everyone can learn, regardless of class, age, level, gender...Therefore, it is necessary to uphold the independent manner of thinking and the freedom of ideas and open dialogue as one of the methods that bring about the effectiveness and quality of education.

In Ho Chi Minh ideology, young people should study hard and work, but need to have fun too. He advised: “Healthy play is a part of the youth’s activities... In education, it is also necessary to be well educated, so it is necessary to have cultural and collective play and mass entertainment. Schools, families and mass organizations need to pay at-

¹⁰ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 9. Tr. 265.

¹¹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 14. Tr. 747.

tention to educating youths' ideology, attitudes, activities and daily life in order to promptly encourage, rectify and repair young people.”¹²

Ho Chi Minh was the one who initiated and led the patriotic emulation movement (healthy competition) among the people. According to him, the emulation movement is a vast practical school to improve people, build new people and new societies. Those who request education for the younger generation must associate with emulation in order to make people more enthusiastic and motivate each person to strive to strive to rise up for better results in learning, training, labor, production and combat.

Thirdly, the method of leading by example. Understanding human nature is the direction of the true, the good, the beautiful, Ho Chi Minh attaches great importance to the exemplary method in educating the younger generation. According to Ho Chi Minh, the leading by example is the most effective method of unifying words and actions. If you talk a lot and do a little or give word without doing it, saying one thing and doing another will not have an educational effect on young people.

Ho Chi Minh asked that in the family, grandparents and parents should set an example for their children and siblings to set an example for their children; in schools, teachers have to model for students, in society, the previous generation must set an example for the next generation, party members will set an example for the masses. He reminded: you should set an example, try to be an example to your brothers in arms and when you go on a business trip try to be an example for the people, set an example in all three aspects: spirit, matter and culture.

According to him, one of the characteristics and beauty of Eastern cultural traditions and ethics is *A living example is worth more than hundreds of speeches*, so to guide the mass, I have to be a ruler for people to imitate. He said that in front of the masses, people did not have to just stick the words “Communism” on their foreheads, the masses only love, trust and follow those who have moral character, words go hand in hand. In youth education, he asks every teacher, every officer, party member to be an exemplary model in all aspects, from words to works, from styles, research activities to solidarity and productive labor.

Fourthly is a combination of family, school and society. Ho Chi Minh especially attaches special importance to the combination of forms of youth education, without over-prioritize any form of education. Accor-

¹² Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 9. Tr. 266.

ding to him: although the education in the school is good but lack of education in the family and in society, the results then shall not be complete. He always wants “families to communicate closely with the school, help the school to educate and encourage their children to study hard, live healthy and energetically help the people.”¹³ At the same time, schools should be in close contact with family and society. Schools, families and unions must pay attention to educating the youth’s ideology, activities and daily activities to promptly encourage, rectify and adjust them to become good children, good students and good citizens useful to society.

With the concept of “education is the cause of the masses”¹⁴, Ho Chi Minh said that it was necessary to fully promote socialist democracy, build close solidarity relations between teachers, students and teachers, between officials at all levels, between schools and people to fulfill the glorious mission of education. Therefore, in order to educate young people into the people who succeed the great revolutionary cause of the Party and the nation, it requires sectors, levels, the Party and local authorities to really pay more attention to the cause of “planting people”, should take care of the school in all aspects, bringing the educational career of the country to new development steps.

Fifthly, to promote sense of self-education and self-training to young people. Ho Chi Minh said: “Young people are now a glorious generation, so they should voluntarily and automatically improve their ideas to deserve their duties.”¹⁵ One of the main tasks of teenagers is learning. First of all, purpose of learning should be clearly identified as well as right learning motivation should be built. People should have a sense of self-learning and must know self learning.

He guides young people learning approach: “Learning at school, in books, learning from each other and learn from people”¹⁶; They should study with seriousness, humility, honesty, what is unknown, ask, no ignorance is accepted; Studying in an intelligent, creative, independent way of thinking and reading materials should deepen and understand thoroughly.

He states that arrogance, conceit, and complacency are the number one enemy of learning. Therefore, if you want to improve, you should study and strive continuously. He advises: “Young people need to have voluntary will, self-reliance, independence. There should be a spirit of

¹³ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 10. Tr. 186.

¹⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 508.

¹⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 11. Tr. 399.

¹⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 6. Tr. 361.

wanting to work, not a status or mood. They should determination to work until got there. They should have a desire to progress, to study, to study more, to study forever.”¹⁷

For Ho Chi Minh, all of the above educational methods are aimed at upholding the independent manner of thinking and freedom of ideas, improving the awareness, quality and effectiveness of youth education. These methods are traditional, scientific, specific and practical, always associated with life and the era. According to Ho Chi Minh, for each object and specific conditions, appropriate educational methods are needed, based on the educational level, daily routines, enlightenment level, struggles, desires and practical situation of the youth.

The Vietnamese Communist Party applies Ho Chi Minh ideas on youth education in the current period

Imbued with and thoroughly grasping the Ho Chi Minh ideology in the revolutionary cause, the Vietnamese Communist Party always upholds the role and position of young people, identifying young people as a revolutionary force, one of the important factors determining the success or failure of the cause of industrialization, modernization of the country and international integration and building socialism as well as the future and national destiny; they are the main force in many fields, undertaking jobs that require sacrifice, hardship, health and creativity. Young people are placed at the center of the strategy on fostering and promoting human factors and resources. Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union is a reliable reserve team of the Party; youth work is a vital issue of the nation, an integral part of the work of building the Party.

During the *doi moi* period, under the light of Marxism—Leninism and Ho Chi Minh ideology, the Party issued the 2nd thematic Resolutions on strengthening the Party's leadership over youth building, which identifies: continuing to build a generation of Vietnamese youths who are rich in patriotism and national resilience; steadfast ideals of national independence and socialism; have morality, a sense of observance of the law, a cultural life, for the community; have capacity and bravery in international integration; have good health, knowledge, skills and industrial discipline in collective labor, become good citizens of the country...

¹⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 464.

Especially, after the Politburo issued Conclusion No. 80-KL / TW, 12-12-2013 on continuing to promote the implementation of Resolution No. 25-NQ / TW of the Party Central Committee, Session X *on strengthening the Party's leadership for the youth work in the period of accelerating industrialization and modernization*, The Party Central Committee's Secretariat issued Directive No. 42-CT / TW, March 24, 2015 *on strengthening the Party's leadership in educating revolutionary ideals, ethics, and cultured lifestyles for the younger generation in the period 2015—2030*, has created an important step in the political and ideological education for young people.

The views of the Party are: “Take care of fostering and educating youth class people, both “moral” and “expert” in Ho Chi Minh ideology are the responsibility of the entire political system under the leadership of the Party, the important role of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, the family, the school and society.”¹⁸ On that basis, the State manages the youth and youth affairs; institutionalizes the Party's guidelines and policies on the youth and youth work into laws, policies, strategies, action plans, socio-economic development plans, national defense and security assurance at all levels and sectors, creates conditions and opportunities for young people to study, train and develop. The party committees have led the political system and the whole society to better perform the work of the youth and take care of building the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union. The ideal education, revolutionary morality, cultural lifestyle, and citizen consciousness for young people have achieved positive results. The campaign “*Vietnamese youth learn and follow Uncle Ho's words*” creates a change in the awareness and actions of union members and young people. The revolutionary action movements of the delegation have really gone into depth, accompanying young people in careers and jobs... have contributed to creating a healthy social environment for young people to train, dedicate and grow.

Reality shows that, during the renovation period, the Party has led to build a new generation of young people with morality, personality, knowledge, health, active thinking and creative actions; following the proud tradition of the Party and the nation, upholding patriotism, a sense of building and defending the Socialist Fatherland; not to be afraid of difficulties, hardships and volunteering for the community; to be responsible to the family and society; to have the will to rise up in educati-

¹⁸ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2008). *Nghị quyết 25-NQ/TW của Hội nghị lần thứ bảy Ban Chấp hành Trung ương Đảng (khóa X) về tăng cường sự lãnh đạo của Đảng đối với công tác thanh niên thời kỳ đẩy mạnh công nghiệp hoá, hiện đại hoá*. July 25.

on, labor, making a new life, making a legitimate career and becoming wealthy, determined to bring the country out of poverty and backwardness; wishing to be trusted, to be dedicated to the country, to have a job, a stable income and a rich and healthy cultural and spiritual life; the political quality of youth union members and young people has been gradually improved, contributing to building and defending the Party and administration, protecting the regime and maintaining socio-political stability; making positive contributions to the cause of promoting industrialization and modernization of the country and international integration...

Besides these achievements, a number of Party Committees, authorities, officials and party members have not fully and deeply grasped the Party's views on youth work; not specifically in accordance with local's condition, units; were not regularly and properly concerned about the inspection and supervision of the implementation of the Party's Resolution on the youth work. Policies on youth and the work of young people are inadequate and slow to come to practice. The role of union organization in some places especially in the populous areas is limited. The gathering and solidarity of young people in non-state economic sectors and in industrial sectors, for young Vietnamese in foreign countries, have not met the requirements. The quality of young human resources has not met the requirements of the cause of stepping up industrialization and modernization. A part of the youth has shown a decline in reasoning, morality, lifestyle, social evils and law violations. A part of the youth lives lacking in idealism, losing faith, paying little attention to the situation of the country, lacking the sense of obeying the law, pragmatic living, far from the national cultural tradition. A part of the youth is afraid of mass activities and social activities. Crime and legal violations among young people are increasing in both quantity and seriousness.

In the current period, globalization, regionalization have become an inevitable trend, creating opportunities for external expansion, exchanges, economic, political, cultural, scientific and technological relations... However, "global issues such as financial security, energy security, water security, food security, climate change, natural disasters and epidemics are more complicated,"¹⁹ traditional and non-traditional security challenges, especially cyber-security and new types of warfare. The fourth industrial revolution with unprecedented scale and speed, inter-

¹⁹ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2016). *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ XIII của Đảng*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 72.

net of all things, artificial intelligence... fundamentally changes the way of life, working style and way of communication of people. Those are having a strong impact on the security and safety of each country, including Vietnam, multidimensional impact on the younger generation, raising concerns about loss of identity and erosion of traditional cultural and ethical values.

In the country, besides great opportunities, there are many difficulties and challenges in the development process. The hostile forces, reactionaries are still aggressively implementing the plot to fight against our Party and State with more and more dangerous, sophisticated and cunning tricks, they enlist every opportunity to accelerate the “peaceful takeover” strategy. That situation requires the Communist Party of Vietnam to continuously improve its leadership and fighting power, strengthening the Party building work, making the Party truly clean, strong in politics, ideology and organization, on a par with new task requirements; especially to take care of building the next revolutionary force with “clear mind, bright idea, big ambition.”

Ho Chi Minh ideology should be continually applied to educating young people in the new situation. In particular, the committees, the government, the political system should follow the political mission of the country, be aware of the characteristics, roles, positions and interests of young people in the context of market economy and international integration to plan policies, tasks, solutions of solidarity, gathering, taking care of education, fostering and developing young people. Every Party’s organization and cadres and party members should set an example of morality “*industrious, thrifty, incorruptible, righteous, impartial*” to shape the ideal, build the mindset, lifestyle for young people. At the same time, renewing the contents and forms of propaganda of political, ideological and traditional education, laws, ethics, lifestyle, discipline, cultural behavior for young people.

Under the leadership of the Party, the subjects in the political system need to renovate the forms, content and methods of Marxist—Leninist education, Ho Chi Minh ideology, views, policies of the Party and laws of the State, especially the teaching and learning in schools, associated with the implementation of Directive No. 05-CT / TW, dated 15/5/2016 of the Politburo on “Continue to promote learning and follow Ho Chi Minh’s ideology, morality and style”, Central Resolution 4 (term XII) on “Strengthening the construction, regulating the Party, prevent, reverse the decline of political ideology, morality, lifestyle, manifestations of “self-deviation”, “self-transformation” internally”. The education of revolutionary, moral and lifestyle ideals for the younger

generation must be carried out for a long time, regularly and continuously, requires creativity in implementation organizations at local, educational institutions and the close direction and coordination of ministries, branches, authorities and mass organizations in the locality, have specific programs and plans suitable to each object, regional characteristics associated with the patriotic emulation movements.

Besides, the strong Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union must be built in all aspects worthy of being a reliable reserve team of the Party, the nucleus in organizing and uniting the youth extensively, representing the rights and legitimate long-term interests of the youth. Union activities must contribute to social justice and realize the basic rights of youth, so that Youth Union really is the spiritual political support of young people, embodies the life of youth. At the same time, promoting revolutionary action movements, promoting the shock and creativity role of young people, create a favorable environment for young people to train, contribute and grow up.

Conclusion

Youth education is a part of Ho Chi Minh ideology on education, training, socialist construction and the way to socialism in Vietnam. It is the inheritance of the views of the founders of Marxism—Leninism; is the result of the historical and practical review of the world revolution and the Vietnamese revolution. It is a rich theoretical heritage and practical experience that we should research and apply creatively to meet new requirements that are currently set.

Along with the attention of the Party, the State, the political system and the whole society, Each unionist and youth should take initiative in gaining more access to the Party's guidelines and policies, and the State's laws and policies, especially resources, mechanisms, policies for youth development, the situation in the country and internationally; actively learning to improve foreign language skills, information technology, life skills; actively participate in social activities, charitable activities, humanitarian and volunteer activities... As an assault army, the young generation of Vietnam should constantly study and improve their educational level, professional skills to become cadres with intellectual qualifications, ethical qualities, strong political bravery, highly qualified scientists, excellent managers, businessmen and skilled workers. Each unionist or youth should strive to study, cultivate, train and strive to take up the responsibilities of the country owners in the new period.

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Chapter 9

HO CHI MINH'S IDEAS ON THE ROLE OF DEMOCRACY IN THE RULING COMMUNIST PARTY

The Vietnamese Communist Party is the only force that leads the state and society. Nearly 90 years since its foundation (1930—2019), the role, leadership and ruling position of the Party have been nationally affirmed. As the founder, leader and trainer of the Party, President Ho Chi Minh always focused on building and strengthening the close-knit relation between the Party and the people, promoting democracy, which is considered one of the main sources of revolutionary triumph and the rule in the existence and development of the Party.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh's ideas, Party building, leading Party, the Party and the people, democracy

The role and ruling position of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) have expressed the historical power, responsibilities and missions of the Party since the victory of the August Revolution in 1945. In His historical *Testament*, President Ho Chi Minh pointed out: “Our Party is a ruling party.” In terms of the role and power, President Ho Chi Minh concentrated on how to build a transparent, strong, wise Party that is closely tied to the nation and always acts for the national sake, by which it means “the Party has no other interest.”¹

The practice of driving the Vietnamese revolutionary boat has declared: “Our Party is a revolutionary party, a party for the people and the nation.”² Among the criteria to identify a truly revolutionary party, meeting and satisfying the needs and interests of the people as well as promoting democracy is the first one for evaluating effectiveness, capa-

¹ Hồ Chí Minh (2011). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 5. Tr. 290.

² *Ibid.* Tr. 289, 294.

city and legitimacy. “The Party is not an organization for officials. It must fulfill the task of national liberation, making the country prosperous, making the people happy.”³ Therefore, according to Ho Chi Minh, the Party “must capitalize all the people’s talents, property, and strengths to serve the people” and must take great care of the people’s livelihood. Only when the ruling Party understands people and acts for people, it will “turn an ignorant, miserable country into a highly cultural and happy country.”⁴

In order to achieve that humanistic purpose, to maintain and enhance the Party’s class nature, the apparatuses of the Party and the State should be truly clean and honest, of the people, by the people, and for the people. If the Party’s leadership via the State was ineffective, there were the bureaucracy, the contingent of party members and officials, especially the key ones, the leadership was degraded, the ruling Party and the State would not gain the people’s support and confidence. All the Party’s guidelines and policies must come from the people’s interests, aspirations and abilities, and be supported by the people under the spirit of the *Platform on national construction from the transitional period to socialism* (supplements and amendments in 2011) that “All activities of the Party must come from the people’s legitimate interests and aspirations.”⁵

Developing the country is a great revolutionary career and, according to Ho Chi Minh, “a career of hardship and arduosity.” Leading such a great and glorious career, the Party must always be transparent, strong, and capable enough to assume the leading role in economic, political, cultural and social development, constantly improving the people’s livelihood.

In order to do so, in the process of leading the revolutionary career, the Party must clearly show the nature, vision, wisdom and the way of directing the country’s development strategy based on its political platform, guidelines, and policies from central to local levels. In the *Testament*, President Ho Chi Minh advised that “The first thing to do is to readjust the Party, to make every party member, every union member, every party cell dedicatedly fulfill the tasks assigned by the Party, wholeheartedly serve the people.”⁶

³ *Ibid.* Tr. 289.

⁴ Hồ Chí Minh (1981). *Văn hoá nghệ thuật cũng là một mặt trận*. Hà Nội: Nxb Văn học. Tr. 516.

⁵ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2011). *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ XI của Đảng*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 65.

⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Toàn tập. Op. cit.*, t. 15. Tr. 616.

The political system mentioned by Ho Chi Minh is the system controlled by the people, in which “governments from commune to central levels are elected by the people”, “unions from central to commune levels are organized by the people”, “all powers belong to the people”; all “authority and forces are from the people”. The people protect the Party and the State, nurture the regime. Without the people, the political regime has no basis for its birth, existence and development.

The victory of the August Revolution of 1945 changed the roots of political power, the people were placed at the highest position in the structure of political power, thus the state was no longer a tool to dominate and enslave people as in feudal times. Therefore, Ho Chi Minh pointed out that “in our Democratic Republic of Vietnam, all powers are of the people... the people are the boss who take control of the government.”⁷

According to Ho Chi Minh's thought, the question is how to make all state power really belong to the people, the people really are the owners of the State and society. In terms of democracy and the rule of law, the people have rights to legitimately control the power they have given to the entities that lead and manage the country, which are the Party and the State, so that such powers will not be deformed, corrupted.

The perception that all state power belongs to the people expresses the most radical democracy of our State, becoming the basic principle of organizing the state apparatus and being clearly reflected in legal documents. The Constitutions of 1946, 1959, 1980, 1992 and 2013 all demonstrate that. In the renovation process, building a State owned by the people is an important content of consolidating state organization and operation, led by the Communist Party, in order to promote the strength of national great unity.

Ho Chi Minh's political culture is concerned with enhancing democracy. In a democratic country, the people are also the masters. People are the root of country and revolution. “The people is the root of nation”, “the stronger the root is, the more durable the tree becomes.”⁸ That culture is clearly shown through the cultural practice in the Party, the State, unions, institutions, apparatuses, people and behaviors of officials and party members.

Ho Chi Minh stressed that the people are the source of strength, the source of endless wisdom and initiative. He wrote, “The national experiences prove that: with the people, all tasks can be possible no matter

⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 7. Tr. 217—218.

⁸ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 409—410.

how difficult they are”, “Without the people’s forces, even small tasks are unfinishable.”⁹ For that reason, the ruling Party must always listen to the people’s thoughts and aspirations; regularly revising, supplementing and perfecting the guidelines and policies to ensure the people’s interests. “Whatever resolution the people deem inappropriate, let them suggest how to fix. Base repairing of our officials and organizations should be passed on the people’s opinion.”¹⁰

Thoroughly grasping that viewpoint, in the process of leading the revolution, there have been great developments in renovation period. At the 6th Congress (1986), the Party pointed out “Revolutionary practice proves that where the working people have the sense of mastery and being true masters, there exists revolutionary movement.”¹¹ The Party drew a lesson that “In all activities, the Party must grasp the thought of “considering the people as the root”, building and promoting the working people’s mastery.”¹² The mode of mobilizing the people was determined at the Party’s 6th Congress VI as “People know, people discuss, people do, and people monitor.” The Party thinks that it is daily democratic routine of the new society, demonstrating the working people-owned regime. In the *Platform on national construction from the transitional period to socialism* (supplements and amendments in 2011), the Party pointed out: “Socialist democracy is the nature of our regime, thus being both the goal and the driving force of national development.”¹³

Over the past 30 years of implementing the renovation policy, our Party has gained new and deeper insights into the people’s position, role and how to enhance democracy in the context of a ruling party, building a socialist law-governed State. One of the four major lessons drawn by the Party in summarizing the cause of innovation over the past 30 years is that the Party must grasp the thought of “considering the people as the root” in all activities, building and promoting the people’s mastery; innovation must rely on the people, for the people’s sake in accordance with the reality. In the democratic mechanism of a ruling party, the will of the Party must first be from the people. Considering the people as the root has become a lesson that constitutes the value system of innovation.

⁹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 6. Tr. 292.

¹⁰ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 297.

¹¹ Communist Party of Vietnam (2005). *Documents of the Party Congresses during the Renovation Period (VI, VII, VIII, IX)*. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House. Tr. 115.

¹² *Ibid.* Tr. 28.

¹³ *Ibid.* Tr. 84—85.

In fact, the ruling activity imposes an indispensable requirement on the Party's cadres and members. Ho Chi Minh once noted that "The Party is not an organization for officials."¹⁴ Revolutionary cadres, who want to be loved by the people, must first love the people, respect the people, put the people's interests above all; there must be an impartial spirit that "keep close contact with the people and always listen to the people's opinions, which is the foundation of the Party's forces."¹⁵

Like Ho Chi Minh said, "the task of our Government and our Union¹⁶ is to serve the people. That is to be the people's servants... To do so, each party and government officials must:

- Always getting close to the people.
- Striving to listen and understand the people.
- Learning from the people.
- Leading the people by propagating, explaining, promoting, educating and organizing them, relying on the people to realize their legitimate aspirations.

Those four things must go together. Not being close to the people leads to not knowing the people. Without knowing the people, we cannot learn the people's experiences and initiatives. Without learning the people, we cannot lead the people."¹⁷ Throughout his vibrant revolutionary activities, Ho Chi Minh immersed himself in the working people's lives, calling himself just a soldier obeying the nation, "the people's loyal servant."

Unlike the period of the national democratic revolution, in the socialist revolution, each cadre and party member often faces the difficulties and challenges. To ensure the legitimacy of ruling position, the ruling Party must have right political path. In the daily life, the Party must have capable cadres and party members. Therefore, the crucial issue in all activities of the Party is how to make each "Party member and cadre should make the people believe, admire and love. He must grasp the policies of the Party and the Government, follow the right way of the mass for being Party members and cadres, thus leading the mass."¹⁸

When alive, V.I. Lenin once warned that, for a Communist Party leading the people, "in transition to socialism, one of the biggest and

¹⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Toàn tập. Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 249.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Tr. 326.

¹⁶ I.e. the Party, which was not public at that time.

¹⁷ Hồ Chí Minh (2000). *Toàn tập.* Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 6. Tr. 88.

¹⁸ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 6. Tr. 279.

most frightening dangers is cutting off relation with the mass.”¹⁹ Therefore, the Party must always be alert and timely detect, correct all signs of violation, trampling the people’s mastery.

According to Ho Chi Minh, red-tapes and loss of democracy are all dangerous diseases, “each disease is an enemy. Each internal enemy is an ally of the external enemy... The former is more scary because it is destructive from within.”²⁰ But, what is more worrying is alienation, degradation, “self-evolution”, “self-transformation” in the Party. V.I. Lenin said: “No one can destroy us but own mistakes... If we fell into division, we would all collapse.”²¹

Facing the disease of red-tapes, Ho Chi Minh repeatedly warned and pointed out its dangerous manifestations: staying away from the mass, not understanding the aspirations of the mass, not learning from the people, etc. To eradicate those mentioned diseases, Ho Chi Minh introduced a “therapy” as follows:

— The people’s interests must be in the first place.

— The Party should stay close to the people, understand the people, learn from the people.

— Honestly practicing criticism and self-criticism.

— Hard-working, economical, upright, righteous, impartial are essential.”²²

He believed that, in this way, the ruling Party would resist the risk of degeneration, becoming stronger and more transparent.

Accordingly, the Party should recruit revolutionary cadres who are determined, willing to sacrifice, wholeheartedly serving the people. In the *Testament*, President Ho Chi Minh said that “Each party member and cadre should really be imbued with revolutionary morality, really be hard-working, economical, upright, righteous, impartial. Our Party must be kept clean, worthy of being a leader and a loyal servant of the people.”²³

The moral qualities of party cadres and members make up the quality of the pioneering party. The Party is similar to a living body. Each Party organization, cadre, member with full of merit and talent will make the Party stronger and vice versa. Therefore, the revolutionary cadre should truly be dedicated to serve the people and nation.

¹⁹ V.I. Lenin (1979). *Toàn tập*. Mát-xơ-va: Nxb Tiến bộ, t. 44. Tr. 426.

²⁰ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 6. Tr. 238—239.

²¹ V.I. Lenin. *Op. cit.*, t. 42. Tr. 311.

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Chapter 10

HO CHI MINH IN APPLYING AND DEVELOPING MARXISM—LENINISM ON THE INSPECTION, SUPERVISION AND PARTY DISCIPLINE

The author of the article characterizes Ho Chi Minh's approach to disciplinary control and its enforcement not only as the absolute use of the theoretical principles of K. Marx — F. Engels — V.I. Lenin, but also as the creative, complementing and developing way to enrich these principles in accordance to Vietnamese revolutionary practice. The content of Ho Chi Minh's thought about the examination and discipline is clearly expressed in some main aspects.

Keywords: ideas of Ho Chi Minh, theoretical principles of K. Marx — F. Engels — V.I. Lenin, Vietnamese revolutionary practice

Ho Chi Minh's thought on disciplinary inspection and enforcement is not only the absolute and faithful application of the theoretical principles of K. Marx — F. Engels — V.I. Lenin but it is also creation, supplementation, and enrichment of those principles, in line with Vietnamese revolutionary practices. The content of Ho Chi Minh's thought on examination and discipline is clearly expressed in the following major aspects:

The inevitability of conducting the inspection, supervision and discipline in the Party

What is the right leadership? In his work “Modifying the way of working”, Ho Chi Minh made a very clear interpretation that right leadership means: 1) it is necessary to decide all issues properly etc., 2) to organize the implementation properly etc., 3) to provide control etc.

As such, the leadership of the Party is not only writing resolutions and directives but also organization of implementation and inspection of implementation. The leadership process of the Party is very complete therefore it cannot be mutilated or reduced, overlooking any stage. The division of the leadership process into three stages is only relative because inspection is not only the last stage of the process, but it has interwoven into all stages, creating the complete the whole process of leadership. Leadership is about inspection, which is absolutely correct both in theory and practice. The correctness and accuracy of the decision of the party committees depends on many factors, including a very important one which is the inspection.

Inspection is indispensable. The objective is that — in order to make the Party's will and intellect come into reality, it is necessary to pay constant attention to that important work. In his work "One work that leaders need to practice now" Ho Chi Minh affirmed:

"The right policy is the source of victory.

But from the root to true victory, there must be organizing, struggles.

Once the right policy is in place, the success or failure of that policy will depend on the location of organization and place of staff recruiting and examining. If these three things are sketchy, the right policies are useless."¹

Here, we see that Ho Chi Minh applied faithfully and creatively the ideas of V. I. Lenin: when the political goals and objectives were determined, the decisions were in motion, then the real organizational tasks were organized must now be put on top. The key is to shift the focus from drafting decrees and orders to selecting people and inspecting execution. It was the most critical issue for the Vanguard Party, especially in the context that the ruling Party finds people, inspects jobs — it was all there. It is necessary to prioritize time and appropriate intellect, because without doing so "all orders and decisions will be a mess."

Like inspecting, disciplining in the Party is an indispensable objective. This indispensability is stipulated by the law of formation and development of our Party. Ho Chi Minh explained very clearly the causes of mistakes in the Party. He wrote: "Our party is a very big Party, including all walks of life. So there are many very loyal, very resolute, very great personalities. But it also cannot avoid the customs, traits, the shortcomings of the outside society, it spreads and infiltrates into the Party."²

¹ Hồ Chí Minh (1996). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 4. Tr. 520.

² Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 261.

Our Party is composed of talented, virtuous people, most of the most ardent, most intelligent, most patriotic, bravest and resolute. However, not all people are good, work well. The Party has not managed to avoid a few idle, unwarranted people. Therefore, discipline in the Party is an indispensable objective to prevent defects and mistakes; repair of bad habits and disabilities; eliminating degenerate people; building a clean and strong Party.

Purpose, meaning, effect and content of the inspection and enforcement of disciplinary

The scope and content of the inspection work are very wide, but the most concentrated is the inspection of *people* and their *work*. The *work* here mainly includes resolutions, instructions of the Party, policies, laws of the State etc.; the *people* here are individual members of the Party. Ho Chi Minh has clearly pointed out the purpose and effect of the inspection work aimed to help party committees to grasp the situation of leadership, the quality of resolutions, directives etc; how the situation was done, what was right, what was wrong; whoever abides well, whoever neglects, the actual capacity of each person, etc.

He said that such control could make sure that officials and employees are good or bad. Only know the advantages and disadvantages of the agencies. Only know the advantages and disadvantages of orders and resolutions. It is crucial to have the desire to fight bureaucracy, desk paper disease, be willing to know whether the resolution has been implemented or not, whether the implementation was right; be willing to know who tries his best, who does it half-heartedly. For achieving these purposes there is only the way of proper control. The better the control the more the mistakes stick out, moreover, after a certain inspection, number of mistakes will be less.

Ho Chi Minh severely criticized the agencies and cadres suffering from bureaucracy, desk-paper disease, that just organized meetings and resolutions, telegraphed and sent instructions ... They forget to inspect. So that “pants’ pocket full of notices, shirt’s pocket full of indicators”; “Having eyes but not seeing all the time, having ears without hearing, having a regime that does not hold true, having discipline but not mastering...” He thinks that those people “cannot do their jobs, must be discarded.” In addition, Ho Chi Minh also noted two classes of people:

first, those who take advantages of being revolutionaries now turn saucy, not preserving discipline, not executing resolutions of the Party

and Government. They are arrogant, despite discipline and the law. For these people, “they need to be invited to the infrastructure, to close them into discipline” to cure their arrogance and bureaucracy and to uphold the discipline of the Party and the Government;

second, the class of people who lip-services. These people are honest, loyal, but do not have the capacity to work, just all talk.

Ho Chi Minh highly appreciated the meaning and effect of the inspection work, especially the *work* and *people* examinations. He frequently reminded: The Party should always review how its resolutions and directives have been implemented. If not, those resolutions and instructions will turn out to be verbal, but also harm the people’s confidence in the Party. If all levels and sectors organize the inspection well, “it is like having a headlight”, how many situations, how many advantages and disadvantages, how many officials we can see clearly. It can be said that nine out of ten defects in our work are due to a lack of inspection. If we organize the inspection carefully, our work will definitely improve by ten, hundred times. In the cadre work, if assigning the work without checking but only when met with failure to pay attention to. That is do not know to treat staff dearly.

Inspection not only helps leaders to firmly grasp the quality of the contingent of cadres and party members, preventing defects, mistakes, helping to repair but also arousing the positive, great power of the people, strengthening Party’s great faith before the masses.

Party discipline is of particular importance. Ho Chi Minh affirmed: “Although our party consists of large number of people, when it comes to fighting it becomes only one person. It is thanks to discipline.” The content of party discipline includes internal discipline, the discipline of the government and the discipline of unions. Critics were very strict on some officials and party members who “thought that they could do whatever they wanted to do”, went without permission, did not report, ignored the discipline of the unions. Party discipline is “iron discipline, that is serious and self-conscious”, everyone must obey discipline and take the form of discipline (if there are defects, mistakes). In this regard, Ho Chi Minh’s ideology clearly shows democracy, tolerance, and generosity. He thought: Everybody’s life has mistakes (only new born children and the dead have no mistakes). There is work, there is a mistake. We are not afraid of making mistakes and defects, but we just fear of refusing to try to correct them and also those who don’t know how to find the right way to help our staff correct mistakes. We must base on the content, nature and severity of violations to have appropriate disciplinary measures. “Correcting mistakes naturally requires explanation, per-

suasion, sensibility, and teaching. But it's not absolutely without using punishment. There are big, small mistakes. If most of them aren't sanctioned, they'll lose the whole discipline, it will open the way for the intentional sabotage. Therefore, absolutely not using punishment is not right. But at all, it is not correct to use sanctions"³.

To ensure accurate sanctions, it is necessary to clearly divide the grounds of mistakes, to consider carefully the heavy or light. On the one hand, Ho Chi Minh emphasized the verification and its measures; on the other hand, he emphasizes democratic measures, emphasizes self-criticism and criticism in order to achieve the goal of making people with errors "admire and revolt."

The motto of discipline in the Party is: "fair, accurate and timely." All violations should be considered and, if so serious, should be disciplined resolutely resolving appropriately without "restricted areas", not being covered, biased or respected. He emphasized: "Where mistakes are made, whoever mistakes are immediately corrected. Resolutely against respect and concealment, anti-habit in front respectful, recounting behind his back."⁴

How to inspect

Ho Chi Minh considered inspection as a means, a specific remedy against diseases: "one-sided resolution, implementation of a different path" and bureaucracy, papers etc. However, want to be highly effective, it must be "cleverly controlled." "Cleverly" means that it should be based on science, having flexible forms and methods of examination. Critics strictly bureaucratic way of working; lack of specific control; like to work in paper a lot; sit in one place pointing fingers. The way it works is very harmful. It made the leaders not closely follow the movement, did not understand the situation below, so most of the guidelines and resolutions were not complied with.

"Skillful" test also means:

— The inspection should be systematic, meaning that once a resolution is issued, it must be urged to practice that resolution, and to know the daily life and working manner of such officials and people. Only then it is clearly visible to see defects and difficulties, to correct them and find ways to help overcome difficulties.

³ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 284.

⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 7. Tr. 267.

— Inspection should not just by the papers report, sitting in the paper room that awaits people to report that must go to the place, see directly.

— The test should use honest ways of self-criticism and criticism, in order to identify any defects and find ways to correct them. As such, the more important the employee regard disciplined and the sense of responsibility.

“Skillful” testing means knowing how to combine flexibly different forms and methods of examination: checking from the bottom up, from the top down; regular, irregular, periodic, direct, indirect inspections, etc.

Ho Chi Minh clearly knows two ways of inspection: top-down inspection — that is, the leader who checks the results of the work of his officers. Bottom-up inspection — that is, the public and officials check the leader’s mistake and show how to correct it. This way is the best way to check on employees.

Having the right form and method of inspection is important, but the determining factor for the effectiveness of each test is in the tester. Because the form, the test method is just a means, the decision is in the users of the means. According to Ho Chi Minh “it is impossible to meet everyone and check everyone. The leader must do the test himself, in order to have enough experience and credibility.

But the leader needs to have a group of experienced and highly qualified officials to help him take the test. Whoever goes to check what, where, if there is negligence, he must be responsible.”⁵

Among the forms and methods of inspection, Ho Chi Minh particularly emphasizes regular inspection and direct inspection. He often reminds: the people in charge of the ministries, departments and branches at the central level need to regularly check and handle on-the-spot tasks, have to fight bureaucracy, meetings, and helping with little help.⁶ The way to remind and critique from Ho Chi Minh to cadres and party members is also very unique — both very strict but very generous, full of human affection: “District comrades should go to the commune to see consider, check, do not follow the bureaucracy, the province sends the paper to the district, the district sends the paper to the commune. Paper cannot keep cattle warm. By doing so, cattle and buffaloes will be thinner due to hunger, cold weather, and greatly affect production.”⁷

⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 51.

⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 12. Tr. 20.

⁷ *Ibid.* Tr. 313.

In his daily work, Ho Chi Minh is an exemplary model of checking and respecting the Party's discipline. Although busy with "hundreds of thousands of tasks" but he still often comes to the masses — workers, farmers, soldiers etc; directly watching and listening to real people, real tasks, forming great undertakings and decisions related to the fate of the Party, the State and the socialist regime.

Checks and discipline should be conducted regularly, not at work, at times, "beating drum without drumstick"; should become the daily work of the party committees (especially the key cadres). Each inspection should have a specific program, plan, clear assignment of responsibilities. Strictly follow the principles: openness, fairness; democracy is associated with discipline. When you have not decided, you are free to discuss, but once you have decided, you cannot argue anymore, there is discussion is just a way to implement it, give it quickly, not to suggest without implementation.

Ho Chi Minh created, supplemented and developed Marxism—Leninism in the examination and enforcement of discipline

On the inspection work

The view of Marx — Engels: Through the theoretical heritage that Marx — Engels leave, the two men almost never discussed the inspection of the Party. In *Capital*, K. Marx refers to inspection in general — inspection is a means of action to accomplish the purpose. It is like a law. Thus, from the point of K. Marx — F. Engels, inspection is an indispensable objective for all activities of people and organizations. Activities are required.

V. I. Lenin's views: Regarding the inspection, inventory and control, V.I. Lenin discusses a lot, very deep (in more than 150 works). The content of V.I. Lenin's views is clearly expressed in the following four key issues: The inevitability to check, inventory, control; the basic content of the inspection, control etc.; the subject of inspection, control and its object; organization, form, method of conducting inspection and control etc.

Ho Chi Minh's thought: Ho Chi Minh applied creatively, supplemented and further developed the viewpoint of Marxism—Leninism on the inspection and control work in accordance with the practical situation of our country and our Party. Such creativity, supplementation and development are shown in:

Firstly, Ho Chi Minh has shed more light on the inevitable necessity of the inspection and control work; has affirmed it is a leadership content, an indispensable step in the Party's leadership process. He deeply analyzed the relationship between inspection and the Party's lines and policies. The inspection itself is a decisive factor for the Party to set the right guidelines and policies and successfully organize the implementation of such guidelines and policies.

Secondly, Ho Chi Minh affirmed that the purpose of the test is to prevent defects and mistakes, to identify good people and good deeds as the main.

Thirdly, he added, developed, enriched forms and methods of inspection. The inspection should be conducted in accordance with the Party's organizing principles, first of all the principle of democratic centralism, self-criticism and criticism. Inspection should be conducted regularly, specifically, in-depth and directly, must be conducted in-person and on-site; promote democracy and openness. Highly regard the top-down and the bottom-up inspection.

Fourthly, promoting the Party's building spirit of the masses, strengthening inspection work. Ho Chi Minh said that: To control properly, people should be able to help. Top-down managers see only one side of the job, the other's change. So that vision is limited. On the contrary, people see the work and change of people. On the other hand, they see from the bottom up and visibility is limited. Therefore, to solve the problem properly, we should combine the experiences of the two sides.

About Party discipline

Viewpoints of Marx — Engels — Lenin: In the process of forming the working class party and building a new party, K. Marx, F. Engels, V.I Lenin all emphasized the role and importance of party discipline. V.I Lenin had asserted: "The Bolsheviks will not hold on to the government, I do not want to be able to speak for two and a half years, not even for two and a half months, if our Party does not have strict discipline, true discipline. Whoever weakens, even a little, the iron discipline in the Party of the proletariat (especially in its authoritarian period) is in fact helping the bourgeoisie against the proletariat."⁸

Ho Chi Minh not only adheres faithfully to Marxism—Leninism but also creates, adds and develops new content, enriching the discipline

⁸ Lênin, V.I. (1978). *Toàn tập*. Mát-xơ-va: Nxb Tiến bộ, t. 45. Tr. 215.

issues in the Party, consistent with the reality of our Party. The creativity, addition and development of Ho Chi Minh are manifested in:

Firstly, to concretize more clearly and fully the purpose of disciplinary practice within the Party. The discipline is aimed at preventing defects, mistakes, educating cadres and party members; preserve discipline; unifying the will and actions throughout the Party, ensuring the Party's existence and normal development. Discipline is necessary but not to insult and punish, but it is more important to educate and help party members to correct mistakes and shortcomings.

Secondly, explain more clearly the nature of party discipline. The concept of "iron discipline" raised by Lenin is interpreted by Ho Chi Minh very nicely, both expressing the true nature of the Communist Party and scientifically accurate. The Party's discipline is the iron discipline, which means it is serious and self-conscious. All members of the Party must respect discipline, self-compliance. If there are mistakes, they should be corrected themselves, self-criticized and criticized. All violations, (to the extent they should be dealt with) are dealt with strictly, according to the rules etc.

Thirdly, clarify the content of party discipline, including internal discipline within the Party (reflected in the Statute), discipline of the government and discipline of unions.

Fourthly, clearly analyze the relationship between democracy and solidarity with discipline. Solidarity — discipline, democracy — discipline always go together, not separate from each other. "Discipline in democracy, democracy should be disciplined" and "want good democracy, high discipline, cadres must be exemplary critical and self-critical."

Fifthly, the motto to enforce party discipline should ensure fairness, openness and democracy. All party members are equal before the party discipline; Must work from top to bottom etc.

Conclusion

Vietnam is gradually making an important step in the overall development of the world. One of those strong steps was the "revolution" in the election.

It can be said that the meeting directly electing the party secretary is a big step on the roadmap for democratizing activities in the Party. True to the meaning of "democracy is both a goal and a motivation", this pilot has great power, marking the country's innovative political history. And most importantly, the democratic atmosphere within the Party will spread outside the society, creating momentum for the practice of

widespread democratic rights of the people in the step of building a strong and civilized Vietnam.

Only one more year, the Congress of all levels towards the XIII Congress will officially begin. That requires the country to move to a new stage of higher development, facing serious challenges in many aspects of a profoundly changing world, and at the same time the country faces great opportunities to seize new achievements and new international positions.

More than ever, Vietnamese people are watching and looking forward to the XIII Congress to create a breakthrough for new development of the country. Hopefully the people's faith in the Party will be richly rewarded!

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2. Lênin, V.I. (1978). *Toàn tập*. Mát-xcơ-va: Nxb Tiến bộ (Lenin, V.I. *Complete Works*. M.: Progress Publishing House), t. 45.

Chapter 11

HO CHI MINH: FROM A PATRIOT TO A COMMUNIST, THE FOUNDER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM

In his life of revolutionary activities, with the independent spirit and thirst for freedom, Ho Chi Minh found a way to save the country. He determined the right path of national liberation for Vietnam. In the 1920s, on the basis of mastering the dialectical method of Marxism—Leninism, theoretical research and practical activities, Ho Chi Minh established comprehensive and scientific revolutionary views, revolutionary organizations, forming a revolutionary party — the decisive factor for all victories of the Vietnamese revolution. In this article, by applying dialectical materialism, historical materialism, practical viewpoints, and unification of theory with reality, the author mainly uses, say, the historical method in combination with logical method, systematic approach, comparison, to clarify the process through which Ho Chi Minh passed from a patriot to a communist and made great contributions to Vietnam revolution in the period 1920—1930.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh, patriot, communist, national liberation, national salvation

From a patriot to a communist: finding the right way for national salvation

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, in the world, capitalism has been replaced by the period of imperialism; their colonial systems were expanding. In Vietnam, from the end of the 19th century, the feudal regime was stagnant, depleted and unable to resist the invasion of the French colonialists. Vietnam was changed from an independent feudal state to a colony and its name was deleted on the map of world politics. After basically pacifying the colony, the French

colonialists embarked on organizing the ruling apparatus and conducting colonial exploitation on a larger scale. Many patriots stood up to fight for independence and freedom but all failed; many revolts were bloodily suppressed. Although patriotic movements had strongly developed, they had yet to escape from the crisis in finding the right way to save the country. The dark cloud of imperialism was still covering the sky of Vietnam. The revolution of Vietnam at that time was in a state of darkness like “no way out.”¹

Facing the situation, in 1911, Ho Chi Minh under the name Van Ba was determined to go on a journey to find a way to liberate the nation. He went to the West to find a more effective way to save the country. After a decade of living, self-learning, tirelessly working, through the process of exploration, experimentation, with political sensitivity, in 1920, he finally found a resolution to the problems raised by history. He decided to gear the country to the proletariat revolution. What factors helped Ho Chi Minh to do that? Through researching Ho Chi Minh’s life and revolutionary career, studying the world and national history, we find some major ones, namely the nation-related factor, the era-related factor, and the individual-related factor.

It can be affirmed that the nation-related factor is important and fundamental. Through the process of building and defending the country for a long time, the Vietnamese people have fostered a good cultural source including the sense of national sovereignty, willpower, independence, patriotism, solidarity. Ho Chi Minh not only inherited the traditional culture but also soon realized a great power hiding behind it, which should be a strong national motivation.

Along with many struggles with harsh nature, Vietnam exists and develops through conducting resistance wars to gain and maintain independence and freedom from enemies. These rigorous challenges “produced a nation with a deep sense of its national identity and a willingness to defend the Fatherland against foreign invasion.”² In the article titled *Annam in the eyes of French*, Ho Chi Minh recalled an Indochinese Governor’s confession as “People of Annam! [...]. We have travelled all over the fields, hills, and mountains, and we also praise for your tireless work. We have gone through many cities, everywhere we find commendable organization.”³ Ho Chi Minh also quoted an opinion acknowledging

¹ Hồ Chí Minh (2011). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc, t. 12. Tr. 401.

² Vu Quang Hien. *Ho Chi Minh’s Skill and Spirit in the Liberation of the Vietnamese Nation* (1920—1945). Vietnam Social Sciences, 2009, No. 130. P. 11.

³ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 1. Tr. 450.

that “We see here a whole civilization, everything was built long ago. [...] the people lived in an organized, mature society while Westerners were still semi-open. Loving the homeland, attaching to the family, respect for the ancestors, justice; [...] these are now the characteristics of the Annamite people.”⁴

The power of patriotism, the independent will and the thirst for freedom of Vietnamese people have defeated many enemies, from Do Thu (Qin Dynasty — 2nd century BC), Ma Vien (Han Dynasty — 1st century), then Hoang Thao (Southern Han Dynasty — 10th century), Quach Quy (Song Dynasty — 11th century), Thoat Hoan (Yuan Dynasty — 13th century), Lieu Thang, Vuong Thong (Ming Dynasty — 15th century), Ton Si Nghi (Qing Dynasty — 18th century). The national history has also witnessed such outstanding heroes as Hai Ba Trung (1st century), Ba Trieu (2nd century), Ly Bi (6th century), Phung Hung (8th century), Khuc Thua Du, Ngo Quyen (10th century), Ly Thuong Kiet (11th century), Tran Hung Dao (13th century), Le Loi, Nguyen Trai (15th century), Nguyen Hue (18th century). Being proud of that tradition, Ho Chi Minh wrote: “You will see that the ancestors hung many examples of morality and courage [...]. In 1407, China (feudalists) fought with us; thanks to the will for independence and the desire for freedom rather than the strength of the army, the Vietnamese nation won.”⁵ Studying national history, he wrote: “Our people have a passionate patriotism. It’s one of our precious traditions. From ancient times to the present, whenever the Fatherland is invaded, the spirit is ebullient, it combines into an extremely powerful, huge wave, it passes through all the dangers and difficulties [...]. We have the right to be proud of the glorious history pages of Ba Trung, Ba Trieu, Tran Hung Dao, Le Loi, Quang Trung, etc. We must remember the merits of national heroes and heroines because they are the representatives of a heroic nation.”⁶

According to him, patriotism is a great motive, “the spirit of patriotism is like a precious thing, which sometimes is exhibited in glass cases, crystal bottles, clearly visible. But sometimes it is hidden in a trunk or in a chest”⁷; therefore, it is our duty to make those hidden treasures displayed.

The traditions of his homeland Nghe An play an important role. This area is the center of North Central, the land with a long tradition of

⁴ *Ibid.* Tr. 450—451.

⁵ *Ibid.* Tr. 97—98.

⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op.cit.*, t. 7. Tr. 38.

⁷ *Ibid.* Tr. 38.

culture and history, where “high mountains, deep rivers, important customs, bright scenes, [...] people are pure and hard-working, their products are valuable [...] with the good temperament of the mountains and rivers, resulting in many noble names [...]”⁸. Importantly, this is a land of patriotic tradition and fighting against foreign invaders. There have been many struggles against foreign aggression and oppression in many historical periods. Through thousands of years of persistent struggle in the harsh natural conditions to survive and develop, the people in Nghe An are united, have the indomitable will, self-resilience, and courage. It is also the homeland of many famous heroes from ancient to contemporary times; a place where many talented patriots are gathered.

Ho Chi Minh was born and grew up with the strength of the Vietnamese cultural tradition, the most prominent of which is patriotism — the main flow throughout the history, the main driving force for the longevity and development of the people, urging him to find the way to save the country and people, dominating his thoughts and actions throughout the life of arduous revolutionary activities. It is also the basis for him to explore and learn revolutionary and progressive ideas in the East and the West.

Historical reality has proven that it was the era-related factor that played the most decisive role in helping Ho Chi Minh to choose the path of liberation for the Vietnamese people. By the end of the 19th century, capitalism had developed into imperialism. The imperialists rushed to invade weak nations, turning many countries in Asia, Europe, and Latin America into their colonies. The oppression and exploitation of colonialists made conflicts greater. In this context, Lenin applied and developed Marxism, successfully carrying out the Russian proletariat revolution, “going from class emancipation to national liberation and human liberation.”⁹ The victory of the October Revolution in Russia made the chain of imperialism shattered in the foundation and dealt with a fatal blow. It was like “the dawn dispelled the darkness, the October revolution shed new light on human history.”¹⁰

In preparation for the 2nd Congress of the Communist International, Lenin wrote the First draft of theses on national and colonial issues. July 1920, right when the French Socialist Party was in a very fierce

⁸ Phan Huy Chú (1960). *Lịch triều hiến chương loại chí*. Hà Nội: Nxb Lịch sử, t. 1. Tr. 55.

⁹ Võ Nguyên Giáp (2000). *Tư tưởng Hồ Chí Minh và con đường cách mạng Việt Nam*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 78.

¹⁰ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 11. Tr. 159.

struggle to protect Marxism and against revisionists, while the Indochinese people groaned under the oppression and exploitation of the French colonialists, Ho Minh was exposed to the Lenin's Theses published in *L'Humanité* by the French Socialist Party. The theses contain 12 points, covering many issues including those related to the fate of colonial peoples. Point 3 shows that the imperial war in 1914–1919 made all the oppressive peoples and classes all over the world clearly see the deceitful nature in bourgeois speeches, intensifying the widespread of the revolutionary struggle by the proletariat in advanced countries as well as all working people in colonial and dependent countries. Point 4 analyzes the profound meaning of solidarity; according to Lenin, “the most important thing in the policy of the Communist International on the issue of national and colonial issues must be making proletariat and the working mass of all peoples and all nations close together.”¹¹ Points 5 and Point 9 clearly state that “all national liberation movements in colonies and oppressed peoples, whose painful experiences made them confident that there is no way of salvation but the Soviet government's victory over world imperialism.”¹² The theses express the belief that “only the Soviet regime is the regime that can really guarantee equality among peoples” and Lenin emphasized that “all communist parties must directly support the revolutionary movements of peoples who are dependent on or not fully entitled to equality (such as Iceland, the black in the U.S.) and colonies.”¹³ It can be said that Lenin's theses outlined the path of struggle for the colonial and dependent peoples as well as the coordination of actions between the international worker movements and the struggles for national liberation, fulfilling his earnest aspiration to regain independence for the Fatherland and freedom for the people. It was these points that had strong impacts on Ho Chi Minh. Later, he recalled his feelings when reading Lenin's theses that “In the theses, there are difficult political terms to understand. But reading over and over again, I finally understood the main part. Lenin's theses made me so touched, excited, clear, and confident so much! I was excited to tears. Sitting alone in my room, I said aloud as if I had been speaking to the mass: “Hardship suffered people! This is what is needed for us, this is the way to free us!”. From then on, I completely believed in Lenin and believed in the Third International.”¹⁴

¹¹ V.I. Lenin (1977). *Toàn tập*. Mát-xơ-va: Nxb Tiến bộ, t. 41. Tr. 199.

¹² *Ibid.* Tr. 199–200.

¹³ *Ibid.* Tr. 202.

¹⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 12. Tr. 562.

Thanks to the insights drawn from the nearly 10-year practice of struggling to find the way for national salvation, after understanding the main part of the theses, he was happy to realize that “what was needed for us” was the “liberation path” following Lenin’s thought. From that understanding, in December 1920, Ho Chi Minh and the majority of the French Socialist Party members voted to agree on joining the Comintern, thus founding the French Communist Party. This was a crucial step in Ho Chi Minh’s awareness of the revolutionary path of national liberation for independence and freedom.

The individual-related factor plays a decisive role in choosing the path of salvation. Ho Chi Minh was a passionate patriot who had independent and creative thinking, practical mind, dialectical method, steadfast bravery. Ho Chi Minh’s personalities and talents greatly influenced his awareness. It was Ho Chi Minh’s qualities that played an important role in finding a way for national salvation, accumulating knowledge, preparing conditions to make a thought-based decision when approaching Leninism. Thanks to that subjective factor, in 1920, among many Vietnamese members of the French Socialist Party who had read Lenin’s theses, only Ho Chi Minh found the right way for Vietnam national salvation.

The founder of the Communist Party of Vietnam

After finding the right way to save the country, recognizing the importance of revolutionary theory in national liberation, Ho Chi Minh built the theoretical system for the colonial national liberation in accordance with the historical, natural, economic, cultural, social and human characteristics of Vietnam. Through his speeches and writings in this period, we see that Ho Chi Minh’s system of national liberation theory was quite well established in terms of direction, tasks, forces, revolutionary leaders, revolutionary resources and methods. That system became the basic content of the Vietnamese revolutionary path in the struggle for independence and freedom. That was the preparation of political ideology for the formation of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

In the 1920s, Ho Chi Minh spread revolutionary theory into Vietnam. These activities were decisive for the development of the revolutionary movement, making the national movements mature quickly.

By 1929, the Vietnamese national movement had grown, requiring the leadership of a communist party. The role of the transitional organi-

zations had come to an end to make way for forming a more revolutionary one. That requirement affected the Youth Revolutionary Vietnam Association and the Tan Viet Revolutionary Party, leading to vigorous internal struggles, and, as a result, their active transformations into communist organizations. It proves that Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary theory truly penetrated the entire national movement, creating a strong revolutionary wave. Along with the process of building theories on the path of the proletariat and spreading the theory of national liberation, Ho Chi Minh trained quite a number of revolutionary cadres for the Party. The rapid development of the Vietnamese national movement led to the birth of communist organizations in Vietnam.

By the beginning of 1930, before the urgent need to establish a unified Communist Party to lead the Vietnamese revolutionary movement, Ho Chi Minh appeared at the right time to take on important historical tasks of unifying communist organizations in Vietnam. He decided to convene, chair the Conference of Unification, unifying Indochinese Communist Party and Communist Party of Annam to establish the Communist Party of Vietnam in early 1930, setting the right and creative platform to lead Vietnam's revolutionary movement to firmly step up in the fight for independence and freedom.

From finding the way for revolution, building the revolutionary theory of national liberation in accordance with national needs to the birth of the revolutionary party and platform, all were imprinted with the Ho Chi Minh's marks. Commenting on this contribution of Ho Chi Minh, French communist historian Charles Fourniau wrote that, from a patriot to a communist, then a pioneering soldier on the anti-colonialist front, forming the Party, this process "seems to be simple and natural, actually it is a difficult way with solid choices, avoiding mistakes and dead ends."¹⁵ And professor Tran Van Giàu said that "At that time, no one else dared take responsibility for such a big job, proving Nguyen's conception of a domestic party that must have the strength and the right to independently make decisions in its jobs [...] according to the specific national situations."¹⁶

At the beginning of the 20th century, in the face of a serious crisis concerning the way of national liberation, Ho Chi Minh was determined to find a way for national liberation. After 10 years of searching, tes-

¹⁵ Fourniau, Charles (1970). *Notre Camarade Ho Chi Minh*. Paris: Edition Sociales. P. 28.

¹⁶ Trần Văn Giàu (1997). *Sự phát triển của tư tưởng ở Việt Nam từ thế kỷ XIX đến Cách mạng Tháng Tám*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. III. Tr. 161.

ting, thanks to his burning determination, extraordinary energy, creative initiative, political positivity and sensitivity, Ho Chi Minh found a resolution to the set forth historical issue, deciding to take the country's revolution along the communist path.

On that basis, he synthesized and developed dialectics, built a theory system to liberate colonial people to meet the needs of the Vietnamese revolution. Ho Chi Minh's national liberation theory in the 1920s was the system of views on the basic issues of the Vietnamese revolution in order to realize the goal of independence and freedom for the Vietnamese people. Through revolutionary practices, that theory has been gradually supplemented, perfected and realized. Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary theory overcame the strict control of the French colonialists, passed on to Vietnam, making the national movement mature rapidly in a new revolutionary way. Ho Chi Minh had a big creativity in the roadmap of spreading revolutionary liberation theory to Vietnam. The rapid development of the Vietnamese national movement led to the birth of some communist organizations.

By the end of 1929, Marxism—Leninism and, especially, Ho Chi Minh's liberation theory had penetrated deeply and widely in the Vietnamese revolutionary movement. Facing the requirements of the new situation, meeting the need of national liberation for the independence and freedom of the Vietnamese revolution, in line with the evolution of the world revolutionary movement at that time, Ho Chi Minh appeared at the right time to unite the communist organizations in Vietnam into the only Communist Party, outlining the right and creative political platform to lead the Vietnamese revolutionary cause. This contribution shows the decisive role of Ho Chi Minh in the Vietnamese revolution. Vivid realities of the Vietnamese revolution and the world have tested the scientific value of Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary theory.

In practical terms, Ho Chi Minh's viewpoints on national liberation and development in the 1920s were also deeply reflected. His creative revolutionary views were actualized in Vietnamese society at the beginning of the century. It met the urgent requirements of the Vietnamese revolution, at the same time, consistent with the developmental trend of the world revolution. Therefore, the Vietnamese revolutionary movement attracted great forces of the whole nation to join the common cause: to break down the imperialists, the colonialists, and to gain independence and freedom. The great victory of the August Revolution in 1945 was one of the most vivid revolutionary realities, proving the correctness of Ho Chi Minh's views on the revolution of national liberation and development formed in the 1920s.

Conclusion

The Communist Party of Vietnam, which was founded in early 1930, created a turning point in the Vietnamese history, setting prerequisites for all victories of the Vietnamese revolution: the August Revolution, resistance wars against the French colonialists and the American imperialists, the *Doi Moi* (Renovation). The realities of over 90 years of leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam has proved that this party, founded and trained by Ho Chi Minh, is increasingly growing, deservedly succeeding the glorious traditions of the Vietnamese nation, paving the way for bringing the Vietnamese nation to a radiant future.

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PART 3
**THE BUILDING OF A NEW TYPE
OF POLITICAL SYSTEM IN VIETNAM**

Chapter 12
**HO CHI MINH'S THOUGHT
ON THE RULE-OF-LAW STATE
AND ITS APPLICATION IN THE BUILDING
OF THE RULE-OF-LAW STATE IN VIETNAM**

In Vietnam, the awareness of the rule of law is a process of acquiring and applying Western legal theory to specific conditions of the country. This is reflected first in Ho Chi Minh's views on the state and the law. In spite of not using the term "rule of law", from a very early stage, on the basis of acquiring Marxism—Leninism and the progressive ideas of humankind, Ho Chi Minh advocated building a new democratic state. In that state, people act as the sole and supreme subjects of state power; the constitution and laws have an important role in society; democracy becomes a decisive factor in a law-governed society, etc. These ideas contributed to the theoretical improvement of the rule of law, being inherited and creatively applied by the Party and State of Vietnam in the process of building the socialist rule of law today.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh's thought, building a new democratic state, rule of law

The ideological history of the rule-of-law state associated with the names of bourgeois philosophers, is not only an outcome of capitalism but also the crystallization of human intelligence through development process. The ideology of the rule of law state has become a reality in many capitalist countries and is increasingly spreading around the

world. These ideas are of common value and are becoming an indispensable state model on the development path of most countries.

In Vietnam, the perception of the rule-of-law state is a process of acquiring and applying the Western theory under the specific conditions. This is reflected first in President Ho Chi Minh's ideas on law and state. Although without using the concept of the rule-of-law state, from an early age, Ho Chi Minh advocated building a new state which was based on democratic foundation — a basic sign of a rule-of-law state. This idea based on creatively acquiring Marxism—Leninism and progressive ideas of humanity. In that state, the people act as the sole and supreme subject of state power; the constitution and laws have an important role in society; democracy becomes a decisive factor to a rule-of-law society, etc. These ideas have become era-valuable ideas, contributing to the theoretical improvement of the rule-of-law state model with vivid manifestations. These ideas have been inherited and applied creatively by the Party and State of Vietnam in the process of building the socialist rule-of-law state in Vietnam today.

This article aims to mention two contents: 1. Ho Chi Minh's ideas on the rule-of-law state. 2. The application of Ho Chi Minh's thought to the process building the rule-of-law state in Vietnam today.

Ho Chi Minh's ideas of the rule-of-law state

The concept of the rule-of-law state considers the interaction relationship between the law and the power in the connection with citizens as the foundation. It is the state in which the law is supreme, the legal system is built to protect the rights and freedoms of the people based on the principles of progress, democracy, justice and humanity, ensuring control and counterbalance of power by the state power divisions.

On the path of finding a way to save the country and liberating the nation, from the political practice of Western nations and the rule of the French colonial regime in Vietnam at that time, President Ho Chi Minh acquired the progressive ideas of Western civilization, combining traditional values of the nation with a profound awareness of the need to build an independent, autonomous and sovereign state model, based on democracy's foundation, to ensure freedom, prosperity and happiness for the people. It is a true state based on rule of law.

There are two remarkable points in Ho Chi Minh's thought about the rule-of-law state as follows:

Firstly, the democratic content in the rule of law state.

Democracy, freedom are an eternal issue and a desire of mankind in all historical periods. But freedom and democracy are always understood and regulated by many factors, both objective and subjective. Aspects of freedom have been discussed widely. Freedom, in the sense that man is free to exercise his natural freedoms in the most optimal way. Those are the rights that man enjoys immediately when he was born. For example, according to J. Locke it is the right of life, liberty and ownership. People also mention about freedom in society when they accept a partial concession of natural liberty through social contracts to find their freedom in society: "Social order is a sacred right which is the basis of all other rights. Nevertheless, this right does not come from nature, and must therefore be found convention."¹ Only when the state exists by people's "contracts" in agreement with each other and with the state, and the people have the right to decide the fate of the state when the "contracts" are violated, that is the manifestation of democracy. The most fundamental condition for establishing the state regime of the people is the freedom in society, the perceived freedom in regularity and the inevitable existence of reality that is not instinctive: "In the monarchy we have the people of the state, in the democracy we have the state of the people."²

Thus, in the view of Marxist—Leninist classics, democracy is the most fundamental feature of the new-style state, in which power belongs to the people. Democracy is the most guarantee for the exercise of power that belongs to the people, because people only can define the content of the state and the law according to their will in the democratic state: "In democracy, the state, the law, the state itself — insofar as the state is a certain political regime — are only the self-regulation of the people and the content of regulations of the people."³ When democracy existed, the state existed as a way to exercise the power of the people, a special form of exercising the power of the people: "In democracy, the politic state itself... is only the specific content of the people, only a special form of existence of the people."⁴

Agreeing with the view of Marxist—Leninist classics of democracy in the new-style state, along with the progressive legal ideas of Western

¹ Rousseau, J.J. (2004). *Bản về Khế ước xã hội* (Hoàng Thanh Đạm dịch thuật, chú thích và bình giải). Hà Nội: Nxb Lý luận chính trị. Tr. 29.

² C.Mác và Ph.Ăng-ghe-n (2002). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia, t. 1. Tr. 349.

³ *Ibid.* Tr. 351.

⁴ *Ibid.* Tr. 351.

thinkers, Ho Chi Minh, from the outset considered democracy as the most important content to establish a state model of an independent nation. From criticizing the nature of the colonialist system that dominates the country as oppressive, autocratic, lack of democratic nature, Ho Chi Minh proposed the idea of building a democratic state. According to him, democracy is the nature of a new type of state, that is, the state of the people, by the people and for the people, serving the interests of the people: “Our state is democracy, the highest status belongs to people, because the people are the owners”⁵; “Our regime is democracy, that is, the people are the masters, and the Government is the faithful servant of the people.”⁶ Democracy is the source of the power of the state.

President Ho Chi Minh emphasised the position and subjective status of the people in the state: “Our state is a democratic state; Benefits are for the people; Powers are of the people; Renovation and construction are the responsibility of the people; The cause of resistance war and national construction is the work of the people; The government from commune to central government is elected by the people; Mass organizations from central to commune are organized by people; In short, power and resource are in the people.”⁷ Thus, democracy, according to Ho Chi Minh, is first of all political power belonging to the people: “in our country, the government belongsto the people, the people are the owners.”⁸ In that democracy, people carry out their responsibilities as a right: to organize and build the country by themselves. When power belongs to the people, all parts of the state have only one purpose: to serve the people, to be the servants of the people, to be under the control of the people. “What is the government of the democratic republic? A common servant of the people, from the president of the nation to the village. The peolpe is the owner then the government must be the servant. Working today is not for promotion. If the government harms the people, the people have the right to fire the government.”⁹ However, democracy, in Ho Chi Minh’s opinion, also shows a parallel relationship between the people and the state officials. The people, when exercising their right as the owner, must also be very aware of the limits of power and must exercise democracy with discipline: “When the people use servants to work for themselves, they must help government. If the govern-

⁵ Hồ Chí Minh (2002). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 6. Tr. 515.

⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 7. Tr. 499.

⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 698.

⁸ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 7. Tr. 218.

⁹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 60–61.

ment is wrong, people have to criticize, criticize but not swear.”¹⁰ This is a unique feature of Ho Chi Minh's thought about the rule-of-law state.

Democracy in the state, according to Ho Chi Minh, also demonstrates the ownership role of the people through the election of deputies, representing themselves to take power of the state: “The people are the bosses who control the government. The people elected representatives on their behalf to implement that administration. That's democracy.”¹¹ Therefore, Ho Chi Minh paid much attention to the election issue so that people could directly exercise their power. As soon as the country gained independence, he proposed: “The sooner I propose the government to hold the General Election with the universal suffrage.”¹² “The general election is an opportunity for the entire nation to freely choose talented and virtuous people to carry out the work of the country.”¹³ The election not only manifests democracy in the exercise of power by the people, but also demonstrates the democracy even in the selection of representatives of the people to exercise state power: “The deputies in this parliament are not representatives of one party but the representatives of the entire nation of Vietnam.” “Our National Assembly is a parliament of the entire people, elected according to a very democratic election law: Free, popular, secret voting.”¹⁴

Ho Chi Minh's democratic ideology also manifests itself in the people's interest in building close relationships between the state and the people, attaching democracy to the unity of the entire people. Solidarity creates the strength of the people to implement democracy, creating the humanistic values of the new state: “Without the people, the government does not have enough forces. Without the government, no one will lead the way. Therefore, the government and the people must unite into one block. Today, we have built successfully the state of Democratic Republic of Vietnam. But if the country is independent but the people do not enjoy happiness and freedom, then there is no meaning in that independence.”¹⁵

Even when he gave his opinion on the organization of the state apparatus, he mentioned a lot about the role and responsibility of the government towards the people. A strong and wise government, according

¹⁰ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 60—61.

¹¹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 7. Tr. 218—219.

¹² Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 8.

¹³ *Ibid.* Tr. 351.

¹⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 6. Tr. 499.

¹⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 56.

to Ho Chi Minh, must be a State that considers serving its people as the purpose of its existence.

Secondly, the role of law in the rule-of-law state.

Ho Chi Minh approached early to western legal system, therefore he was well aware of the importance of the law in state management. As early as 1919, by the “Claim of the Annamite people” including 8 points for freedom and democracy for the Vietnamese people, Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh) demanded that the French colonialists reform the legal system in Indochina, abolish rule by decrees and replace them by laws.¹⁶ Beyond the elements of the rule of law in state management in eastern countries, Ho Chi Minh raised the spirit of a true rule of law: “A hundred things must have the spirit of the rule of law.”¹⁷ With this concept, Ho Chi Minh’s ideology elevates the concept of rule of law to a new level, that it aims to the value of a rule of law in which the law as the soul of society, governs all social activities and represents and protects the rights of the people.

While promoting the role of the law, with a progressive legal perspective, Ho Chi Minh particularly emphasized the importance of the constitution as the most important law in the legal system. Therefore, even in the first meeting of the government, in the context that the country just gained independence, he stated one of the major tasks of the government was to build the constitution. “Before we were ruled by an authoritarian monarchy, then the colonial regime which was no less tyrannical, so our country has no constitution. Our people did not enjoy the right of free democracy. We must have a democratic constitution.”¹⁸ Therefore, one of the urgent things needed to be done right away is building and enacting the constitution. Within a short time, since the inception of the draft around September 1945, the first constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was adopted on November 9, 1946, laying the foundation for the construction of the Vietnamese rule-of-law state. The idea of arranging a political and social constitution according to the civil rights ideals, that is, towards protecting the freedoms and human rights of citizens in democratic society, using the constitution as the most important law to govern society is Ho Chi Minh’s unique ideas on the rule-of-law state.

¹⁶ The Central Council directed the compilation of the national curriculum of Marxist—Leninist science subjects. *Ho Chi Minh ideology curriculum* (2003). Hanoi. P. 276.

¹⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 8.

¹⁸ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 9. Tr. 579—597.

Although considering education and persuasion as a priority measure, he also emphasized the need for laws and the strict nature of the law. If some one is not enlightened, then resolutely must be strictly punished by law.

To ensure the power of the people in the administration and control of state power, Ho Chi Minh was very wise in proposing method how people could use their power to limit state power: "The people have the right to dismiss deputies of the National Assembly and People's Council deputies if their performance unworthy to the people's confidence. That principle guarantees the people's right to control over their delegates."¹⁹ "The people have the right to urge and criticize the Government."²⁰

Along with promoting the role of the law in recognizing the rights and freedoms of the people, Ho Chi Minh also attaches great importance to emphasizing the strictness of the law, and using the law to handling of evildoers and hostile forces: "Continually strengthening the people's government. Strictly exercise democracy toward the people, dictatorship to the enemy. Thoroughly observe all the laws of the regime and the state."²¹ "The law must severely punish the unrighteous persons, regardless of their position or profession."²² This thought has shown most clearly the spirit of supreme law, ensuring that all citizens are equal before the law.

In summary, although Ho Chi Minh did not directly refer to the term the rule-of-law, but his thoughts of the state, law, democracy and the role of democracy in the organization and operation of the state, and the role of law in social management, etc... shows the progressive views with the spirit of the times, bringing ideological orientation toward awareness and practical activities of our Party and State in the process of building and developing the Socialist rule-of-law state.

The application of Ho Chi Minh's ideas of the rule-of-law state in the process of building the rule-of-law state in Vietnam today

President Ho Chi Minh's ideas on democratic state, respectation for guarantee and protection of human rights, rule-of-law and social

¹⁹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t.7. Tr. 368.

²⁰ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 11. Tr. 234.

²¹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 6. Tr. 127.

²² Phùng Hữu Phú, Lê Hữu Nghĩa, Vũ Văn Hiền, Nguyễn Việt Thông (đồng chủ biên) (2016). *Một số vấn đề lý luận — thực tiễn về CNXH và con đường đi lên CNXH ở Việt Nam qua 30 năm đổi mới*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. P. 66.

management... has been applied creatively by the Party and State of Vietnam in the process of awareness and building a socialist rule-of-law state in Vietnam.

Firstly, basing on the evocative values of Ho Chi Minh's thought about the rule-of-law state, the Party and the State of Vietnam have applied to build socialist rule-of-law state of Vietnam. This state is socialist rule-of-law of the people, by the people and for the people, all state power belongs to the people. All state policies and laws must derive from the interests of the people, expressing the will and aspirations of the people, and must be subject to the people's control and supervision. Article 2, chapter I of the 2013 Constitution affirm: "The State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is a socialist rule of law state of the people, by the people and for the people."

That is not only the affirmative principle but also our Party and State have thoroughly grasped the exercise of democracy comprehensively in the state for decades. After more than 30 years of renovation, the process of building a socialist law-governed state of Vietnam "of the people, by the people and for the people" has achieved several major achievements. In order for the socialist democracy to gradually become a reality, our Party and State have paid great attention to expand and raise the level of democracy. In order to exercise economic democracy, our Party sets and consistently implements a policy of multi-sector economic development; all economic sectors are encouraged and enjoy favorable conditions for development. In order to build and promote democracy in politics, the Party and the State focus on adjusting policies, laws and mechanisms to help people to be directly involved in political processes and public state affairs, demonstrating their rights, competence and responsibility in state management according to the spirit of Ho Chi Minh's thought. In order for the people to be truly the subjects of state power, the Party and the State have made a great changed process by bringing people from the position of "being owner" to "exercise rights of owner." This help people not only have rights but also have the ability to actively and comprehensively use their rights such as: to dare to speak, to dare to do, to promote the role of social inspection, supervision and criticism toward state authority agencies. Many guidelines, policies and laws aim to have been issued promote socialist democracy to ensure the exercise of the people's right to mastery. Human rights as well as basic rights and obligations of citizens are fully recognized in the 2013 Constitution and in the newly revised legal system. The foundation and exercising of state power are based on the will of the people, and are subject to the supervision of the people. The State respects the political choices of

the people in the election of National Assembly deputies and People's Council deputies at all levels. The State also absorbs the people's opinions on the activities of elaborating the Constitution and laws. Our people do not only has a democratic political right but also are guaranteed to exercise democracy in all areas of social life such as: economy, culture, society...

In addition, to ensure the power belongs to the people and the practice of representative democracy through the National Assembly — the highest representative body and the People's Council — the highest authority of our State apparatus, the delegates are elected by the national and local voters on the basis of the principle: universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage, therefore they are responsible for exercising state power on behalf of the people and responsible to the people. Our state has built strict rules in the law to ensure that the National Assembly deputies have full authority to exercise important rights: the right to constitution, legislative decisions, and deciding on the country's serious issues as well as supreme oversight over the activities of state agencies.

Secondly, the socialist rule-of-law state of Vietnam is a result of inheriting an important legal principle of Ho Chi Minh's ideas on the law that is considering the constitution as the most important law. This state is built on the principle: the Constitution receives the supreme position of the Constitution and laws in social life. The legal system expresses the will, interests and aspirations of the people, and at the same time plays the role of regulating all relationships in areas of social life.

In the process of national construction and development, our Party and State have repeatedly conducted constitutional activities to amend and supplement the Constitution, and at the same time focused on reforming legislative activities, constantly building and perfecting the legal system, creating a legal framework for regulating social relations. This is manifested by the increase and perfection in terms of quantity and quality, content and form of legal documents.

It can be affirmed that the greatest achievement marking a new development step in perfecting Vietnamese legal institutions is the promulgation of the 2013 Constitution. On the basis of inheriting the values from the revised 1946, 1959, 1980 and 1992 Constitutions, the 2013 Constitution shows the spirit of democracy and humanity in accordance with Vietnamese reality. These contents are presented in three main aspects: 1) the 2013 Constitution contains the righteous constitutional ideas and principles; 2) the supremacy of the constitution in the social life of the nation; 3) mechanism to protect the constitution.

Thirdly, the Party and State inherited the rational nuclei in Ho Chi Minh's thought about the need to establish mechanisms that help people to control the power of the Party and the State through laws and democratic foundations. They have chosen to organize the state power according to the principle of centralization and unity with division, coordination and control among the state power units: "The state power is unified. There is a division, coordination and control among state agencies in the exercise of legislative, executive and judicial rights"²³. Accordingly, based on the principle of democratic centralism, the National Assembly is the highest authority representing the interests of all our people, while others operate under the supervision of the National Assembly. The mode of control of state power in Vietnam, not through restraint and counterbalance, but primarily through the supreme supervision function of the highest state authority, is the National Assembly. In principle, this is an expression of the principle of democratic centralism, which ensures the people, through their representatives, can control the entire power in the most comprehensive and thorough manner.

In order to supervise state power through the law, the content of the law is a prerequisite issue. Therefore, the content of the law in Vietnam must reflect the spirit of the collective will of the people in society, it opens up a new social order arrangement in which the real power of the state is expression of people's power. The common will, in that form, becomes the supreme power. It is like a mental body in which the will of members as parts of the body, they receive their consensus in acts of interconnection. In order for the law to be an expression of the common will, leading and shaping a social order, the most difficult problem is to establish principles that ensure the common will not be seduced by personal ambition, leading people to seek the right path in the complexity of reality. Only in this way can the law be in the spirit of the common rules accepted and implemented in the absolute consensus of the society. These are also the contents mentioned by Ho Chi Minh in the thought of building a new democratic state and are inherited, supplemented and developed in the process of building a socialist rule-of-law state in Vietnam today.

²³ *Hiến pháp nước Cộng hòa xã hội chủ nghĩa Việt Nam* (2013). URL: <https://thuvienphapluat.vn/van-ban/Bo-may-hanh-chinh/Hien-phap-nam-2013-215627.aspx>.

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Chapter 13

HO CHI MINH AS THE FOUNDER AND CONSTRUCTOR OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM, THE STATE OF A NEW TYPE

Independent Vietnam was declared by Ho Chi Minh as the state with republican social order. Its name showed the break with the former monarchic Vietnam. The construction of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and of new political (republican) institutions was carried out in the years of “the peaceful respite” (1945—1946). The chief role in their construction belonged to Ho Chi Minh, the first President of the DRV.

During the Resistance War Vietnamese used ancient traditions in the fight against foreign aggressors. Ho Chi Minh called the country to resistance according to the traditions of long standing, including the call of the ruler to the people (proclamation — so called Hich).

Keywords: President Ho Chi Minh, new republican institutions, national traditions

Studies of history of Vietnam in the 1940-ies, including the Resistance War against France, show the utmost significance of that period in the recent history of Vietnam. In the 1940—1950-ies Vietnam passed the political path from the eastern autocratic monarchy and from the colonial rule up to democratic republican order. The August Revolution followed by the Resistance War brought broad popular masses up to political life. It was the surge of political activity of the bulk of the peasantry and national minorities of North Vietnam, of representatives of commoners (raznochintzy). Their enthusiasm and readiness to struggle for independence of their Motherland were the main factors, which ensured the DRV victory.

The struggle of popular masses was headed by the representatives of so called counter-elite, of the intelligentsia, which had formed in the 1920—1930-ies. They were foremost representatives of commoners, who had supported the August Revolution of 1945 and had linked their hopes for national resurrection of Vietnam with the socialist doctrine. Since 1940-ies Vietnamese Communists and their recognized leader Ho Chi Minh (Nguyen Ai Quoc) could have headed the mass national liberation movement against French colonialism, basing on the centuries-old tradition of mass collectivist consciousness and equalization, typical for the Vietnamese rural community (the main social organization of North Vietnamese society), having imparted a political color of the Marxist ideology to it. Taking into account the results of World War II, this situation guaranteed their victory and the declaration of a new independent state of the DRV.

In August of 1945 Japan capitulated, and the real perspective of liberation opened in front of Vietnam. By August of 1945 the only real force in Vietnam, able to take power into its own hands had been the Viet Minh. Its positions were especially strong in the North of the country.

In May of 1941 the Eighth Plenum of the CC CPIC took place in Pac Bo (Cao Bang province); Nguyen Ai Quoc, Ho Tung Mau, Vo Nguyen Giap, Pham Van Dong, Đàng Xuan Khu (Truong Chinh) were present there. They were all Ho Chi Minh's allies; they passed the long and hard path of revolutionary struggle and later they were well-known leaders of the DRV/SRV.

On Ho Chi Minh's initiative and with his participation, the Plenum adopted the Viet Minh Program, the document of great importance.¹ Ho Chi Minh did not deviate from the program till the August Revolution victory and after it, in the year of the so called "peaceful respite" (1945—1946). The Viet Minh Program deserves a special description and analysis. The Program had the foremost significance not only for the further activity of the Viet Minh and for the victory of the August Revolution, but also for many reforms after it.

The Viet Minh Program was mostly the description of measures for the construction of the would-be state of the DRV. There is a whole set of democratic reforms: general election for every Indo-Chinese over the age of 18, equal rights for the Viets and national minorities; declaration of democratic freedoms, such as freedom of the press, freedom of as-

¹ *Chương trình Việt Minh (1983)*. Hội nghị lần thứ VIII Ban Chấp hành Trung ương Đảng Cộng sản Đông Dương tháng Nam 1941, Pắc Bó. In: Hồ Chí Minh. *Toàn tập*, t. 3. Hanoi.

sembly, freedom of movement; equal rights for men and women; demolition of the former administration (bureaucracy) and its replacement with the system of decentralized power in the form of “people’s committees”, i.e. the foundation of a ramified system of a new democratic power in the DRV.

In social and economic spheres there were presupposed the repeal of the taxes, having been introduced by the colonial administration, an eight-hour working day, the foundation of the social security system, the introduction of free and compulsory education, the promotion of modern national culture (films, theatres etc.). As far as the agrarian issue is concerned, in the country, where peasantry amounted to 95 % of the entire population, the program was limited with the demand for confiscation of the lands owned by French colonizers and by landowners-traitors, and the requirement for the reduction of rent.

In general, the program was based on national traditions of Vietnam and served the interests of the vast majority of the population of the country. This is the evidence that in the complicated domestic political situation, as well as in the international one Ho Chi Minh gave priority to the independence issue of Vietnam, achieved by means of association and national unity of all the social groups and segments of the Vietnamese society, from time immemorial being one of the most effective national traditions of Vietnam. The author of the article believes, that this document with its nationwide aim of gaining independence could have satisfied Le Loi, the Emperor (XV-th century) and the national hero of Vietnam.

Six months later, in autumn of 1941, on the initiative of the Indochinese Communist Party (then in underground), in the place of Tan Trao (the province Tuyen Quang) Ho Chi Minh (Nguyen Ai Quoc) addressed the Tonkin people, having declared the foundation of the United National Front, or the League for the Independence of Vietnam (*Việt Nam độc lập đồng minh hội*). Its aim was to win independence and Ho Chi Minh suggested the name of Viet Minh, short and clear to the people.

In May of 1945 Ho Chi Minh and other revolutionaries relocated to Tan Trao to prepare the general rebellion in the fight for independence.² Later Tan Trao went down in history of Vietnam as the revolution headquarters, the revolutionary center.

² *Tân Trào in mãi dấu chân Người*. URL: <http://vnews.gov.vn/50-nam-thuc-hien-di-chuc-cua-chu-tich-ho-chi-minh>. Now, 74 years after the events of 1945, in a small place of Tanchao there is a museum in memory of Ho Chi Minh and other leaders of the Viet Minh. Guided tours are available.

On September 2, 1945, Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, declared the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in the Ba Dinh Square (Hanoi).

Thus, independent Vietnam was declared a republic, showing with its very name the break with the former monarchic Vietnam. The basis for the new statehood, policy and political culture should have been laid. The coming into power of Ho Chi Minh and his allies meant the change of the political class and elites in Vietnam, the crucial change of ideology and concepts, having determined the further development of the country.

However, it is noteworthy, that despite radicalism of the intelligentsia of the early 20th century Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh and his allies preserved features of socio-cultural legacy of the former concepts of so-called Confucian positivism. The concept of the independent statehood and its perception as one of the foremost national treasures in history and contemporaneity of Vietnam used to be and still is the central theoretic provision of modern geopolitical doctrine of the Vietnamese leadership, which can be read and understood via such a concept of Confucian philosophy, as “the Great Unity” (*Da Tong*), which had been brought forward in Sun Yat-sen’s program.

One of the chief ideas of Ho Chi Minh’s Political Testament sounds like a legitimation of the holy principle of “the great national unity”, the principle of *Da Tong*.³

The historical Independence Declaration meant that the period of colonial rule of France in Vietnam came to its end. The country began a new stage, that of independent development. The Declaration, having been written by Ho Chi Minh himself, is one of the most important documents in modern history of Vietnam. The Declaration is laconic; it consists of only 760 words, and is notable for neatness of its account. For example, mentioning the abdication of Emperor Bao Dai, it used the term *vua* — the king, more common in everyday language, but not the official term *hoàng đế* — the emperor.

The Declaration appeared to have been consisted of two parts: the first part was addressed to the Allied Powers, the second one appealed to the domestic, Vietnamese, audience. Their style and manner were quite different, because they had different aims and different addressees, being the evidence of a very carefully measured document. For the Allied Powers it emphasized that independence of Vietnam was conformed

³ *Zaveščanie Prezidenta Ho Ši Mina* (1990). In: Ho Ši Min. *Izbrannoe. Vospominaniya o Ho Ši Mine*. Moskva. S. 220–222.

with the provisions adopted at the international conferences (Teheran, San-Francisco); that is why the DRV deserved their recognition. It was a clear appeal to the USA and Great Britain for diplomatic recognition of the DRV, which could have facilitated the DRV situation.

In the general ceremony of that historical meeting national traditions found their place. Ho Chi Minh rose a jade sword (one of the chief regalia of the Nguyen dynasty) high over his head saying: “Earlier this sword was used to oppress the people, now it will punish traitors.”⁴

The Indochina Problem took an important place at the decision of the post-war world. This problem had been discussing at such big international conferences as those in Cairo and San-Francisco with the participation of the Big Three. At the same time the DRV Government was aware, that while no country of the world recognized the DRV diplomatically, its negotiations with the former metropolis (France) were inevitable.

On October 5, 1945, General Leclerc, the Commander-in-Chief of French land forces in Indo-China, arrived in Saigon.

The DRV had to make a compromise and to begin talks with France on the DRV public status. The talks with France were difficult. The key figures were Ho Chi Minh, the DRV President, and Commissaire Jean Sainteny, the official representative of France in Northern Indochina. J. Sainteny’s attitude to Vietnam and its President was loyal enough; he was an advocate of peaceful regulation of Franco—Vietnamese relations, testified with the title of his book “L’Histoire d’une paix manquée”.⁵

In those most important and complicated negotiations Ho Chi Minh was a key figure on the Vietnamese side, and he showed himself a master of political compromise. In understanding and realizing this political aspect there was no one like him in the DRV leadership, due to his extensive experience of his sojourn in France in the 1920-ies, his contacts with prominent representatives of the Socialist Party of France, and later, after the foundation of the French Communist Party (FCP) in 1920, with French Communists.

The result of the talks on March 6, 1946, was the signing of the Preliminary Treaty by France and the DRV. According to the Treaty the DRV had been recognized the free state within the framework of the Indochinese Federation and the French Union. The DRV agreed to the presence of French forces on its territory instead of Chiang Kai-shek

⁴ Độc Lập. Hà Nội, № 1, 4.09.1945. In: Vu Ngu Chieu (1984). *Political and Social Changes in Vietnam between 1940 and 1946*. Wisconsin. P. 380—381.

⁵ Sainteny, J.R. *Histoire d’une paix manquée*. Paris, 1947, 1953.

military units for the term of five years.⁶ These talks and the signing of the agreement with France permitted Vietnam to get a year of “the peaceful respite” and to carry out the most important state and political reforms in the sphere of the state construction of the declared DRV.

In the first days after the victory of the August Revolution the former administration was abolished by the decision of the Provisional Government. In North and Central Vietnam People’s Committees began to be established instead of it, new organs of the people’s power (the decree dated November 22, 1945). The decree of the Government dated November 20, 1945, reduced the rent in the country by 25 per cent, smallholder peasants were exempted from the payment of land tax⁷ etc.

These and other general democratic events touched social and economic re-organization of the country in democratic direction, carried out by the DRV Government during the year of the so called “peaceful respite”, since August of 1945 till December of 1946 (the outbreak of the Resistance War), promoted the popularity of the new power among the bulk of the peasantry, as well as the unity and consolidation of the whole society.

In January of 1946, for the first time in history of Vietnam, there were held general elections in the National Assembly, the highest legislative organization of the Republic, a 310-member body with the predominance of the Viet Minh deputies. Ho Chi Minh was elected the DRV President, having gathered 98 percent votes in Hanoi; in November of the same year the first Constitution in history of the country was adopted. The Constitution was both the legal basis of new independent Vietnam and the foundation of people’s democratic system, as well as national consolidating force. Since then Vietnam has no longer been a colonial peripheral country, but a subject of history; since then it has begun the process of its active going down into the world history. The Constitution of 1946 was also written with the direct participation of Ho Chi Minh. The dominant principle of the Constitution of 1946 was the declaration of vital interests of the nation as the priority ones.

It is noteworthy, that the three chief documents, having been written with Ho Chi Minh’s personal participation, determined the Viet Minh and the August Revolution political course, as well as the DRV political development in the year of “the peaceful respite” (1945—1946) and during the Resistance War.

⁶ Sainteny, J.R. *Histoire d'une paix manquée*. Op. cit. P. 182—185.

⁷ *Istoriya V'etnami v noveyšee vremya (1917—1965)* (1970). M.: Nauka. S. 222.

They are:

1. The Viet Minh Program (1941).
2. The DRV Independence Declaration (1945).
3. The DRV Constitution (1946).

Thus, the state system of Vietnam was defined as the republic. That was something new, previously unknown in Vietnam. However, Ho Chi Minh ought to follow every chief stage of the state construction, where the National Assembly was given one of the leading roles as the parliamentary basis of the Republic. For the majority of the population the foundation of the National Assembly was explained in familiar words, such as: people's representation, another body of people's power for uniting the people in order to construct the state with common purpose; at that period it was known as "The Congress of People's Representatives" (*Quốc Dân Đại Hội*).

On May 29, 1946 in Hanoi the Committee of 27 members on Ho Chi Minh's initiative founded the Liên Việt, "the National Union of Vietnam" (*Hội Liên hiệp quốc dân Việt Nam, Liên Việt*), a broader, than the Viet Minh, socio-political organization, with the purpose to unite all the patriotic forces and the people of Vietnam, despite their party affiliation, confession, and political opinion. The Lien Viet played an important role in uniting the people in the struggle against French colonizers during the Resistance War. Ho Chi Minh was the honored chairman of the Lien Viet.

The further talks with France (Fontainebleau, 1946) with the purpose of elaboration and development of the Preliminary agreement of March 6 had no positive results. President Ho Chi Minh arrived as the guest of the Government of France and was paid all the protocol honors. The talks reached a deadlock, due to the contrary positions of both sides; the most crucial issue still was the status of Cochinchina (South Vietnam). On September 16 Ho Chi Minh was to leave France for Haiphong. In order to avoid increased tension in French — Vietnamese relations Ho Chi Minh suggested Marius Moutet, the Minister of Overseas France, to sign the partial agreement ("modus vivendi") with mostly economic and financial issues. Till the resumption of the talks in January 1947, Vietnam maintained the status-quo. Thus, the DRV Government once again obtained the prolongation of the peaceful respite in Vietnam. Once again Ho Chi Minh showed himself a master of the art of political compromise, which mostly explains the success in preservation of revolutionary achievements in North Vietnam.

However, the French side did not observe the terms of the agreements concluded with Vietnam. On November 23 at 22:00 the French

proceeded with the attack against Haiphong with firing cannons. On November 28, Haiphong was seized by the French. On December 18 and 19 the situation in Hanoi aggravated. The French and Vietnamese self-defense groups (*tự vệ*) began firing lasted for the night. The same night there were armed clashes in provinces of Bac Ninh, Nam Dinh and in towns of Da Nang and Hue. That was the outbreak of war.

The Republic only could oppose the direct military intervention of France by uniting the people on the national ground. On December 20, 1946 Ho Chi Minh called the country to resistance. That appeal “To all the Fighting People”⁸ was written by Ho Chi Minh in the well-known historical national genre HICH, used by rulers or military leaders when appealing either to the people or to the army in case of outbreaking war.

At the same time this appeal contained the directives, worked out by the CC CPIC in underground. They can be described as a multilateral, broad and detailed program, determining the aims, form, tactics and strategy of the Resistance War. The war form was considered to be long-termed and comprehensive, while solving domestic problems. The necessity of guerilla war was emphasized. Such was the strategy of the Resistance War.⁹

The DRV Government and central authorities evacuated to Viet Bac jungles.¹⁰ The evacuation of Hanoi meant the expansion of military conflict and the development of lasting guerilla war on the territory of Tonkin, especially frightful for France.

In the first stage of the war Ho Chi Minh used the tactics of 1941, when the Viet Minh had been established. At his call all the social and professional groups of the Vietnamese society, all the religious associations, communities and societies for the salvation of the Motherland (peasantry, women and youth) rose to the struggle against modern French army like in 1941. Vertical structures of multimillion masses were formed; they covered the whole country and the state, headed by the Viet Minh Communists. Also, they used the propaganda method of “correction — education” (*tỉnh huấn*). It is noteworthy that in this struggle against well-armed and trained soldiers of the French Expeditionary Force the Vietnamese revolution did not relinquish national traditions, which preserved their significance in contemporaneity, — one of the strongest sides of Vietnamese society of that time. There were

⁸ Toàn dân Kháng Chiến. Hà Nội, 22.12.1946.

⁹ *Lịch sử Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam* (1981). Hà Nội. P. 522.

¹⁰ Deviller, Ph. (1952). *Histoire du Vietnam de 1940 à 1952*. Paris. P. 356—357.

broadly involved and used such elements of traditional mentality as filial piety, respect for senior in rank, primacy of group interests over individual ones, respect of the hierarchy. Nguyen Khac Vien, a famous Vietnamese scholar, wrote that the important role in the Communist ideology of the new society, being built in Vietnam after 1945, belonged to the Confucian concepts of duty, self-sacrifice and devotion to social good (*nghĩa vụ*)¹¹. New heroes were born, there appeared the Pantheon of fighters perished for the Homeland, having showed the eternal significance of heroes' cult, patriots of the past and the present, as well as the forbears cult for every Vietnamese.

It means that ancient traditions of the Vietnamese people in the struggle against foreign aggressors were used in the Resistance War, the call of a ruler to the people among them.

Comprehensive criticism was developed of both imperfect social institutions of the former monarchical Vietnam and those established by French colonial authorities. Its foundation was well-known Confucian concept of the people's "hidden power"; it showed something in common with the doctrine of the human innate tendency to goodness, expounded in the works of Mencius (Mengzi), a great sage of the antiquity.¹²

"The Resolutions of the Conference of Party Cadres", dated July 1947, another significant document, developed the tactics of the Resistance War. The Vietnamese leadership saw strength of Vietnam in national solidarity in the struggle against the aggressors; this was the chief tactic task in the early stage of the war. The population was instructed not to pay taxes to the French, not to work for the French, not to show them ways. The scorched earth defense was actually used.¹³

The victory of the revolution in China and the declaration of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, changed greatly the situation in the war. Military and technical assistance, medicines and rice began to be received from fraternal China. In diplomatic aspect in January of 1950 the DRV was recognized by PRC and then by the USSR; that was the end of political isolation of the DRV.

The tide of the war had been turned. In that situation the issue of the agrarian reform became the priority. Agrarian policy of the Workers' Party of Vietnam, the issue of great significance in the years of the Re-

¹¹ Nguyễn Khắc Viên (1970). *Confucianism et marxisme au Vietnam*. Expériences vietnamiens. Paris. P. 201—232.

¹² Nguyễn Thế Anh (2009). *Le Việt Nam entre confucianisme et modernité*. Paris. P. 858.

¹³ Trích nghị quyết hội nghị cán bộ Trung ương tháng 7 năm 1947.

sistance War, was conducted by Ho Chi Minh, who offered the idea of the agrarian reform in December of 1952. Legally that act was approved on April 12, 1953. The reform was possible, because by the winter of 1953/54 units of the Vietnamese People's Army had liberated a large territory in Northwest Vietnam with a population of 160 thousand.¹⁴

As a result of the reform the poorest peasants improved their situation: then 2 million of families had in their disposal 62.3 per cent of lands versus 41.2 per cent in the period before the August Revolution.¹⁵

Principle positions of the agrarian reform were submitted to the USSR and China approval.¹⁶ This document is of interest, because it united the chief leaders of the three socialist countries: the Soviet Union, China and the DRV; Ho Chi Minh was the mediator. There is no doubt that only Ho Chi Minh of the Vietnamese leadership could have written such a call, using his experience of the sojourn in the USSR and his contact with Chinese Communists.

In early April and in May of 1954, the French Expeditionary Forces suffered a crushing defeat by Dien Bien Phu; the event had played the decisive role in the end of the First Resistance War. The Geneva Accords 1954 provided ceasefire in Indochina and the foundation of the Working Boundary in Vietnam along the 17th parallel.

Thus, we see, that in a very short term of one year on Ho Chi Minh's initiative and with his participation the chief landmarks of the state construction of the DRV were established. Since the foundation of the Viet Minh till the mobilization call-up of the nation to struggle for independence against France (December of 1946) and later in peaceful civil construction Ho Chi Minh step by step built necessary state republican institutions and held necessary events, something new for the Vietnamese political reality.

The importance of Ho Chi Minh's role in military construction is noteworthy. Since 1940 the three persons, who held the top positions in the Viet Minh, and later in the DRV/SRV (Ho Chi Minh, Vo Nguyen Giap, Truong Chinh) worked out the theoretical model of the Resistance War having combined traditional and modern methods. It was the theory and strategy of the revolutionary liberation war, the strategy which could not be opposed with any counter strategy, as Douglas Pike,

¹⁴ Le Chau (1966). *Le Viet nam socialiste: une economie de transition*. Paris. P. 98.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* P.108.

¹⁶ *Avtograf Ho Ši Mina*. Pis'mo I.V. Stalinu, 31 dekabrya 1952 g. In: I.A. Korableva. *Ho Ši Min i Stalin. Nekotorye štrihi političeskoj biografii Ho Ši Mina*. URL: <https://kpss-ru.livejournal.com>.

a well-known American historian, had put it.¹⁷ The basis of such a war were the two elements: simultaneous military and political struggle. Ho Chi Minh was one of the chief tutors of Vo Nguyen Giap. Giap considered him to be not only a skilled politician, but also a wonderful military strategist. His chief force was, to Giap's mind, skilled and far-sighted use of his richest revolutionary experience. Vo Nguyen Giap wrote of Ho Chi Minh: "One can rightfully say that our army (flesh of people's flesh) education was something of the sort of the Party ideas and to the taste of Uncle Ho."¹⁸

The signing of the Geneva accords 1954 brought both the end of the war and peace to the DRV. The hard war, lasted for many years, came to the end. For the Vietnamese nation Ho Chi Minh was the charismatic leader and the legitimate ruler; he restored independence of the country, the greatest treasure for the Vietnamese nation, and the state of Vietnam. As if summing up the war against colonialism, victorious for the Vietnamese people, Ho Chi Minh resorted to common national traditions and treasures again. Immediately after the signing of the Geneva accords, in July of 1954, he visited the Hung Kings' Temple, the symbol of identity of national culture of Vietnam (then it had been destroyed by the war). This visit confirmed once again that the chief component of Ho Chi Minh's political ideas used to be his devotion to the Vietnamese national idea, including patriotism, i.e. the foundation of the independent Vietnamese state. That visit reminded the nation of its origins, while the conception of national independence itself, considered to be the core of traditional thought of Vietnam, was formulated as the restoration of "legal continuity of power" from ancient Vietnamese rulers, the Hung Kings, till the early period of the dependence on Chinese dynasties.¹⁹

The idea of the united national front efficiently cemented Vietnamese society during all the decades of the struggle for independence and reunion of the country. The victory, won over American imperialism in April of 1975, and the reunion of North and South Vietnam took place after Ho Chi Minh's death; however, those significant events are surrounded with the ideas and spirit of the Testament of the Vietnamese nation's leader. The telltale fact is that the town of Saigon has got the name of Hochiminh.

¹⁷ Pike, Douglas (1969). *War, Peace, and the Viet Cong*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press. P. 213 etc.

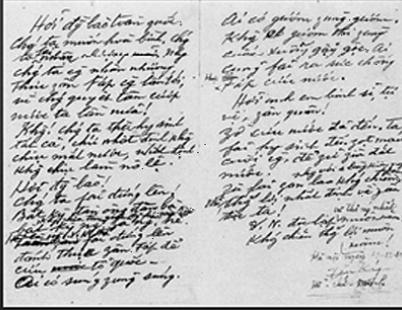
¹⁸ Vo Nguyên Giap (1970). *The Military Art of People's War*. New York. P. 77.

¹⁹ Nikitin, A.V. (2001). *Universal'nye harakteristiki traditsionnoy v'etnamskoy mysli*. Universalii vostočnyh kul'tur (*The Universal Characteristics of Traditional Vietnamese Thought*. Universalia of Oriental Cultures). Moskva. S. 259.

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Автограф Хо Ши Мина - призыв к народу на войну сопротивления против французских колонизаторов 19 декабря 1946 года. Этот призыв написан лично Хо Ши Мином и представляет собой известный исторический национальный жанр «ХИТЬ», когда правители или военачальники обращались к народу, или войску в случае начала войны. Toàn dân Kháng Chiến. HN ngày 22 tháng 12 năm 1946. (Директивы от 22.XII.1946 г.)



Annex № 1. Ho Chi Minh’s autograph of the document. The author’s archive

Ho Chi Minh’s autograph. On December 19, 1946 Ho Chi Minh called the country to resistance. That appeal “To all the Fighting People” was written by Ho Chi Minh in the well-known historical national genre **HICH**, used by rulers or military leaders when appealing either to the people or to the army in case of outbreaking war.



Annex № 2. Ho Chi Minh in the Hung Kings’ Temple (the photograph album of To Tiem, the junior, a painter). 1954

Chapter 14

HO CHI MINH'S GREAT NATIONAL UNITY CONCEPT: CONTENT AND VALUE

Ho Chi Minh was the one who initiated, built and wholeheartedly took care of the great national unity. Ho Chi Minh's thought on great unity was consistent from theory to practice. Great national unity is both the goal and the leading task of the revolution. That task is always thoroughly understood in all guidelines and policies of the Party. In order to tent the thought on social unity as the development basis and motivation, the paper focuses on analyzing four elementary contents of forming Ho Chi Minh's thought on the unity, drawing recommendations for Vietnam in the current period.

Keywords: great national unity, Ho Chi Minh's thought on the unity, current period, recommendations for Vietnam

Great unity is Ho Chi Minh's basic and core principle, expressed consistently from theory to practice. Ho Chi Minh affirmed: great national unity is both the objective and the first task of the revolution and it must be thoroughly understood in all directions, guidelines and policies of the Party and the State. It can be affirmed that Ho Chi Minh's thought about great national unity is an invaluable spiritual asset of the entire Party and people; the implementation of such ideas is one of the decisive factors for the victory of the Vietnam revolution. In all current periods, Ho Chi Minh's ideology of great national unity still has the same value, has aroused the spirit of national self-respect, promoting the spirit of self-reliance to revive the country. Therefore, studying Ho Chi Minh's thought on national unity to continue applying and developing his ideological creations, creating great motivation for the development of the country, is now an objective requirement.

Content

of Ho Chi Minh's thought on great unity

Ho Chi Minh discussed a great deal about unity in particular, great unity of the whole nation in general but could outline some of the following key issues.

Firstly, it is Ho Chi Minh's essence of great unity. The great national unity is not only a great spiritual value, an extremely precious tradition of the Vietnamese people, which has been molded over thousands of years of history but it has also become a great motivation, a philosophy of life and action that helps the Vietnamese people to survive and develop sustainably. As a great and outstanding person of the Vietnamese nation, Ho Chi Minh has constantly built and perfected a system of views on national unity, the ideology of national unity is an important part. incorporated in Ho Chi Minh's ideological system on the basics of the Vietnamese revolution. The basis of that thought is the philosophy of taking people as the root. Just listed in Ho Chi Minh's Complete Works, the issue of national unity is expressed in 839 articles, accounting for 43 %; the words "unity", "great unity" is used up to 1,809 times, in particular, the idea of national unity is repeated 16 times in "Modifying the way of working", 17 times in "Speech at the opening ceremony of Viet Minh — Lien Viet Unification Conference", 19 times in his National Day commemoration on September 2, 1957, 8 times in his will also showed the particularly important role of building the great national unity in Ho Chi Minh's ideology.

Ho Chi Minh was always deeply and consistently aware: "people are the root of the country, the country takes the people as the root", therefore, to build the idea of great national unity, Ho Chi Minh always comes from the people. The people is the root, the foundation of the bloc of national unity, the subject, the power of unity bloc. "The rice we eat, the clothes we wear, the materials we use, are accured by the people's sweat and tears."¹ The concept of great unity is used by Ho Chi Minh with many different terms such as "national unity", "unity of the whole people", "the great unity of the whole people" and "the whole nation of our Unity", but Ho Chi Minh has just once make clarification on the concept of great unity: "Great unity before all should unite the vast majority of people, the majority of the people are workers, farmers and different working classes. That is the root of great unity. It is like the

¹ Hồ Chí Minh (2011). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 9. Tr. 244.

floor of a house, the root of a tree. We had a strong foundation, a good root, we should unite other classes of people.”²

Thus, it can be seen that the essence of Ho Chi Minh's concept of great unity is unity of ethnic groups, religions, classes, all sexes, all ages, all regions of the country, uniting all members of the Vietnamese extended family, whether living in the country or settling abroad into a solid group, on the basis of agreement on common goals and basic interests. In other words, Ho Chi Minh's idea of great unity is great unity of people based on the philosophy of taking people as the root. “With people's unity, everything can be done, without it nothing can be done.”³

Secondly, let's note the role and position of the unity in Vietnamese revolution. According to Ho Chi Minh, unity in Vietnamese revolution manifested through two basic roles. First, unity is a matter of strategic significance; is the basic factor determining the victory of Vietnam revolution. National solidarity is the basic, outstanding, consistent thought not only throughout the ideology and activities of HCM practices but also in the process of Vietnam's revolution. According to Ho Chi Minh, in order to realize the goal of national independence and freedom for the people, it is necessary to build a great national unity bloc. Unity plays a role of “being the strongest force”, it “is the invincible power”, moreover “Unity is the strength and the key of success”. Ho Chi Minh asserted: if we do not unite, then we would fail. There is unity and prosperity. We have to unite and rotate our destiny, preserve our nation and protect our country. Emphasizing the special importance of unity, Ho Chi Minh sums it up into an action philosophy: “Unity, unity, great unity. Success, success, great success.”⁴ In each period, each stage of the revolution, before new requirements and tasks, national unity is necessary to adjust policies and methods of gathering forces to suit different audiences, but unity should always be realized as a vital matter of the revolution, a consistent and immovable strategy .

Thirdly, national unity in the Ho Chi Minh ideology is also determined as both a goal and a leading task of the Party and the Vietnamese Revolution. Unity is not merely the method of gathering, organizing patriotic forces, revolutionary, it's the first task of the revolutionary party. Emphasizing construction of unity blocs as the first task of the Party, stated at the ceremony launching the Vietnam Labor Party (3-3-1951), Ho Chi Minh declared in front of the entire nation: The purpose of the

² *Ibid.*

³ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 293.

⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 13. Tr. 119.

Party General Vietnamese labor consisted of 8 words: “Uniting the entire people, serving the Fatherland.”⁵ Therefore, building great unity is the leading task of the revolution .

Unity is the starting point, the red thread throughout and consistent in Ho Chi Minh’s thought and in the whole line and guidelines of the Party. In order to build a great bloc of unity, the first task of the Revolutionary Party is to gather and unite widely the strata of the people in the country, the people who love peace and progress in the world, to form great, strong unity block. “Unity is the mother point. This point, if done well, the children will be good.”⁶ To unite the entire people, there should be the leadership of the Party, the Party should preserve the Unity. This is what Ho Chi Minh always worries about. That concern is reflected in his *Testament*, “Unity is an extremely precious tradition of our Party and people”⁷, it is the basis and the core nucleus for building a great block of unity among the people. Unity should be preserved and built within the Party, between the Communist Party and other parties in the country, and between the Party and the people.

Fourthly, we mention the force of unity. According to Ho Chi Minh, in order to build a great unity bloc, it is necessary to have faith in the people, to consider the people as a strong support of the Party, in addition to having tolerance, eliminating all prejudices, respecting the other distinct. In a society consisting of many classes, caste, ethnicity, people of all religions, parties, branches, circles, sexes and ages , it is necessary to ignore those specific points to forming a broad bloc of national unity , forming a synergy force. Ho Chi Minh stated: “Unity should first unite the vast majority of people, the majority of our people are the workers, peasants and the other worker classes. That is *the root* of great unity. It is like the floor of a house, the root of a tree.”⁸ As well as an honor country lead to a bright path, an independent country lead to free beliefs, begin with the fact that Vietnam is a country of many religions. All religions exist in the heart of the nation, interests of each religion tied to the interests of ethnic communities , Ho Chi Minh had policy to unite the nations into a united society, there is no difference between people in the mountains or on the plains, majority or minority ethnics, anyone honestly agrees with peace, independence, democracy, we are honestly unite with them .

⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 7. Tr. 49.

⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 10. Tr. 244.

⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 611—612.

⁸ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 9. Tr. 245.

According to Ho Chi Minh to build a long-term, solid and consistency bloc of national unity it is necessary to choose a fit form of organization of national unity, which is united in the unified National Front. The Front is a political union aimed at broadly uniting patriotic organizations into a unified bloc, fighting for national independence, democracy and socialism. Front is the means to realize the purpose of unity. The united national front should be built to ensure two requirements: The front must take the union of industry — agriculture — knowledge as the foundation and must be under the leadership of the Party, taking the labor — agriculture core. In the history of the Vietnam revolutionary struggle, in each period, the Party organized and built the Front with many different names.

Fifthly, on the principle of unity, Ho Chi Minh built four basic principles that are the basis for building a great unity bloc for the people to achieve the goal of class liberation and national liberation. First, unity should be built on the basis of unifying the interests of the nation and the basic interests of all strata of society; between national and international interests. The relationship between peoples and classes passes through the core system, which is an organic, unified structure. Independence and freedom were considered by Ho Chi Minh as a common denominator to unite the entire nation. Ho Chi Minh emphasized that all peoples in the world were born equal, every nation had the right to have life and freedom. The people of Vietnam had the right to freedom and independence: “An independent country where the people do not enjoy happiness, freedom is independence for everything”⁹, on the other hand: “People just know the value of freedom and independence when the people are well fed and fully clothed.”¹⁰ For Ho Chi Minh, the philosophy “Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom” is both the goal and the motivation of the entire Vietnamese people; it is both the universal key and the convergence of victory of the great national unity strategy. Therefore, even in the days of arduous struggle of the people, Ho Chi Minh took great care of the lives of the people, all guidelines of the government must really for the people, stemming from legitimate aspirations and the interests of the masses, making the people see their values and gradually enjoying the freedom and democracy. With the motto: “What is beneficial to our people should be done to the best, what is harmful to our people must be avoided”¹¹ has really attracted, gathered a

⁹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 64.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Tr. 175.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Tr. 65.

large number of people, promoting the creative initiative of each person, each department, in every field to bring the revolution to victory.

In order to build the great unity bloc, Ho Chi Minh did not stop at the ideological unity, but the spirit of unity was also raised to higher level which is international unity. International unity is a guarantee and stability condition of national unity. However, international unity should be based on the principle of respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-infringement upon each other's internal affairs, always putting the interests of the nation first, above all, strive for peace, stability and development.

Sixthly, relying on the people, striving for the rights of the people. Ho Chi Minh affirmed: "In the world, nothing is more precious than the people. In the world, nothing is as strong as the united force of the people."¹² Believed in people, based on the people just as the successor, enhance traditional political thinking "people as the foundation", "stable root leads to strong tree, building successes based on people"¹³ is both a thorough understanding of the principles of Marxism—Leninism "Revolution is the work of the masses." With Ho Chi Minh, people is roots, the foundation of unity as well as the subject of unity, a source of inexhaustible, unbeatable power of unity bloc, simultaneously, people is a firm support of the Party, the State, the Front and mass organizations.

Seventh principle is self-discipline, organization, leadership; long and tight unity. Ho Chi Minh stated: "Our unity is not only widespread but also lasting unity. Unity is a national policy, not a political trick."¹⁴ The great national unity in Ho Chi Minh's thought is not simply a method of organizing and gathering forces, but rather an organic part, an ideology throughout the revolutionary strategic line. At the same time, it is the guiding principle, goal and mission that the revolutionary career wants to, needs to achieve. National unity is a question in itself, stemming from the objective needs of the masses in the struggle for self-liberation, great unity is the cause of the people, by the people and for the people.

Eighthly, unity to be built on the principle of sincere, frank, cordial; unity should be associated with self-criticism and criticism. Stemming from the patriotism, national pride and goodness of the Vietnamese people, it is necessary to build a great bloc of Ho Chi Minh, advocating

¹² Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 10. Tr. 453.

¹³ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 502.

¹⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 9. Tr. 245.

the elimination of all prejudices, seeking to entice and unify interests of people with national interests. Ho Chi Minh's two issues of particular concern are national unity and religious unity. For the building of a great national unity bloc, from analyzing historical conditions, with the feudal conspiracy to divide, the relationship between ethnic groups in the ethnic minority community of Vietnam, The relationship between the reverse domain and the plains, between the people among the religions has cracks. Ho Chi Minh persevered, persevered and sought a common denominator for unity and unity on the basis of the national common interests; unity associated with the implementation of the relationship of equality, love, help and respect for each other, especially respect for culture, customs, and resolute opposition to the great national ideology and narrow-minded people. "Our Party and Government always call on the peoples to eliminate the friction caused by imperialism and feudalism, and work closely together on the basis of equality of rights and obligations."¹⁵ In addressing the relationship between religions, Ho Chi Minh sought the common denominator of the values of truth, goodness and beauty: "Jesus taught: Ethics is charity; Buddha Shakyamuni taught: Ethics is compassion; Confucius teaches: Ethics is a human cause."¹⁶ Ho Chi Minh was imbued with the ideas of Marxism—Leninism, analyzed the real conditions, analyzed the basic contradictions of society, found a common unity on the benefits of ethnic and religious issues, respect for human values of religious ethics in the primal doctrine of religions in order to appeal to all people despite different religious beliefs to unite towards a common goal because independence, freedom of the nation, for the happiness of the people. Ho Chi Minh stressed: "It is necessary to eliminate prejudice, need to honestly unite together, help each other to progress together, to serve the people together."¹⁷ To do that, unity has to have compassion and tolerance: "Big river, wide sea, can contain so much water, because it is deep and generous. The small cup, the shallow plate, is easy to full, because its volume is small..,"¹⁸ need to have to face with criticism, which is the basis for strengthening unity. "Real unity means unite, struggle and learning about each other's good things, criticize each other's wrongs based on friendly position, for the country and for the people."¹⁹ Self-criticism

¹⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 12. Tr. 371.

¹⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 7. Tr. 95.

¹⁷ Ho Chi Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 9. Tr. 144.

¹⁸ Ho Chi Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 6. Tr. 130.

¹⁹ Ho Chi Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 11. Tr. 362.

and criticism must be sincere, frank, friendly, must be reasonable, affectionate, aim to issues not to people, thus overcome the defects and promote the advantages.

Ninthly, let's say about method for unity. In order to build a great block of social unity to create a driving force for development, according to Ho Chi Minh, master the following three basic methods. Firstly, methods of propaganda, advocacy, education and persuasion. This is the first, basic method of awakening people to voluntarily join in unity into a bloc. However, to propagate effectively, it is necessary to pay attention to the content of propaganda and methods of propagation. In each stage of different revolutionary practices, depending on the aspirations and different basic interests of the masses to build different propaganda contents and use various, varied, medium-sized propaganda forms. must be brief, easy to understand, and contain sufficient intellectual content, both popular and profound and simple; must be in the ordinary language close to Vietnamese people. Propaganda need to say so that everyone can understand it, remember it then do it. Not only that, in order for the public to believe and follow, the people who carry out propaganda and advocacy must master the Party's guidelines and policies, which are an exemplary model from words to deeds, has charismatic, win over the masses.

Tenthly, we mention the organizational method. To build and consolidate unity, according to Ho Chi Minh, it is necessary to have a method of organizing science, consolidating and developing the political system, including: the Party, the State, the Front and mass organizations. In particular, Communist Party is nuclear leadership of unity bloc, set to be the way to unite the right, want that the party must unite, unify, discipline, self-discipline, party members "who exile is very loyal of the people. The State is the person who organizes, manages and directs all activities of social life, each of the State's guidelines, policies and jobs directly affects life, interests, feelings and emotions of the people. The state must truly be of the people, by the people, for the people, and the cadres and civil servants must be devoted, loyal and must be "public servants of the people"." *Front and mass organizations:* a rope connecting the Party with the people. The organizational form must be plentiful, diverse and suitable to the public's awareness level; Civil Affairs Officer should be "brains, legs, eyes see, the ears hear, mouth, hand made" to be able to do well the work of public relations.

Eleventhly, we underline legal solutions for handling and resolving relationships. In the national struggle, class, the correlation of forces is always divided into three lines: Revolution — intermediary — counterrevoluti-

on. The Ho Chi Minh's people unity method is the scientific method of dealing with the three-dimensional correlation. For each force, appropriate handling methods are needed. For the revolutionary force, first of all to build a Unity and unity of the revolutionary force because it is a prerequisite for attracting and gathering intermediate forces into the revolutionary battle. establishing hostile forces requires two exploits. To do so, it is necessary to promote the points of unity and similarity; restrict, overcome and gradually eliminate differences in goals and interests among members. With intermediate forces, it is necessary to eliminate all prejudices, guilt, arousing and encouraging national consciousness and patriotism; sincerely cooperate, respect the talented and virtuous people to help the people and the country. For anti-revolutionary forces, in addition to activating and resolutely destroying on the basis of highly isolated division, it is also necessary to pay attention to exploiting conflicts within the enemy, enticing those who can compete. To gain, temporarily postpone the principle of force and parts to be postponed.

Ideological value of the whole nation unity of Ho Chi Minh

Firstly, it is theoretical value. Ho Chi Minh's nationalist ideology is the inheritance and development of the national unity tradition in the history of construction and defense of Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh was one of the founders and leaders of the struggle for independence and territorial integrity of Vietnam in the twentieth century. Besides the natural geographic conditions of Vietnam, the history of national struggle for national construction and defense, Ho Chi Minh's ideology of great unity was also formed from socio-political conditions and the background of Ho Chi Minh. Born into a Confucian family rich in patriotic and studious traditions, living in a state of loss, oppressed people, slaves, Ho Chi Minh soon brought with him a deep patriotism. The patriotism associated with the sense of community, national unity has been formed and strengthened for thousands of years, becoming the virtue and natural life of every Vietnamese person forming a close three-tier relationship: family — village — nation, becoming a tight link between peoples and classes.

On the basis of analyzing the strong patriotic movements of Vietnam in the early twentieth century but having failed, Ho Chi Minh recognized the limitations in gathering forces of senior patriots. He is well aware of the new conditions of the country, before the development requirements of history and the new requirements of the times, if only

patriotism is not enough to defeat the invading forces. A revolutionary force is needed to bring the whole nation into the struggle against the colonial empire, in order to build a sustainable mass of unity, the resistance will win. From summarizing practical experience of Vietnam and the national liberation movement of colonial countries in the world, Ho Chi Minh has drawn necessary lessons for building the national great unity ideas. These conditions urged Ho Chi Minh to go and find a way to save the country when the national liberation movements in the colonized countries of the world went up, Ho Chi Minh wanted to see how France and other countries did so he would return to help his people.

Secondly, the idea of national unity in Ho Chi Minh is the development and combination of the thought of national unity and international unity. Stemming from the unity tradition of the Vietnamese nation, analyzing the causes of failure of patriotic movements in the late nineteenth century, from the successes of revolutionary movements of national liberation in the world, has ceased, urging Ho Chi Minh to leave to find a way to save the country. After a long time of working, Ho Chi Minh approached Marxism—Leninism, thoroughly studied the path of success of the Russian October Revolution to draw many lessons, profoundly, especially the lesson of mobilizing and gathering a large force of peasant mass to win and keep the revolutionary government. Ho Chi Minh also learned many valuable lessons about gathering progressive patriotic forces to carry out the revolution such as the spirit of unity of peoples, parties and religions in order to realize the goals of each period in many colonies and dependencies in the world. However, it can be seen that the most important basis for Ho Chi Minh's formation of national great unity is the views of Marxism—Leninism: revolution is the cause of the masses, the public coalition. Agriculture is the basis for building a great force of the revolution, national unity must be linked to international unity, in the spirit of "proletariat of all countries unite". As a result, Ho Chi Minh was acutely aware that, in order to build a great unity bloc, it was not just about building national unity but higher and wider, it was necessary to build an international great bloc.

For Ho Chi Minh, national unity and international unity have dialectical relations with each other, if national unity is the basis for building the spirit of international unity, international unity plays a role to actively strengthen national unity and international unity as a regular factor in order to work together with humanity to fight against common enemies and realize common goals of the times. On the basis of analyzing the world situation at that time, Ho Chi Minh determined that the

international unity force consisted of three movements: the Communist movement and the international workers; Movement of national liberation and Movement of peace, democracy and progress in the world. He deeply influenced this spirit in Marxism—Leninism. In “Declaration of the Communist Party” K. Marx and F. Engels that, the liberation of the working class is a career of “self-liberation with the famous slogan “The proletariat of all countries unite!”, later added by Lenin: “The proletariat of all both the oppressive nations and nations around the world unite!” This is considered the slogan in the first credo of the world proletariat, both publicly declaring its international character and calling for the unity of the proletariat revolution, promoting the transformation of both quantity and quality of revolution. In order to enlist the support, assistance, as well as building the spirit of international unity, he emphasized the form of international unity, building appropriate forms of International unity front and achieving high efficiency. Depending on each relationship with other countries, Ho Chi Minh is flexible in choosing and building appropriate forms and methods. Who particularly appreciate and build unity with the n estimated neighbors, in the spirit of “moderate comrade both brother.”

Thirdly, Ho Chi Minh's national unity concept is the theoretical basis for building the country's development policy of the Communist Party of Vietnam. Inheriting the ideas of unity and great unity of Ho Chi Minh, since the 6th Congress to date, the Communist Party of Vietnam has increasingly paid attention to the building of the great national unity bloc. The 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam realized that the legitimate interests of the masses are posing many urgent issues that need to be addressed, so it should have appropriate policies for each object, then at the 8th Congress, 9, 10, 11 and recently the 12th Congresses of the Party the ideas about great national unity continue to be supplemented, completed to suit the new situation in the country and internationally.

The 9th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the ideological unity and national unity continues to be affirmed “as a strategic line, a great source of strength and motivation to build and defend the Fatherland.” That strategic line is aimed at “realizing the great unity of peoples, religions, classes, economic sectors, all genders, all ages, all regions of the country, people in the Party and people outside the Party”, working people and retired people, “all members of the Vietnamese ethnic family, whether they live in the country or abroad.”²⁰

²⁰ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2001). *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ IX của Đảng*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 123.

The idea of great unity continued to be emphasized at the X Congress: “The great unity of the entire nation on the basis of the union of the working class with the peasantry and intellectuals, under the leadership of the Party, is strategic directions of the Vietnamese revolution; a major source of strength and motivation and a decisive factor in ensuring the sustainable victory of the cause of national construction and defense.”²¹

The reality of Vietnam’s revolution proves that national unity always plays an important strategic position, especially in the new situation when Vietnam enters the stage of market economy development and international economic integration. With the determination that national unity is the basis and motivation for social development, is an endogenous factor that determines Vietnam’s power and position to reach out to the world. At the 12th Party Congress the great idea of national unity continues to be expanded, strengthened and strengthened, developed and improved in the context of Vietnam on the way to go to the 21st century. This Congress affirmed: “The great national unity is a strategic line of the Vietnamese revolution, a great driving force and resources in building and defending the Fatherland.”²² With the purpose of clarifying the point “revolution is the cause of the masses, it must be the masses, for the masses” of President Ho Chi Minh, the 12th Congress has set the direction and task of strengthening the great unity on the basis of a coalition of workers, peasants and intellectuals led by the Party, and at the same time need to promote vigorously all resources, all creative potentials of the people to build and protect the country; taking the goal of building a peaceful, independent, unified and territorial Vietnam, “rich people, strong country, democracy, justice and civilization.” The congress also determined that the great national unity can only be done when harmoniously resolving the relationship of interests between members of the society; protecting the legitimate and legitimate rights and interests of the people, therefore, all guidelines and policies of the Party, policies and laws of the State are for the benefit of the people. In order to achieve the goals on the 12th Party Congress also made the policies of great national unity for all classes and strata of the society taking into account all forces, classes and ethnic groups, religion, the Vietnamese com-

²¹ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2006). *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ X của Đảng*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 116.

²² Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2016). *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ XII của Đảng*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 158.

munity abroad. With these points of view, the 12th Party Congress expresses the instill, to apply creatively and concretize Ho Chi Minh's thought on great national unity in the national construction and development in the current period.

The great victory of the Vietnam revolution is a testament to the undeniable practical value of Ho Chi Minh's great national unity. In the new development conditions of Vietnam in the current period, the Party and people of Vietnam always apply Ho Chi Minh's ideas on unity to practice. The application solutions, always determined on the basic principles, uniform.

As principle of application, national unity on the basis of the union of the working class and the peasantry and intellectuals under the leadership of the Party is, *firstly*, both a strategic line of the Vietnamese revolution and a source of strength. The main motive is both a decisive factor for a sustainable victory of the cause of national construction and defense. *Secondly*, it means taking the goal of maintaining the independence and unity of the Fatherland, because the rich, strong, democratic, fair and civilized people are similarities, eliminating guilt, prejudice and discrimination on past, composition, class, building a spirit of openness, mutual trust, towards the future; ensure social equality and equality, take care of practical, legitimate and legitimate interests of the classes and people of all strata; harmonizing personal interests, collective interests and social benefits; exercise democracy associated with preserving discipline, fighting against bureaucracy, corruption and waste; incessantly fostering and raising the patriotism, the sense of national independence, the spirit of self-reliance and national construction. *Thirdly*, the Vietnam revolution is an inseparable part of the world revolution. Vietnam continues to unite and support revolutionary movements, trends and progressive movements of the era for the goals of peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. *Fourthly*, expand international cooperation on the basis of independence, self-improvement and internal promotion; multilateralization, diversification of international relations, multifaceted cooperation with all countries and international organizations .

Let's regard solutions to apply Ho Chi Minh's concept of great unity in practice. On the basis of 4 principles of applying Ho Chi Minh thought into practice, in the process of applying, Vietnam proposed 4 basic solutions: *firstly*, to strengthen the great unity bloc of the entire nation next to the main general policy of developing strong economic, cultural, social, education-training, science and technology, also need a whopping specific books can for all classes, social strata. *Secondly*, to

build a clean and strong Party organization so that the Party is truly the nucleus leading the great unity bloc. At the same time, strongly promoting the role of the State government; expand and diversify forms of gathering people, raising the position and role of the Vietnam Fatherland Front and mass organizations in the implementation of the policy of great national unity. *Thirdly*, promote active international integration on the basis of maintaining independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and identity of the Vietnamese nation; cooperate with countries, regional and international organizations in dealing with challenges (sovereignty, human rights, non-traditional security, etc.). Particularly, it is necessary to consolidate and develop cooperative and friendly relations with neighboring countries on the basis of ensuring national interests, maintaining independence and autonomy, for peace, friendship, cooperation and development. *Fourthly*, ensure the unified leadership of the Party and the central management of State for external activities across all sectors.

Conclusion

The idea of great national unity or the idea of great unity among the people on the basis of an alliance between the working class, farmers and intellectuals, under the leadership of the Party, is the core ideology, highlights, expressed deep throughout, clarity, consistency in Ho Chi Minh ideology and revolutionary practice in Vietnam, which has a strategic meaning for the Vietnamese revolution, is a source of strength and a major motivation, is significant factor in decisions to ensure sustainable success of the cause of building and defending the Fatherland. The reality of the Vietnamese revolution shows that, from the time the Party was born, Ho Chi Minh and the Communist Party of Vietnam have always implemented a proper and consistent way of organization, thus promoting the tradition of patriotism and unity of the nation. The renovation and economic development under the current trend of globalization and international economic integration have led to a profound change in traditional values, impacted community cohesion in many aspects both in terms of positive and negative. Ho Chi Minh promoted ideological unity, clear values as a basis for the development of society that has significance in both theory and practice. The CPV Program of national construction in the period of transition to socialism (supplemented, developed in 2011) has summarized one of the great lessons of the Vietnam revolution: “Constantly consolidating and stren-

gthening unity: uniting the whole Party, uniting all people, national unity and international unity. It is a valuable tradition and a great source of power for our country's revolution."²³

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Chapter 15

HO CHI MINH WITH THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF VIETNAM NATIONAL UNITY FRONT

In the process of leading the national liberation revolution, Ho Chi Minh always focused on building and gathering forces to lead the revolution to success. Vietnam National Unity Front was born to realize his idea of building an organization to unite the entire nation.

In the process of formation and development, Vietnam National Unity Front was deeply influenced by Ho Chi Minh's leadership both in theory and practice. It is thanks to his creative thinking and practical leadership that Vietnam National Unity Front has gradually grown into a great force to make a victory for the Vietnamese revolution.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh, unity, national front, force, leadership, revolution

The process of forming Ho Chi Minh's thinking on Vietnam National Unity Front

From early on, Ho Chi Minh cultivated the will to liberate the people from oppression and exploitation and he had activities in the patriotic movement; it is from here that he inherited the tradition of patriotism and national solidarity of the people. However, witnessing the practical failure of patriotic movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, he also initially became aware of the obsolescence in the way of gathering forces and the way of conducting revolution of these movements.

The theorists of Marxism—Leninism themselves also asserted that revolution was the cause of the masses, so if the revolution is brought to succeed, it must promote the strength of the great solidarity of the

masses. Inheriting the ideas of Marxist—Leninist theorists, Ho Chi Minh was well aware: “Revolution is the common mission of the whole people, not the work of one or two people.”¹ Therefore, in 1930, in a brief strategy of the Party, Ho Chi Minh clearly defined the Party’s mission: “The Party must yield to the majority of the working class, gather a large majority of the plowing people and must rely on to the poor peasants to make revolutionary land; liaison with bourgeoisie, intellectuals, middle peasants ... to lure them towards the proletariat; And for the rich, mediumand, small landowners and capitalists of Vietnam, who are not yet clearly anti-revolutionary, we must take advantage of them, at least make them neutral.”

He became even more aware of the importance of building an organization that could encompass the entire bloc of national unity and promote this solidarity in the revolution. The great national unity bloc could only become a great strength when gathered into a solid bloc, Vietnam National Unity Front. This would be a gathering place for all patriotic organizations and individuals, all forces at home and abroad could be gathered. On the other hand, through practical activities, he was also aware that the unity of the entire people was their own need of patriotic movements and of Vietnamese society in this period. This would also be the premise towards building the organization titled Vietnam National Unity Front later.

With this mindset, it was clear that in order to build the great national unity bloc that formed Vietnam National Unity Front, we would have to build on different levels: The first level was the organization based on the nature of the industry, caste and class such as Farmer’s Union, Women’s Union, Women’s Union, Youth Union, Elderly Association, Buddhist Association for National Liberation, Catholic Patriot, etc. The second level was to build an organization that could accommodate all organizations, individuals, classes, religions, nationalities... It was Vietnam National Unity Front.

Thus, we can assert that Ho Chi Minh’s thinking on the issue of building Vietnam National Unity Front was formed very early, it was associated with the construction of appropriate organizations to gather forces according to the different classes and strata. Ho Chi Minh himself was a person who had a huge role in building organizations to be able to bring together individuals with the same goals, ideals to create the strength of solidarity for the entire nation. For example, the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth Association, established in 1925, not only

¹ Hồ Chí Minh (2011). *Toàn tập*. Hanoi: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia, t. 2. Tr. 283.

became the basis for the later birth of the Vietnamese Communist Party, but it was also the forerunner of the Vietnam Youth Organization.

Along with revolutionary practices, mass organizations were born one after another. The foundation of professional organizations and groups had initially gathered a solidarity force to create the basis for the foundation and development of Vietnam National Unity Front later. It can be affirmed that Ho Chi Minh was not only the one who came up with the idea of establishing patriotic organizations and a unified organization to unite the patriotic forces, but he put this idea into practice, laying the foundation for the birth of Vietnam National Unity Front later as well. Especially under the guidance of Nguyen Ai Quoc, the Communist Party of Vietnam, established in February 1930, “laid the basic foundation for unifying the mass movement, a prerequisite for the formation of the great national unity bloc in Vietnam National Unity Front.”² At the founding conference, the Party “comprehensively outlined ideas, methodology and organizational structure of Vietnam National Unity Front, passed the charter of a number of organizations such as the Red Workers’ Association, Red Farmers’ Association, Red-Cross Association and Anti-Imperialism Alliance of Vietnam.”³ Under the leadership of the Party, patriotic movements had increasingly developed and facilitated the birth of Vietnam National Unity Front in reality under the name of the Anti-Imperialism Alliance of Vietnam in November 1930.

Although later in the revolutionary practice, there were times when the guidelines, policies and the construction of Vietnam National Unity Front did not inherit and develop the right ideas on the issue of building that front of Ho Chi Minh, the revolutionary fact proved his correctness. In 1941, the birth of the Viet Minh Front realized his idea of building Vietnam National Unity Front to serve the survival interests of the nation. Thanks to the strong development of the Viet Minh Front, the revolutionary movements made strong changes to create favorable conditions for Vietnam to gain independence in August 1945. It can be affirmed that the birth and the development of Vietnam National Unity Front bears the imprints of Ho Chi Minh. Spontaneous units became voluntary organizations, gathered in a large organization and played a prerequisite role in the August Revolution, then stepped onto the political arena,

² Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front (2006). *History of the Vietnam National Unity Front*. Book I (1930–1954). Hanoi: National Political Publishing House. P. 100.

³ Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front. *Op. cit.* P.100.

becoming an element of the main system of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. This showed the success of Ho Chi Minh's ideas in building Vietnam National Unity Front for the Vietnamese revolution.

Ho Chi Minh's view on the position and role of Vietnam National Unity Front in the Vietnamese Revolution

Vietnam National Unity Front is an organization aimed at gathering all patriotic revolutionary forces in the great national unity bloc

Starting from the viewpoint of wanting to save the country and liberate the people, there was no other way than to do revolution and from practical experience, Ho Chi Minh pointed out: "The Russian Revolution teaches us that if we want our revolution to succeed, it must be democratic (taking workers and farmers as the root), must have a strong party, must be persistent, must sacrifice, must be united." Therefore, the great requirement was to unify the masses in an organization to form a revolutionary force; then organizing the Front was the answer to that requirement. According to Ho Chi Minh: "To unite the whole people, a large and very generous group is required to attract all patriots and unions regardless of age, sex, religion, occupation, class, party. The purpose of this organization must be practically representative of the needs and aspirations of the people of the nation."⁴

Thus, the National Front is the embodiment of the great unity of the nation, which is highly promoted in an organization. In the cause of national liberation, Vietnam National Unity Front was the decisive force to the success of the revolution as he pointed out: "Our great work is not yet done, not because of strong empire, but one because the opportunity is not ripe, two because our people have not joined forces together."⁵ And according to him: "if we have solidarity, we will have power, if we have strong forces, we can achieve INDEPENDENCE, FREEDOM."⁶

The revolutionary reality showed that thanks to the strength of the great unity bloc in the Viet Minh front — another name for the National United Front before the August Revolution — the Vietnamese people

⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 3. Tr. 480.

⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 3. Tr. 239.

⁶ *Ibid.* Tr. 230

won successfully. After Vietnam had become an independent country, the Viet Minh Front stepped onto the political arena to become an important component of the Vietnamese political system, due to the requirements of revolutionary practices, Ho Chi Minh set up a second organization called Lien Viet. Nevertheless, Ho Chi Minh still pointed out, “In the great work of resistance and national construction, the Lien Viet — Viet Minh Front, trade unions, Formers’ Association and mass organizations have had a great effect.”⁷

Vietnam National Unity Front — an organization representing the legitimate interests and aspirations of the people

After the successful August Revolution, the Viet Minh and Lien Viet fronts were not merely an organization to gather forces for the revolution, but also stepped into the political arena to become a major contributor to building a modern politics, serving the resistance war and national construction. Also from this new position, the Front had a new role that was to represent the legitimate interests and aspirations of the people. Ho Chi Minh, as the soul of both Viet Minh and Lien Viet Fronts, pointed out: “Our country is a democratic country. All work is for the benefit of the people. Everywhere there are mass organizations, such as People’s Councils, Fronts, Trade Unions, Farmers’ Association for national salvation, Women for national salvation, etc. These organizations are people’s organizations, striving for the people rights for the people, intimate contact with the Government.”⁸ The Front has become a bridge between the people and the State, attracting talented people to join the Government, and at the same time reflecting the thoughts and aspirations of the people to the Government. Thus, we can see that the Front is now not only a large mass gathering but has become an organization representing the majority of the masses and, moreover, representing the interests of the entire nation. To carry out this mission, the Front must well serve the interests of its members, must truly become a voluntary organization of the entire people, must participate in building government, supervising the activities of the apparatus of State officials and employees.

The general purpose of the Front was still to gather as much as possible the forces into the great unity bloc to serve the resistance war, the national construction upholding the independence and freedom and

⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 7. Tr. 39.

⁸ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 6. Tr. 397.

bringing happiness to the people. This was also the common denominator for the Front to gather all classes of people in a long and sustainable way. On the other hand, it was in putting the interests of the nation and the people first that the basic interests of each department and each person needed to be guaranteed. Thanks to the similarities, whether the Front existed under two forms of organization, namely Viet Minh and Lien Viet, or later unified into an organization, it still promoted its role and position in the protection and construction of the country.

Therefore, along with the role of both an organization to build a great unity bloc for the whole nation and an organization to encourage the entire people to participate in the process of building and defending the Fatherland, the Front did good role to protect the interests of the people, ensured the democratic rights of the people in all areas as Ho Chi Minh pointed out: “Vietnam National Unity Front has helped the resistance to victory successfully”, and would “help to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous Vietnam.”⁹

Principles of organization and operation of Vietnam National Unity Front according to Ho Chi Minh’s guidelines

Like any organization, in order to unify and develop, the National Front must operate according to certain principles. Ho Chi Minh was the creator and the soul of Vietnam National Unity Front, so in the process of building and developing the Front, he set out the following principles to make this organization increasingly should be stronger and stronger.

The Front must be built on the basis of the bloc of industry — agriculture — intellectual alliance under the leadership of the Party

In Ho Chi Minh’s thought, the Front is an organization that brings together the great mass of people regardless of being “old, young, girl, boy, rich, poor, noble or humble.”¹⁰ But in order to build such a great mass of solidarity, one must clearly identify which is the most fundamental foundation. In this regard, he pointed out: “Great unity means first of all the great majority of the people, but the vast majority of our people are workers, peasants and other working people. That is the root of great unity. It is like the foundation of a house, the root of a tree. But

⁹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 10. Tr. 131.

¹⁰ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 273.

with a solid foundation and good roots, we must unite other classes of people.”¹¹ The reason for Ho Chi Minh to consider peasantry as the root of the revolution is because: “They are the people who directly produce all the riches that make society live. Because they are the most crowded, they are also oppressed and exploited most heavily. Because their revolutionary spirit is sure, more durable than any other class.”¹² While emphasizing the fundamental role of the labor union block, Ho Chi Minh also pointed out the need to resist the tendency to attach importance to consolidating the bloc of industry and agriculture but not attaching importance to expanding solidarity with other classes, especially the intellectuals. According to Ho Chi Minh, in the task of protecting and building the country, the role of the intellectual class was extremely important, so “the industrial, agricultural and intellectual need to be united closely into one block.”¹³ From Ho Chi Minh’s ideology, in the process of development, the Front has always focused on building the union of industry — agriculture — intelligence as a solid foundation for the expansion of great unity of the nation.

The principle of unifying the ultimate interests of the nation and the basic interests of all strata of the people

Vietnam National Unity Front has been formed and experienced many different stages of development. Depending on the specific conditions as well as practical requirements, Vietnam National Unity Front has different names such as: Anti-Imperialism Alliance of Vietnam (1930), Democratic Front (1936); Anti-Imperialism Front (1939); Viet Minh Front (1941); Lien Viet Front (1951); National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam (1960); Vietnam Fatherland Front (1955, 1976)... Although the names are different, in fact this is still a large socio-political organization that gathers a large number of ethnic classes of religious affiliations, patriotic organizations at home and abroad as Ho Chi Minh had shaped.

As an organization of wide solidarity of all strata of people on the basis of the bloc of agriculture and public coalition, it clearly requires in its purpose and activities to find a common denominator to unite all strata and people’s class into a unified block. According to Ho Chi Minh, the ultimate benefit of the nation is the independent, united,

¹¹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.* T. 9. Tr. 244.

¹² Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t.10. Tr. 376.

¹³ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 10. Tr. 376.

prosperous and democratic fatherland, so the common denominator here is the ultimate benefit of the peoples and basic rights of all strata. We can also show that on the basis of the common denominator, the benefits of the new classes and classes can be found, which was pointed out by Ho Chi Minh when advocating the opportunity to win independence in 1944: “At this time, the rights of the division and class must be placed under the life and death of the nation. At this time, if we cannot solve the issue of national liberation, do not demand independence and freedom for the whole nation, then not only the entire nation will have to suffer forever, but the rights of division and class also can not reclaim for ten thousand years later.”¹⁴ The revolutionary reality and activities of Ho Chi Minh as the President and the soul of the great unity of the whole nation have shown that he always respected and promoted similar factors, resolved different and contradictory elements according to the guiding motto: The people first, the country first and the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness of each human being. Thanks to this idea, Vietnam National Unity Front has unified a large number of people and promoted their role and position in the revolutionary cause.

Long termed and real solidarity; cordially helping each other

Vietnam National Unity Front was created to unite the entire nation's forces into a united bloc. This is not a temporary strategy but a long-termed strategy of the revolution and also Ho Chi Minh's basic view of Vietnam National Unity Front. It is a strategy when the bloc of solidarity is first and foremost for the benefit of the whole nation and of all classes of people, not for any organization or class. It is strategic because “in the national democratic revolution as well as in the socialist revolution, Vietnam National Unity Front is still one of the great forces of the Vietnamese revolution.”¹⁵

From the Viet Minh Front to the Lien Viet Front, Ho Chi Minh always attached great importance to the unity of operation, respected for the independence of the organization and the cordiality of helping each other to make progress together, besides, he always reminded that it was absolutely necessary to avoid being arrogant, sectarian and narrow-minded so that organizations were divided, isolated, unable to form Viet-

¹⁴ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2007). *Văn kiện Đảng toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 7. Tr. 113.

¹⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 13. Tr. 453.

nam National Unity Front, damaging the great unity bloc of the entire nation.

Ho Chi Minh himself was the absolute exemplar of building sincere solidarity from thought to action. Although busy with work, he always gave a lot of mind and affection to the sections, compatriots; listened to each and encouraged each other's efforts. By his prestige with sincere, frank and caring attitude, President Ho Chi Minh became the embodiment of solidarity and openness. He inspired and attracted the prominent figures of great society, ethnic and religious leaders to join the Government and the great unity bloc of the entire nation. He pointed out that if we wanted to truly follow the revolution, we had to be honest with them. On the other hand, he emphasized that in order to truly unite and cooperate honestly, the Front needed a clear, practical platform and reflected the aspirations of the majority of the people. Only on that basis could the Front truly attract all classes of people in a long and effective manner. At a meeting with officials on cadre work in August 1962, he pointed out: "We must closely unite the people of all classes... We must unite well the parties, unions, the soldiers in the Front, making long-term cooperation, helping each other and making progress together. We must closely unite among people of different religions, together build a harmonious and prosperous life and build the Fatherland."¹⁶ However, Ho Chi Minh also always emphasized that in the process of building and developing Vietnam National Unity Front, it was necessary to enlist solidarity for all forces that could unite but also avoid the trend of one-way and solidarity without a proper internal struggle within the Front. The motto here was "both unite and fight, learn about each other's goodness, criticize each other's wrongs and criticize in a friendly way for the country and for the people."¹⁷ The struggle here is not to exclude each other but from the common goal of "for the sake of the people", putting the nation's highest interests to the forefront, and rejecting narrow stereotypes and selfish motives to build a solidest Front.

It can be affirmed that Ho Chi Minh had a particularly important role in building and developing Vietnam National Unity Front. By his thinking, theoretical and practical guidance, Vietnam National Unity Front was born and growing, becoming a key force in the revolution of national liberation. He was the writer for the Declaration, platform, and programs of the Viet Minh Front, later he himself proposed the foundation of Lien Viet Association to meet practical needs. As the Honorary

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Tr. 453.

¹⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 11. Tr. 262.

President of the Association, Ho Chi Minh had many active activities as well as direction to promote the development of the Front. His interest in each specific organization, individual, and job was very widespread and he himself became the soul of the great national unity bloc, thus, the Front work became favorable and expanding day by day. The perfection of the Front organization in March 1951 on the basis of unifying the two Viet Minh and Lien Viet organizations into the Lien Viet Front that revered Ho Chi Minh as the Honorary Chairman showed his great position and influence on the Front. From here, Vietnam National Unity Front has made great progress and contributed greatly to the task of defending and building the Fatherland.

Ho Chi Minh's system of views on the role, position, organizational principles and operation of Vietnam National Unity Front has been of immense value to the Vietnamese revolution, especially in the industrialization and modernization of the country in process nowadays.

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Chapter 16

HO CHI MINH'S THOUGHT ON RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

During the plenary session in Paris in 1987 to celebrate President Ho Chi Minh's 100th birthday, The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has recognized him as "Hero of national liberation and outstanding cultural figure". In Ho Chi Minh's contributions to the national liberation and construction, his ideas are really valuable in terms of religions and religious affairs. Going into details about the Ho Chi Minh thought on religion, this paper consists of three main parts: *firstly*, it shows an overview of Ho Chi Minh's thinking on religions before 1945, which focused mainly on criticizing the cohesion of colonialism and the churches during the invasion in Vietnam. *Secondly*, the paper points out Ho Chi Minh guidelines on religions and religious policies, focusing mainly on the following aspects: freedom of belief for all Vietnamese citizens; uniting non-religious and religious people; recognizing the cultural role, the human values of religions and religious ethics. *Finally*, the paper shows the way Ho Chi Minh handled the religious affairs in practice, which still remain as lessons for Vietnamese people nowadays.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh's thought on religion, religious affairs, ideology

Due to the historical situation of the country, Ho Chi Minh ideology on religions before 1945 focused mainly on criticizing the cohesion of colonialism and the churches in oppressing and exploiting the Vietnamese people. In his *Judgment of the French colonial regime*, he has a chapter on *Churchism*, condemning colonialism for taking advantage of religion in the process of invading Vietnam. In that chapter, he wrote: "The Lord is full of kindness and omnipotence. As the supreme creator,

he molded a race called superior to put on the back a race called inferior also molded by him. Therefore ... we know that the French Government decided to conquer Tonkin on the instigation of the colonial clergy sponsored by the third wife of Napoleon.”¹

Nguyen Ai Quoc used the famous Marxist thesis when addressing the International Conference of Farmers in Moscow (October 1923) for the first and also the last time, “The church is the opium of the world”; But we, thanks to Western civilization, have both the church and the opium.”² There was an opinion: “It was the collection of President Ho Chi Minh’s critical and condemnatory speeches in the 20s (of the twentieth century) that created a concentration, struck hard on the mind of readers. There may be Catholics and officials who would argue that the views of this period were Ho Chi Minh’s authentic and official view of religion and belief.”³

However, according to the opinion of Prof. Do Quang Hung, “How can someone raise a question like that, as the aforementioned criticism of Nguyen Ai Quoc is only aimed at political clericalism (Cléricalisme politique) and the policy of compromise with colonialism of the Vatican and some Western churches at the time, not the Catholic issue in general.”⁴

Besides, with a deep understanding of the culture, religion, history of the East and West as well as his own experiences, from the 20s of the twentieth century, “Nguyen Ai Quoc also sketched the basic outline of characteristics of some typical religions and religious figures, as well as religious consciousness of Vietnamese and East Asians.”⁵

In order to propagate Marxism—Leninism into Vietnam, Nguyen Ai Quoc researched and wrote about the situation of Vietnamese society as well as other colonial and dependent countries. Therefore, the issue of religion has emerged, although it has only had a modest position in his writings.

In his essay *Indochina International Communism*, Nguyen Ai Quoc wrote: “Now consider the historical reasons for allowing communism to penetrate easily into Asia, easier than in Europe.” Interestingly, Nguyen

¹ Hồ Chí Minh (2011). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 2. Tr. 112.

² *Ibid.* Tr. 229.

³ La Giang (1997). *Độc Hồ Chí Minh và vấn đề tôn giáo*. Công giáo và Dân tộc, số tháng 6.

⁴ Do Quang Hung (2008). *Vấn đề tôn giáo trong cách mạng Việt Nam — lý luận và thực tiễn*. Nxb Lý luận chính trị. Hà Nội. Tr. 119.

⁵ *Ibid.* P. 115.

Ai Quoc spent a long period of time analyzing the thought of Confucius, which stated, “The great Confucius (551 BC) initiated the universalism theory and spread the equality of asset.”⁶

In another article on Confucius, he also compared the way the Eastern kings exploited Confucius to how the Western empires exploited Christianity, “Confucius lived 2478 years before us. Since 2400 years ago, he has been worshiped by the Chinese people. All Chinese emperors called Confucius as the head of the sages and gave honorary honors to his successors.”⁷ Moreover, he also called: “The Annamites, please improve ourselves mentally by reading the works of Confucius, and about the revolution, we need to read the works of Lenin.”⁸

There is another document called “Visiting a communist soldier — Nguyen Ai Quoc”, which was written by Osip Mandelstam, a Soviet poet and journalist. The document was published in *Ogonyok (The Little Flame)*, 10-1923 in Moscow, when Nguyen Ai Quoc had just arrived to the Soviet Union. The article contains many unique thoughts of Nguyen Ai Quoc on the issue of religion and belief in the East and Vietnam.

Regarding family and society, he wrote,

“I was born in a Confucianism family... Young people in those families often study Confucianism. You know that Confucianism is not a religion but a science of moral experience and behavior. And on that basis they came up with the concept of “universal world” ... At native schools, the French teach people like parrots. They hid the people of our country from reading books and newspapers. Not only the books of new writers, but Rousseau and Montesquieu were also banned.”⁹

Regarding religions and beliefs, “The Annamites have no priests, no religions, in the European way of thinking. Ancestor worship is purely a social phenomenon. We have no priests. The elderly in family or the elders in community perform memorial services. We don't know what the charisma of priests is.”¹⁰ It can be said that “*These are the original essays on Eastern and Vietnamese religious studies* of Nguyen Ai Quoc, valuable predictions for researchers in our country today.”¹¹

Nguyen Ai Quoc was a professional revolutionary. Even though he could not spend time studying religion as an intensive field, it could be

⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 1. Tr. 47.

⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 2. Tr. 561.

⁸ *Ibid.* Tr. 563.

⁹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 1. Tr. 461.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* Tr. 463.

¹¹ Do Quang Hung. *Op. cit.* P. 117.

said that the first thesis on “national religious system”, regarding ancestor worship, in particular, saying that “The Annamites have no priests, no religions, in the European way of thinking” mentioned above were actually similar to the modern thoughts of European scholars of Eastern studies at that time.

After the August Revolution, as President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh faced religious issues directly and severely. According to some Catholic historians, Catholics “an anti-communist mentality” was formed from 1930—1931, mainly in the priesthood, especially after the Message of Pope Pius XI *Divini Redemptoris* on Communism and atheism (1937). In the South, the issue of Cao Dai and Hoa Hao became very complicated when the enemy aggressively took advantage and divided.¹² But in that difficult situation, Ho Chi Minh solved his religious affairs in an ingenious way. And the period 1945—1954 was also the period when Hồ Chí Minh had the best articles on religion. It can be said that after 1945, he had a system of views on religion and religious policy, focusing mainly on the following:

Freedom of belief for all Vietnamese citizens

The Declaration of Independence, which President Ho Chi Minh drafted and then promulgated on September 2, 1945, quoted and developed values of progressive ideologies on human rights from capitalist democratic revolutions. On September 3, 1945, just one day after the Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, President Ho Chi Minh chaired the first meeting of the Government Council. President Ho Chi Minh raised six urgent matters to be addressed, the sixth of which was “Ensure freedom to follow not to follow a religion and promote the unity of religious and non-religious people.”

Mobilizing the people to vote, stating the “Meaning of the General Election” so that the people could understand, Ho Chi Minh called: “In the General Election, everyone who wants to take care of the country has the right to stand for election; every citizen has the right to vote. No division between girls and boys, rich and poor, religion, race, class, party, every citizen of Vietnam has these two rights.”¹³

¹² *Ibid.* P. 119.

¹³ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 153.

And also in 1946, the first Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was born. In Chapter II: “Rights and obligations”, section B (rights), religious freedom of the people was determined: “All Vietnamese citizens have the right to freedom of belief.”

In the Outline of the Lien Viet Front, it is further asserted: “Respect and protect the right to freedom of belief of all citizens” (article 8).

During the launch of the Vietnam Labor Party after the Second Congress (1951) in Viet Bac, one more time, Ho Chi Minh emphasized: “We would like to add ..., to clarify to avoid any misunderstanding: ... the religious problem, the Vietnam Labor Party fully respects the right of freedom of belief of all people.”¹⁴

Thus, the freedom of belief of the people has been institutionalized by the Constitution and laws of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Legally, the people’s ownership has been confirmed; freedom of belief is carried out on a legal basis and it is also the commitment of the Revolution to the people, expressing a consistent thought: Respecting freedom of belief and non-belief in religion, against the points of misrepresentation, slander of the enemy: Communists forbid religion.

In 1954, in the *Congratulation letter to the Catholic people on the occasion of Christmas*, expressing his sadness at the tragic fate of some Christian leaving their homeland to migrate to the South and live a miserable life, Ho Chi Minh hoped that his compatriots would pray for God to bless those believers who were able to fight, demand to return to their homeland and ancestors. He also stated that, “On this occasion, I would like to remind everyone again: Our government honestly respects the belief of freedom.”¹⁵ Also on that occasion, when writing *Letter to Hai Phong compatriots*, Ho Chi Minh reminded, “People of all religions have the right to freedom of belief and freedom of worship, not to be fooled by fraudulent propagandists.”¹⁶

However, according to President Ho Chi Minh, religious freedom does not mean undisciplined, undermining all revolutionary achievements of the people. Religious freedom must aim to unite the entire people to regain independence for the Fatherland. In the letter to Bishop Le Huu Tu, Ho Chi Minh expressed his opinion: “... In a civilized country, there is freedom of belief, freedom of speech, not to slander others. Freedom of propaganda is not free of disrespect” and “Religious activities must not contravene the State’s laws.”

¹⁴ Nhân Dân, 25.03.1951.

¹⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 9. Tr. 206.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* Tr. 475.

Uniting non-religious and religious people

As a politician, Ho Chi Minh first paid attention to the issue of “Freedom of belief and solidarity between religious and non-religious people.” The originality of his thought on this matter is that he has tried to *create the theoretical basis for that solidarity and was very flexible but determined to ensure that solidarity.*

With the foresight of a politician and the sage's sensitivity, Ho Chi Minh soon found *the root and immutability* for the strategy of Great National Solidarity which is partly a “religious solidarity”. Speaking at the National Union Ceremony, Ho Chi Minh emphasized,

“In the old Buddha country, there were four parties that dispersed the people and harmed the Fatherland. But Vietnam today has only one party of people who are determined to gain independence. Buddhists believe in Buddha; Christians believe in God; just as we believe in Confucianism. Those are the religious leaders we believe in. But to the people, we must do nothing against the will of the people. What people want, we have to do it.”¹⁷

It can be said that he has found a common denominator to gather people's hearts and unite their religion, which is the benefit of the Fatherland, of the people, and the religion accompanies the people, “All our people, not to divide religious or non-religious people, to unite in solidarity and determination to resist the resistance, to preserve the Fatherland, but also to preserve the right to freedom of religion.”¹⁸

Ho Chi Minh said unity was “national policy”, not “political trickery”; which need to unite honestly and sincerely. Solidarity between religious and non-religious people is a “national policy” and an “honest and sincere” solidarity. For the sake of the unity of the entire people, no religious and non-religious compatriots are allowed to make the country independent, the people to be free, and in those freedoms there is religious freedom. Throughout Ho Chi Minh's writings on religions and beliefs, he wanted people to call “to unite more closely, to fight more vigorously, so that the day of victory and peace will soon come.”

Ho Chi Minh was very flexible to carry out the idea of solidarity between religious and non-religious compatriots. This can be seen in the delicate relationship between Ho Chi Minh and Bishop Le Huu Tu.

¹⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 169.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Tr. 544.

“By the end of October 1945, the Roman Holy See decided to ordain Bishop for Father Le Huu Tu. President Ho Chi Minh sent Bao Dai, adviser and a Government delegation, including Minister Nguyen Manh Ha (a layman) to Phat Diem to attend the ceremony. Then, on October 31, the Government Council met again under the chairmanship of President Ho Chi Minh to hear reports and learn from experience on Phat Diem mission, attending the episcopal ordination and the Catholic Congress. The Government’s correct religious policy has inspired many Catholic dignitaries. The Catholic congress unanimously supported Uncle Ho, asking the Government to send letters to clarify the attitude of Vietnamese Catholics to Anglican, French and American Catholics.”¹⁹

In November 1945, during a meeting presided over by President Ho Chi Minh, he asked the Government to send an advisory board of various members, including some famous religious figures such as Le Huu Tu, Ngo Tu Ha, some Confucian scholars like Bui Bang Doan and Bui Ky.²⁰

In mid-January 1946, President Ho Chi Minh visited provinces with many Catholic compatriots such as Hung Yen, Thai Binh, Ninh Binh, Nam Dinh and Ha Nam. While in Phat Diem, he met with Bishop Le Huu Tu, 100 priests and Buddhist representatives in the area. The Bishop, on behalf of the Catholic compatriots, promised to help Uncle Ho in the resistance war and national construction. Responding to the sincerity of fellow Catholics, President Ho Chi Minh said, “I have met Bishop Tu before, now I come here with zeal and intimacy, because Bishop Tu is my friend. Whether be or not Catholics should strive to fight for the independence of the country. Our mission is to uphold independence.” President Ho Chi Minh and the bishop and priests shouted, “Long live the charity of God!” In response to the Bishop’s second promise, Ho Chi Minh stated:

“The God sacrificed for mankind. He sacrificed for the sake of mankind, and we sacrificed for the independence and freedom of the nation. In Catholicism, there is a saying “The Three Members Unite”, while the Buddha has the phrase “All things are single-minded”, so we have to sacrifice for humanity and sentient beings.”²¹

¹⁹ *Hồ Chí Minh về vấn đề tôn giáo, tín ngưỡng* (1996). Viện Nghiên cứu Tôn giáo. Nxb Khoa học xã hội.

²⁰ Archive. Ho Chi Minh. Fond C12DVb97, the Party Central Office.

²¹ *Cứu Quốc*, 14—15.01.1946.

Respect for religious faith, persevere in patriotism and national solidarity, but Ho Chi Minh also reminded the entire Party and people to be vigilant and fight against the imperial forces who took advantage of religion to undermine unity.

President Ho Chi Minh was a communist with a materialist world-view and considered religion to be idealistic. He stated that “Spiritualism and materialism are opposites, obviously” (*Letter to Bishop Le Huu Tu on March 2, 1947*).

Surprisingly, however, Ho Chi Minh did not condemn religion in general and Catholicism in particular, but also praised the advantages and contributions of religions to the development of human. President Ho Chi Minh attended the ceremony to pray for the martyrs to sacrifice for the Fatherland held in Hanoi Cathedral on November 2, 1946 and he repeatedly “prayed” very sincerely:

“I pray God to help Vietnamese people to reach its final victory.” (*Christmas Letter, 1946*)

At the same time, he also called clergy and laity to perform the same religious act: “So, compatriots, pray God for the nation’s upcoming victory day. Pray God to always bless the people.” (*Christmas Letter, 1948*)

“I propose to all Catholics in this Christmas holiday to pray for the souls of the religious and non-religious soldiers who have deserted themselves for their country and pray for the victory of our Fatherland.” (*Christmas Letter, 1947*)

In order to be able to unite the religion, Ho Chi Minh always took the goal as a common point in the campaigning of religious dignitaries and followers. The goals of the Buddha, the God and the goals of the socialists set out to the extent that there could be differences, but all desired to live a good, happy and equal for human. For religious dignitaries and believers, it is necessary to arouse those good spirits and similarities. “The purpose our Government pursues is to fight for independence and bring happiness to the people. But to achieve that happiness for everyone, it is necessary to build socialism. If Jesus were born in our time and must put himself in the sufferings of his contemporaries, he would surely be a socialist who seeks to save mankind.” Ho Chi Minh has respectful and humble perceptions of religion. He found that in religions there is a moral and a philosophy suitable to today’s society. True religions will agree with each other and with the State to build a good society for the “people of God” as well as the children of Buddha (Buddhists) and believers of other religions.

Recognizing the cultural role, the human values of religions and religious ethics

Ho Chi Minh wrote,

“The Confucian doctrine has the advantage of personal moral cultivation.

The religion of Jesus has the advantage of great kindness.

Marxism has the advantage of a dialectical working method.

Sun Yat-senism has the advantage that its policy is suitable to our country’s conditions.

Confucius, Jesus, Marx, and Sun Yat Tien don't have those things in common? They all want to persuite the happiness of mankind and the welfare of society. If they were still alive today, if they gathered together, I believe that they would definitely live together as perfectly as close friends.

I try to be their little student.”²²

That passage demonstrates Ho Chi Minh’s spirit of being ready to acquire human cultural values, both Eastern and Western, ready to accept the humanistic and moral values of religions. “Perhaps, the brightest pearl in Ho Chi Minh’s thought about religious religion is that he soon acknowledged the issue on the cultural, moral and religious issues of human issues, not just an epistemological, ideological problem.”²³

From the past until now, the systems of philosophy, ideology, religion, morality and morality of the East and West have all wondered about human conditions and human values. For Ho Chi Minh, human values are the greatest, “everything is done by man.” It is true that with Confucianism, “Ethics is humanity”, with Buddhism, “Ethics is compassion”, with Christianity, “Ethics is charity” as Ho Chi Minh once wrote. Becoming a Marxist, Ho Chi Minh conceived of morality as “independence, freedom, socialism” for the people. In terms of “great personality”, Pham Van Dong has described deeply, “Uncle Ho has nothing of his own, what is of the country, of the people is his, the sovereignty of the country, the daily benefits of the people are his daily concern, his family is the Vietnamese family.”

²² *Những mẩu chuyện về đời hoạt động của Hồ Chủ tịch* (1949). Thượng Hải: Nxb Tam Liên.

²³ *Tư tưởng Hồ Chí Minh về dân tộc, tôn giáo và đại đoàn kết trong cách mạng Việt Nam* (2003). Hà Nội: Nxb Quân đội Nhân dân. Tr. 341.

As for “small personality”, Ho Chi Minh revealed himself to a foreign journalist.

“I absolutely do not want fame and fortune at all. Now I have to take on the President position, because I have entrusted the people, I have to try and do as well as the soldier obeying the Fatherland to the front. When people let me go, I would be happy to withdraw. I have only one desire, the ultimate desire is to make our country independent, our people are completely free, and everyone has food and clothing, everyone can study. As for me, I make a small house, where there are green mountains and blue rivers to fish, every morning and afternoon befriended the old man picking firewood, the children raising buffaloes, not involved in fame.”²⁴

The trend of religious and belief research is now directed to its cultural and ethical values as well as its “sociological character.” However, extracting those values is not easy. Because the values of culture, ethics in relation to the issue of religion — a special form of consciousness (the basis of a theology of the faith) — very easily are contradict and conflict. Ho Chi Minh belongs to the few who rise above humanity, able to maintain a balance and find the common denominator of those values to enrich people's emotional awareness.

The religious affairs

Vietnam has experienced over 30 years of *Doi Moi*. Among the achievements of the State of Vietnam is the achievement of religious affairs, the greatest advantage is to ensure that religious activities take place normally, comply with the law, and gather a large number of believers, contributing to great unity of the whole nation, against the conspiracy to divide of the enemy. At the same time, it also makes religions develop healthily, sticking more to the ethnic community. This is a very sensitive and complicated area because it is not only about the relationship between the State and religions, but it also expresses the relationship between the Party, the government and social organizations and the people who are religious believers. It is not only limited within the nation but also has international relations because many religions are international in themselves. Moreover, this issue has always been looked upon by hostile forces, taking advantage of other political and economic intentions. However, religious affairs in Vietnam also revealed the shortcomings that Resolution 25-NQ/TW of the Central Committee of the Party on

²⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 187.

March 12, 2003 “on religious affairs” pointed out. To overcome these shortcomings, we can find valuable indications in President Ho Chi Minh thought on religious affairs.

President Ho Chi Minh made a revolution to gain national independence, freedom as well as happiness for the people. But to make the revolution successful, there is no option other than to gather the strength of the entire nation. Meanwhile, religious compatriots are also a significant part of the community, so it is impossible for religious believers to stand outside this struggle that let the enemy manipulate or take advantage. Therefore, right from the early days of the revolution, Ho Chi Minh affirmed to unite the entire nation, regardless of party, class, and religion. This is the secret of success and also the mission throughout the Vietnamese revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, which was founded and trained by President Ho Chi Minh.

However, how to call for solidarity so that the people of all religions can believe that the call of solidarity is truly for the common good of the whole nation and for the sake of the religions themselves? Ho Chi Minh explained that only when the country was independent, could religions be free. The history of religions in Vietnam has proved that.

President Ho Chi Minh always believed in the people of all religions, although in the resistance there were some scuffles between religious believers and the government. Because of this belief, Ho Chi Minh gathered many religious people to hold high-level positions in the Government and National Assembly. For example, Bishop Le Huu Tu and Bishop Ho Ngoc Can are supreme counselors of the Government. Father Pham Ba Truc is the Standing Deputy Chairman of the National Assembly. Catholic intellectuals, such as Mr. Nguyen Manh Ha, Ngo Tu Ha and Vu Dinh Tung are Ministers in the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Mr. Cao Trieu Phat, Chairman of the 12 sect unity Cao Dai Association for National Salvation, is an Advisor to the Southern Administrative Resistance Committee.

In order for the people of all religions to truly believe in the policies of the Party and the State, right after reading the Declaration of Independence, President Ho Chi Minh solemnly declared: “Belief in freedom and solidarity between religious and non-religious people.” This opinion was quickly institutionalized by a later Ordinance signed by President Ho Chi Minh, most notably Decree 234 of June 14, 1955. This Ordinance both helps religions have a legal basis to operate and ensure that people of all religions can conduct normal religious activities without being prevented by anyone. Just as President Ho Chi Minh wrote in his letter to Bishop Le Huu Tu on February 1, 1947, “In the

Constitution we have clearly stated: the belief of freedom. If anyone does wrong the Constitution, provokes Catholic, he will be punished.” Although more than half a century has passed, the basic spirit of this Ordinance is still popular among the people of all religions, especially in the context of international integration today.

In addition, President Ho Chi Minh regularly reminded cadres when interacting with people of all religions, especially those doing religious affairs, need to really respect the beliefs of the people. This was stated in the order of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam issued on September 9, 1952, “The Government, the army and the mass organizations must respect the beliefs and customs of the people.” The spirit of this order also expresses the viewpoint that religious affair is the duty of everyone, every political and social organizations. Therefore, at many conferences from the Party Congress to the conference of training cadres of women, youth, police, Front, farmers... President Ho Chi Minh mentioned religion and religious affairs.

The shortcomings that many religious officials have are the prejudice and narrow attitude towards religious people. Ho Chi Minh considered it as an intimidating enemy “because it was destructive from within.” Ho Chi Minh indicated that “A narrow mind is also a narrow action. A narrow mindset has many enemies but few friends (such as a religious affair).” He reminded cadres when entering the house of religious people not to lie in front of the altar, when talking and propagating policies must also be careful and considerate. Ho Chi Minh has criticized officials who have committed acts that violate the beliefs and interests of religious people. Many cadres who do religious affairs only take care of their religious compatriots to join the resistance and national construction, and their religious affairs are left to the religious side. Speaking in modern language now, we are only concerned with the “Good life”, and “Beautiful religion” is the personal affairs of religion. This is the lack of dialectical conception, because “Good life” and “Beautiful religion” are inextricably linked. There is a new church, which is obviously “beautiful” because people have a nice place to worship, but the church is also a local cultural project, so it beautifies the whole society and it also proves show the right religious policies of the State. It encourages the religious compatriots to emulate social construction, which is also “good life”. Therefore, Ho Chi Minh always found examples to praise in localities. In Thanh Hoa, he praised Comrade Ly An who not only helped the people but also helped the church decorate the altar for Christmas. Talking to the officials of Nam Dinh province, Ho Chi Minh praised Ms. Nguyen Thi Kim for “walking

closely with the masses, understanding the moods of the masses, helping the masses to practically solve questions and difficulties in daily life.”

The religious affair is a very difficult and complicated task, so it cannot be done by specialized officials alone. President Ho Chi Minh collaborated with religious dignitaries to do this. Ho Chi Minh analyzed the causes of the disturbances in the religious area:

“On the one hand, there are light-hearted and easy-to-believe Catholics; on the other hand, there are low-level government officials who are not tactful, then troublemakers take advantage of the two factors in order to create an unhealthy atmosphere,” and propose a remedy, “we need to explain to Catholics a clear understanding of the Government’s policy as the bishop did. On the other hand, it is necessary to educate Government officials, as I am doing. That way, the troublemakers will no longer be able to divide us and unite the entire people.” (*Letter to Bishop Le Huu Tu on March 23, 1947*)

This is a very good model for religious officials today to learn. Perhaps, in Vietnamese history, there are few leaders as brave as President Ho Chi Minh when shaking hands, working closely with high-ranking dignitaries of religions. But thanks to this collaboration, the resistance was less bone-loss. He once informed the situation of the war with Bishop Le Huu Tu and suggested: “When the tactics need to break Tri Chinh Bridge, you will tell the local people in Phat Diem to destroy it. So please tell the people to break that bridge. At the same time make a bamboo pontoon bridge, so that people can travel again. When it is urgent, destroy pontoon bridge too.” (*Letter to Bishop Le Huu Tu on March 10, 1947*)

Doing religious affairs is to mobilize people of all religions to participate in resistance movements and national construction. However, launching a movement that needs to conform to the doctrines and laws of the religions is the most powerful movement. The movements to Save hunger, Winter soldiers, Pray for the martyrs who sacrifice for the Fatherland,... are true the spirit of “loving people as if you loved yourself” of Catholicism, of Buddhism, so the people of all religions enthusiastically responded. Therefore, President Ho Chi Minh also always encouraged the examples of religious individuals and collectives with achievements in the above movements. He wrote the letter to praise Father Le Van Yen in Bac Ninh who always took care of wounded soldiers, praised parishioners of Van Giao parish (Nghia Hung, Nam Dinh) for saving spending to raise money to support the “Winter of Soldiers” fund.

Personnel in charge of religious affairs has to be knowledgeable of doctrines and laws of religions in order to speak religious language with

religious people. President Ho Chi Minh is one such person. Not only did he write greetings and congratulations at Christmas, Buddha's birthday, but he also shared religious sentiments with believers. For Catholics, President Ho Chi Minh called them to "Serve God and the Fatherland", "Respect God, love the country." For Buddhists followers, he encourages believers to act in accordance with the Buddha's words, "The benefit of life, and selflessness." As for compatriots Cao Dai, Hoa Hao, he promoted "patriotism". Because of understanding religions, he knows how to refine the essence of religions. Talking about Confucius, President Ho Chi Minh wrote, "Although Confucius is feudal and although there are many things that are not true in Confucius' doctrine, good things in it should be learned." If there were bad things relating to religions, President Ho Chi Minh also harshly criticized them, such as taking advantage of religions to exploit people. Nonetheless, he never insulted religious teachings or beliefs.

In conclusion, Ho Chi Minh ideology on religion and religious affairs is still a great guide for religious researchers and officials in Vietnam today. Ho Chi Minh himself was also a model of a religious official, who was not only good at management arts but was also good at advocating religious people with flexible methods. Ho Chi Minh attracted a large number of religious people to follow the revolution not only by the right way but also with his passionate, sincere heart and profound knowledge about religion. That is the shining example that all religious workers now need to learn to bring religious work in Vietnam to meet the requirements of the country nowadays.

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PART 4
**HO CHI MINH AND THE FORMATION
OF A NEW CULTURE, MORALITY,
NEW MANKIND AND ECONOMICS
IN VIETNAM**

Chapter 17
**HO CHI MINH AS THE CONSTRUCTOR
OF THE NEW ERA CULTURE**



The President is conducting the performance of “The Unity” Song

The article is an attempt to consider the process of understanding world and national cultures by Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the Vietnamese revolution and the first President of Democratic Vietnam, his policy of cultural construction as a synthesis of national traditions and creative potentials of the country, embarked on the path of building socialism. Documentary facts reflect the life of Ho Chi Minh not only as a politician, but also as a creative personality, they show a certain cultural and historical context of the era, its contradictions and possible influence on the formation of the views of the Vietnamese leader, who realized the power of culture, as well as the importance of communication between cultures as the basis for strengthening mutual understanding and the driving force for comprehensive and sustainable development. This policy continues successfully and enjoys great international attention and support at the present time.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh, culture, national liberation, revolution, traditions, international recognition

In his essay Osip Mandelstam described Ho Chi Ming as follows: “The whole appearance of Nguyen Ai Quoc breathed with culture; not with European culture, but perhaps with the culture of future.”¹

In 1979 in the USSR there was issued the book “Ho Chi Minh. The Selected Works”, which contained his first essays and his “Poems from the Prison Diary”. The Preface by Konstantin Simonov opened with the words: “There was something ineradicably poetic in Ho Chi Minh’s appearance itself...”²

Both world and national culture and art in the broad sense are the objective context of Ho Chi Minh’s life and activity. What did Nguyen Ai Quoc, a revolutionary, see and understand abroad in the political processes of the early 20th century, when he looked for the way of national salvation? What did he, a poet of Confucian tradition, understand about the peoples of the just crashed Russian empire,³ in the midst of leaders and intellectuals of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks), such as V.I. Lenin, I.V. Stalin, L.D. Trotsky, N.I. Bukharin? Was he interested (to some extent) in classical and modern art, in particular in the works by D. Burljuk, V. Mayakovsky and others? In any case, he met them

¹ Mandel’shtam, O.E. *Nyuen-Aj-Kak. V gostyah u kominternščika*. Ogonyok, № 39, 23.12.1923. S. 10. URL: <http://mandelshtam.lit-info.ru/mandelshtam/public/nyuen-aj-kak.htm>.

² Simonov, K.M. (1979). *Predislovie*. In: Ho Ši Min. *Izbrannoe*. M: Progress.

³ The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the USSR, the Soviet Union) was a sovereign federative state, having united in 1922 more than 100 peoples and nationalities of Europe and Asia. URL: <http://www.sssr.su>, 26.12.1991.

both in Russia and in America. What books did he read? Was it “The One and a Half-Eyed Archer” by B. Livshits? Having no information about this we can’t in a certain way connect Ho Chi Minh’s life with cultural life of Europe, including Russia of the first quarter of the 20th century. Certainly, we can consider these questions in the aspect of “the role of the personality in history”, either the Russian personality, or the Vietnamese one, or that of the world.

In his book “Ho Chi Minh” Evgeny Kobelev has written: “Having arrived in Paris, he found an ordinary house in Gobelins street. The house belonged to Phan Van Truong, a barrister, who gave up a room at the top to Thanh (the name of Ho Chi Minh at that time. — *V.L.*) In the same house there was Phan Chu Trinh’s photographic studio; they hired Thanh as a retoucher. In his childhood, learning calligraphy, he achieved excellent skill in using the brush, and soon he became a good retoucher. Phan Van Truong helped Thanh to feel at home in the city, new to him. He was quite a new type of the Vietnamese intellectual for Thanh. Truong was acquainted with a lot of progressive French writers, painters, and politicians; he was interested in politics, especially in socialist theories; one could always see books by Marxist authors on his desk.”⁴

Certainly, the story of the first cultural contacts with Vietnam will be supplemented with new data. The study of Ho Chi Minh’s life and activity in the 1920s and 1930s acquires its importance, because the positive experience of the cooperation with Vietnam to some extent levels the processes, which entailed transformation of the USSR in the early 1990s. Negative information about Bolshevism which appeared before and during Perestroika, led to the radical reappraisal of Russian social life, different from the official, extremely positive appreciation, which even now remains objectively the same, as far as the achievements of the Soviet power are concerned. Apparently, in that situation the attitude of foreign states and their representatives may have a very broad specter, — from hostility and desire to distance themselves up to understanding that the Russians did not commit their lives to the October Revolution in vain.

Could Ho Chi Minh, while abiding in the course of ideas of socialist transformations, even though his main idea was one of national independence, avoid nonviolent transformations in Vietnam, having chosen national traditions and culture to be such means of escape? History of

⁴ Kobelev, E.V. (1983). *Ho Sĩ Min*. M.: Molodaya Gvardiya.

Vietnam of the 20th century answers this question in negative. But to what degree?

Thus, in August 1945 Ho Chi Minh found a kind of consensus with the Vietnamese monarchy, being itself the embodiment of the millennial Vietnamese tradition, also in its cultural aspect. He was free of motifs of private revision of relations with the last Nguyen and he must have seen that colonialism (what is well known now; what Vietnamese publications are about) carried a significant transformation in Vietnam, building schools, hospitals, factories, railways and organizing scientific activities (for instance, Pasteur Institute of Nha Trang).

At the same time, it is noteworthy, that though Bolshevism and V.I. Lenin gave a precious idea of the national liberation way to Ho Chi Minh, his policy of constructing a new state was close to Confucianism in many aspects. A real imperative was apparently to develop also with regard to creation of a new culture.

We remember that cultural activity was part of work carried by the Viet Minh, the league, created by Ho Chi Minh and in early 1944 joined with some groups of patriotic intellectuals, the Association of cultural workers for salvation of the Fatherland among them (writers Nguyen Dinh Thi, Nam Cao, Nguyen Hong, To Hoai, Nguyen Huy Tuong). Later, they created several groups in the Viet Minh (“The Group of Advanced Culture”, “The Group of Learning Marxism”, “The Group of Learning History of Vietnam”).⁵

Of course, one can see Lenin’s words in Ho Chi Minh’s “...the main goal of culture is to serve <...> *the millions and tens of millions of working people — the flower of the country, its strength and its future.*”⁶

It is clear that Ho Chi Minh’s cultural theory expressed the reaction to the thesis that “Developing capitalism of the 19th century in its colonial practice often based itself on the idea of local population to be barbarians <...> who must “be civilized”. Such imposition of standards and values of an alien lifestyle necessarily met resistance, which in time was politized in national liberation movements and revolutions.”⁷

In 2001 Hanoi publishing house “Lao Dong” issued the book “Ho Chi Minh’s Ideas on Building a New Culture in Vietnam” (ed. Bui

⁵ *Istoriya vtoroj mirovoj vojny 1939—1945 gg.* / A.A. Grechko (ed.) (1977). T. 8. M.: Voenizdat. S. 303—305.

⁶ Lenin, V.I. *Partijnaya organizatsiya i partijnaya literatura*. Polnoe sobranie sochinenij. M.: Politizdat, t. 12. S. 99—105.

⁷ Ryabenko, V. *Kul'tura i politika: vzaimosvyaz' i vzaimozavisimost'*. Čast' 2. URL: <https://magref.ru/kultura-i-politika-vzaimosvyaz-i-vzaimozavisimost/2/>, 24.06.2014.

Dinh Phong, PhD). The Introduction emphasizes: “*Ho Chi Minh’s ideology is the conjunction of national and world cultural values, creative application and development of Marxism—Leninism in real conditions of Vietnam with the goal of national liberation, class liberation, human liberation, building people’s democracy, active contribution into the development of civilization and progress of mankind.*”⁸

There is a process periodization of the formation of Ho Chi Minh’s ideology on constructing a new culture in Vietnam:

- I. The period before 1945.
- II. The period of 1945—1954.
- III. The period of 1954—1969.

These are the titles of the sections of the book:

- I. Building a new culture on the basis of the nation as a root for the reception of cultural values of mankind.
- II. Ho Chi Minh’s ideology on building a new man.
- III. Ho Chi Minh’s ideology on building a new lifestyle.
- IV. Ho Chi Minh’s ideology on building revolutionary literature and art.

The third part of the book is “The application of Ho Chi Minh’s ideology for building a new culture in the epoch of increasing industrialization and modernization.”

Nguyen Ngoc Quyen, a philosophy teacher in Hanoi art college, writes: “From Marxism—Leninism standpoint, development of culture is closely connected with development of social and economic forms, as Ho Chi Minh took into consideration not only the world character, but also a specific character of culture, which reflected ideological consciousness of the ruling class in a society.”⁹

Applicating the said principle of Marxism—Leninism in practice to the national liberation revolution and to socialist building in Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh suggested that modern elements of ethnical culture should be formed and developed taking into account specific changes in this country. In particular, he recommended to realize *economic building not only in its direct sense, but also to create a new culture*. The socialist revolution in Vietnam consists (so Ho Chi Minh) in “radical change of

⁸ Dinh Phong Bùi, Ngọc Anh Phạm (2001). *Tư tưởng Hồ Chí Minh về xây dựng nền văn hóa mới Việt Nam*. Hà Nội: Nxb. Lao động.

⁹ Nguyễn Ngọc Quyên (2004). *Tư tưởng Hồ Chí Minh về văn hóa và vấn đề bảo tồn bản sắc văn hóa dân tộc*. Tạp chí Triết học, số 11(162). URL: <http://philosophy.vass.gov.vn/nghien-cuu-theo-chuyen-de/Triet-hoc-Mac-Lenin/Tu-tuong-Ho-Chi-Minh-ve-van-hoa-va-van-de-bao-ton-ban-sac-van-hoa-dan-toc-125.html>

lifestyle, of habits, thinking and prejudices with deep millennial roots... We must transform this ignorant, unhappy country into the country of high culture and happy life.”¹⁰

In all likelihood, under the world character of culture Ho Chi Minh meant its universal potentialities typical to Vietnamese culture, too. The existence in Vietnam of only a certain fragment of that world bourgeois and aristocratic culture served, without doubt, both to a kind of free esthetic choice of its adherents and at the same time was that source of knowledge they could use and in any event hand over to the masses.

As early as the first quarter of the 20th century, long before his rise to power in 1945, i.e. before building a new democratic culture, Ho Chi Minh had sojourned in a number of foreign countries and he got interested to some extent both in world culture and in its impact on the situation in Vietnam.

It is known that cultural transformations in Vietnam were not so dramatic as in Soviet Russia in the 1920s, but such events occurred in the 1950s. They showed themselves especially in 1955–1958 in the Movement of the “Humanity Masterpieces” (*Phong trào Nhân Văn – Giai Phẩm*); its participants, cultural personalities, desired more freedom to express their political views. The movement was persecuted by the authorities of the DRV.

In April 1956 First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR A.I. Mikoyan left for Beijing and Hanoi to acquaint the leadership of the PRC and the DRV with a new Soviet line. That time many intellectuals in Vietnam were eager to read the speech by Liu Shaoyi, welcoming the course of “let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend,”¹¹ proclaimed by Mao Tse-Tung at the beginning of the same year.

On July 8, 1957 the campaign against “bourgeois right elements” was launched in China. That day Ho Chi Minh left for Beijing, North Korea, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. On the way back to Vietnam in the end of August 1957 he visited China again and met Chinese leaders. Chinese research-worker Cheng Yinghong believes that Ho Chi Minh could have been greatly impressed with the movement of “let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend.” The CPC leadership seemed to have granted the complete freedom of speech, to have agreed to ideological and political pluralism of the

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Phong trào Nhân Văn – Giai Phẩm*. Retrieved on December 21, 2019 from URL: https://vi.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phong_trào_Nhân_Văn_-_Giai_Phẩm.

Chinese society. Also, Marxism—Leninism in its Chinese form, the CPC ideological basis, was criticized. Some articles charged the Soviet Union with imperial intention, with the exploitation of China.¹²

The CPC leadership was dismayed by intensity of anti-Communist protests; they were not ready to carry on polemics with their ideological opponents. On June 8 the CC CPC adopted “Directions on the Organization of Forces for Counteroffensive against Right Elements”, eliminated recently given “freedom of speech” and started fighting with the ideological opponents. Soon “Renmin Ribao” (People’s Daily), the official press organ of the CC CPC, trying to explain somehow the unexpected political turns, wrote: “Since May 8 till June 7 our newspaper and other Party press organs at the direction of the CC have not protested against false views. It has been done to... let poisonous weeds to grow splendidly and let the people shudder at such a picture, being startled that there are such things in the world, and let them crush these nasty things with their own hands.”¹³

About a fortnight later having returned to Vietnam Ho Chi Minh published the article “To destroy the right ideological bias like splendidly grown poisonous weeds” (under the pen-name of Trần Lực), i.e. repeated the “Renmin Ribao” declaration. The “Humanity Masterpieces” movement was suppressed. Earlier the “Nhân Dân” editorial board wrote: “We can’t let anybody use democratic freedom and the freedom of speech to separate people from the Party.”¹⁴

It was clearly the only attitude for Ho Chi Minh. He could not accept such “a freedom of speech” which was an alarming echo of the protests in Eastern Europe (in Poland, Hungary and Georgia) as well as the situation in the South of Vietnam.

“One of the most attractive aspects of President Ho Chi Minh’s activity was his ability to concentrate on his long-term vision, even despite the fact that he met many urgent problems. That is why when we go back to Directive 65 dated November 23, 1945, demanding for the immediate protection of cultural and historical relics, we see that the problem of cultural legacy was not a trivial one for him. He understood the importance of cultural originality of the country for independence and liberation movement. That is why he created the first legal tool for the protec-

¹² Meliksetov, A.V. *Perehod Kitaya k sotsialističeskomu strooitel’stvu. Istoriya Kitaya*. Retrieved on Decemer 21, 2019 from URL: <https://history.wikireading.ru/96366>.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Nhân Dân, 16.09.1957.

tion of cultural legacy. He knew that culture is the most important basis and force of the nation”, notices Michael Croft, the UNESCO representative.¹⁵

An example of such a concentration is his “Letter to artists on the occasion of the opening of the painting exhibition of 1951”, consistent with the tasks of the wartime: “Literature and art are the front, too. And you are soldiers of this front.”¹⁶ “Literature and art like any other sphere of human activity can’t stand aside from life. They are connected both with economics and politics.”¹⁷

What can be said about the work of Ho Chi Minh himself? Thus, present-day Vietnamese criticism describes his poem “In the Twilight” (*Chiều tối*), one of the five poems he wrote on the way from Guangxi to Thien Bao (Yunnan), when as a prisoner of Chiangistlers he walked 50 km in a day. In the poem he describes a bird’s flight:

*“A tired bird flew back to the forest,
The clouds are flying on the edge of the sky.
In the village a girl is grinding mais.
Scarlet sparks have flown up over the oven.”*

Let us compare: “Chim bay về núi tối rồi” [At night a bird flew back to mountains] (a folk song), “Chim hôm thoi thóp về rừng” [In the dusk a bird flew back to the forest] (a story of Kieu), “Ngàn mây gió cuốn chim bay mỏi” [Among thousands clouds and winds a tired bird is flying] (Bà Huyện Thanh Quan).¹⁸

Having returned to the past, it is worth to remember that Ho Chi Minh lived in the epoque of the first movies. Perhaps, he saw “Battleship Potemkin” by S. Eisenstein which came out in the USSR in 1925, though that year he had already worked at the Soviet Consulate in Canton. Of course, he was not an ordinary spectator, but a revolutionary and a politician. We are interested in this case in connection with what the book “Cinema / Capital” says. We return to the events of the first half of the 20th century. Even though there is no direct connection, we see that Ho Chi Minh joined the ranks of those who brought the contempo-

¹⁵ *Central province celebrates 20 years of UNESCO recognition*. URL: <http://vietnamnews.vn/life-style/535139/central-province-celebrates-20-years-of-unesco-recognition.html#eM5aH8Uyi3cqUiGI.99>, 09.09.2019.

¹⁶ Ho Sĩ Min (1959). *Pis'mo hudozhnikam v svyazi s otkrytiem vystavki zhivopisi 1951 g.* In: Ho Sĩ Min. *Izbrannye star'i i reči*. Moskva. S. 386.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* S. 387.

¹⁸ *Phân tích bài thơ Chiều tối của Hồ Chí Minh*. Retrieved on October 10, 2019 from URL: <https://vanmau.edu.vn/phan-tich-bai-tho-chieu-toi-cua-ho-chi-minh/>

rary (but “old”) world in a verdict. This verdict was brought by Lenin, Trotsky and others, who conveyed this thought so definitely to everybody: the verdict to the world overshadowed by God, while Man put himself over Creator, or, rather, took the place of God. The verdict to the old world is “the intellectual and ethical challenge, a matter of mind and ensuing reflexion.”¹⁹ Certainly, Ho Chi Minh realized that he was in a creative process. That was his own (author’s) vision of the new creation of the world. He had landed, and the land was the stage and the scene of “the violence of a magic emperor, of his center, his net, his only blow” for him.²⁰ Nevertheless, his distinguishing feature was that “In due time he acknowledged himself to be a small pupil of Karl Marx, Jesus Christ, Confucius, Sun Yat-sen,” because “they all have a common characteristic, they took care of the universal Good for Humanity... If they were alive and lived side by side, they would live freely like good friends.”²¹

In the sense of our deductions it is worth to remember that the word “art” can be applied to politics, as such. Could the well-known “Politics is the art of the possible”²², serve the guiding line for Ho Chi Minh, when evaluating the situation in the world, in Indochina, in Vietnam? Judging by his theoretical legacy, called now “Ho Chi Minh’s ideas” (this definition is interpreted differently by specialists on Vietnamese studies) and by their embodiment in life, this principle made an important foundation in the aspect of a “possible” synthesis of national traditions and culture of the new epoch.

Apparently, Ho Chi Minh did not strive to the radical breaking of the old world, however the complicated situation in the contemporary world could not help dictating its own conditions. There is no doubt that while in the Whampoa Military Academy, organized by Sun Yat-sen, he knew that M.M. Borodin said: “After the victory of the revolution in Soviet Russia we realized the Soviet democratism, i.e. de-

¹⁹ *Kino / capital* (2018). SPb.: Seans. S. 222.

²⁰ Deleuse, G., Guattari, F. *Tysyača plato: Kapitalizm i šizofrenija*. Retrieved on October 11, 2019 from URL: <https://litresp.ru/chitat/ru/%D0%94/delez-zhilj/kapitalizm-i-shizofreniya-kniga-2-tisyacha-plato>.

²¹ Chan Zan Tien (1949). *Povest’ o Ho Ši Mine*. Shanghai (in Chinese).

²² The source is the interview of the “iron chancellor” of Prussia (later Germany) Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898), given by him (August, 1867) to “Peterburgskaya gazeta”, issued in Sankt-Petersburg in German. The sense is the following: Politics (if it is effective) has to do only with reality, with achievable goals. Everything beyond the possible (the real) is not politics, but mere aspirations, empty declarations etc. Retrieved on October 11, 2019 from URL: <http://www.bibliotekar.ru/encSlov/15/123.htm>.

mocratism in the broadest sense, the democratism of millions of workers and peasants. We consider the Soviets to be the most democratic state form. Naturally, the word “democracy” you understand on the basis of Chinese reality. In any event, we have realized two of three principles of yours, namely: nationalism and democratism. In Soviet Russia we have created the state of free nationalities and the most democratic system. As far as the third principle is concerned, the principle of socialism, we have created political and economic conditions to let its realization be possible”²³.

The history of the events of that period shows that Ho Chi Minh chose “nationalism” and “democracy” in that interpretation, according to the line of Soviet and Chinese Communists, of Mao Tse-Tung, but not of Chiang Kai-shek, what predestined the course of events in Vietnam for decades to come.

Some available materials show Ho Chi Minh’s relations with the sphere of culture and art, which, without doubt, were the inherent basis of his political activity. It is impossible to be outside art, while struggling for the new art. Like in social ethics of Confucius, in Ho Chi Minh’s social ethics the personality is one not for itself, but for society.

As a poet and a writer, he deserved such an estimation: “President Ho Chi Minh was a great writer, the initiator and the founder of the revolutionary prose of our country. He sought and tried to write in various prosaic genres, such as travel notes, fantastical novels, stories, letters, essays, plays, feuilletons, social and political journalism. In each genre he obtained original achievements, which brought new, modern factors, actual for the renovation of the present-day literature.”²⁴

He knew painting; and though he was not a painter himself, he had a grasp of painting subjects and technics,²⁵ and he was fond of music.

“Ho Chi Minh used to attend to traditional national martial arts. Despite hundreds worries and thousands of affairs, he always hardened his body, practiced martial arts to increase good health, to be ready to fight, to serve the people and to govern the country.”²⁶

²³ Čerepanov, A.I. (1964). *Zapiski sovetskogo voennogo sovetnika v Kitae* (1924—1927). AN SSSR. Institut narodov Azii. S. 32.

²⁴ *Hành trình trở về từ Nga của bác chân dung Bác Hồ*. Retrieved on October 11, 2019 from URL: <https://baomoi.press/hanh-trinh-tro-ve-tu-nga-cua-bac-chan-du-ng-bac-ho.html>.

²⁵ *50 Bức Ảnh Lịch Sử Về Chủ Tịch Hồ Chí Minh*. Retrieved on October 11, 2019 from URL: <https://hinhanhvietnam.com/50-buc-anh-lich-su-ve-chu-tich-ho-chi-minh>.

²⁶ Ho Ši Min (2016). *Biografiya*. Hanoi: Političeskaya teoriya. S. 815.

V.N. Kolotov in his report “Sun Tzu’s Stratagematics as one of Compounds of Ho Chi Minh’s Ideology” paid attention to the little-known role of “The Art of War” by Sun Tzu in the making of Ho Chi Minh’s ideology. In 1945, soon after the declaration of independence on the eve of the breaking of the First Indochina War, Ho Chi Minh translated the treatise into Vietnamese and ordered to use both the translation and his commentaries to it as the textbook for training of the People’s Army of Vietnam. The development of strategic thought significantly strengthened the DRV positions both on the battlefield and in the course of diplomatic battles with French colonizers.²⁷

We could not find the better conclusion for our article than the story of Diep Minh Chau, a sculptor and an acquaintance of Ho Chi Minh, by Yana Lukashvskaya, an art historian.



Sculptor Diep Minh Chau (1919—2002). Uncle Ho and Children. 1990

²⁷ Kolotov, V.N. (2019). *Problemy istoriografii stran YuVA na XXX mezhdunarodnom kongresse po istočnikovedeniyu i istoriografii stran Azii i Afriki*. V'etnamskie issledovaniya. Seriya 2, № 3. S. 93.

“The most famous picture by Diep Minh Chau was quite a small one, “Uncle Ho and three children” having been drawn with his own blood on a piece of paper in the field in a partisan group. The three children are not for no particular reason, said the author, the three ordinary children of a number of those who desired to touch the people’s favorite and hero are a symbolic image of the three parts of Vietnam — North, Central and South. It was a symbolic letter of a soldier from the front about the necessity to unite in the name of salvation of the country and people’s unity. In 1949 he was transferred to the North of Vietnam; there he often associated with Ho Chi Minh and the image of the hero became closer and clearer to the artist. In several years he made more than thirty pictures both silk and varnish painting, dedicated to Ho Chi Minh.”²⁸

In 1987 at the 24th Session of the General Assembly of UNESCO Resolution № 24C/18,65 was adopted, which recommended the Member States to join in the celebration of the centenary of President Ho Chi Minh (“Vietnamese hero of national liberation and great man of culture”) with the aim “to spread knowledge of the greatness of his ideals and of his work for national liberation.” The Resolution also said that “the international celebration of the anniversaries of eminent intellectual and cultural personalities contributes to the realization of the UNESCO objectives and to international understanding.”²⁹

In 1990 in Hanoi there was held the international conference “President Ho Chi Minh, the hero of national liberation movement, an eminent cultural personality,” which confirmed international interest to Ho Chi Minh’s activity in the sphere of culture.

The UNESCO General Director Irina Bokova in her speech at the celebration ceremony of the 30th anniversary of the adoption of the UNESCO resolution on President Ho Chi Minh celebration, organized by the UNESCO Permanent Mission of Vietnam, declared that President Ho Chi Minh was the personality of great heart and mind. President Ho Chi Minh understood well the important force of education to get the right for self-determination of every nation and every person as expressed in his words: “the decennial good is to plant a tree, the cen-

²⁸ Лукашевская, Ya.N. *Muzej izobrazitel'nogo iskusstva goroda Hošimina*. URL: https://www.wm-painting.ru/Muzei_Yugo-VostochnoiAzii/p2_articleid/1303, 1.02.2019.

²⁹ *Prezident Ho Ši Min, geroj natsional'no-osvoboditel'nogo dvizheniya, krupnyj deyatel' cul'tury*. URL: 729250-президент-хо-ши-мин---вьетнамский-герой-национального-освобождения-и-выдающийся-культурный-деятель.html, 26.11.2017.

ennial good is to educate people.” Also, President Ho Chi Minh deeply understood the force of culture, saying that “culture lights up the way of the people,” as well as the importance of association between cultures as the basis for the strengthening international understanding and a driving force of comprehensive and stable development.³⁰

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³⁰ *Ibid.*

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Chapter 18

HO CHI MINH AS A CULTURAL FIGURE OF INTERNATIONAL SCOPE

The article discusses the creative activity of Ho Chi Minh in the context of the dialogue of cultures of various countries. The author sets himself to show the international scope of Ho Chi Minh's activity in cultural sphere. A broad set of criteria (both substantial and formal ones) is used to determine the significance of Ho Chi Minh as a creative person. The author examines Ho Chi Minh's activity range in cultural sphere, his merits and contribution to it, as well as limits, character and the depth of the influence of his works on social consciousness of Vietnam and other countries, the degree of his renown and recognition in the world as a cultural figure. It is shown that at first with his works and later, when he was the President of DRV, with his foreign policy Ho Chi Minh promoted the active entry of Vietnam in the universal cultural space and at the same time the transition of the Vietnamese culture to a new developmental stage with (typical of it) perception and adaptation of European artistic traditions. Special attention is given to Ho Chi Minh's literary legacy in the context of the dialogue of cultures.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh, a cultural figure of international scope, Ho Chi Minh's literary legacy, Vietnamese culture, international cultural cooperation of Vietnam, dialogue of cultures

Ho Chi Minh is known worldwide as the leader of the Vietnamese revolution and the first President of DRV, as the patriot and defender of his Motherland, as the great humanist and cultural figure. It is noteworthy that the significance of his contribution to cultural development exceeds national frameworks; his literary and artistic activity was of international character and promoted the development of cultural cooperation of Vietnam with other countries.

There is a rather large set of criteria to determine the scale and significance of a person. They may be divided into the two groups: *substantial criteria* (the activity scope, merits and contribution to this or that sphere, limits, character and the depth of the influence on the social consciousness and historical development) and *formal ones* (the degree of renown and recognition).

Ho Chi Minh's activity in cultural sphere as seen from the positions of substantial criteria

Ho Chi Minh's talent showed itself above all in fiction. He wrote poetry, stories and lampoons, made translations from foreign languages; he was the author of some articles on problems of literature and art. One can note that in sum his works of fiction and journalistic are not many, but one must bear in mind that his priority was politics, not literature. Besides, the quantity is not so important, as his contribution to the development of national literature and the influence of his works on the society.

As we know, Ho Chi Minh wrote his works in Vietnamese or Classical Chinese and French. It was France where he initially joined in European culture. Ho Chi Minh was not the only Vietnamese who used French in his literary works. It was important, because French promoted the entry of Vietnamese literature into the space of world literature. Ho Chi Minh, like any other Vietnamese author, who used French, strove to make his works easily understood by foreign readers.

Besides, French usage was one of the ways to master European creative experience. It paved the way to percept Western literary traditions and artistic principles, European genres, new stylistic peculiarities, subjects, topics and heroes. Ho Chi Minh wrote his early works in the 1920—1930-ies, the time when the new Vietnamese literature originated. The essence of this process was the transition from traditional literature to modern literature of the European type. At that time Vietnamese writers increased their commitment “to reflect the new reality, new heroes and changes in every-day life, to become free of traditional conventionality and to bring the representation nearer to the reality, to refuse “happy end” and out-of-date language”¹. As the result of cardinal changes, Vietnamese literature got a new quality and a new face. Ho Chi Minh, who made in his works for the achievements of European litera-

¹ Filimonova, T.N. (2017). *Očerki v'etnamskoy literatury XX veka*. Moskva: Yazyki narodov mira — TEZaurus. S. 41.

ture, contributed his own share to the result. Rather boldly he integrated himself into the new esthetics. With his works and his views on art Ho Chi Minh determined greatly the paths of literary development of DRV.

In Ho Chi Minh's prose, one can't help noticing the influence of European culture. Thus, his story "The Diary of a Shipwrecked" (*Nhật kí chi?m tàu*) safely integrated in the adventure genre, popular in Europe: the story tells about three shipwrecked friends (a European, an African and a Vietnamese), who were saved by Russians and arrived in the USSR. The attention is drawn to the international composition of the group in the work.

As far as the story "The Lamentations of Lady Trung Trac" (*Lời than vãn của bà Trưng Trắc*) is concerned, some literary critics suppose that the phenomenon of Trung Trac ghost was inspired with "Hamlet" by Shakespeare.² The name of Hamlet is mentioned in the story.³ William Shakespeare was one of the favorite European writers of Ho Chi Minh, equally with Charles Dickens, Victor Hugo and Emile Zola.⁴ Also, Ho Chi Minh tried his forces in dramatic art. In 1922 he wrote a comedy in a new style, different from the Vietnamese tradition. In "The Bamboo Dragon" (*Con rồng tre*) the object of satire was the puppet emperor Khai Dinh, who arrived at the colonial exhibition in Marceille. The stories "Paris" and "Incognito" (*Vi hành*) are noteworthy. They were published in 1922—1923 in "L'Humanité" with the mark "from the letters to my cousin"; their genre is similar to the epistolary works by such French writers as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Pierre Choderlos de Laclos etc.

To tell the truth, in his literary activity Ho Chi Minh "was inspired" not by one of his Western idols, but by the great Russian writer Leo Tolstoy. Ho Chi Minh called himself a disciple of Tolstoy.⁵ During his sojourn in France he read the novels "War and Peace", "Anna Karenina", "Resurrection" in French translation. "Tolstoy's style was so simple and clear, that I was fascinated. On a youthful impulse, — told Ho Chi Minh, — I jumped out of bed, though that winter was frosty, and it was especially cold in my small room in the hotel. I said aloud: "It is not difficult at all to write a small story. I can write, too!" ... Next morning I began to write. It was difficult enough. Every day I was to write since

² Nikulin, N.I. (1979). *Ho Sĩ Min i yego literaturnoe tvorčestvo*. In: Ho Sĩ Min. *Izbrannoe*. Moskva: Progress. S. 270.

³ Hồ Chí Minh (2000). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 1. Tr. 78.

⁴ Nikulin, N. I. *Op. cit.* S. 271.

⁵ *Pamyati Tolstogo*. Literaturnaya gazeta, 19.11.1960.

5:00 till 6:30 AM, because by 7:00 AM I was to get to the workshop. My fingers often became numb with cold. In a week of hard work, I finished my story.”⁶

As far as Ho Chi Minh’s poetry is concerned, it reflected its author’s Western experience, too. Thus, though his well-known poetic cycle “Poems from the Prison Diary” was written in co van, the Vietnamese variant of Wenyan, Classical (Literary) Chinese, and in the tang type of versification, it reveals individual creativity, typical for the Western model of artistic conscience. The central category of the poetics of this work is not its *genre*, but its *author*.

The origin of literature of modern type in Vietnam chronologically coincided with the origin of the Vietnamese revolutionary art based in many aspects on the mastering of foreign experience. Many researchers point out that revolutionary literature is international in its essence. “Vietnamese revolutionary literature originated as the expression of international solidarity of the colonial peoples and international communist movement.”⁷

The concrete confirmation of this thesis is Ho Chi Minh’s creative activity. As a matter of fact, his whole life, including the creative one, is the embodiment of internationalism. He is considered to be the founder of Vietnamese revolutionary literature. In his journalistic practice Ho Chi Minh revealed himself as a gifted publicist on international affairs. “The subject matter of his articles is diverse enough, and the range of the problems actual for the Vietnamese author is large. He exposes the brigandage of French colonizers in Indochina and of English imperialists in China, he writes on the labor movement growth in China, Japan and Turkey, on the situation of peasantry in Asia...”⁸ His works influenced the forming of revolutionary thought not only of the Vietnamese, but also that of representatives of other nations, above all, the peoples of colonial countries.

Having learned life on various continents during 30 years of his emigration, Ho Chi Minh considered his duty “to discover” the world for his compatriots. In Ho Chi Minh’s literary works traditional chronotopes of Vietnamese literature (villages, fields, rivers) give way to the chronotope of town (foreign town at that) and to the chronotope of country (foreign country at that). He writes about France, Brazil and the

⁶ Nikulin, N.I. *Op. cit.* S. 269–270.

⁷ Nikulin, N.I. (1977). *Vietnamskaya literatura. Ot srednih vekov k novomu vremeni (X–XIX vv.)*. Moskva: Nauka. S. 306.

⁸ Kobelev, E.V. (1983). *Ho Ši Min*. Moskva: Molodaya Gvardiya. S. 91.

Soviet Union, he translates works from French and Russian into Vietnamese. His special mission Ho Chi Minh considered to be the necessity to acquaint the Vietnamese with the USSR. That is why he was induced to write, in particular, the aforementioned story “The Diary of a Shipwrecked” about the three friends, who having found themselves in the Soviet Union, saw with their own eyes how a new life was being built. That is what Ho Chi Minh told on the idea of his work: “Our duty is to tell what the Motherland of all proletarians looks like. To fulfil the task, I am going to write a book (in Vietnamese, of course), a narration of the travel, with a great many The Complete Workss. I’d like it to be a lively, fascinating, easy reading-matter.”⁹ Ho Chi Minh was an eye-witness of the achievements of the Soviet Union. Before the victory of the revolution in Vietnam he sojourned in the Soviet Union more than six years: 1923—1924, 1927, 1934—1938.¹⁰ During the difficult years of the Resistance War against French colonizers, Ho Chi Minh finds time and translates into Vietnamese “The Clandestine Obkom in Action” by A. Fyodorov (*Đấy mạnh phong trào du kích*, 1951) — a book about the fight of Soviet partisans against fascist aggressors in the years of the Great Patriotic War.

Travelling round the world, Ho Chi Minh greedily absorbed varied impressions, studied European culture, met writers and artists. All of that played an important role in the forming his artistic and aesthetic ideals. During his sojourn in Paris, despite his being busy, Ho Chi Minh found time to see exhibitions. He visited not only the famous Louvre, but also small expositions. Here is the evidence of an eye-witness: “There were several dozen paintings at the exhibition... Nguen [Nguyen Ai Quoc. — *I.B.*] looked at every painting for a long time and compared his notes with his French friends. It was perceptible that he knew both art and French culture well. In answer to his words the French nodded their heads approvingly.”¹¹ Ho Chi Minh attracted to himself distinguished figures in the artistic sphere. Paul Vaillant-Couturier, a writer and an activist of the French labor movement, was his close friend. Henri Barbusse, another French writer, a journalist and a public figure, supported the young Vietnamese journalist in his work in the newspaper “Le Paria”. Ho Chi Minh was an acquaintance of Charles Spencer

⁹ Nikulin, N.I. *Ho Ši Min i yego literaturnoe tvorčestvo*. Op. cit. S. 271.

¹⁰ Kobelev, E.V. (2013). *Ho Ši Min i Rossiya*. In: *Rossijsko-v’etnamskie otnošenija: sovremennost’ i istoriya. Vzgljad dvuh storon*. Moskva: IDV RAN. S. 332.

¹¹ Bui Lam (1990). *Vstreči s Ho Ši Minom v Pariže*. In: *Ho Ši Min. Izbrannoe. Vospominaniya o Ho Ši Mine*. Moskva: Politizdat. S. 264.

(“Charlie”) Chaplin. Being the President of DRV, he received delegations of Soviet cultural figures, who came to Hanoi. The first such a delegation was a group of documentary filmmakers with Roman Karmen at the head, who shot the film “Vietnam” (1955) about the victory at Dien Bien Phu.

Not only in the sphere of politics and ideology, but also in the sphere of culture Ho Chi Minh appeared as a teacher and theorist. At that he often referred to his foreign experience. Thus, sharing secrets of his literary activity with the participants of the 2nd Congress of the Union of Journalists in Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh recalled such a story: “During my sojourn in the Soviet Union, Comrade L., a correspondent of “Gudok” newspaper, asked me to write an article and advised me to describe everything as it was: somebody did something, where, when etc., notifying in advance that it should be written in condensed form. Several years ago I visited the Soviet Union again. Comrade L. asked me to write an article again. But this time he said: “Don’t write in dull manner. Write artistically. Earlier the reader only wanted to know facts. Now times have changed, the life is better, the reader only likes what is interesting and fresh, what is written in a good literary style.”¹² Ho Chi Minh’s broad international cultural connections allowed him to draw parallels, to compare. On October 30, 1958, in his speech at the conference of cultural workers he mentioned: “Also, we must acknowledge that in comparison with fraternal countries, say, with Korea, we are inferior to it in the sphere of culture and technics... That is why everybody must learn hard and efficiently.”¹³

Being integrated deeply in the universal cultural space of East and West, Ho Chi Minh became an adherent of active international cultural exchange. For surely, it was thanks to Ho Chi Minh that in many aspects the development of cultural cooperation of the USSR and DRV was intensive in many spheres, such as literature, cinematography, theater and fine arts, though the 1950–1960-ies were the utmost difficult time for Vietnam: the country had to resist foreign aggressors. International cultural cooperation of DRV, above all with the USSR, served one of the significant factors of the victory of the Vietnamese in the two Resistance Wars. Thanks to this cooperation the Government of DRV received additional ideological and spiritual incentives in the fight with foreign enemies. Many of the first Soviet books translated into Vietnamese sang of the deeds in various historical circumstances. In 1946

¹² Ho Ši Min (1979). *Izbrannoe*. Moskva: Progress. S. 257.

¹³ *Ibid.* S. 248.

“Mother” by Maxim Gorki was edited; it had been translated in 1939.¹⁴ At the same time “The Story of a Real Man” by Boris Polevoy was issued. In the 1960-ies “The Young Guard” by Alexander Fadeev, “How the Steel Was Tempered” by Nikolay Ostrovskiy, “The Story of Zoya and Shura” by Lyubov’ Kosmodem’yanskaya were translated.¹⁵ The heroes of these books became models for many Vietnamese. Also, cultural cooperation was of great political significance, as it stabilized the positions of the new People’s Democratic State system in North Vietnam: the power, busy not only with the tasks of military politics, but also with the problems of culture, demonstrated its confidence in victory and showed perspectives of the future peaceful life.

Some sayings of Ho Chi Minh became aphorisms in Vietnamese; they surpassed the national boundaries and began to be heard in foreign countries: “There is nothing more precious than independence and liberty”, “[To have] as many friends as possible and as few enemies as possible” ... Moreover, the saying “There is nothing more precious than independence and liberty” entered the world literature. A recent example is “The Sympathizer”, a novel by Viet Thanh Nguyen, a Vietnamese American writer. The book was the best-seller in 2015, which won the 2016 Pulitzer Prize for Fiction. The last chapters of the novel are based on the playing upon the well-known Ho Chi Minh’s words.¹⁶ This is but one small special case, which confirms the rightness of Academician N.I. Konrad, who said that not only West influenced the literature of East, but also vice versa: “the links [of literatures of West and East] were mutual, but Western literary critics have not taken this fact into account appropriately.”¹⁷

Having used his sayings, which became catch phrases, and folk proverbs, Ho Chi Minh, being a creative man, formulated the principles of foreign policy of DRV. “When you drink water, remember the source” — such was Ho Chi Minh’s will to maintain and to strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union. The words “There is nothing more precious than independence and liberty” from his speech on the radio “Voice of Vietnam” (1966), became the slogan to unity and consolidation of the Vietnamese people under foreign threat. Ho Chi Minh’s wish to have “as many friends as possible and

¹⁴ Filimonova, T.N. *Op. cit.* S. 127.

¹⁵ Filimonova, T.N. *Op. cit.* S. 137.

¹⁶ Nguen Than’ V’et (2019). *Sočuvstvuyuşčiy*. Moskva: AST. S. 403.

¹⁷ Konrad, N.I. (1972). *Problemy sovremennogo sravnitel’nogo literaturovedenija*. In: *Zapad i Vostok*. Moskva: Nauka. S. 301—302.

as few enemies as possible”, expressed in his conversation with journalists in 1964, became the maxim of the renovation policy, proclaimed in 1986.¹⁸ Today these phrases are still actual for the foreign policy of SRV, determining the character of the political culture of the Vietnamese state.

Ho Chi Minh’s activity in cultural sphere as seen from the positions of formal criteria

It is above all the degree of renown and recognition. These criteria belong to formal ones, because they do not reflect the real significance of a personality. It is known that not all prominent cultural figures became generally known and received timely recognition; such examples in the history of world culture are numerous. Ho Chi Minh is a cultural figure of international scope. This is an objective fact, confirmed above all with his legacy and his participation in the world cultural process. This is what determines everything.

As far as Ho Chi Minh’s fame is concerned, he is undoubtedly known above all as a politician, who greatly influenced the course of history of Vietnam and the whole national liberation movement in the 20th century. Nonetheless there are many facts, confirming that Ho Chi Minh’s literary works are of interest not only in Vietnam, but also in other countries; they are read and known worldwide. Ho Chi Minh’s literary legacy is translated into many foreign languages. His most famous poetic work “Prison Diary” (*Nhật ký trong tù*) has been translated and edited in more than 30 countries.¹⁹ China was the first foreign country where “Prison Diary” was issued. The Chinese edition was timed to coincide with the 70th birthday of Ho Chi Minh. Later “Prison Diary” by Ho Chi Minh was translated and edited in the USSR (1960), Mongolia (1962), Poland (1962), France (1963), Hungary (1969), Portugal (1969), Denmark (1970), USA (1971), Great Britain (1972), Czechoslovakia (1973), Yugoslavia (1975), GDR (1976), Bangladesh (2012); it was translated into Japanese, Arabian, Lao, etc.²⁰ This is far from a full

¹⁸ Lokšin, G.M. *Ideji Ho Ši Mina vo vnešney politike V’etnama*. Retrieved on July 12, 2019 from URL: <http://naukarus.com/ideji-ho-shi-mina-vo-vneshney-politike-vietnama>.

¹⁹ Nguyễn Văn Dương. *Bạn bè quốc tế và tác phẩm “Ngục trung nhật ký”*. Retrieved on August 12, 2019 from URL: <http://ditichhochiminhphuchutich.gov.vn/articledetail.aspx?articleid=584&sitepageid=556#sthash.pjXkQBQW.W4c0BfGD.dpbs>.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

list of countries and languages. Besides, in some countries this work was translated more than once, by various translators.

In the Soviet Union there were issued several collections of Ho Chi Minh's works. That is why readers could and can now get acquainted with the literary works of the first President of DRV. The landmark event was the edition in 1979 in the series of "The Library of Vietnamese Literature" (15 volumes). A special volume of the series contained Ho Chi Minh's artistic and publicist works (the edition of fifty thousand copies!)

Of course, "Prison Diary", one of the main works by Ho Chi Minh, was included in this collection. It was translated into Russian by Pavel Antokolsky, a famous Soviet poet. In 1958 Antokolsky had a conversation with Ho Chi Minh. When they began to discuss poetry, the President of DRV told something what astonished the Soviet poet: "No, I am not a poet, for pity's sake! In the years of Resistance, we hid ourselves in caves and jungles of the North. Unfortunately, everybody had a lot of free time. That is why my comrades and I amused ourselves with writing poems. In Vietnam everybody writes poems." Later Pavel Antokolsky, a recognized master-poet, wrote about these words: "I believe, he was wrong, renouncing so definitely from his poetic works. I have convinced in this, when I was working at the translation of his "Prison Diary"." Antokolsky considered this poem to be the work of "great human cogency and poetical expressiveness."²¹

Do they read Ho Chi Minh's works in Russia now? There is no statistical data, of course, but there are many separate, often significant facts. Here is one of them: on the site of Alexey Popov, a Russian blogger, there are the following lines, which he wrote in April, 2018: "Recently I have read "Selected Works" by Ho Chi Minh, issued in Russian in Hanoi (1973). I bought this book in a second-hand bookshop, but only now I have found the time to read it." The book made the blogger "burst out" with a large article on the history of Vietnam and on the life of Ho Chi Minh.²²

Over the past 25 years special interest in the works by Ho Chi Minh and in Vietnamese literature in general has been noted in the South Korea. Of 30 books by Vietnamese authors, having been issued there during this period, five books are the works by Ho Chi Minh. In 1995, 2000, 2003, 2008 his "Prison Diary" were edited in Korean in

²¹ Antokol'skiy, P. (1990). *Tiuremnyi dnevnik*. In: Ho Ši Min. *Izbrannoe. Vospominaniya o Ho Ši Mine*. Moskva: Politizdat. S. 356—357.

²² Popov, A. *Uroki Ho Ši Mina*. Retrieved on August 12, 2019 from URL: <https://popoffich.livejournal.com/165825.html>.

various publishing houses and in various translations. In 2018 Korean readers received a collection of Ho Chi Minh's poetry, which contains 205 poems.²³

As far as the recognition of Ho Chi Minh's role and merits as a cultural figure is concerned, he received it from prominent artists, from social and political structures of the international association. A lot of Soviet writers and poets highly appreciated Ho Chi Minh's literary talent. Pavel Antokolsky's words have been cited above. Konstantin Simonov, another Soviet poet, the author of the poem "Wait for me", popular in Vietnam during the years of the Resistance Wars, wrote about the first President of DRV: "Not only as a theorist and a practitioner of the revolutionary movement, but also as a poet and a man of letters, Ho Chi Minh from the very beginning of his activity could look many years ahead. In his Faith there was the pledge of his elevated poetry, which has stood the test of time."²⁴

Another eloquent fact of the recognition of Ho Chi Minh as a cultural figure of international scope was resolution № C24/18.65 carried by the UNESCO General Assembly in 1987, which offered Member-States to join the celebration of the birth centenary of Ho Chi Minh, "the Vietnamese hero of the national liberation and *distinguished cultural figure*." The resolution emphasized: "The important and many-sided contribution of the President Ho Chi Minh to the spheres of culture, education and art is the result of thousand-year-old cultural traditions of the Vietnamese people, their ideals, being the embodiment of the people's expectations in foundation of their cultural originality and in increase of mutual understanding."²⁵ Every year Ho Chi Minh's birthday is celebrated in many countries, Russia among them. He is always considered to be not only a distinguished politician, but also a prominent cultural figure.

Ho Chi Minh's activity in the sphere of culture is of international scope. It is determined not only with exterior attributes of his work, i.e. with his usage of French for his literary works, with his choice of topics which surpass the frames of exclusively national interest, with the fact of

²³ Kyong-hwan Anh (2019). *Phuong án hoạt hóa việc biên dịch ra tiếng Hàn của văn học Việt Nam*. Tham luận hội nghị quốc tế quảng bá văn học Việt Nam lần thứ IV. Hà Nội: Hội nhà văn Việt Nam.

²⁴ Simonov, K.M. (1990). *Ho Sĩ Min — picatel', kritik, poet*. In: Ho Sĩ Min. *Izbrannoe. Vospominaniya o Ho Sĩ Mine*. Moskva: Politizdat. S. 414.

²⁵ *Prezident Ho Sĩ Min — v'etnamskij geroy nacional'nogo osvoboždeniya i vydayuščijsya deyatel' kul'tury*. Nhan Dan (on-line newspaper), 26.11.2017. URL: <https://ru.nhandan.com.vn/gapgodoithoi/gapgodoithoi-ykien/item/729250>.

the translation of his stories and poems into many foreign languages and the edition of collections of his poems, stories and articles on culture in many countries... The main thing is that with his works, as well as with his foreign policy (when a president of DRV) Ho Chi Minh promoted the active entry of Vietnam in the universal cultural space. At the same time, he supported the transition of Vietnamese culture to a new developmental stage, with (typical of it) perception and adaptation of European artistic traditions, the principles of socialist realism among them. Thirty years of his life Ho Chi Minh sojourned in poly-cultural space and acquired “international mentality”, which revealed itself not only in his revolutionary and political activity, but also in his works.

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Chapter 19

HUMANS AND HUMANITARIAN VALUES IN HO CHI MINH'S TESTAMENT

In the precious heritage that President Ho Chi Minh (1890—1969) left for our Party and people, such works as *Declaration of Independence*, written in the last days of August 1945, *Call for National Resistance* in December 1946, *Call for National Salvation and Fight against the United States* in July 1966, and the historical *Testament* in 1969 are especially important. The *Testament* has shown and summarized President Ho Chi Minh's great thoughts and ideas, in which there were many thoughts, plans and wishes on humans in pre- and post-war time, reflecting President Ho Chi Minh's deep affection for the people and containing deep humanitarian values.

Keywords: human, humanitarian values, testament, President Ho Chi Minh

Independence for the nation, freedom for the people

One of the most encompassing and expressive contents in the *Testament* is Ho Chi Minh's thought about people and humanitarian values. Ho Chi Minh's humanitarianism was formed early and a constant factor throughout his rich revolutionary life. Ho Chi Minh's humanitarianism is manifested first and foremost in the aspiration to fight for the liberation of the people, class, to regain independence and freedom for Vietnam and contribute to the liberation struggle of oppressed peoples all over the world.

Over thousands of years in history, Ho Chi Minh has become one of the most outstanding figures and symbols of Vietnamese Humanitarianism. For Ho Chi Minh, humanitarian values are expressed by kindness, tolerance, patriotism and absolute fidelity to the mission entrusted by

the Fatherland and people. He devoted his whole life to the cause of fighting for peace, independence for the Vietnamese people and all enslaved peoples. Therefore, Ho Chi Minh is not only a patriot but also an internationalist of loyalty and kindness.

Ho Chi Minh's love and appreciation for people are deeply rooted in the humanity of the Vietnamese families, homeland and people. By revolutionary will and actions, Ho Chi Minh has become a symbol of self-affirmation, cultural vitality and independent will. His thoughts and activities also have important contributions to the heroic movements of peoples who love peace, democracy and social progress.

In the humanitarian thought of President Ho Chi Minh, the concept of "Liberation" is a key point with central value. The cause of liberation is not only to abolish the bondage, but also to liberate the whole society towards a real freedom and a prosperous and happy life for people. Throughout his life, he always put absolute faith in the people, especially those who live in poverty, backwardness, illiteracy and are deprived of freedom and democracy. General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh once wrote: "President Ho Chi Minh was a great patriot. His patriotism stemmed from his infinite love for the oppressed people. It did not stop within the national range but extended to all working people in the world. He devoted his whole life to the cause of national liberation; at the same time contributing to the common struggle for peace, national independence and social progress. Therefore, not only the Vietnamese people love him, but the people of the world also respond to his sentiments and regard him as a close friend."¹

Ho Chi Minh's humanitarian thought is not only the crystallized values of Vietnamese cultural traditions, bravery and identity but also the quintessence of Asian and world culture. Coming from an outdated agriculture country, in a Confucian family, but on his journey for national salvation, Ho Chi Minh traveled to many countries, exposed to many different cultures, political trends, ideologies. Tran Van Giau, a historian and revolutionary, said that: Borrowing trading ships as a means of

¹ Nguyễn Văn Linh (1990). *Lời chào mừng Hội thảo quốc tế "Chủ tịch Hồ Chí Minh: Anh hùng giải phóng dân tộc, nhà văn hoá lớn"*. In: UNESCO và Ủy ban Khoa học Xã hội Việt Nam. *Hội thảo quốc tế "Chủ tịch Hồ Chí Minh: Anh hùng giải phóng dân tộc, nhà văn hoá lớn"*. Hà Nội: Nxb. Khoa học xã hội (Nguyen Van Linh. *Welcome to the International Conference "President Ho Chi Minh — a Hero of National Liberation, an Outstanding Cultural Figure"*. In: UNESCO and Vietnam Social Sciences Committee. *International Conference "President Ho Chi Minh — a Hero of National Liberation, an Outstanding Cultural Figure"*. Hanoi: Social Sciences Publishing House). Tr. 10.

transport, the young patriot Nguyen Ai Quoc traveled across both sides of the Atlantic and settled in London and Paris. In the US, he learned from Washington, Lincoln; in France studied the *Universal Declaration of Civil Rights and Human Rights*, preferring Michelet, Jaurès. Despite being limited, Western modern humanitarianism also opened another horizon because Universalism met with the Confucianist ideology.²

During the years abroad, he explored and penetrated into French culture, Soviet culture, new Chinese democratic culture, etc., read W. Shakespeare, Ch. Dickens, V. Hugo, A. France, L. Tolstoy, Lu Xun, etc. With abundant stocks of foreign languages, he translated the Internationale of E. Pottier (France), *Communist Manifesto* by K. Marx — F. Engels, *The Spirit of Laws* by Montesquieu, the *Secret Party Committee* by Phedorov (Russia), etc. into Vietnamese.³ Due to the rich background of knowledge and the wide range of literature, right after returning to the country to prepare for the Revolution in the fall of 1945, many world cultural and humanitarian values were introduced and spread by him. In Ho Chi Minh's heritage, "His poems, essays and speeches reflect a deep understanding of human history and civilization and a faithful belief in the cultural identity of nation, including ours and others' in the world. Therefore, he is loved, admired and respected worldwide."⁴

For Ho Chi Minh, patriotism is synonymous with loving people. His love for the people does not come from a superior, but the empathy, sympathy and the transmission of sacred values. Understanding the suffering of the people, the humiliation of a nation that lost its freedom, he longed to find a new way for the people. That path not only aimed to restore the nation but also wanted to reach new levels and values in the political thinking of the times, bringing independence, freedom and democracy to the people.⁵

In his awareness, loving people is essential and first of all to save people from bondage. But if we want to save the country and save the people, we must rely on the people and mobilize internal resources

² Trần Văn Giàu (1990). *Ho Chi Minh Humanism — Characteristics and Roots*. In: UNESCO and Vietnam Social Sciences Committee. *Op. cit.* Tr. 241.

³ Song Thành (2015). *Hồ Chí Minh — nhà văn hóa kiệt xuất*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 38.

⁴ Kaul, T.N. (1990). *President Ho Chi Minh — the Great Vietnamese Patriot, the Great Friend of the Indian People and All Mankind*. In: UNESCO and Vietnam Social Sciences Committee. *Op. cit.* Tr. 26—27.

⁵ See the essays in Vietnam Association of Historical Sciences — Vietnam Publishing Association: *Ho Chi Minh — the Bringer of Light* (2011). H.: Journal of Past and Now.

within our own nation. The people, especially farmers, workers etc., are a huge, leading, strong and consistent force of the revolution.⁶ Based on the strength of the people, the solidarity of the entire people, the Party could overthrow the colonial rule and feudal domination. To make such a great career, Ho Chi Minh sought all ways to enrich his knowledge with the spiritual values and methods of mass mobilization and struggle of many revolutionary leaders in the world. Therefore, “Ho Chi Minh’s human nature is Vietnamese, revolutionary, communist, humanitarian, all merged together in one person and were raised by that one’s own historical mission.”⁷ In other words, “Ho Chi Minh knew the ingenious application of the immortal principles of Marxism—Leninism to the specific circumstances of Vietnam, and history proved that he was right.”⁸

Ho Chi Minh’s revolutionary career and humanitarianism were associated with important events in the heroic history of the Vietnamese people to regain their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The success of the August Revolution in 1945, the victory of Dien Bien Phu in 1954 and the victories in the anti-American resistance war in the South, the achievements of the construction of Socialism in the North were evidence for the vitality of a new state model. Therefore, Vietnam’s victories are the source of encouragement for the cause of liberation and struggle of the oppressed peoples and the movement for peace, democracy and social progress. In the early decades of the twentieth century, Ho Chi Minh was one of the first Asians to absorb V.I. Lenin’s idea of the struggle to liberate colonial peoples then turned those weapons into a physical force for the cause of national liberation.

Under his leadership, the people of Vietnam won the August Revolution of 1945, contributing to the collapse of colonial systems in Asia.⁹ Following his summons, believing in his organizational talents, his personality, the people of Vietnam resolutely stood up to establish the first democracy and republic in Southeast Asia and then defended the results

⁶ Lê Mậu Hãn (2001). *Sức mạnh dân tộc của cách mạng Việt Nam dưới ánh sáng tư tưởng Hồ Chí Minh*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 33–36.

⁷ Phạm Văn Đồng (1990). *Hồ Chí Minh, một con người, một dân tộc, một thời đại, một sự nghiệp*. Hà Nội: Nxb Sự thật. Tr. 62–63.

⁸ Fidel Castro’s speech given in Hanoi on September 1973. See Miguel de Stéphanou: *Ho Chi Minh — Man of Mankind*. In: *President Ho Chi Minh...* P. 52.

⁹ Vu Duong Ninh (2016). *Vietnamese Revolution on the International Chessboard — History and Issues*. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House. P. 39–48; *Ho Chi Minh — an Asian Person of All Times* (2010). Hanoi: National Politics Publishing House.

with persistent resistance against the French colonialists.¹⁰ With Ho Chi Minh, words are always associated with action, reasoning always goes with practice. According to General Vo Nguyen Giap: “He is a genius strategist and a great organizer. Nguyen Ai Quoc was the first person to write the *“The Case against the French Colonization”* and it was him who, together with the nation, enforced that sentence.”¹¹

Commenting on the origins of Ho Chi Minh humanitarianism, historian Tran Van Giau said that Ho Chi Minh was born in a family, countryside with rich patriotism and and humanities. That countryside gave birth to a *Master* that made the country famous. “Nguyen was born and raised in that social and cultural environment [...] Nguyen absorbed the Vietnamese national education that had developed to the highest level ever in all aspects [...]”¹² From the *Thesis* of V.I. Lenin, Nguyen Ai Quoc came to the great ideas of K. Marx — F. Engels, approached and pursued the goals of fighting for a humanitarianism and new values: Anti-colonialism is associated with the cause of national liberation and human liberation. Ho Chi Minh's humanitarianism stemmed from that national and international origins and in fact reached a high degree of reconciliation with great and common values.

Witnessing, experiencing many harsh historical challenges, “the outstanding talent of the revolutionary, who organized and cheered the greatest victories of the Vietnamese people, profound humanity and the simplicity of President Ho Chi Minh has won the love and the infinite respect of his people and the whole progressive humans.”¹³ Listening to the call: “Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom”, carrying out his sacred will, for the survival of the country, the Vietnamese people bravely fought against many of the world's most powerful and aggressive enemies. In that noble cause, Ho Chi Minh “is remembered not only as a liberator for the Homeland and the colonized people, but also as a modern sage who has brought a new perspective and hope for those who are struggling uncompromisingly to eliminate injus-

¹⁰ Đinh Xuân Lâm (2015). *Phong trào chống thực dân ở Việt Nam*. Hà Nội: Nxb Giáo dục. Tr. 204—217.

¹¹ Vo Nguyen Giap (1990). *President Ho Chi Minh — a Hero of National Liberation, an Outstanding Cultural Figure*. In: UNESCO and Vietnam Social Sciences Committee. *Op. cit.* Tr. 14. See *The Case against the French Colonization*. In: Hồ Chí Minh (2011). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 2. Tr. 213—238.

¹² Trần Văn Giàu. *Op. cit.* Tr. 240.

¹³ *Statement of the Vietnam International Conference and the World Conference, Commemorating the 120th Birthday of President Ho Chi Minh* (2010). In: *Ho Chi Minh — an Asian Person of All Times*. P. 20.

tice and inequality from this earth.”¹⁴ In the twentieth century, the Vietnamese people faced many of the world’s great empires. As the leader of the struggle movement of the Vietnamese people, Ho Chi Minh became a symbol of faith, demonstrating the bravery, intellect of a nation. His strong aspiration and ultimate desire for a completely independent Vietnam become a slogan, goals and agglomeration of solidarity and strength of the people.

Prime Minister Pham Van Dong wrote: “President Ho Chi Minh succeeded in this great cause because President Ho represented Vietnam, the people of Vietnam. The highest aspiration of the nation, the most earnest of the people, was his will, his life. His political policies and guidelines were to fulfill his aspirations: to gain independence for the country, freedom and happiness for the people. Looking at that policy, the nation completely trusted and believed. President Ho’s reputation was based on that.”¹⁵ His great humanitarianism “led the entire people to fight against foreign invaders in the new era, regaining the rights of human beings, a cultural life. President Ho Chi Minh contributed to eliminating a great obstacle on the road to the civilized world, erasing a stain of colonial regime in history.”¹⁶

Thoughts on equality, fraternity, and belief in people

In the *Declaration of Independence* on September 2, 1945, studying and inheriting the great ideas of the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, the *Declaration of Civil Rights and Human Rights* of the French Revolution in 1791, to name a few, President Ho Chi Minh declared to the entire world the independence of the Vietnamese people, the equal rights of all people, affirming the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness of Vietnamese people. It is the immortal truth that no one can refute or infringe upon.¹⁷ However, during more than 8 decades, the French colonialists tried to find ways to divide the politics,

¹⁴ Remarks by Dr. Modagat Ahmed, UNESCO Asia–Pacific Regional Director, Special Representative of UNESCO General Director, at the opening of the International Conference “President Ho Chi Minh — a Hero of National Liberation, an Outstanding Cultural Figure” on the occasion of President Ho Chi Minh’s 100th birthday (May 19, 1890 — May 19, 1990).

¹⁵ Pham Van Dong (2006). *President Ho Chi Minh — Image of the Nation*. In: *Thủ tướng Phạm Văn Đồng của chúng ta*. Nxb thành phố Hồ Chí Minh. Tr. 333.

¹⁶ Võ Nguyên Giáp. *Op.cit.* Tr. 16.

¹⁷ Hồ Chí Minh (2011). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 4. Tr. 1.

eliminate the freedom and democracy of the people. Along with that, the French colonial economy “has shamelessly exploited our people, driven them into the worst misery and mercilessly plundered our country.”¹⁸

Ho Chi Minh's thoughts on people are always imbued with Asian philosophy and humanitarianism. According to him, the good and evil in every human are not natural but a matter of social and educational system. Moreover, human nature can also change over time due to social factors and to adapt to living environment and social trends. “He respected Buddhism's compassion as the root of morality [...] and that sentiment was in harmony with patriotism and love for the people.”¹⁹ While operating abroad as well as returning home, Ho Chi Minh were always proactive in acquiring the quintessence of cultures to enrich his intellectual capital and human spirit. Throughout his life, Ho Chi Minh were concerned about the people and the country and he dedicated his life to the people and the country.²⁰

For President Ho Chi Minh, human love is the all-encompassing value managing all thoughts and actions. The *Testament* is the distillation of Ho Chi Minh's thoughts and ideas about people. From Ho Chi Minh's point of view, people are the most precious capital, the central factor, which determines all victories of the Vietnamese revolution. He once pointed out: “Ethics can be summed up as: recognizing which is right or wrong.” After the Party became the ruling Party, the moral issue turned to be more and more important. Party members and officials must be both leaders and loyal servants of the people. Officials' capacity and ethics must be shown specifically in every thought and action; must always be pioneering, ready to bear hard and arduous work, to put the collective and national interests on top of all.

Experiencing the leadership of the revolution, Ho Chi Minh's view on people was increasingly developing and comprehensive. In many articles, he always considered people as both goal and motivator. Ho Chi Minh's vision on people was not only about liberating them from bondage, but it was also about ensuring food, clothing, knowledge and true happiness for them. That should be the true value of independence and freedom that many generations of revolutionary soldiers and people had

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Tr. 2.

¹⁹ Ha Minh Duc (2018). *Ho Chi Minh — National Hero and His Era*. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House. P. 271.

²⁰ Responding to reporter Marta Rojas (Cuba) on July 14, 1969, he once said, “I dedicated my whole life to my people.” See Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 15. Tr. 674–677.

to sacrifice and shed blood to win back. Ho Chi Minh saw clearly the laws of historical movement and development and led the Vietnamese revolution to follow those laws. Many domestic and international researchers have discussed about the peaceful and natural style of Ho Chi Minh. It can be understood that “Ho Chi Minh’s leisurely style was of a person who was aware of the laws of history.”²¹

In Ho Chi Minh’s thought, at any time of the Vietnamese revolution, people always held the central position. Training people is the central and leading task of all development plans and strategies. According to General Vo Nguyen Giap, “With the viewpoint of relying on the power of the whole people to overcome all enemies, He led the army and the people to make the Vietnam People’s War.”²² Before going away, President Ho Chi Minh always deeply missed the South, remembered cadres, soldiers and compatriots who had forgotten themselves to fight and die for the country. He was worried about not fulfilling his revolutionary responsibilities to the people of the South and wished to enter the South soon after the day of complete independence.

In the *Testament*, he expressed great faith and affection to people by his revolutionary career, against the imperialist aggression. Broadly speaking, “Ho Chi Minh was a man of unshakable faith in the future of the nation, mankind, and socialism: it is a never-changing substance to respond flexibly to countless things.”²³ In many articles, he paid special attentions to the silent contributions and sacrifices of the people. “President Ho Chi Minh not only had infinite love for the people [...]. For him, revolution was not a blessing to the people but, first of all, the cause of the people and in the sake of the people.”²⁴

One of the core and prominent points in Ho Chi Minh humanitarianism is the absolute belief in people, in human strengths and noble dignity. Humans, by their very nature, are creative beings, longing for beauty, the right to life and the truth of freedom. Understanding the heavy sequelae of colonial rule and the disasters caused by the war, Ho Chi Minh always believed strongly in the dignity, creativity and bravery of the Vietnamese people.

Ho Chi Minh’s humanitarian philosophy and human love have transcended the boundaries of a nation to reach the universal level and value of humanity. From the time he went out to find a way to save the

²¹ Phạm Văn Đồng. *Op. cit.* Tr. 65.

²² Võ Nguyên Giáp. *Op. cit.* Tr. 15.

²³ Phạm Văn Đồng. *Op. cit.* Tr. 64.

²⁴ Nguyễn Văn Linh. *Op. cit.* Tr. 10.

country and the days of returning to the “world of the meek,” Ho Chi Minh always considered Vietnam as a part of the world, the Vietnamese revolution was an organic attachment to the revolution world. Therefore, all ethnic communities in the world, regardless of skin color, language, economic status, social status ... He always expressed affection and respect. The organizer of the resistance war against the French colonialists and the US invaders, Ho Chi Minh always respected the French people, the American people and all peace-loving people in the world. Political thinking is both isolated and determined by him and the Government of Vietnam, making the people of the world always realize the true values, sincerity, therefore, they have trusted, cherished and strongly supported. for Vietnam's cause and struggle career.

In his teachings as well as in the *Testament*, Ho Chi Minh always attached great importance to human dignity, including those of faults and mistakes. Ho Chi Minh always believed that, by their sensuality, education, and sincere generosity, these people can completely correct mistakes and shortcomings to become good citizens of society. Ho Chi Minh's kindness was vast, profound but also very simple. According to General Vo Nguyen Giap, President Ho loved children, respected the elderly, and treasured women. In his view, in Vietnam, the socialism without women is only half of real socialism. Vietnam is a country that values women.²⁵

Ho Chi Minh is also a vivid symbol of exemplification. In his *Testament*, he wrote: “All my life is to wholeheartedly serve my Fatherland, the revolution, and the people.” The author Viet Phuong wrote: There are no luxurious things in his place of residence and work.²⁶ Indian researcher T.N.Kaul also shared the comment: “When I first visited him in 1957 at his office in Hanoi, I was very surprised at how he had dressed up. He was wearing khaki clothes, rubber sandals. He took me to visit the house where he was staying. It was a small wooden house, sketchy, full of trees. Despite his high position, Ho Chi Minh maintained a simple lifestyle, making him able to be close to the masses and the people also sympathized with him.”²⁷

²⁵ The General said that respect for women is one of the basic criteria showing new and different approach in Ho Chi Minh's thought compared to traditional Confucian conception. See in: Võ Nguyên Giáp (1990). *Lời bế mạc Hội thảo quốc tế* (Vo Nguyen Giap. *Summary Speech of the International Conference*). In: UNESCO and Vietnam Social Sciences Committee. *Op. cit.* Tr. 244—245.

²⁶ Viet Phuong (2000). *Some Stories about Uncle Ho's Daily Life*. Hanoi: VNU Press. P. 18—19.

²⁷ Kaul, T.N. *Op. cit.* P. 24.

In the *Testament*, Ho Chi Minh's thoughts on people mingle with the concept of the people and the country; with social sectors; with the elderly, children, youth, women; with Asian people and the world etc. There, every person is a personality, dignity.

Thoughts on the post-war period

In the additional version of the *Testament* in May 1968, President Ho Chi Minh determined many things to do after the war. He advocated that, right after the anti-American campaign to save the country would end successfully, the important work that the whole Party, the whole army, and the entire people had to do would be to quickly heal the serious wounds caused by the war. He said: It is a big, heavy, complex but also glorious job. We must have a ready, clear and thoughtful plan to avoid passivity, shortcomings, and mistakes. In my opinion, the first thing to do is to reorganize the Party, making every party member, every union member, every branch to strive to fulfill the tasks assigned by the Party, wholeheartedly serving the people. If so, no matter how big or difficult our jobs are, we will definitely win.

Thus, along with quickly healing the wounds of war, rebuilding the nation, his greatest concern was the task of regulating the Party, clearly defining the Party's goals and tasks in the new period; affirming the role and mission of the ruling Party and avoiding passivity, shortcomings and mistakes. In order to do so, the Party must widely, regularly and strictly practice democracy, self-criticism and criticism, which are the best way to consolidate and develop solidarity and unity within the Party. Ho Chi Minh always attached great importance to revolutionary morality, love among comrades. He once pointed out: "People must first have morality, live together with love. If you read so many books of Marxism—Leninism and live together without love, that would mean dogmatism."²⁸

He insisted that all cadres and party members from the Central to each cell have to maintain solidarity and unity in the Party "as keeping their own eyes."²⁹ This is the most important principle in the work of building the Party. General Secretary Le Kha Phieu analyzed: "Regarding adjustment of the Party, He did not consider it a temporary measure but an indispensable and regular task to carry out."³⁰

²⁸ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 15. Tr. 616.

²⁹ See: Vũ Kỳ (1999). *Bác Hồ viết Di chúc*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 66.

³⁰ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 15. Tr. 611.

With extensive political perspectives, Ho Chi Minh soon realized the difficulties and challenges posed to the ruling Party and the country after the war ended. Historical reality has shown that, facing new requirements and tasks, if the Party were not promptly adjusted, if there were no comprehensive and thoughtful plan, the revolutionary achievements and the cause of national reconstruction would not be promoted. Ho Chi Minh once advised all cadres and party members to have revolutionary morality, strictly observe the Party's discipline, pioneering, exemplarism, honesty.³¹

Along with regulating the Party, he was especially concerned about the social movements and people in the post-war period and determined that it should be the first work to be done. Responding to a journalist of the *Granma* (Cuba) on July 14, 1969, he expressed: "Each person, each family has their own sufferings, all of which becomes my sufferings"³². Noting the sacrifices and contributions of the people, he said: "Our people in the plains as well as the mountains have been suffering from war, being oppressed and exploited by the feudal and colonial regime for so long. However, our people are very heroic, brave, energetic and industrious. Since the Party was established, our people have always followed the Party, and been very loyal to the Party. Therefore, the Party must have a good plan for economic and cultural development in order to constantly improve people's lives."³³

In the *Testament*, he instructed to engrave the merits of the heroes and martyrs to educate the patriotism of the people. He also proposed one-year agricultural tax exemption for agricultural cooperatives "to make the people more relaxed, excited and boost production."³⁴ It can be seen that "In his summons, President Ho Chi Minh remembers everyone."³⁵ During his lifetime, "President Ho always took care of people in all aspects, believed in people, strived for the freedom and happiness of people, today and tomorrow, in Vietnam, in the Soviet Union, in the US and in all five continents. That is the central manifestation of Ho Chi Minh's Humanitarianism."³⁶

³¹ Le Kha Phieu (1999). *Addressing at the 109th anniversary of the birth of President Ho Chi Minh and the 30th anniversary of the implementation of His Testament*. In: *The Testament of President Ho Chi Minh*. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House. P. 57.

³² Nguyễn Phú Trọng (2019). *Đảng vững mạnh, Đất nước phát triển, Dân tộc trường tồn*. Tạp chí Cộng sản, số 916 (2). Tr. 8.

³³ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 15. Tr. 674.

³⁴ *Ibid.* Tr. 612.

³⁵ *Ibid.* Tr. 617.

³⁶ Phạm Văn Đồng. *Op. cit.* Tr. 340.

Understanding the characteristics of Vietnamese society, regularly directing and monitoring ethnic movements, Ho Chi Minh always appreciated the role of women in family and society, in fighting and production. Therefore, “The Party and the Government need to have practical plans to foster, raise and help more and more women in charge of all jobs, including leadership. Women themselves must try to rise. That revolution will bring real equality to women.”³⁷ That argument is a typical proof of Ho Chi Minh’s Humanitarianism, and clearly shows the core viewpoint: The nation of the people, the Party of the people and the State of the people also.³⁸

After the political developments in 1968—1969, he foresaw the enormous difficulties and challenges that our entire Party, army and people would surely have to overcome to reach the ultimate victory. Ho Chi Minh always expressed a strong belief in the nation’s victorious career. Regarding the national reconstruction, he pointed out “The above work is very big, heavy and complicated, but also very glorious. This is a fight against what is old and out of order to create new and good things.”³⁹ He considered it a “giant battle”, so it was necessary to encourage the entire people, relying on the great forces of the people, to gain victory.

In the strategy of educating people, along with encouraging the younger generation to constantly study politics and practice morals, he was also very interested in training their culture, expertise and techniques. Construction career requires talents. The younger generation “is the key army in the successful construction of socialism in our country.”⁴⁰ Therefore, “Nurturing revolutionary generations for the future is a very important and necessary job.”⁴¹

According to Ho Chi Minh, everyone must have new knowledge to participate in the construction of the country. He always attached great importance to culture. The culture that he advocated is a combination of traditional cultural elements, developed and enhanced with the essence of human culture. It is necessary to make cultural values penetrate into the new life. That culture has made all Vietnamese people, from old to young, understand their duties and knows how to enjoy the happiness that they enjoy.⁴²

³⁷ Võ Nguyên Giáp. *Op. cit.* Tr. 243.

³⁸ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 15. Tr. 617.

³⁹ *Ibid.* Tr. 595.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* Tr. 617.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* Tr. 617.

⁴² *Ibid.* Tr. 622.

Conclusion

President Ho Chi Minh's *Testament* is a unique document, which is valuable as a revolutionary platform. The *Testament* has great historical significance, helping us understand more about the country, people, era, political and social context of Vietnam from the Party was founded (1930), the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was formed (1945) until September 2, 1969. The *Testament* is a summary of history, evoking many thoughts, identifying great tasks that the Party and the State must focus on. The document does not only specify the historical mission, the way to go for Vietnam but also analyzes in depth some political issues and main contents in international relations. In short, many profound ideas and revolutionary views can be found in the simple words of the *Testament* because "every word and every action of Ho Chi Minh is practical and concrete."⁴³

The *Testament* has shown the vision of a hero of national liberation and an outstanding cultural figure about humanitarian values and Vietnamese people. Ho Chi Minh is indeed a symbol of courage, resilience and heroism of the Vietnamese people, a living embodiment of unity between theory and practice, thought and action. His vision and approach to people and culture represent the inheritance and depth of Vietnamese and Asian ideological traditions, and at the same time contain many great developmental thoughts.

President Ho Chi Minh "left us with a huge fortune, a very precious heritage that is Ho Chi Minh's thought, Ho Chi Minh's morals, Ho Chi Minh style, and the Ho Chi Minh era"⁴⁴. Studying those heritage and sacred values helps us to understand more about President Ho Chi Minh's life and his "extremely noble and rich, extremely pure and beautiful"⁴⁵ contributions to the cause of independence, resistance, and national construction and international integration process.

⁴³ Võ Nguyên Giáp. *Op. cit.* Tr. 16.

⁴⁴ *General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong's speech at the 1-year preliminary review meeting on the implementation of Directive 03-CT/TW organized by the Central Secretariat on May 16, 2012.*

⁴⁵ *The Eulogy by the Central Committee of the Vietnam Labour Party. The Testament of President Ho Chi Minh.* P. 41.

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Chapter 20

HUMAN AND HUMAN EDUCATION IN HO CHI MINH'S DEVELOPMENT PHILOSOPHY

Throughout his revolutionary leadership, as well as in the cause of national construction, Ho Chi Minh has always paid a great attention to the development of education, and always put education at a highest position. Because, he said that education plays a decisive role in shaping human personality.

Keywords: human, human education, objectives and motivation

Human is the goal, the motivation of the social development

The desire to liberate the nation and human is always the objective of revolutionary activities of President Ho Chi Minh. Before returning to the meek world, in the Will, he advised: “First is the work with the human.” Thus, the issue of human, concern with the cause of human liberation and human education has opened and closed the life of a passionate communist and a patriotic heart to the human.

Inheriting the Marxist—Leninist view, in its realism, human nature is the totality of social relations, Ho Chi Minh offers a unique definition of man: “The word for man means family, brothers, relatives, and friends. In a broad sense it is country people. In the broader sense is the whole of humanity.”¹ In Ho Chi Minh's ideologies, humans are considered to be historical and specific people. Depending on the time of history, in particular, Ho Chi Minh used different concepts to refer to people and consider them on different planes and dimensions. He also

¹ Hồ Chí Minh (2000). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 4. Tr. 164.

places human in specific social relationships: social relations, class relations; by gender, age, occupation; in the united bloc of ethnic communities and in international relations. The way to view human issues in Ho Chi Minh's concept is completely consistent with Marxist—Leninist approach to human.

Ho Chi Minh affirmed: human are both the goal and the driving force of the revolution. It is also one of the outstanding ideas of Ho Chi Minh. According to him, the cause of revolutionary struggle to liberate the nation, liberate the class and build a new social regime, rich, fair, democratic, civilized ..., after all, is for happiness, for the integral development of human. In turn, human is the driving force to develop society. That great role of the masses, first of all the working people, is reflected in the fact that they are the main force of the revolutionary struggle, the most important production force and the bright subject, that creates the material and spiritual values of society.

Throughout his revolutionary life, Ho Chi Minh had only one “extreme desire, desire, to make our country completely independent, our people completely free, and everyone with rice and clothes, everyone can study.”² He is the embodiment of the ideal for the human of the new age. All actions and thoughts of Ho Chi Minh in the revolutionary cause exuded an overarching, profoundly revolutionary and humane thought — the idea of considering human as both a goal and a motive of Revolution. Revolutionary struggle to liberate human is the first basic content, a premise for human development. Facing the country mourning, witnessing the fate of “the nation of slaves”, Ho Chi Minh was heartbroken to see: “Never in any era, in any country, people violated all rights to be human in such a cruel way so brazen.”³ People are acutely aware that in order to liberate human, they must fight to liberate class and liberate society. Based on the historical conditions of Vietnamese society, he recognized that national liberation was above all, firstly, a premise to liberate human. Because human rights are only satisfactorily resolved when the nation is independent and the people are free. If the issue of national liberation cannot be solved, the rights of class and human cannot be guaranteed. In Ho Chi Minh's concept, the independence for the nation is an urgent and prerequisite premise to liberate human. National liberation and class liberation only brought the independence of the people and freedom for the people and people from slavery, exploitation and domination. He argued that national indepen-

² *Ibid.* Tr. 187.

³ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 1. Tr. 406.

dence must be closely linked to building socialism in order to ensure the goal of radical human liberation. Therefore, after achieving national independence, socialism must be built, because socialism is not only the indispensable development trend of the era, but also creates a basis for the realization of human rights more comprehensively. Building a new society — socialist society is for the working people to have a prosperous, happy, fair and civilized life; humans are truly liberated in terms of economy, politics, culture, society, have conditions to satisfy their material and spiritual needs, and have opportunities for comprehensive development. At the same time, it is possible to promote all abilities to contribute the most to society.

Considering human as the goal of social development, Ho Chi Minh does not only stop at liberating human from all oppression, exploitation, and bondage by old and outdated concepts of the old society, but also always concerns about the interests of the people. In all circumstances and cases, he always puts the interests of the people first. He recognizes the stability of the country are the people and the prosperity and longevity of the nation and the people must rely on that very deep root. Ho Chi Minh always pays special attention to taking care of the material and spiritual life of the working people. In his ideologies, the implementation of the socialist revolution, after all, is also derived from human, for the benefit of human, of the working people. Human interests, such as freedom, independence, “fullness, and adequate clothing” ... are only realized and ensured firmly through the socialist revolution.

In Ho Chi Minh's ideology, human is not only the goal of social development, but also the subject of history, an important driving force for the development of society. In the view of Marxism—Leninism, the masses of people are considered the true subjects that create history. Standing on the standpoint of historical materialism and with the experiences drawn from his practice, Ho Chi Minh has gained the right understanding and appreciation of the role of human. According to Ho Chi Minh, workers are the main force, directly creating wealth and material for society. Also, social history is created by workers. With these arguments, he affirmed the strength as well as the role of renovating and transforming the human world, first of all the workers.

First of all, Ho Chi Minh is acutely aware that the masses are an important force of all revolutionary struggle movements. When they are led by a well organized and scientific political organization, they become a unified, unrivaled mass; ready to fight for the common goal of revolutionary career. From a very early age, when he was still searching for the way to save the country and liberate the nation, he discovered

that the power of revolution lay in the masses of the needy people who were oppressed to the extreme of each nation.

According to Ho Chi Minh, the main force of the revolution is the entire people, who are all oppressed and exploited. He said: “The entire population is the greatest force. No one can win against that force.”⁴ In every stage of development of the revolution, the masses of the people have always been the decisive force, changing history. “Domestic experience and other countries show us: there is a great work force for the people, and some difficulties can be done. If not, then nothing will be done. People know how to solve many problems in a simple, quick and complete way, but talented people, great organizations, think forever and ever.”⁵ Among the masses with the power to “move mountains, fill the sea”, Ho Chi Minh said that the key force, the core of the revolution was the united of workers and peasants. In particular, he pointed out: only the leading working class will succeed in the resistance war, the national construction will be successful and believe that, along with the nation, the working class is the pioneer force in the struggle to overthrow the feudal colonial regime and build a new and better society. This lucid thought was a Ho Chi Minh creation in applying Marxism—Leninism to specific conditions of Vietnam. As a result, he not only promoted the revolutionary nucleus role of the working class, but also connected the working class with all other working and patriotic classes, forming a unified bloc, promoting the revolution moves on.

With the motivational character of social development, the masses are not only the main force of the revolutionary struggle, but also the direct production force of the society. According to Ho Chi Minh, the masses are the forces that create history, creating material values and spiritual values for society. He said: “All material possessions in society are made by workers and farmers. Thanks to the labor of workers and peasants, society can survive and develop.”⁶ Through the production process, people do not only follow an indispensable law to survive but also create a material premise to prepare for new changes and developments of history. Not only creating material wealth, Ho Chi Minh also pointed out the spiritual creativity of people: “The masses are also creators ... The proverbs, the verses, the folk songs are very or the works of the masses, ... Those compositions are precious jewels.”⁷ The spiritual

⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 19.

⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 335.

⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 8. Tr. 247.

⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 11. Tr. 559.

and material values created by humans come from the “needs of life and the demands of survival.” That creativity reflects the intellectual power — the spirit of the human.

Human education to promote positive activities of human and social development

Originating from the notion that people are the most precious, the decisive factor for the success or failure of the revolution, the goal and motivation of the revolution, Ho Chi Minh attaches great importance to the issue of building people, consider it an objective requirement, both urgent and long-term revolutionary career. As a leader who always cares about the younger generation, he reminded: “Fostering the revolutionary generation for the next life is a very important and very necessary job.”⁸ Always attaching importance to the role of human social development motivation, Ho Chi Minh stated: “To build socialism, first of all, there should be socialist people.”⁹ In order to build new socialist people, President Ho Chi Minh affirmed that the issue of education development and raising people’s knowledge was both a topical issue and a long-term issue of the process of construction and developing new Vietnamese people. Therefore, education is an important part of the strategy to build new Vietnamese people according to Ho Chi Minh.

From the point of view of human as both a driving force of the revolution and a subject of new social construction, to promote social development and human liberation, President Ho Chi Minh required to promote well motivational role of human. He proposed a number of contents and measures to promote the activeness of human activities and promote social development. In order to promote human resources, it is necessary to work on political-spiritual dynamics such as: stirring up the power of patriotism, the spirit of national pride, sense of responsibility for the Fatherland; impact on human needs and interests; use the regulatory role of cultural, ethical, legal, etc.

Stemming from such a scientific conception of people, Ho Chi Minh has built a deep educational development philosophy, the view of human education up to now remains valid and has an urgent significance to the revolution of our country. The development objective of the new

⁸ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 15. Tr. 622.

⁹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 13. Tr. 66.

education in Ho Chi Minh's ideology is to raise the intellectual level of the people, to train useful citizens for Vietnam and good officials for the nation. Training good citizens, good officials, good future owners of the country are also training new generations of people, collective-owned, patriotic and communist-minded workers and international proletarian spirit.

Ho Chi Minh paid special attention to education as a basic and inseparable task of the Vietnamese revolution. Because education plays a special role for human and social development. The great men in their activities and revolutionary career have identified the role of education as an essential factor that paves the way for awareness and improvement of the world and is also a matter of vital importance of the country's prosperity. Right from the first days of the revolution, Nguyen Ai Quoc condemned the "stupid policy" of colonial government in Vietnam. In 1930, in his *call* to the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam, he made the slogan "practicing universal education," that is, the universalization of education. Successful August Revolution, he led the people to abolish colonial education — an education that teaches young Vietnamese to love a country other than their own, despise their origins and lineage ethnic groups, women and ethnic minorities are less educated..., and build a new education. He is acutely aware of the need to develop revolutionary education, an integral part of the cause of building a new economy, new culture and new people.

Education also plays a role of training human resources and fostering talents for the country. As a great culturalist and educator, President Ho Chi Minh understood that poverty and ignorance would not only destroy a person's personality but also a nation. President Ho Chi Minh wrote: "An ignorant nation is a weak nation."¹⁰ He also considered ignorance as a very dangerous enemy: "Ignorant enemies help foreign enemies. Ignorant attacks us mentally, just as the colonial enemy attacks us with force. The colonial enemy relied on ignorant enemies to execute a foolish strategy. The ignorant relies on the colonial enemy to bring our people into blind places."¹¹ For him, fighting and eliminating illiteracy is the beginning of the process of eliminating the ignorance, arousing the intellectual power in every human being. Since then, he launched the movement to eradicate illiteracy among the entire people, opening up the strategy of bringing knowledge light to people who had previously lived in darkness. He pointed out: "The country needs to be construct. Construction requi-

¹⁰ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 7.

¹¹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 469.

res talent.”¹² He emphasized: “Now economic construction. There are no officials who could not. Without education, if there are no officials, they don't talk about cultural economy.”¹³

The educational content according to Ho Chi Minh ideology includes culture, politics, science and technology, occupational expertise and labor. He said to the youth: “You must try to learn technology, culture, politics. Thanks to our people's efforts and help from other countries, our economy has been increasingly advanced. If they do not study culture, do not have a cultural level, they cannot study techniques, they cannot learn techniques, they cannot keep up with the economic needs of the country; but pay attention to political learning because if you only learn culture and technology but don't have politics, like a person who closes his eyes.”¹⁴ Studying politics is to study Marxism—Leninism and the Party's line of viewpoints — to understand the revolutionary mission and build for ourselves a proper method of understanding the complex developments of life, from which to firmly believe in revolutionary ideals. On the other hand, we really need to study science — technology, because we live in an era where the revolution of modern science and technology is advancing like a storm, mankind is manipulating cities. miraculous achievements of science and technology, technology to accelerate production and quickly improve the face of the world.

Ho Chi Minh, around the principle of pillariness is *a matter of human, all for human*, human needs to be fully developed. Therefore, he said that in order to develop comprehensive human, it was necessary to implement the strategy of human education and developing education.

The comprehensive human development in Ho Chi Minh's view is not only for the purpose of creating resources for the development of the country — that is, people as the driving force for development, but here people with position and status as owner, with full qualities: virtue, wisdom, physicality and beauty. Therefore, the development of the comprehensive human is guaranteed *human rights and ensuring the values of human* towards a society in which “the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all all people” — human as targets for development. This is shown as soon as Vietnam gained its independence, even though the revolution is facing a very difficult situation, one of Ho Chi Minh's top concerns is “eliminating the ignorant” to raise people knowledge. He proposed campaign to prevent illiteracy.

¹² Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 504.

¹³ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 10. Tr. 345.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Tr. 384.

A series of ordinances related to education were signed by Ho Chi Minh, such as the Ordinance on the Foundation of the Popular Educational Institution (September 6, 1945); Ordinance on the Foundation of an Autonomous Fund for Vietnam University (October 10, 1945); Ordinance on the Foundation of the Main Academic Advisory Council (October 10, 1945); Ordinance on the Foundation of a University of Literature in Hanoi (October 10, 1945) ... His views and actions have shown great humanitarian and humane thought, and at the same time reflected nature of new education — revolutionary education.

Throughout his revolutionary leadership, as well as in the construction of the country, Ho Chi Minh has always paid great attention to the development of education, and always put education at the highest position. Because, he said that education plays a decisive role in shaping human personality. He compared education to the cause of human education and made philosophical and practical arguments about the position and importance of education for human development, such as: kind or evil are the availability, due to education that should. According to Ho Chi Minh, education is a direct determinant of improving education, science — technology, professional skills, foreign languages, managing organizations for officials, party members and all classes people in carrying out revolutionary tasks. Education will help learners have a good knowledge of the history and culture of the Vietnamese nation and the world, without which it would not maintain its independence and not be able to participate in construction the rich and strong country. Education will help people have new knowledge to turn a backward, poor country into a country with a high culture and a happy life. And so, educational development is a decisive factor for comprehensive human development, which is a distinctive feature of Ho Chi Minh's philosophy of educational development.

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Chapter 21

HO CHI MINH'S ROLE IN EMANCIPATION OF VIETNAMESE WOMEN IN THE 20th CENTURY

Since the early 20th century in Vietnamese society there began to form the perception of women, different from the classical Confucian model, having contributed to the widespread emergence of the problem of gender inequality and the formation of the concept of “women’s rights”. The women’s issue was one of the central elements of Vietnamese social thought in the first half of the 20th century.

The article is devoted to identifying the place of the women’s issue in the work of the founder of the modern Vietnamese state, as well as demonstrating the real changes in the situation of women in Vietnam due to Ho Chi Minh’s activities. The changes in the status of women at the legislative level are shown by using the Constitution, the Family Law and various regulatory acts. Also, the question is touched concerning a new model of perception of women’s activities, which has developed due to the revolutionary situation in the country.

The sources involved are the Complete Works of Ho Chi Minh, as well as the DRV legal framework. Also, the author has used some research-works of Vietnamese scholars published in the Internet and materials of the Women’s Union of Vietnam.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh, women in Vietnam, women’s rights, emancipation, Family law in Vietnam

*The voice of women is the voice of half the population.
If you do not free women, you will not free half of humanity.
Without the liberation of women, socialism will only be built in half.*
Ho Chi Minh

The formation of the gender inequality issue in Vietnam

In pre-colonial Vietnam social status and legal situation of women were determined with Confucian ethics, which since the early 15th century had been brought to the fore in the state ideology, politics and legislation. The most striking and memorable embodiment of the reception of the women's place in society was the phrase well-known to every Vietnamese. It was formed in mental stereotype (mindset): "to respect men and to neglect women."

Different reception of the woman (her personality and her role in family and society) began to form in Vietnam in the early decades of the 20th century. It was then that in social thought the issue of gender inequality and of "women's rights" emerged countrywide. The debates generated with these problems, as well as with the family theme, are well traced through articles in leading magazines and in fiction. The women's issue was the most discussed one and became *sui generis* "a focal point around which other issues often revolved", as D. Marr, one of the leading Western specialists on Vietnam put it.¹

The place of the "women's issue" in Ho Chi Minh's social and political journalism

Ho Chi Minh, the leading figure of national liberation movement in Vietnam, could not go past this theme. He paid attention to nearly all the aspects of social, political and cultural life of Vietnamese society, at that not only and not so much in the frameworks of theoretical constructs as in his practice. Of course, women's emancipation (its original meaning is "liberation") was of utmost importance for such an ambitious figure.

In contradistinction to many other cultural figures of his time, Ho Chi Minh's works show that women's topics were not separate subjects of his journalism. Ho Chi Minh did not write special articles on various

¹ Marr, D. (1984). *Vietnamese Tradition on Trial, 1920—1945*. University of California Press. P. 191.

components of the “women’s issue” (“new women”, “concubines”, “early marriages” (*tảo hôn*), “freedom of marriage” etc.) lively discussed by literary intelligentsia. Ho Chi Minh’s works show no attempts either to define these terms or to analyze their content. A rare example of his work, concerned with the issue of oppressed situation of women in traditional East Asiatic society, is “The Part for Women: about Injustice”, the most laconic (about a page) article (1926) written under the pen-name of Mong Lien. He wrote: “Confucius said that the husband was to teach his wife. Mencius (Mengzi) considered women and children to be poorly trained... In Annam they believe that women’s business is the kitchen. In society and in their family, women are usually humiliated and have no rights at all. Sisters! Why do we stand such an injustice?”²

Besides the content of the text, the pen-name of the author is noteworthy. Ho Chi Minh used a female name for the article. To be nearer to his readers was one of the principles of his practice. A.A. Sokolov, one of the leading Russian researchers of Ho Chi Minh’s life, called this feature “a journalist camouflage and the ability to get into the character of the author needed by the reader.”³ As far as the female audience is concerned, a fragment of Ho Chi Minh’s letter to “Rabotnitsa” editorial board is illustrative: “...I will send you articles from China in the form of letters signed with a female name. I believe, this will attach a necessary color to the articles, and they will meet interests of the female audience.”⁴ In his articles Ho Chi Minh used various female names: Thanh Lan, Tuyet Lan, Hong Lien, Kim Oanh.

However, taken in total, the aspects of the women’s issue noted above and popular in the intellectual elite of the 1920—1930s were faintly reflected in Ho Chi Minh’s journalism. It is noteworthy that in “The Demands of the Annamite People” (Fr. *Revendications du peuple annamite*; Viet. *Yêu sách của nhân dân An Nam*; here he used his pen-name Nguyen Ai Quoc for the first time), one of the landmark documents by Ho Chi Minh, having been published in 1919 (the time of the Versaille Conference) where the essential requirements of the leaders of Vietnamese national movement were put forward, there was no place for the women’s issue.

To my mind, the foremost reason was that the radical solution of these problems seemed to be apparent to him in the context of that

² Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 2. Tr. 448.

³ Sokolov, A.A. (1993). *Pseudonimy Ho Ši Mina kak opyt izučeniya političeskoj biografii*. Tradicionnyi Vietnam. Vyp. 1. M. S. 214.

⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 2. Tr. 3.

large-scale social revolution, which he was going to carry out simultaneously with national liberation, his immediate task. Thus, the liberation of the people from foreign oppression was the foremost task for Ho Chi Minh, but also, it meant “social” liberation of women from the chains of feudal Vietnam. The following lines can be considered a kind of Ho Chi Minh’s devise on this problem: “women and girls are a part of the people. If all the people are free, they will naturally be free. And vice versa, if the people are oppressed, the women will be oppressed, too.”⁵ Of course, that was a certain simplification of the situation, because during the independent pre-colonial period Vietnamese women had no equal rights with men, and from the standpoint of pioneering elite of the early 20th century, they were absolutely oppressed by men. Certainly, Ho Chi Minh understood the situation very well, but, as it has already been told, his priority was the liberation of the nation as a whole, what he emphasized in his works.

That is why most works concerning female themes one way or another were closely connected with national liberation from France. Such is the title “Annam Women and the Sway of France” (*Phụ nữ An Nam và sự đô hộ của Pháp*), the very first work by Ho Chi Minh, concentrated on the women’s issue and published in his Complete Works (2002). The article appeared in August of 1922 in French in “Le Paria” newspaper, founded by Ho Chi Minh in Paris; it was meant for French readers and for French-speaking Vietnamese elite (the newspaper was also published in Chinese and Arabian). The essence of the article is contained in its very first sentence: “Colonialism is in itself violence of a mighty country against a weak one. If this violence spread against children and women, it becomes twice as appreciable.”⁶ Further, the article having used oral evidence of various witnesses enumerated crimes of colonizers against women.

Chapter 11 of “The Verdict for French Colonialism” (also, sometimes “The Trial of French Colonialism”; Viet. *Bản án chế độ thực dân Pháp*);, the famous denunciatory work by Ho Chi Minh, concerned the women’s issue. The title of the chapter is “Sufferings of Native Women” (*Nỗi khổ nhục của phụ nữ bản xứ*). Like the article “Annam Women and the Sway of France” this chapter enumerated crimes of the French against Vietnamese women. By the way, many fragments of the first article were incorporated in the text of “The Verdict” word for word.

⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 2. Tr. 443.

⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 1. Tr. 96.

In his works Ho Chi Minh challenged the interpretation of the French stay in Vietnam adopted in the West as “the civilizing mission”. Curiously enough, one of the first French vivid, but negative impressions of young Ho Chi Minh, who stepped on the French soil in 1911, were numerous French prostitutes in the port town of Marseille. The problem of prostitution in colonial Vietnam broke new ground in comparison with the traditional society; it was one of vividly discussed themes in the press. At that colonial authorities considered prostitution to be a taxable legal profession.⁷ Ho Chi Minh was an involuntary witness of that social vice on the territory of the country pretending to civilizing mission in his Homeland, and he wondered: “Why had the French not educated their own citizens before us?” and asked this question in a letter to his friends.⁸

Ho Chi Minh's specialty as the figure of the national liberation movement was his ability to address the broadest strata of the world public, working with progressive activists of various countries and nations. On the issue of women's liberation Ho Chi Minh collaborated actively with the Soviet magazine “Rabotnitsa” having written some articles both about the Vietnamese women, and about Oriental women [cf. “The Women of the East” (1924)]. Using the examples of Turkey, India, China and Japan, this article emphasized the important role of women in revolutionary and national liberation movements in Asia.

Women's participation in revolutionary struggle

Ho Chi Minh believe that women should have contributed to the national liberation. One of his chief tasks was mobilization of women for revolutionary struggle. In 1927 he wrote about it in “The Path of Revolution” (*Đường cách mệnh*), the landmark work on the formation of the Vietnamese revolutionary strategy: “The revolution in Annam can only be successful, provided that women should participate in it; and in their participation in revolutionary activity women of Annam should follow the international women's movement.”⁹

⁷ See details in: Dang Thi Van Chi (2018). *Kolonial'naya pressa ob odnom iz sotsial'nyh porokov vo V'etname*. V'etnamskie issledovaniya, Seriya 2, No. 3. S. 32—41.

⁸ Duiker, W. (2000). *Ho Chi Minh: a Life*. Hyperion Books. P. 47.

⁹ *Tư tưởng Hồ Chí Minh về giải phóng phụ nữ*. Retrieved on September 15, 2019 from URL: <http://baotanghochiminh.vn/tu-tuong-ho-chi-minh-ve-giai-phong-phu-nu.htm>.

In “The Short Political Party Theses” (*Chánh cương vắn tắt của Đảng*), the first Party document, written by Ho Chi Minh in early 1930, he mentioned the necessity to achieve “the equality of rights of men and women” (*nam nữ bình quyền*).¹⁰ However, it is noteworthy, that in the 1930s “the women’s issue” was not addressed in the first basic Party documents in detail, as the special attention in them was concentrated on the principles of the Party activity and on its general revolutionary tasks.

The principle of gender equality was laid down and developed in the program of the Viet Minh (the League for the Independence of Vietnam), published in 1941. In the political sphere it was intended to introduce universal suffrage both for men and women. Separately, item 6 of the political sphere prescribed the principle of “the equal rights of men and women”. Item 5 of the part on the policy concerning various layers of the population, suggested that women should have equal rights with men in economic, political and cultural spheres.

In the very first year of the existence of the Communist Party the resolution on the necessity to establish a solely women’s organization was adopted, as the Party was aware of mighty strength and potential of the women’s movement. At the first Plenum of the Party CC in October of 1930 “The Resolution on Women’s Mobilization” (*Nghị quyết về Phụ nữ vận động*) had been adopted. It emphasized that “women are the most important revolutionary force. The revolution will not win without the participation of broad layers of women in the revolutionary struggle.”¹¹

Since October 20, 1930, the day, when the resolution was adopted, has become the Day of the Vietnamese Woman. It is actively celebrated in present-day Vietnam. At that time The Association of Women’s Liberation (*Hội Phụ nữ Giải phóng*), the first women’s association was established. The main task of the Association was mobilization of broad masses of women for the participation in the revolutionary struggle against national feudalism and French colonialism.

Women have participated actively in the revolutionary activity of the Party since the very first year of its existence. Thus, several thousand

¹⁰ *Các cương lĩnh của Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam*. Retrieved on September 10, 2019 from URL: <http://tuyengiao.vn/tuyen-truyen/cac-cuong-linh-cua-dang-cong-san-viet-nam-17174>.

¹¹ *Lịch sử ngày thành lập hội LHPN Việt Nam*. Retrieved on August 17, 2019 from URL: <http://phunuvietsnam.vn/lich-su-ngay-thanh-lap-hoi-lhpn-viet-nam-post33952.html>.

women took part in “The Nghe Tinh Soviets”, the revolutionary movement in Central Vietnam in 1930 and 1931. Some women are known, who held responsible posts during the August Revolution. Ha Thi Que was a member of the Central Committee of Viet Bac zone and was the head of a rebellion in one of districts. Nguyen Khoa Dieu Hong lead crowds of demonstrators in Hanoi on August 19, at the height of the revolution.

At that, following Ho Chi Minh, Vietnamese Marxists noted that the emancipation is not “so much a gender question, as a class one”. Such an interpretation was mostly just and the change of social situation of women was influenced not so much with the special gender policy, as with the general revolutionary situation and changes in social and political order of the country.

Women were the most important link in the events on the eve and during the August Revolution, and the Communist Party itself acquired a great experience of the organization of women's revolutionary activity. Active participation of women, having greatly increased the social base, was one of the important factors, which predestined the success of Vietnamese Communists in 1945 and after.

The legislative regulation of women's rights in the DRV

No wonder that a lot of the first decrees, signed by President Ho Chi Minh, concerned the rights of women one way or another. In fact, as it was provided with the Viet Minh Program, they were granted universal suffrage six days after the declaration of independence, in accordance with decree № 14. Since then men and women have been granted equal electoral rights for the participation in the elections of the National Assembly. Though the percentage of women-members in the first National Assembly was insignificant (10 women-deputies, i.e. 3 per cent of the total number of deputies) their presence in the Parliament was the break for Vietnam. Even in France women were granted electoral rights two years earlier, in 1944, and, say, in Switzerland in 1971. In neighboring China, which used to be a model of new trends and ideas for Vietnam, women's electoral right was legislated in 1949, i.e., four years later than in Vietnam.

Constitution, adopted in November of 1946, the first in history of Vietnam, finally legislated equal rights of men and women in all the spheres of social and political life of the country. The Constitution of

1946 emphasized women's equality in Article 9: "Women have equal rights with men in all the spheres of life".

Under Ho Chi Minh's leadership there was done much in the DRV to improve the situation of women in the frameworks of the labour law. Decree № 29 dated March 12, 1947, placed a ban for termination of an employment contract with women during 8 weeks after childbirth (Art. 31); it decreed, that women and children, carrying out men's work, must get equal salary with the men in that place (Art. 57); determined the minimum 11-hours night rest for women (Art. 107) and regulated work schedule for pregnant women and nursing mothers (Art. 121–123).¹²

Even during the war with France, the Vietnamese leadership with Ho Chi Minh at the head paid attention to the family and domestic aspect of women's rights. The most important document was Decree № 97 dated May 22, 1950, on amendments of the norms of civil law. In fact, in Vietnam that was the first attempt of a basic revision of the centuries-old system of family and marriage relations at the legislative level. It was much more progressive, than colonial Civil Codes of Tonkin and Annam in the 1930s, and more concrete and detailed than the article of the Constitution of 1946, which ran: "Women have equal rights with men in all the spheres of life". Provisions of the former colonial laws, contradicting the new published law, were rendered void.

At last the issue of the freedom to marry without parental consent, one of the burning questions for the whole society was legally resolved. In accordance with Article 2 of Decree № 97 dated May 22, 1950, children of age were not obliged to get parental consent when they married. Article 7 defined more precisely that children of 18 are children of age and since then "even if they live with their parents, they have the right to live on their own."

Article 5 legislated equal rights of men and women in a family, while Article 6 approved all the rights of a married woman in issues linked with household.¹³

In total in the early years of the new system "the evolution of women's status was conditioned not so much with the legislation as by ge-

¹² *Sắc lệnh 29/SL ngày 12.03.1947*. URL: <https://thuvienphapluat.vn/van-ban/lao-dong-tien-luong/Sac-lenh-29-SL-quy-dinh-giao-dich-lam-cong-chu-nhan-ng-voi-Viet-nam-ngoai-quoc-cong-nhan-xuong-ky-nghe-ham-mo-thuong-diuoi-Vi-e-tu-do-36185.aspx>.

¹³ *Sắc lệnh 97/SL ngày 22.05.1950*. URL: <https://thuvienphapluat.vn/van-ban/Quy-en-dan-su/Sac-lenh-97-SL-sua-doi-quy-le-che-dinh-dan-luat/36573/noi-dung.aspx>.

neral conjuncture and revolutionary practice”, as G. Boudarel, a French historian, put it.¹⁴ Evacuation of many people from small towns and villages to distant regions resulted in weakening of clan links and in penetration of urban ideas, emancipation ones among them, in the country. Transformation of rural elites and the format itself of rural sessions greatly changed the social model of women's life. Councils of elders in a community house where women had played no role, gave way to meetings accessible for both sexes. Mutual participation of men and women in all the spheres of life, including those earlier inconceivable for women (militia, administrative institutions, rural councils) changed seriously the reception of women's activity within society. The evolution of the woman's status and her equality in society even forestalled the development of the attitude to the woman as a member with equal rights in a family.

As far as family and marriage relations are concerned, on December 29, 1959 the National Assembly adopted “The Law on Marriage and Family” (*Luật hôn nhân và gia đình*), which came into force on February 3, 1960. This law (the very first one) especially emphasized women's equal rights and considered it inadmissible to neglect them. Thus, Article 2 mentioned the well-known proverb “to respect men and to neglect women” and emphasized that the new law sets itself to eradicate such an attitude as one “of the survivals of feudalism”. Article 12 declared that “in a family a wife and a husband are equal in everything”. Also, there were prescribed equal rights of girls and boys; in accordance of Article 19, “boys and girls have equal rights and duties in the family.”¹⁵

The basic document of the Vietnamese state was a new Constitution adopted on December 31, 1959. In contradistinction to the text of 1946 it paid more attention to family and marriage relations and to women's rights, described minutely and in detail. Article 24 read: “The DRV women have equal rights with men in political, economic, cultural and family life and activity.”¹⁶ The same article approved the women's

¹⁴ Boudarel, G. (1970). *L'évolution du statut de la femme dans la République Démocratique du Vietnam*. Tiers-Monde, t. 11, № 42–43. P. 502.

¹⁵ *Luật hôn nhân và gia đình, 1959*. Retrieved on January 15, 2019 from URL: <https://thuvienphapluat.vn/van-ban/Quy-en-dan-su/Luat-Hon-nhan-va-gia-dinh-1959-2-SL-36857.aspxaa>.

¹⁶ *Hiến pháp Việt Nam Dân chủ Cộng hòa 1959*. URL: <https://thuvienphapluat.vn/van-ban/bo-may-hanh-chinh/Hien-phap-1959-Viet-Nam-Dan-Chu-Cong-Hoa-36855.aspx>.

right to the equal amount of payment of the labour commensurate with men, the right of getting paid before and after childbirth.¹⁷

But again, like in case with the former legislative documents, both the real women's social situation and attitude to their rights were impacted not so much with laws, as with the dominant views on women's role and their place in society. It was revolutionary atmosphere and practice that assisted to change for the better one of the features, characteristic of Vietnamese women's situation in the traditional society mentioned by Suong Nguyet Anh, one of well-known Vietnamese women-journalists: "Vietnamese women are like a lamp, which is bright at home, but grows dim outside."¹⁸

In his work "The Equal Rights of Men and Women" (*Nam nữ bình quyền*) (1952) Ho Chi Minh emphasized that the achievement of the gender equality was hard revolutionary work, because centuries-old gender stereotypes are inherent to Vietnamese mentality, to "every man, every family, every social layer."¹⁹ This is the struggle, which must be fought not with arms, but with propaganda, education and transformation of social mentality concerning gender questions.

It could have been fulfilled out only within that large-scale social re-organization, which had been carried by Ho Chi Minh. Such an approach allowed Ho Chi Minh to find a much more cardinal way to women's liberation, in comparison to those activists, who paid attention to the women's issue, but did not dare to oppose France in the issue of national liberation and to introduce decisive social changes.

Ho Chi Minh's mother died when he was still a child. Afterwards, according to the official standpoint, he had never had the family of his own. Ho Chi Minh's image, important for the state, suggested that the leader should belong to the nation, but not to a single person. When asked about his marriage the President used to answer that "he will only marry, when the South would be liberated and the country would unite". Though he saw neither the liberation of South Vietnam nor the reunion of the country, he managed to realize women's liberation.

Of course, to achieve real gender equality, Vietnam was and is to do much, and the state is seriously busy with this issue. The Law of gender

¹⁷ Details of family law in independent Vietnam see in: M.A. Syunnerberg (2019). *Razvitiie semeynogo zakonodatel'stva vo V'etname (konets XIX v. — 1976)*. V'etnamskie issledovaniya. Seriya 2, № 1. S. 60—73.

¹⁸ Cit. by: McHale, Sh. (1995). *Printing and Power: Vietnamese Debates over Women's Place in Society, 1918—1934*. Essays into Vietnamese Pasts. K.W. Taylor and J.W. White (eds). N.Y.: Cornell University. P. 179.

¹⁹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 6. Tr. 433.

equality (2006), The Law of prevention and struggle against domestic violence (2007), various state strategies and programs in this direction are the evidence. Taking into consideration that in the present-day world gender equality, i.e, just gender representation in power structures, is one of indices of a country's democracy and the legitimacy of its power, one can say that radical changes in women's social status, having been initiated by Ho Chi Minh, contribute to the formation of the positive image of the Vietnamese state, while strengthening its position in the international arena.

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Chapter 22

HO CHI MINH'S LIFESTYLE: BASIC CONTENTS

The study clarifies the concept and characteristics of Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle. On that basis, the author analyzes in detail the basic contents of Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle including: Ho Chi Minh's daily lifestyle, Ho Chi Minh's working lifestyle, Ho Chi Minh's behaving lifestyle, Ho Chi Minh's expressive lifestyle and Ho Chi Minh's thinking lifestyle.

Keywords: lifestyle, daily, working, behavior, expression, thinking

The concept of Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle

In both the East and the West, the concept of lifestyle has long been discussed. Lifestyle is always associated with a specific person or community; therefore, lifestyle can be understood in the following ways:

According to the Vietnamese dictionary, linguists defined: lifestyle is the ways of doing, ways of activity, working, operating, behaving that create the own characteristics of a person or a group of people.¹

In a narrow sense, lifestyle is confined to art and literature. With this understanding, lifestyle is systematic characteristics of ideology and art, stable aesthetic features of content and form of expression, creating unique values of an artist.² In that spirit, G. Buypphong said that lifestyle is human. Lifestyle cannot be taken away, transferred nor faded.³

Ho Chi Minh has often said: wanting to appreciate a person is not based only on how he or she speaks and writes, but it's important to see

¹ *Vietnamese Dictionary* (1992). Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of Linguistics. Hanoi: Language Dictionary Center. P. 771.

² Dang Xuan Ky (2013). *Ho Chi Minh's Method and Lifestyle*. Hanoi: Politics — Administration Publishing House. P. 129.

³ *Great Encyclopedia* (1972), Vol. 4. Canada.

how he or she does it. Not only in relation to one person, one thing, but to many people, many different things, both in the past and the present. So, lifestyle is also understood in a broad sense. Lifestyle is the appearance, manners and stable quality of someone, expressed in the activities of the subject, creating its own characteristics and values. In other words, lifestyle is understood as the principles that regulate one's behavior and become a habit, a stable routine in thinking, in speaking, in communication, in daily activities of the subject.⁴ With this understanding, we can talk about the lifestyle of any subject.

From the above understandings, we can come to a general concept: lifestyle is a unique feature that the subject of action reveals in all their activities.

Before the Seventh Congress (June 1991), the Communist Party of Vietnam used the term “manners” to talk about “manners of President Ho Chi Minh.” The words “manners” are understood as Ho Chi Minh's working lifestyle. From the 7th Congress, “manners” was replaced by “lifestyle” in the phrase “Continuing to foster officials, party members and people the basic principles of Marxism—Leninism, Ho Chi Minh's ideology, morality and lifestyle.”⁵ From here, Ho Chi Minh's ideology, morality and lifestyle are link together, showing copious characteristics in Uncle Ho's entire life and activities.

Researchers at home and abroad have had many studies on Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle in many different respects. Not everyone admires Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle but it inspires and attracts people, creates the closeness between the leader and the people, is an example for everyone to learn and follow.

Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle is a combination of East — West, tradition and modernity; between the past, the present and the future but it is very Vietnamese. That lifestyle — a bit like Gangdi, a bit like Lenin, completely Vietnamese as said by David Halberstam. Uncle Ho is G. Washington of Vietnam.⁶

It can be said that Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle is an exemplary lifestyle of a leader, a revolutionary, and a Vietnamese citizen. Based on these studies, Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle can be defined as a unique and systematic personality of Ho Chi Minh revealed in all its activities.

⁴ *Ho Chi Minh's Method of Revolution and Lifestyle (Internal circulation)* (2016). Hanoi: The Academy of Journalism and Communication. P. 67.

⁵ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (1991). *Văn kiện Đảng toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 51. Tr. 120.

⁶ Dang Xuan Ky. *Op. cit.* P. 135.

Characteristics of Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle

The lifestyle is strongly influenced by the surrounding environment but always imbued with a personal impression. In the same situation, each person has a different way of absorbing things, which makes a difference in lifestyle of each person.

Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle is an inseparable part of his invaluable assets. Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle is expressed in all areas of his life and activities. Speaking about Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle we are talking about the characteristics of Ho Chi Minh. Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle was formed on the basis of inheriting and promoting the values of good traditions of the nation, the quintessence of human culture, Marxism—Leninism and the rich practical experience of his activities. That contributes to create distinct characteristics in Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle.

Firstly, the lifestyle of a Vietnamese person loves not only his nation, but also the humanity; determined to find a way of national maintaining and liberation; freeing unjust oppressed people all over the world for better life.

Secondly, the lifestyle of a leader, a hero of national liberation, is always closely linked to the people, concerned about the people's lives. In 1953, in the work "Thuong thuc chinh tri", President Ho Chi Minh reminded our Party and State to practice democracy. He asserted: "Our country is a democratic country. How many benefits are for the people. How many powers are of the people". It is a beautiful lifestyle, close, widespread that makes people follow.

Thirdly, overcoming all difficulties and challenges to protect the country's independence.

Fourthly, it is the lifestyle of a pure ethical revolutionary, always combining speaking and doing, exemplary in everything, perfectly work to the end, fulfilling the set goals.

After a conversation with Ho Chi Minh in 1923 the characteristics of his lifestyle made Osip Madelstam (Soviet poet) wrote: "Nguyen Ai Quoc breathes culture, not European culture, but perhaps the culture of the future"⁷. And David Halberstam wrote: Ho Chi Minh is one of the strange characters of the era, a bit like Gangdi, a bit like Lenin, completely Vietnam.

The basic content of Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle is a whole, a combination of daily lifestyle, working lifestyle, behaving lifestyle, expressive lifestyle and thinking lifestyle.

⁷ Hồ Chí Minh (2011). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 1. Tr. 462.

Daily lifestyle

The highlight of Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle is aimed at simplicity of the material life but spiritual wealth.

Firstly, industrious, saving, clean-handed, righteous. Industrious, saving, clean-handed, righteous, it is not only the four outstanding qualities according to Ho Chi Minh's ideology that himself always carried out industrious, saving, clean-handed, righteous.

President Ho Chi Minh's outfit is extremely simple, close and familiar as everyone but at the same time polite and elegant. His appearance is associated with khaki coat, sun-helmet, rubber sandals. Regardless of any revolutionary activity period, his clothes are always simple. For example, when he was in the mountains of Viet Bac, he was wearing indigo outfit like ethnic minorities. During the visit to farmer's fields, he wore a brown suit, a towel over shoulder like a farmer. At the time of campaign, he was dressed in military uniform like a soldier. Even as the President, the familiar image is still a khaki coat.

In terms of accommodation, Ho Chi Minh has a lifestyle close to nature. When the capital has been liberated, he went to work in Hanoi as the President, where he lived in a stilt house with simple daily things.

Secondly, live harmoniously, combining smoothly East — West culture. It is a lifestyle that is both imbued with Confucian — Buddhist — Taoist culture, deeply influenced by European — American culture but always upholding and proud of Vietnamese culture.

The harmonious way of life, combining Ho Chi Minh's East-West culture is clearly expressed through the passage of Mr. Hoang Dao Thuy, namely: "Some old confician scholar saw him sitting next to a small box, busy with writing, said that He is a scholar Nghe. Wearing glasses is clearly a "ong doc hoc" (headmaster at present). Those who come back from abroad, or are used to reading Western books, are particularly civilized, such as polite Europeans. The artist listens him talk about a work and immediately sees him as a colleague. He welcomes to Mr. Vo Liem Son, gift a fan, and a poem, he was a master of literary ethics. A Frenchman listened to him and felt like he went to an uncle's house of the Xen Riverside. Hand raised to give a toast, very formal."⁸

Thirdly, respect the laws of nature, have a strong attachment to nature. When writing, President Ho Chi Minh considered it as a weapon to serve the revolution. However, like many Eastern intellectuals, when

⁸ Hoang Dao Thuy (1985). *Reminiscences*. Hanoi: High command of Communications.

he has a little free time, he often writes poetry, especially Chinese characters. The symbolic images familiar in poetry such as the moon, flowers, trees or other natural phenomena are described in poems ... All are personified and reconciled with people.

Although he was a leader of the nation, Ho Chi Minh's material life was the same as the majority of ordinary people. Ho Chi Minh's activity lifestyle is simplicity, humility, nobility in daily life, it is a lifestyle that is industrious, saving, clean-handed, righteous, not desires for fame and to gain for themselves; it is a harmonious way of life, combining smoothly Eastern and Western culture but still maintaining the Vietnamese cultural identity; it is respect the laws of nature, loving labor, and sticking with nature.

Working lifestyle

Throughout his life of sacrifice for the country and for the people, he has done many different things, which have gradually created his own working lifestyle. The working lifestyle of Ho Chi Minh include the following contents:

Firstly, lifestyle of the masses. This is the most important content of Ho Chi Minh's working lifestyle. For Ho Chi Minh, the masses are not only the force of the revolution but also the object of the revolution.

Ho Chi Minh often reminded cadres and party members to "form the masses, back to the masses."⁹ He said: "It is not necessary to write two communist words on the forehead, they will naturally be appreciated by everyone. The people only respect those who are virtuous, talented, wholeheartedly serving the people. We must love and respect the masses so that the masses can give their love for us." The masses manner is manifested by specific actions such as convergence of the masses, studying and listening to the people's thoughts and aspirations, absorbing the criticisms of the masses and correcting their shortcomings when being feedback.

Secondly, collective and democratic working lifestyle. Attachment to the collective, respect for the collective, promoting the strength of the collective are reflected in many of his decisions. In the leadership of the Party and State, he is always conscious of using the combined power of many agencies and organizations. Before deciding on a serious activity, he asked carefully and thoughtfully the people who helped him.

⁹ Hồ Chí Minh (1996). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 5. Tr. 248.

Thirdly, scientific working lifestyle. For President Ho Chi Minh, the work is close and it seizes the specific situation. People always consider and compare different opinions to choose the right comments, and filter out false information in order to make accurate and appropriate decisions. In leadership, Ho Chi Minh attaches much importance to practical summarizing issues to learn from experience for each work, thereby supplementing and adjusting the wrong and inappropriate things.

Ho Chi Minh's masses, collective, democratic and scientific working lifestyle is closely intertwined. This working lifestyle is not only necessary for the cadres, party member in the past, but also necessary for them in the current conditions.

Behaving lifestyle

Ho Chi Minh's behavior lifestyle stems from his personality, qualifications, temperament and political courage. For each of the different subjects, Ho Chi Minh has appropriate behavior. In general, Ho Chi Minh's behavior lifestyle is shown by the following contents:

The first, sincere, modest and humble. Ho Chi Minh's behaving lifestyle is not "the art of taking others' hearts" but it is Ho Chi Minh's morality and personality. President Ho Chi Minh always shows humility, sincerity, and he is amiable with people around him. He always has a simple sticking and sociable lifestyle with the people.

Sincerity, simplicity and humility are manifested throughout his life. In the days of living and fighting in the mountains of Viet Bac, as President he ate, lived, and promoted revolutionary activity together with people and soldiers. When the capital is liberated or in the reception of diplomatic corps, we do not see the difference between the President and civilian.

The second, love and respect for people. According to Ho Chi Minh, the struggle for national liberation and class liberation all have the same purpose of liberating people. President Ho Chi Minh has left countless touching stories about sentiments, cultural behaviors of the people, disadvantaged people in society. In the Testament that he has edited many times, he has left eternal love for the entire people, the whole Party, for the whole army, for young people and children, he reminded the whole our Party and people: "Must have comrades love each other"¹⁰ and told the Party: "The first is the work for people."¹¹

¹⁰ Hồ Chí Minh (2011). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nhà Chính trị quốc gia, t. 15. Tr. 611.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Tr. 616.

The third, tolerance, generosity with people. From the love and respect for people, President Ho Chi Minh showed his tolerance and generosity to everyone. For cadres and masses, he is always thoughtful and attentive; friendly and enthusiastic; when it is necessary, he gently reminds or strictly criticizes, but he remains still generous and tolerant to lift people up, not down, overwhelming people. In the work of building the Party, training and fostering the contingent of cadres and party members, He pointed out that when criticizing and self-criticism, he should give each other a frank, constructive opinion, for the common sake and benefit but not a personal views that repress, attack, backbite, depose each other. For cadres and party members who are fault, Ho Chi Minh always wants and creates conditions for them to correct the mistakes, because according to him: "Every human being has good and evil in their heart. We should know how to make the good part of each person blossom like spring flower and the bad part is gradually lost, that is the attitude of the revolutionary."

Expressive lifestyle

One of the things when referring to Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle is writing, speaking to easy to understand, concisely, non-floewly, complex when talking to compatriots and soldiers. It is one of the most striking characteristics in Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle of expression.

The first is say and write the right object, situation, and purpose. When doing politics, he uses many forms such as: political essays, letters, appeals, poems, newspapers, etc. Highlights when speaking and writing, he always teaches officials to know the principles: What to say and write?; Speak and write to whom?; Speaking, writing to do?; How to say and write? He emphasized: First of all, it is necessary to avoid the writing of "water morning glory", which means "truong giang dai hai" (plorix).¹²

With the object is the masses, Ho Chi Minh has its own lifestyle, which is: "Must learn how to speak, the voice of the masses,"¹³ "Every thought, every sentence, every word must express the ideas and wishes of the masses."¹⁴ That expression has created the closeness, friendliness and effectiveness of that lifestyle, which is deposited in the hearts of the masses.

¹² Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 8. Tr.207.

¹³ *Ibid.* Tr. 208.

¹⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 346.

The second is to speak and write truthfully. Ho Chi Minh always taught: when writing, cadres must ensure the authenticity, know what they wrote, “right speak to right, wrong speak to wrong.” Critics of officials “just write the good but hide the bad things,”¹⁵ don’t dare to criticize and self-criticize, do not dare to look at the truth. People criticize the “brag” habits of many officials and party members “often speak one-sided and sometimes exaggerate their achievements, but little or not speak properly to our difficulties and shortcomings.”¹⁶

The third is to speak and write short, simple, easy to understand, easy to remember. When expressing words, users often condensed and concise words, no redundant words. The purpose of speaking and writing short, simple, easy to understand, easy to remember is nothing but suitable to the level of the masses, because this is the force of the revolution. He pointed out: “I wrote it to educate and encourage; if the viewer can’t remember it or understand it, it is written incorrectly, for the wrong purpose. If you want the viewer to understand, remember, do it, you must write to the level of the viewer, write clearly, neatly, do not use words much.”¹⁷

President Ho Chi Minh always paid attention to the lifestyle of expression, considered it an indispensable tool to propagate and enlighten the revolutionary consciousness, raise the awareness of cadres, party members and the masses. President Ho Chi Minh’s expressive lifestyle clearly shows the uniqueness, both reflecting the quintessence of the nation, and has the unique characteristics of people with extensive experience operating in many fields and working positions.

Thinking lifestyle

According to Prof. Dang Xuan Ky, thinking is the process of human thinking, derived from the informations of the fact and the legacy of those who came before, as well as from the achievements of contemporary thought to come to determine the thinking of yourself. It is the process of the human brain’s activity, to go from sensory awareness to rational perception, from vivid visualization to abstract thinking, from which to delve into the essential layers of things, objects, and discover the regularity of things and objects. The culmination of this pro-

¹⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 8. Tr. 207.

¹⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 273.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* Tr. 346.

cess is the conceptualization, from which to define arguments and ideas expressed by the propositions of judgment and reasoning.¹⁸

Thus, thinking is the process of the brain's activities to understand the essence and laws of things. Ho Chi Minh's thought is the result of Ho Chi Minh's thinking. Ho Chi Minh's thinking lifestyle is Ho Chi Minh's thought expressed through his actual activities.

Firstly, independent and autonomy thinking. For Ho Chi Minh, independence is not dependent, not imitating, not following. Autonomy is self-mastery of our thoughts, self-control and our work, self-responsibility towards the country and the nation; creativity is willing to give up the old ones that have been tested by reality which are not right, what are backwarded, out of dated, old ones which were right before but now no longer suitable; explore, propose new things that can answer the questions that life is asking.¹⁹

The independent spirit of thinking soon helped Ho Chi Minh to arrive at independent judgments. He came to France, America, to the countries of African colonies, who did not bladder like many others but came to the judgment: "For the colonists, the life of the colonists, neither yellow nor black skin is not worth a penny."²⁰

Ho Chi Minh's independent and autonomous thinking made his thoughts different from those of Phan Chu Trinh and Phan Van Truong on the path of saving the country, although all three of them had deep patriotism. Ho Chi Minh was an International III supporter, joined the founding of the French Communist Party, absorbed Marxism—Leninism and followed the October Revolution of Russia.

The spirit of independence and autonomy has been in Ho Chi Minh's thinking lifestyle since very early. The independence and autonomy of Ho Chi Minh's thinking really to advance by leaps and bounds when he came across Marxism-Leninism. The one who received the most essential thing, the ultimate goal of Marxist—Leninist theory is the struggle to liberate people, Marxist humanitarianism, and said that: "to understand Marxism—Leninism is have to live together to make sense. If you belong to so many books and live without love, then it isn't called Marxist—Leninist understanding."²¹

¹⁸ Dang Xuan Ky. *Op. cit.* Tr. 140.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Tr. 141.

²⁰ Tran Dan Tien (2001). *Stories about the Life of President Ho*. Hanoi: Literature Publishing House. P. 22.

²¹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 15. Tr. 668.

Secondly, creative thinking. Ho Chi Minh has a creative thinking lifestyle. From early on, Ho Chi Minh asserted that the Vietnamese revolution was an intimate part of the world revolution. He argued that: “Theory comes from revolutionary experiences in countries and in our country, from previous experiences and current experiences that collect, analyze and conclusions that experiences into theory. But know how to make good use of experience. If you see how people do it, you also insist on following it. For example, when people say class struggles, we also make a slogan of class struggle, without considering the situation of our country how to make it right.”²²

From Ho Chi Minh’s ideological heritage and practical activities, it can be seen that Ho Chi Minh has such an independent, autonomous and creative way of thinking lifestyle for the following reasons:

The first, all of Ho Chi Minh’s thoughts stem from the reality of Vietnam, all the worries in his thinking process are aimed at finding the way to save people, save the country and the road to build a Vietnam is rich and civilized and can keep up with other countries around the globe and to walk abreast with the world powers. In particular, in the *Testament*, he stated: “The last wish” is: “Our entire Party and people unite to strive and build a Vietnam’s peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and rich, contribution to the world revolution career.”²³

The second, open thinking, studying all the thoughts and theories that have been there. Before coming to Marxism—Leninism, Ho Chi Minh studied Confucianism, approached Buddhism, Taoism, and Christianity, became acquainted with the ideas of Western European capitalists and bourgeois revolution. After coming to Marxism—Leninism, he also studied Ton Trung Son’s three-personism. Ho Chi Minh has absorbed the most quintessential of the doctrines, the ideas and then synthesized, developed and expanded them to apply to the practical situation of our country and proposed its own views, resolving specific requirements of our country in accordance with the development trend of the times and of mankind.

The third, looking out to the world, constantly learning to improve the cultural level, enriching our intelligence with very rich and extensive knowledge, this is an indispensable condition of an independent, autonomy, creativity thinking. Ho Chi Minh was repeated the saying of Lenin: “Learn, learn more, learn forever!”

²² *Ibid.* Tr. 312.

²³ *Ibid.* Tr. 624.

In summary, Ho Chi Minh's thinking lifestyle always expresses independence, autonomy and creativity with a courageous stuff, and the spirit of taking responsibility to the nation and humanity. Ho Chi Minh's independent, autonomous and creative thinking lifestyle has led to ideas reflecting the right life, reflecting the laws of movement and development of life, so they are not unfashionable, which paved the way for life to come forward.

Conclusion

Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle reflects the core values of his thoughts and morals and is expressed extremely vividly, naturally, nicely, with charismatic, magical sensibilities in activities and behaviors everyday like a elevated, pure and simple lifestyle; democratic, scientific, thorough and specific working lifestyle; cultural, delicate behavior lifestyle, full of humanity, imbued with the spirit of loving the people, respect the people and for the people; lifestyle of speaking combined with doing, into the heart of people; speak and write short, easy to understand, easy to remember, easy to do; popular, democratic and exemplary lifestyle; thinking lifestyle of independence, autonomy and creativity, theory goes with practice.

Studying and following Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle is not stereotyped and imitated, but each person will have specific behaviors. Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle is considered as the standard, the quintessence that an individual need. In order to study and follow effectively Ho Chi Minh's lifestyle, it must not be separated from studying and following Ho Chi Minh's example, morality and tasks, works must be performed by each individual. Studying and following the example, morality and lifestyle of Ho Chi Minh is a requirement, a responsibility, but also a sentiment, an earnest wish of every patriotic Vietnamese cadre, party member and people, to build a beautiful and democratic Vietnam; Vietnamese people are independent, free and happy.

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Chapter 23

SOCIALIST ORIENTATION OF THE MARKET ECONOMY DEVELOPMENT IN VIETNAM AND HO CHI MINH' THOUGHT

The outstanding development of Vietnam after more than 30 years of Renovation is a testament to the theoretical achievements of socialism and the Communist Party's path to socialism. However, when the country enters a new stage of development, while the world's socialism is still in a difficult period, the scientific and technological revolution, globalization and integration are developing very quickly, the problem of choosing the development path in accordance with the new conditions is challenging Vietnam. The author argues that socialist orientation of the market economy development in Vietnam derives from Marxism—Leninism and Ho Chi Minh' thought on the relationship between economics and politics.

Keywords: socialist orientation, market economy, economics, politics

When researching the birth of socialism in Vietnam, we find that there are still some open issues. *First*, on the starting point and prerequisites of the transition to socialism along with ignoring capitalism, some previous conceptions methodologically emphasized that the struggle between opposing sides always leads to the negation and destruction; while actually fighting between opposing sides implies mutual transformation.

Second, the issue of relevance among economics, politics, culture and society in the transitional period also attracts great attention. Clearly, the overall observation has not shown the similarity and unity among

all areas of Vietnam's socio-economic life. Socialist orientation to economic development is a political orientation, so it is necessary to clarify its nature based on the dialectical relationship between economics and politics.

Theoretical basis of political orientation to economic development

After nearly 35 years of renovation, the changing domestic and international practices are requiring the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV) to maintain both political stability and sustainable economic development. To do so, the Party has always paid attention to and resolved wisely the dialectical relationship between economics and politics. Maintaining political stability for economic development is the most important measure to maintain political stability. Being aware of the interaction between economics and politics as well as their mutual influence is of great importance in planning policies and guidelines of the Party and the State. Therefore, before examining the main content, it is also necessary to consider the overarching principle that lies in the relationship between economics and politics.

The term *economics* is broadly understood as all activities of production, exchange, distribution and circulation of a community or a country in a given period of time. Accordingly, the concept of economics consists of two basic meanings:

Firstly, the overall production relations defined in history are consistent with each development level of the productive force.

Secondly, all sectors or parts of a national economy include types of production by sectors, regions (i.e. economic structure), and management mechanism.

Thus, the term economics reflects the production activities of a certain society, the living conditions of people, the relationships in the production and reproduction processes. When it comes to economics, it is also about ownership and benefits, which are the two most important issues of an economy. Political orientation or macro-level direction is mainly to address these two issues adequately.

Politics is the most complex area in a class society. The materialist views on history of Marxism—Leninism see politics as a special phenomenon of social life, involving parties and state. Politics reflects the relationship between classes, ethnic groups and social groups with different and conflicting interests, especially economic interests.

Politics did not appear right from the start of mankind. Only when society has class division, irreconcilable class struggles exist, leading to the birth of a state to keep them under control. Thus, politics appears with the advent of the state. Politics is the most flexible and sensitive element of the superstructure. It has the fastest impact on other areas of social life. In class conflicts, economics and ideological struggles are not as important as political struggles. Because the struggle in politics makes the appearance of political parties representing classes, there will be revolutionary violence not only to claim economic benefits but mainly to gain political power. In other words, when there is political struggle, a revolution will break out sooner or later in order to change the old regime into a new and more advanced one. Therefore, it becomes the driving force for social development.

According to Lenin, politics is the relationship among classes, the participation of the people in the state, and the orientation of the state's activities, thus determining the form, task and content of the state's activities. Any activities are political if they are directly or indirectly related to class interests and political power. Politics, as Lenin said, is ultimately the benefits of the people, the fates and actions of millions of people.

So, how are politics and economics related? According to Marx and Engels, "It is not human's consciousness that determines their existence; on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness."¹ Economics is the basis on which social, political and spiritual life processes are borne, and once "economic base changes, the whole massive superstructure is turned upside down," so does politics.

However, with dialectical thinking, Marx and Engels also recognized the impact of politics on economic development. According to them, politics can affect economics in three dimensions:²

First, in the same direction with economic development, positively promoting economic development.

Second, in the opposite direction to economic development, thus restraining economic development.

Third, politics can simultaneously limit and enhance certain development trends in a given economic regime.

However, according to Marx and Engels, even if political power is used to go against and restrain economic development, politics cannot

¹ C. Mác và Ph. Ăngghen (2000). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 13. Tr. 14–15.

² C. Marx and Ph. Engels. *Op. cit.*, t. 37. Tr. 678.

escape the pressure of economic development. Finally, politics must be changed to accommodate economic development and adhere to it. Engels also strongly acknowledged the influence of the state through violence on economic development.

Lenin took up valuable views of Marx and Engels on the relationship between economics and politics to build Soviet Russia. Lenin asserted: “Politics occupies the leading position compared to economics.”³ According to Lenin, politics is decided by economics, but politics always has an impact on economics. Politics cannot fail to keep the first priority in deciding the direction of economic construction and development. It is the dialectic of economics and politics. Moreover, politics here is the politics to do business, meaning that the ruling class needs to give right policies to develop the economy. Politics is also understood as the political method used for economic development. There are many people who have claimed that Lenin went against Marxism when he affirmed that politics played a decisive role in economics, thus indirectly asserting that superstructure played a decisive role in infrastructure. As opposed to that, Lenin was not only loyal to Marxism, but his above-mentioned argument also made more concrete about the role of politics. Lenin used the word “priority” of politics over economics, which means to uphold the role of the subjective factors in some special cases but not to say that politics plays a decisive role in economics. Politics here can also be understood as a tool to solve economic problems and other issues.

Besides discussing theories, Lenin himself showed his genius in combining politics and economics to revive Russia in the early 20th century. The proper analysis of economic reality helped Lenin find the bottom line of the economic starting point. From here, the next political issue is to make right policies in accordance with leading the economy in the right direction. Non-socialist economic sectors still exist. Instead of restricting them as in the old policy (i.e. war communist), the New Economic Policy (NEP) needed to be promoted. Lenin emphasized: “In our country, classes still exist, the elimination of classes requires many years.”⁴ From the recognition of the existence of many economic sectors, it was necessary to acknowledge the development of a multi-component commodity economy, and all such components needed to develop equally. It should be noted that this kind of policy is also very suitable for Vietnam today.

³ V.I. Lênin (1978). *Toàn tập*. Matxcova: Nxb Tiến bộ, t. 42. Tr. 349.

⁴ V. I. Lenin. *Op. cit.*, t. 43. Tr. 386.

The issues of political orientation for current socio-economic development in Vietnam

In the transitional period⁵, Lenin's formula for building a country was to look politically to determine the task of economic construction. It means that, when making economic policies, we also have to stand on the perspectives of the Party and the State on building socialism. However, the problem here is to use politics as a tool to regulate economic development to a reasonable extent. In order to have a socially sustainable economic development, there is a need for state intervention at a certain level, namely a combination of market and planning.

In the process of implementing NEP, Lenin constantly and resolutely emphasized the dialectical relationship between economics and politics and affirmed at that time that political methods were always at the forefront, giving priority to politics is also giving priority for solving problems related to economic development. Lenin asserted: "Without a proper political position, it is impossible for a certain class to maintain its domination, thus impossible to fulfill its task in the field of production."⁶

To have a strong economy, Lenin wanted to make fewer political mistakes and have smart leaders as well as an effective state apparatus. He frankly admitted that "the situation of our state apparatus is very sad, if not very bad, that we must first think seriously about how to should overcome shortcomings of that machine."⁷ Lenin expressed great attention to political orientation, which is still a very topical issue in Vietnam nowadays.

Lenin thought that a poor, backward country could go to socialism, but he emphasized that it was a long-term reform. It was a time when the new and the old were intertwined and struggling with each other. Lenin emphasized in NEP that "now economic matters are right in front of us, and we need to remember that our next step cannot be a direct transition to socialist construction."⁸ It also means that we have to transfer indirectly in the period of "socialist orientation" that Vietnam is currently pursuing.

⁵ For Vietnam today is the period of *socialist orientation*.

⁶ V. I. Lenin. *Op. cit.*, t. 42. Tr. 350.

⁷ V. I. Lenin. *Op. cit.*, t. 45. Tr. 442—443.

⁸ V. I. Lenin. *Op. cit.*, t. 44. Tr. 258.

To reach socialism, it is necessary to have the right political decisions, which should be very sensitive and appropriate to reality. What Lenin pointed out in NEP should be inherited by the Party and the State of Vietnam. In particular, we have made an appropriate policy to create conditions for the market economy of socialist-oriented development in Vietnam. The development of the market economy is not only the inheritance of capitalism but also of the entire human civilization.

From philosophical perspective, we see that the dialectical relationship between economics and politics is manifested in a diverse, rich and colorful manner. It is the expression of the relationship between infrastructure and superstructure, between production forces and production relations, between economic growth and social justice. In terms of management, it is the relationship between the Party leadership and the State management. Within the scope of this article, we just briefly present some theoretical points that Vietnam can apply in the national comprehensive renovation to build a socialist-oriented market economy.

In the renovation process, the CPV always takes Marxism—Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's thoughts as the guideline for all activities. The Party realizes that: the first issue is how to deal with the relationship between economics and politics to both develop and not deviate the economy alongside affirming the leading role of the Communist Party and unleashing national potentials.

The Party supposes that to resolve the relationship between economics and politics is to resolve the relationship between object (economic development) and subject (politics, development strategy), namely the relationship between developing multi-sector economy and socialist orientation. In addition, the relationship between economics and politics is also the relationship between society and politics which shows that politics must ensure economic growth in parallel with the implementation of social justice. When politics makes decisions to promote economic development, it must also have appropriate policies so that economic growth accompanies social development.

In terms of orientation, the specific functions of the state are mainly to guide development and direct investment in a number of areas to lead socialist development efforts, establishing legal framework and consistent system of policies to create stable and a favorable environment for business, limiting negative aspects of market economy. The current orientation of the state is increasingly specific and consistent with reality as well as the goal of moving to socialism in Vietnam. It is completely

different from the overly generalized and subjective orientation in the years 1976—1985, which was “move fast, strongly, solidly to socialism.” Previously, Lenin warned that “the most damaging thing here is hastiness. The most harmful thing is to think that all of what we know is enough”, and “must not forget that in order to build that apparatus, we must not be afraid to be time-consuming, it actually requires many, many, so many years.”⁹

Through legislative activities, the State creates a legal environment for all economic sectors and enterprises to operate freely. In 1992, the State issued the Constitution with more revisions than in 1980 as recognizing private ownership as one of the three forms of legal ownership in the economy; 5 existing economic sectors were acknowledged. While the 1980 Constitution stipulated that the State governs the foundation the national economy based on unified plan, the 1992 Constitution stated that the State unifies the management of the national economy with laws, plans and policies. That is, plans are only one of state management measures. In order to achieve that, the Party must first consistently follow the chosen path, namely the socialist path. On political orientation in our country, there should not be major changes but a few minor adjustments in leadership and management.

Conclusion

Over the past few decades, the situation has changed so much. At one time or another, there is still the view that market economy and socialist political goals cannot be reconciled. This view is clearly metaphysical and mechanical. Besides, there is a view that moving to a market economy with the acceptance of many economic sectors and different owners will lead to diversification in social structures and benefits. Therefore, in order to adapt to that “pluralistic” economy, politics cannot be “unitary” and under the leadership of one party.

However, it is still possible to rely on Lenin when he noted that only political struggles lead to the emergence of parties, while economic components can be harmonized and unified to develop together, thus unnecessarily leading to political pluralism. Lenin himself used the word “priority” of politics over economy, which means to uphold the subjective factors’ role in some special cases.

Above are some suggestions based on Marxist—Leninist views on the relationship between economics and politics for gradually improving

⁹ V. I. Lenin. *Op. cit.*, t. 45. Tr. 443.

the socialist theory and the transitional path to socialism in Vietnam today. These suggestions also need to be further developed to become the guidance for the next practical activities.

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PART 5

HO CHI MINH AND THE WORLD

Chapter 24

HO CHI MINH — A GREAT INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONIST

President Ho Chi Minh is one of the historical figures who left a bold mark in the 20th century. He has appeared on the world political stage not only as a hero of national liberation but also as a senior international revolutionist. Proving “international revolutionist” status to Ho Chi Minh, the author focuses on analyzing Ho Chi Minh’s abundant international activities, taking into account his modern international thinking and great contribution to the world revolutionary process. Thus, the author wants to assert Ho Chi Minh’s prestige and particularly important position not only for the nation but also for humanity in general.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh, revolutionist, international activities, national liberation movement, contribution, world revolution

With nearly 6 decades of revolutionary activities, President Ho Chi Minh has come a long way from the nation to mankind geographically, ideologically and influentially. Who not only is the hero of national liberation but also as soldiers of the international fight tirelessly for the cause of human liberation. This is the difference in his revolutionary path from that of ancestors and many patriots at the same time. With his great contributions, prestige and morality, Ho Chi Minh’s name is engraved not only in the hearts of the Vietnamese people but also the people of the world.

Ho Chi Minh — the experienced international activist

Ho Chi Minh found his way to the West when Vietnam was a French colony. From the condition of a countryless people become a patriot, a man save the country become an international soldier of struggling for the liberation of the peoples of colonial... are logical developments in the life of the great patriot Ho Chi Minh. The revolutionary and theoretical practices of Marxism—Leninism helped him understand that: In a new era, if we want to save the country, we must combine forces; Patriots must inevitably become international soldiers. From awareness into action, Ho Chi Minh's international activities emerge with the following unique points.

Firstly, Ho Chi Minh has 30 years experience of operation abroad, has participated in revolutionary movements of many countries and operated in the highest organization of the world communist movement, International III — International Communist.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the world was quite isolated, but as a sailor, Ho Chi Minh “was the most traveled political activist with the richest knowledge about the reality of colonies and of imperial capitalist countries mainly in the early decades of the twentieth century.”¹ After many years of living and studying, Ho Chi Minh's life of political activity has begun with joining the French Socialist Party (early 1919) when he has realized “this was the only organization in France defending his country, the only one that pursued the noble ideas of the Great French Revolution: Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.”² Participation in the most advanced political organization in France helped Ho Chi Minh to not only quickly improve understanding of socio-political issues but also to establish close relationships with the key elements of French Socialist Party and French Communist Party later. Since then, the relationship between the Vietnamese revolution and the French revolution has begun to be established.

The landmark event for Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh's name at that time) who worked his way up from a patriot to a “professional revolutionary” of International III was the reading Lenin's Proclamation on ethnic and colonial issues.”It's like a thirsty and hungry person on

¹ Hội đồng Trung ương chỉ đạo biên soạn giáo trình quốc gia các bộ môn khoa học Mác — Lênin (2003). *Giáo trình tư tưởng Hồ Chí Minh*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr.27.

² *Hồ Chí Minh biên niên tiểu sử* (2016). Học viện Chính trị Quốc gia Hồ Chí Minh, Viện Hồ Chí Minh Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 1. Tr. 47.

the road who has been given the water and food”³, Lenin’s views on national self-determination, the need for an alliance between colonial revolution and the world worker movement, the role of International III in supporting the people of the colonial countries... have inspired Ho Chi Minh to the way of saving the country — the revolution of the proletariat. From here, he “fully believes in Lenin, believes in the Third International.”⁴ With a mind for it, he along with other comrades have declared established *French Division of Communist International*. Prime Minister Pham Van Dong commented: “Now what I think about it that, I find it strange. A young Vietnamese, who has just arrived in Paris, had immediately penetrated the political life there, did extremely important things for our people, for the colonial peoples and contributed to the formation of the revolutionary party of the French working class.”⁵

Becoming the first communist of the Vietnamese nation, Ho Chi Minh tried to make the French Communist Party interested in colonial issues in the spirit of Lenin. Ho Chi Minh’s enthusiasm and deep understanding of the colonial issue were known by the Communist International and he was sent to the Soviet Union by the French Communist Party to attend the V International Congress. In the Soviet Union, he attended the International *Farmer* Conference and was elected to the Presidium of this organization. On April 4, 1924, Ho Chi Minh was accepted to work as an official of *the Communist International Oriental Board*. Participating in the V Congress of International Communists (June 17—July 9, 1924) as not only a representative of Indochina but also as a representative of the French empire colonial countries, when speaking at many meetings, Ho Chi Minh stressed the importance of the colonial revolution and the Western European Communist Party’s responsibility to help in this case.

After more than a year of living, studying and operating in the Soviet Union — the center of the world revolution, and working in the Communist International with the distinguished revolutionaries, Ho Chi Minh has matured in all aspects and he wants to bring his knowledge and experience to the struggle of Asian peoples, first of all Indochina. His wishes were approved and at the end of October 1924, as an officer of the Eastern Committee of the Communist International, Commissioner of the International Presidium of Farmers, he returned to Guangzhou, China to monitor and direct revolutionary movements in some Asian

³ Hồ Chí Minh (2011). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 11. Tr. 173.

⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 12. Tr. 562.

⁵ Phạm Văn Đồng (2012). *Hồ Chí Minh — Tinh hoa và khí phách của dân tộc*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 54.

countries. In 1928–1929, he also came to Thailand to build a revolutionary movement there and direct the struggle in Vietnam through overseas Vietnamese forces. Under mature conditions, as an envoy of the Communist International, in early 1930, Ho Chi Minh has established the Communist Party of Vietnam and in April 1931, the Executive Committee of the Communist International. He decided to recognize the Indochinese Communist Party as an independent branch of the Communist International. The relationship between Vietnam's revolution and the Communist International was formally established by the work of Ho Chi Minh.

Thanks to his high reputation, when he had been arrested in Hong Kong, Ho Chi Minh was protected by many international organizations, individuals and he returned to the Soviet Union in 1934. After 4 years of studying there, at the end of October 1938, he has returned to work in China and in 1941, he has officially come back to Vietnam. Following Ho Chi Minh's footsteps in 30 years of international activities, revolutionary movements of many countries have been rekindled and developed in the direction of International III. On the other hand, each revolutionary journey and practical experience in each country also brings Ho Chi Minh a lot of experience, made him a multicultural phenomenon so that he has become "the friend of all the great communist leaders of his time."⁶

Secondly, Ho Chi Minh is a revolutionist who always associates national interests with the interests of humanity.

Having traveled many colonial, dependent countries and having lived in developed capitalist countries like France, USA, UK, Ho Chi Minh has had comparable conditions, experience, and has learned to expand sight. Having arrived in the colonial countries, the suffering people there were increased Ho Chi Minh's empathy, resentment so that he were starting to get the idea of uniting oppressed peoples. Having arrived in developed capitalist countries, he has realized that the working people there were also very miserable. Since then, he concluded: "Although the color of the skin varies, there are only two human beings in this world: the exploited one and the exploitee one. And there is a kind of friendship only one true friendship: proletarian friendship."⁷ He also realized that the source of human suffering in *the imperial countries* and the liberation of the nation from the imperialist patriotism was not only the burning need of the Vietnamese people. So, he has gone

⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 1. Tr. 287.

⁷ *Ibid.* Tr. 491.

from national consciousness to class consciousness; from national vision to international vision. If patriotism has urged him to go abroad, the process of living and operating abroad has raised the love of the people into the love of fellow people. Understanding that true patriotism is never separate from pure internationalism Ho Chi Minh aims to “liberate humanity”⁸, fighting for the equal rights of all peoples in the world. Later, Ho Chi Minh also affirmed the “dual” purposes of the resistance against the US: “For the independence and freedom of the Fatherland, for the sake of the socialist faction, the oppressed peoples and the progressive humanity, we are fighting and overcoming the most evil enemy on the world.”⁹ The combination of national interests with the interests of humanity has made Ho Chi Minh’s international stature and has endowed him with international influence. There were foreign politicians commenting that: “The biggest advantage of President Ho Chi Minh is not only fighting for a flag and liberation of the territory..., but also the struggle for the dignity of the people...and thereby the revolution launched by him has become a worldwide extent.”¹⁰

Thirdly, Ho Chi Minh founded the international organization to unite the peoples of the colonies.

The imperial countries, which had strong military-economic power, still had a force connection, which became stronger and stronger. Meanwhile, as a result of the imperialist “divide and rule” policy, due to underdeveloped economic conditions, the struggle of colonial peoples was easily suppressed. It is essential to link forces but if so that they should make people understand the general situation. Ho Chi Minh made it clear: “Although we are people from different countries, different religions, we have loved each other like brothers. We suffer the same pain: the tyranny of colonial rule. We fight for a common ideal: to liberate our people and gain independence for our country.”¹¹ From here on, he called: “For world peace, for freedom and prosperity, exploited people of all races need to unite and oppose the oppressors.”¹²

In order to realize that desire, Ho Chi Minh joined the foundation of the Colonial Association in France in 1921. The birth of an anti-colonial

⁸ Ho Chi Minh (1970). *Since Independence, Freedom, for Socialism*. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House. P. 313.

⁹ *Hội thảo quốc tế về Chủ tịch Hồ Chí Minh* (1990). Hà Nội: Nxb Khoa học xã hội. Tr. 39.

¹⁰ Hồ Chí Minh. *Toàn tập. Op. cit.*, t. 1. Tr. 208.

¹¹ *Ibid.* Tr. 487.

¹² *Ibid.* Tr. 463.

coalition in the capital of France is very special. From here on, Ho Chi Minh's scope of activities was not limited to the Overseas Vietnamese Association or to the French Communist Party but expanded to the community of colonial countries. Also from that moment on, he was gradually confirmed as an international soldier, the leader of the movement to liberate the peoples who were colonized by France. Uniting oppressed peoples is a consistent policy of Ho Chi Minh, so when he came to Guangzhou, China, 1924, he continued to establish the Union of Oppressive Ethnic Groups in Asia. This is the primitive form of the front for the unification of oppressed peoples in the proletariat — a new development step in the world revolutionary movement.

In addition, Nguyen Ai Quoc — Ho Chi Minh's policy of uniting oppressive peoples doesn't only stems from political goals but also from sympathy and compassion for people in the same situation. In 1923, the Soviet poet Osip Mandelstam saw in Nguyen Ai Quoc a symbol of national solidarity: "Through the noble manner, in the warm voice of Nguyen Ai Quoc, we can hear tomorrow, as if seeing the immense quietness of friendship all over the world."¹³ The poet also recounted: "When speaking, he often use the word "brother". Nguyen Ai Quoc's brothers here are blacks, Indians, Xyrians, Chinese people."¹⁴ Later, he often used the phrase "brother countries" to refer to relations between socialist countries. Comrades' love and fellowship are the outstanding qualities of the international revolutionary Ho Chi Minh and his affection has been nurtured by his lifelong.

Forthly, Ho Chi Minh was a loyal revolutionary of International III — International Communist and always tried to establish solidarity between Vietnam and other ethnic groups.

During 30 years of international operations, there have been 20 years Ho Chi Minh has been with International III. As the first Communist in Indochina countries to operate in the highest leadership body of the world communist movement, Ho Chi Minh always believes and is loyal to his organization. He has made great contributions to spreading Marxism—Leninism and the prestige of International III into Indochina as well as other countries. He asserted that "If Annam wants to revolutionize successfully, it would be due to the Third International"¹⁵ "the Third International is a Worldwide Communist Party."¹⁶ Wherever

¹³ *Ibid.* Tr. 460.

¹⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 2. Tr. 312.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Tr. 310.

¹⁶ Trần Quốc Vương (2003). *Văn hóa Việt Nam tìm tòi và suy ngẫm*. Hà Nội: Nxb Văn học. Tr. 910—911.

he operates, he always keeps in close contact with the organization. Even when taken by comrades as a “nationalist” because of his creative views, he still very protected the Soviet Union, respected and obeyed the decisions of superiors. Through his regular reports, International III understands the situation in China, in Southeast Asia and other countries to timely directed.

The connection to the world revolutionary movement was maintained by Ho Chi Minh even after returning to Vietnam to operate (January 1941). The Viet Minh front, founded by him, sided with the allies to fight against fascism, creating favorable conditions for the people of the colonial countries to fight for independence. When Vietnam has declared its independence (September 1945), Ho Chi Minh conducted international activities as head of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. He endeavored to create solidarity between the three Indochinese peoples, establishing diplomatic relations with socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and China, establishing friendly relations build unity with Asian countries such as India, Burma, and Indonesia, actively supporting the national liberation movement in Asia — Africa — Latin America, actively participating in the Non-Aligned movement ... As a true international soldier, Ho Chi Minh clearly determined that the purpose of diplomacy was to contribute to bring independence and freedom to Vietnam to build together with countries world peace, and to move towards prosperity.

In general, for nearly 60 years of revolutionary activities, Ho Chi Minh has set its footprint in more than 30 countries on 4 continents: Asia, Europe, Africa and America. An American scholar considered Ho Chi Minh’s own movement itself “*as a value* because it provides a wealth of experience, broad perspectives, multicultural exposure and tolerance.”¹⁷ It can be said: Ho Chi Minh is the “global citizen”, the “messenger” of peace and friendship among peoples around the world.

Ho Chi Minh’s remarkable vision on international issues

Ho Chi Minh became an international revolutionary renowned for his activities led by the right viewpoint on international relations.

First of all, Ho Chi Minh understands the linkage of the world and actively exploits international elements for national liberation. Although

¹⁷ Xtrong, Anna Luidor. *Ba lần nói chuyện với Hồ Chí Minh*. Báo Nhân dân, số 4062, ngày 18.05.1965.

coming from an isolated Eastern country, Ho Chi Minh had an intention when he was still very young “to go abroad to see clearly.”¹⁸ With a sweeping vision of the world, Ho Chi Minh understood that, “the revolutionary struggles of the peoples, whether near or far, big or small, are related to each other”¹⁹. Therefore, even though “nationalism is the great driving force of the country,”²⁰ Ho Chi Minh still has affirmed: to win colonialism to regain national independence are needed to implement a broad international solidarity strategy. The expression “the Annam’s revolution is also part of the world revolution”²¹ has become a general rule of all countries, not only Vietnam. Having combined the policy of national unity and international solidarity, Ho Chi Minh had given rise to harmonious relations between peoples, self-help and foreign aid. This is a basically new point in Ho Chi Minh’s political thinking compared to many predecessors and contemporaries.

Ho Chi Minh *has proper awareness about the topic friend — enemy*. In any revolution, if there is some ambiguity in the definition of friend — enemy, the consequences could be immeasurable. Ho Chi Minh offers a new perspective: Imperialism is the enemy everywhere and working people are friends everywhere. He tried to oppose the French colonialists in Vietnam but truly loved French culture, fought against the American war in Vietnam but praised American culture. He clearly distinguishes people from the warlike government, always expressing his trust in the conscience and love of peace of the people of the opposing countries. In this way, Ho Chi Minh made the enemy condemned even in its own country and Vietnam received the support of a large number of progressive French and American people. It is unprecedented in the history of human war.

In international relations, Ho Chi Minh communists were not influenced by ideology — a characteristic of the historical period at that time. He said that “countries with different social regimes and different forms of consciousness can live together peacefully.”²² Very brave and very wise, he stated: Vietnam is willing to “make friends with all democratic countries and not to hurt anyone.”²³ Due to the early idea of integration and international cooperation, he has affirmed many times:

¹⁸ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 7. Tr. 385.

¹⁹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 1. Tr. 511.

²⁰ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 2. Tr. 329.

²¹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 10. Tr. 12.

²² Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 5. Tr. 256.

²³ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 4. Tr. 523.

“For democratic countries, Vietnam is willing to implement open-door policy and cooperation in all areas.”²⁴ In the economic field, Ho Chi Minh announced that he would “trade with all countries in the world who wanted to deal with Vietnam honestly.”²⁵ He clearly shows the spirit of cultural tolerance and respect for different values. The view of “finding unity in diversity” makes Ho Chi Minh a person with a very modern international mindset.

General Vo Nguyen Giap has rightly said: “Today, what he said has become a common truth, as simple as any other truth. But 50 years ago this truth seemed to be one *of the brightest geniuses*.”²⁶

Ho Chi Minh’s dedication to the world revolution and the course of human history

Ho Chi Minh was voted by Time magazine as one of the 100 most influential figures in history; UNESCO has honored him as both a hero of national liberation and an outstanding culture figure. The world recognition comes from Ho Chi Minh’s contributions to human history. Most noteworthy are the following contributions.

Firstly, Ho Chi Minh enriched Marxism—Leninism with a very innovative system of views.

Ho Chi Minh was one of the theorists of the international communist movement. A series of his views devoted to imperialism as a two-mouth leech, the importance of colonial revolution and of true nationalism, on the initiative of the colonial revolution, on the victory of the colonial revolution compared to the revolution in the main country, on the policy of great national unity ... are invaluable contributions to the theoretical treasure of Marxism—Leninism. At a time when the Communist International and the Communist Parties in Western Europe were emphasizing the dependence of the colonial revolution on the national revolution, Ho Chi Minh’s view was a strong, courageous, and critical; and history has proved that: he was absolutely right.

Ho Chi Minh operates not only in Europe but also in Asia, such as China and Thailand; not just understanding capitalistic society but also studying the situation of India, Korea and many other countries... The practical understanding of many places has helped him find similarities

²⁴ Hồ Chí Minh. Op. cit., t. 6. Tr. 46.

²⁵ Hồ Chí Minh. Op. cit., t. 2. Tr. 312.

²⁶ Võ Nguyên Giáp (1970). *Hồ Chí Minh — nhà chiến lược thiên tài, người cha thân yêu của các lực lượng vũ trang nhân dân Việt Nam*. Hà Nội: Nxb Sự thật. Tr. 9.

and differences between capitalistic and colonial societies, between Europe and Asia. As a result, he made a very new point: “Communism has entered Asia more easily than Europe”²⁷ and thus Marxism should be supplemented by “an oriental ethnographic.”²⁸ Given that Marxism—Leninism is not only scientific and revolutionary but also ethical and cultural, he requested: “Understanding Marxism—Leninism is to live together with love and gratitude. If you learn by heart so many books but live without love and gratitude, then you actually don’t understand Marxism—Leninism.”²⁹ There is ample evidence of Ho Chi Minh’s Marxist—Leninist creative development. Therefore, his opponent, Robert Mc Namara — Secretary of Defense of the United States (1961—1968) — admitted: “Among the communist leaders of the twentieth century. Ho Chi Minh was considered one of the least hardened by the communist dogma.”³⁰ To be commented by opponents like that is not easy.

Secondly, Ho Chi Minh had great merits in making the International Communist Party and the Communist Party in Western Europe more interested in the colonial revolution.

Coming from a colonial country, Ho Chi Minh soon realized the importance of colonial revolution and the close connection between the revolution of national liberation in the colonies and the revolution in the country. He asserted: “In this day and age, the national liberation revolution is an integral part of the proletariat revolution throughout the world.”³¹ To persuade the Communist Party supported the colonial revolution in general and revolutionary Vietnam in particular, Ho Chi Minh made a truthful thesis: One nation that oppresses another cannot have freedom. He also made it clear that: If the communist parties in Western Europe did not really support the colonial revolution, the struggle in the country was not different from “kill snakes by smash the tail”.³² He did not miss a chance to denounce the crimes of colonialism and *awaken* his comrades to the responsibility of helping the colony. He also frankly asked a question: “If you had not condemned colonialism, if you had not defended the colonial peoples, what revolution would

²⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 1. Tr. 47.

²⁸ *Ibid.* Tr. 510.

²⁹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 15. Tr. 668.

³⁰ Borton, Lady (2012). *Hồ Chí Minh — Một hành trình*. Hà Nội: Nxb Thế giới. Tr. 150.

³¹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 15. Tr. 392.

³² Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 1. Tr. 296.

you have made?”³³ Finally, his right points of view, his fervent and ardent attitude were also somehow noted by the Communist Party and International Communist Party. The French Communist Party had established a *colonial research committee* and Ho Chi Minh became Head of the Indochina research subcommittee; Resolutions of Congress V (1924) and Congress VI (1928) of the *Communist International* all have their own impact on colonial revolution. By his enthusiasm and talent, Ho Chi Minh tried to make Lenin’s slogan “The proletarians of all countries and oppressed people, unite!” the Communist Party’s line and put into practice.

Thirdly, Ho Chi Minh was a pioneer soldier on the front against imperialism and colonialism and made mankind believe in the power of righteousness.

The colonialism is a “stain” in human history because it humiliates people and brings people down to the line of animals. Ho Chi Minh is the representative of the oppressed peoples fighting for the right to be a human being, to live in the world without war, oppression and injustice. Voluntarily fighting for that ideal, when bribed or intimidated by the enemy, he roughly declared: “The most I need in my life is our compatriots to be free and my country to be independent.”³⁴ Since he was active in France, Ho Chi Minh’s reputation, enthusiasm and talent made Acnua — a French spy who specialized in tracking Vietnamese people in France, predicted: “This slender and vibrant young man may be the one who eliminates our domination in Indochina.”³⁵ History has gone exactly in that way.

On the other hand, despite the earnest call for the assistance of the mainland proletariat, Ho Chi Minh insisted colonial revolution must be carried out *actively*. He writes: “Your liberation can only be done by the effort of yourself.”³⁶ He also clarified: “A people who do not support themselves but wait for other people to help them does not deserve to be independent.”³⁷ Under his guidance, the struggle against imperialism had not just made the Vietnamese people a pioneer nation in this case, but also the victory of Vietnamese people shattered colonial system had caused the failure of both old and new colonialism on a world scale.

³³ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 12. Tr. 562.

³⁴ Lan, T. (2000). *Vừa đi đường, vừa kể chuyện*. Hà Nội: NXB Thanh niên. Tr. 19.

³⁵ See: Hồng Hà (1999). *Thời thanh niên của Bác Hồ*. Hà Nội: NXB Thanh niên. Tr. 80.

³⁶ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 2. Tr. 138.

³⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 7. Tr. 445.

Therefore, Ho Chi Minh was dubbed the person who “contributed to the transformation of the world map. The person who pushed the history wheel towards progress.”³⁸ The English scientist Bertrand Russell wrote: “President Ho Chi Minh’s unbiased approach and dedicated work on achieving for the independence and unity of Vietnam during more than half a century has made him not only a father of the nation of Vietnam but also a famous architect of the world that has escaped colonialism.”³⁹

Not only that, the victory in the struggles for independence of the Vietnamese nation under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh has proved to the world that: When a nation unites to fight and to defend its independence, no one can win, even though the enemy is very rich in material resources. That way, Ho Chi Minh has encouraged people to fight the injustice on earth believing in the success. It can be said that: In today’s diverse world, all who love peace, justice and equality can find encouragement in Ho Chi Minh.

Fourthly, Ho Chi Minh had attempted to establish solidarity among peoples all over the world, between the Communist Parties to build a peaceful world.

For Ho Chi Minh, the care and the love for people are not confined by geographical boundaries. He once wrote: “People means family, brothers, relatives, and friends. In a broad sense it is country people. In the broader sense it is the whole human race.”⁴⁰ Indeed, among the people, since barriers of class and ethnicity are destroyed, it is *human nature and human love* which remains. Therefore, he advocated solidarity with the people of the whole world. Since his operation in France, people have to understand that: “In our struggle, we are not alone,.. because the French democrats, the true Frenchmen, standing beside us.”⁴¹ Believing in the goodness and the love for peace of people, Ho Chi Minh tried to build solidarity among the peoples all the time. Immediately after the August Revolution, he directed the foundation of the International People’s Committee and Friendship Associations to create friendly relations between people of different countries. At the State level, he advocated establishing extensive diplomatic relations.

³⁸ Excerpt from *Xã luận báo Chiến đấu* (Công gô), số đặc biệt ra ngày 12/9/1969. In: *Hồ Chí Minh trong kỷ ức bạn bè quốc tế* (2009). Hà Nội: Nxb CTQG. Tr. 50.

³⁹ *Thế giới ca ngợi và thương tiếc Hồ Chủ tịch* (1970). Hà Nội: Nxb Sự thật, T. 2. Tr. 111.

⁴⁰ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 6. Tr. 130.

⁴¹ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 1. Tr. 208.

The solidarity of the international communist movement was highly respected, so when there was a conflict between the Soviet Union and China, he earnestly called for: “We are all brothers and sisters in the great family of international communism, we are working together aspring to a brighter future of humankind. And we face a mortal enemy — imperialism. In order to defeat the common enemy, we must *be united in solidarity. Unity is our unbeatable power.*”⁴² Ho Chi Minh was also extremely brave in balancing relations between the Soviet Union and China. He tried to be a “bridge” mending this relationship. American journalist Bernard Fall commented: “Since the eruption of tensions in Soviet — Chinese relations, Hanoi has cleverly steered among different water flows.”⁴³ Even in the Testament, Ho Chi Minh expressed his heartbreak because of the discord between the brother parties and shared it with the Vietnam Workers' Party in charge of helping to restore that solidarity. This is the responsible conduct of a true communist.

Fifthly, Ho Chi Minh sets a good example of harmonizing the relationship between receiving and contributing when implementing the strategy of international unity.

Being the embodiment of the pure international spirit, Ho Chi Minh said: “We have enjoyed the good things of the others, we must have good things for others to enjoy. I don't want to borrow without paying.”⁴⁴ Therefore, wherever he was, Ho Chi Minh is wholeheartedly involved in that country's revolutionary movement. In relation to Laos and Cambodia, he clearly defined: “Helping people in your country is to help yourself.” In 1962, he called on the Vietnamese people to support the Algerian people and people of other newly liberated countries in Africa. “Vietnam is for the world and the world is for Vietnam” — a humanistic message in Ho Chi Minh's thought of international solidarity. It contributes to creating an international environment of peace, trust and mutual support each other for the progress to prosperity.

Sixthly, with brilliant morality and dedication to the interests of humankind, Ho Chi Minh contributes to the creation of better world whose population are aware of communism and true communists.

Ho Chi Minh was a very special revolutionary: ideal but realistic, frugal but not fanatical, suggestive; he possessed kindness, altruism but he didn't easy surrender; he loved peace but resolutely fought to the end

⁴² Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 12. Tr. 724.

⁴³ Fall, Bernard. (2004). *Những suy nghĩ cuối cùng về một cuộc chiến tranh*. Hà Nội: Nxb Công an nhân dân. Tr. 146.

⁴⁴ Báo Cứu Quốc ngày 9.10.1945.

for a true peace. He also respected the right of self-determination among peoples and always educated the Vietnamese people in a pure international sentiment. The morality and enthusiasm of Ho Chi Minh international soldiers were so great that every honest person in this world saw in Ho Chi Minh a part of his aspirations and understood that Ho Chi Minh fought for that aspiration. Even Ho Chi Minh's opponents still had to respect the person who tirelessly fought for his ideals. Few leaders were respected as the world people as Ho Chi Minh. Taking into consideration their views many of the other ideological people sympathized with communism and communists.

In his 79 spring life, Ho Chi Minh has brought pride to so many people: Vietnamese people were proud that Ho Chi Minh was recognized as the greatest Vietnamese person; Asians took pride in the fact that Ho Chi Minh was an Asian of all time; communists were proud to have an exemplary communist Ho Chi Minh... Dedicating his life to a good future of mankind, Ho Chi Minh would always belong to the future and would always be a symbol of the struggles for happiness and human dignity. Just as the President of the World Peace Council Romesh Chandra asserted: "Wherever they fought for independence and freedom, there was Ho Chi Minh and his flag flew high. Wherever they fought for peace and justice, there was Ho Chi Minh and his flag flew high. Wherever people fight for a new world, fight against poverty, there is Ho Chi Minh and his flag rises high."⁴⁵

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⁴⁵ Báo Nhân Dân, ngày 21-5-1980.

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Chapter 25

HO CHI MINH'S IDEAS AS THE PATTERN OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALISM

The article analyzes 30 years of the life and work of Ho Chi Minh abroad, primarily in the Soviet Union (1923—1924 and 1934—38) and in China (1924—1927 and 1938—1940), partly in exile. Ho Chi Minh evaluated these years like this: in the USSR he studied the experience of party building, and in China the experience of the struggle against colonialists and feudal lords.

Ho Chi Minh is one of those revolutionary leaders, whose name was known to millions of people during his lifetime and who has become truly legendary. Over the long years of his life in exile, Ho Chi Minh became a true internationalist, but in the first place he always had feelings of patriotism, the fate of his native country, enslaved by the colonialists. He has become a genuine symbol of national solidarity for the Vietnamese.

The article discovers the genius of Ho Chi Minh in his creative choice of the path of the Vietnamese revolution, in particular: the strategy of a single broad national front at each particular stage of the revolution; a consistent course towards the implementation of the principle of freedom of religion of all participants in the front; a humane attitude towards the abdicated monarch and his family.

The article confirms that Ho Chi Minh was a great friend of our people, he was unanimously called both in Vietnam and in the Soviet Union a man who laid the foundation of “fraternal friendship” between the peoples of two countries and contributed in every way to its development and consolidation.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh, Vietnam, USSR, China, Front Viet Minh, internationalism, political testament

In 1911 Nguyen Tat Thanh (future Ho Chi Minh) left Vietnam. His Vietnamese biographers wrote that he had decided “to find the way to

liberate his Motherland from French colonizers.” His emigration lasted for about 30 years. It consisted of the three most important periods: France (1917—1923), i.e. his activity in rows of the Socialist party (France) and later in the French Communist Party; Soviet Russia (1923—1924, 1934—1938), i.e. his participation in the Communist International (Comintern) and learning in Soviet political educational institutions; China — Honkong (1925—1927, 1931—1933, 1938—1940), i.e. his participation in the Chinese revolutionary movement. The three periods of his emigration assisted (each in its own way) to make him a prominent revolutionary and political figure.

At the same time, if we choose only one period of Ho Chi Minh's life in emigration, the period which made for his coming into being as the incontestable leader of the Vietnamese national liberation movement, acknowledged in those years both in Vietnam and abroad, it seems more correct to speak above all on the decisive space of time, on the years 1923—1940, to be exact.

Those eighteen years were most eventful for Ho Chi Minh. For the first time he sojourned in Soviet Russia and in China seized with revolutionary fermentation, and later he constantly plied that route. He worked in political organizations, wrote articles and books, learned and taught, made revolutionary propaganda. In one of his articles Ho Chi Minh described those years as follows: “Thus, during my sojourn in the USSR, I studied to some extent the party construction experience, ...and during my sojourn in China I studied the experience of struggle against colonizers and feudals.”¹

Ho Chi Minh is one of those revolutionary leaders, whose name, known to millions of people while he was alive, became legendary, indeed. In 1923 in Moscow Ho Chi Minh (then Nguyen Ai Quoc) was interviewed, perhaps for the first time, by Osip Mandelstam, a reporter of the journal “Ogonyok” (later a famous Russian poet). He wrote the essay “Nguyen Ai Quoc. Visiting a Comintern worker”, which he finished with the prophetic words: “The whole Nguyen Ai Quoc's appearance radiates innate tact and delicacy... He radiates culture, not European culture, perhaps, but the culture of future.”²

Ho Chi Minh's appearance and the character of his political activity are many-sided. That is why, when he became the President of inde-

¹ Ho Ši Min (1971). *Sočineniya* (1920—1969). Hanoi. S. 278.

² Mandelštam, Osip (2010). *Nyuen-Aj-Kak. V gostyah u kominternshchika*. In: *Rossiyane o Ho Ši Mine: Očerki i vospominaniya*. Moskva: Kuna. S. 19—20.

pendent Vietnam, many different politicians gave their own appreciations of his activity, and everybody noted some especially remarkable peculiarity of that extraordinary personality. “Following the first meetings with Ho Chi Minh,” recollected Jean Sainteny, *commissaire de la République* in the North Vietnam in 1945–1946, “I obtained an impression that this ascetic, whose face showed intellect, energy, wisdom and insight, was the man of marked individuality and that he is destined to get soon on the proscenium of Asian politics... It is regrettable that France underestimated this man, failed to understand his significance and those forces, whose representative he was.”³

Indira Gandhi called Ho Chi Minh “great and inflexible, though a gentle leader”; Rodney Arismendi (Uruguay) called him “a symbol of Communist wisdom in Asia”. Salvador Allende, asked by a journalist “Which three dignities of political figures do you want to have?”, answered without hesitation: “Ho Chi Minh’s integrity, humanity and stately modesty.”⁴

And finally, here is the recent declaration of Ho Chi Minh’s personality significance given by a prominent French politician. “Appeasement and asceticism radiated from the workspace of Monsieur Ho Chi Minh; they permitted to feel labor enthusiasm, tranquility, firmness, determination to serve State plans,” wrote Edouard Philippe, the Prime Minister of France in the commemorative book in the President Ho Chi Minh’s residence in Hanoi in November of 2018.⁵

Ho Chi Minh entered the world history not only as the leader of the party of Vietnamese Communists, and as an activist of the international Communist and labor movement, but also as one of the prominent leaders of the world national liberation movement. His enormous contribution to the national liberation struggle of the peoples of the world was highly evaluated at various international forums by the leaders of new independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In 1961 Ho Chi Minh warmly welcomed the birth of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM); he was a close friend of Javaharlal Nehru and Ahmad Sukarno, the Founding Fathers of the movement.

³ Sainteny, Jean (1953). *Histoire d'une paix manquee (Indochine, 1945–1947)*. Paris. P. 164, 166.

⁴ UNESCO và Ủy ban Khoa học Xã hội Việt Nam (1990). *Hội thảo quốc tế “President Ho Chi Minh — a Hero of National Liberation, an Outstanding Cultural Figure.”* Hà Nội: Nxb Khoa học xã hội. Tr. 175.

⁵ Courtois, Stéphane. *Hồ Chí Minh đã lập ra một chế độ toàn trị*. URL: <http://vi.rfi.fr/viet-nam/20190519-stephane-courtois-ho-chi-minh-che-do-toan-tri>, 19.05.2019.

Ho Chi Minh's genius in revolutionary creativity

During his sojourn in the Soviet Union in 1923—1938 Ho Chi Minh learned in Soviet political educational institutions and worked in the Eastern department of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Of course, during that period he deeply studied practical experience of the October revolution and the construction of socialism in the USSR, that allowed him to avoid the most critical mistakes of Bolsheviks and to pave the way for the Vietnamese revolution, the most appropriate to the features of political development of Vietnam and of national mentality of the Vietnamese.

The first. During the long years in emigration Ho Chi Minh became a true internationalist, but his priorities were always a sense of patriotism, the fate of his native country enslaved by colonizers. For the Vietnamese he became a true symbol of national solidarity. Always holding the positions of the working people, he could also attract representatives of bourgeoisie, landowners, and intellectuals to the revolution, what allowed to set off a broad union of the Vietnamese nation against foreign enemies in the most difficult periods. Numerous representatives of bourgeois and feudal circles noted in their memoirs, that they joined the revolution influenced by Ho Chi Minh's personality, that they saw in him a hope for the future national independence and resurrection of Vietnam.

Due to these qualities Ho Chi Minh became the initiator and active champion of the strategy of the united broad national league at every concrete stage of the Vietnamese revolution. For a long time, this strategy was a powerful weapon in the hands of the Vietnamese. The Viet Minh (The League for the Independence of Vietnam) created by him in May of 1941 welcomed all the Vietnamese patriots, regardless of their social class. It was under the Viet Minh slogans and banners that the August Revolution gained the victory. Today the renovated Charter of the Communist Party of Vietnam contains a very important paragraph, appropriate to Ho Chi Minh's ideas and to the spirit of national unity: "The Communist Party of Vietnam is the vanguard of the working class, as well as the vanguard of all working people and the whole Vietnamese nation; the Party is the faithful representative of the interests of the working class, working people and nation."⁶

⁶ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2006). *Văn kiện Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ X của Đảng*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia. Tr. 355.

The second. One of the clue theses of the Viet Minh program, as well as of the present-day Vietnamese Fatherland Front, was the coherent course to the realization of the principle of religious freedom (Today it is Article 24 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam: “Everyone has the right to freedom of belief and religion...”.) Nor must we forget that Soviet people, who visited Vietnam about fifty years ago, were greatly surprised with the utmost delicate attitude of the ruling party (in comparison with the perennial practice of the CPSU) to the representatives of various confessions. Thus, Buddhists, Catholics, Protestants could be admitted to the Party, if they deserved it, and Party members, in their turn, could be believers.

And, finally, *the third:* the attitude to the monarchy. In August of 1945 the revolutionary government under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh did not dethrone the Emperor; Bao Dai was offered to abdicate the throne on his own free will. The abdication ceremony took place on August 30 in Hue, and then Bao Dai was an ordinary citizen of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, under his birth name of Vinh Thuy. Moreover, Ho Chi Minh suddenly offered the former Emperor the post of the Superior Adviser to the revolutionary government. Bao Dai agreed gladly, because, knowing well the history of revolutions in England, France and Russia, he, naturally, expected quite a different fate.

Interestingly, those days Bao Dai had not known yet, who Ho Chi Minh was (Nguyen Ai Quoc took a new name of Ho Chi Minh as late as 1942). Ton Quang Phiet, the President of the Revolutionary Committee Thua Thien—Hue, told him that Ho Chi Minh was Nguyen Ai Quoc, well-known to all Vietnamese patriots. Ton Quang Phiet explained: “Only such a great revolutionary as Nguyen Ai Quoc, could be the author of this original idea. The provisional revolutionary government invites a citizen Vinh Thuy to be the Supreme Advisor to the government and suggests to organize his urgent arrival in Hanoi.”⁷

Ho Chi Minh’s unbending internationalism

Ho Chi Minh lived and fought many decades ago, but he is amazingly modern. In many aspects his activity and the ideas he put forward keep with what we call now the political thought of the 21st century. First of all, it is necessary to say about his skill to achieve dialectical combination of national and class interests, of nationally patriotic and socialist

⁷ Lý Nhân Phan Thứ Lang (2007). *Giai thoại và sự thật về Bảo Đại. Vua cuối cùng Triều Nguyễn*. TP Hồ Chí Minh. Tr. 155.

ideals. Ideological fanaticism was absolutely alien to him. National reconciliation and accord, possibly non-violent methods, compromise which takes into account the interests not only of the majority, but also of the minority — this was the political position akin to his character.

In 1955–1965 Ho Chi Minh almost every year came to the USSR and PRC with official friendly visits or on vacations. In both countries he made many speeches at official events and at the meetings with ordinary people. He always emphasized the great importance of friendship and cooperation with the peoples of the two great socialist powers for Vietnam. He spoke good Russian and Chinese and he always tried to say the last one or two paragraphs of his speeches either in Russian (in Moscow) or in Chinese (in Beijing). Until the end of his life he used to exchange impromptu poems in the Chinese Literary language with his old friends in the Chinese leadership, in particular, with Dung Bui and Ye Jianing,

Since his childhood Ho Chi Minh knew Chinese hieroglyphs. He deeply studied history, culture, traditions and customs of the Chinese people. His father Nguyen Sinh Sac had classical Confucian education, and he knew the canonical books of Confucianism by heart. He had the reputation of the most learned man in the village Kim Lien of the Nghe An province, because according to the competitive examination results in the Emperor's capital Hue he was awarded the title of Pho bang (the second highest scholastic degree). He shared a great part of his knowledge about Confucianism with his youngest, the most inquisitive son Nguyen Tat Thanh.

Throughout his life Ho Chi Minh worshipped the Confucianism. However, he apprehended it in a somewhat “Vietnamesed” way. The thing is that in Vietnam, from the standpoint of modern Vietnamese historians, the Confucianism was greatly influenced with the local national and patriotic traditions and ideals having accepted some progressive traits, originally alien to it. That is why Confucian scholars were often the leaders of the antifeudal peasants' rebellions in Vietnam, and in the late 19th century they stood at the head of the mass movement of resistance to the French colonization.

It is no coincidence that in 1921, during his sojourn in France, Ho Chi Minh published an article about Confucius in “The Communist” magazine, where he concentrated his attention on the idea of “social equality” of the Chinese philosopher. “Great holiest Confucius (551 B.C.)”, wrote young Ho Chi Minh, “was the author of the idea of universal agreement and of the theory of property equality. In short, the holiest philosopher said: The ground for the peaceful life can only be the

ground of universal agreement among people. People are not afraid of poverty; they only are afraid of injustice.”⁸

With the level of his knowledge and comprehension of China and the Chinese, Ho Chi Minh is a great sinologist, indeed. In Vietnam the first President of the country was often respectfully called “Trung Quốc thông” — “the erudite person on Chinese problems.” During the years of his sojourn in China Ho Chi Minh not only mastered “the Mandarin Chinese”, i.e. the Beijing dialect of the Chinese language, but he also spoke South Chinese dialects fluently. He wrote his wonderful “Prison Diary” on the Chinese Literary language. In the 1950-ies the cycle was issued as a separate book in the DRV; it was translated in foreign languages, Russian among them, and became known worldwide. In the open lines of his Political Testament Ho Chi Minh paid tribute to his favorite Old-Chinese poetry: “Famous poet Du Fu, who lived in China under the Tang dynasty, wrote: “Since ancient time and till present people at the age of seventy are rare. This year I am 79, so I belong to these “rare” people. But my spirit and my consciousness are still strong and clear...”⁹

In 1924 in Moscow his friend was Zhang Tailei, a young Chinese Communist, who told him a lot of China, gave him necessary literature and reference books. Apparently, under his influence Ho Chi Minh wrote some works about the struggle of the Chinese for their rights: a brochure “China and the Chinese Youth”, articles “The Situation in China”, “Imperialist countries and China” and some others, which had great influence on public opinion. It is interesting to know that the Executive Committee of the Comintern sent both friends to South China at the same time, Zhang Tailei and Ho Chi Minh left Vladivostok for Canton on the same Soviet ship.

The USSR, PRC and Vietnam

Nearly two decades of Ho Chi Minh’s political activity now in Russia, now in China, as well as the decisive role of these two great socialistic powers in the victorious end of the Resistance war against colonizers having lasted for many years and in international recognition of the independent Vietnamese State made him a convinced adherent of the idea that Vietnam would be able to overcome all obstacles, to stand his ground and to win any enemy only with the support from these two co-

⁸ See in: Vũ Kỳ (2008). *Bác Hồ viết Di chúc*. Hà Nội. Tr. 58.

⁹ Ho Sĩ Mìn (1990). *Izbržnoe. Vospominaniya o Ho Ši Mine*. M.: Politizdat. S. 220.

untries, only guarding the fraternal friendship with their peoples “as the apple of an eye”.

The “golden decade” in the relationship of the triangle of the USSR — the PRC — the DRV (1954—1964) made him still more determined in this thought. Both the Soviet Union and China, each of them within their capacity, assisted the DRV to heal the wounds caused by the war, sent thousands specialists to North Vietnam, to lay the groundwork of modern industry and agriculture, to promote national education, culture, sport; they welcomed tens of thousands of Vietnamese students and postgraduates and trained the national staff for the new state. At that time both the USSR and the PRC provided concerted political and diplomatic support to the DRV. The support was very significant in the circumstances, when imperialist forces, having broken the Geneva Accords 1954, plotted to perpetuate the two-part section of Vietnam.

It was in those years that Ho Chi Minh for the first time gave the comprehensive assessment of the significance of fraternal assistance and support of Vietnam, which later became the generally accepted ideological and political formulation, invariably used in official speeches of Vietnamese leaders. In the concentrated form this formulation appeared in the article by the President of the DRV on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, published in “Pravda” on October 28, 1967: “The Vietnamese people will ever remember that their victories are inseparable from the great assistance of the Soviet Union, the People’s Republic of China and others fraternal socialist countries, from the active support of all the progressive peoples of the world.”¹⁰

Between Scylla and Charybdis

The theoretical disputes between the CPC and the CPSU of the late 1950-ies, soon having become overt ideological and political confrontation between the two parties and countries, posed a difficult dilemma to the DRV leadership and, particularly, to Ho Chi Minh. The thing was that each opposing side aspired, understandably, to make the Vietnamese to express their views on the breaking-out conflict and to take an unambiguous stance supporting but one side. However, despite the pressure exerted on him, Ho Chi Minh remained true to his life philosophy.

During the last years of his life Ho Chi Minh who’s ideal used to be the aspiration to preserve and strengthen the closest relationship of Vietnam with the two great socialist powers, found it hard to deal with the

¹⁰ *Ibid.* S. 208.

gradual, but steadfast worsening of relationship between the Soviet Union and China. In particular, it was reflected in his Political Testament he began to write long in advance of his death.

Vu Ky, the President's personal secretary, testified that in the morning of May 13, 1965 "Uncle Ho" took his "top secret" notebook and wrote the following lines "coming from his heart": "Being a person, who served the revolution all my life," he wrote, "the more proud I am with the growth of the international communist movement, the more painful is for me the present discord between the two fraternal parties! I hope, our Party will spare no effort to make an efficient contribution to the restoration of unity of the fraternal parties on the ground of Marxism—Leninism and proletarian internationalism, guided with intellect and feeling."¹¹

Vu Ky wrote, that in the conditions of aggravation of Soviet—Chinese discords Ho Chi Minh attached utmost importance to even formal maintenance of equally friendly attitude of the Vietnamese both to the Soviet Union and to the PRC. Once the President signed two decrees at the same time: one of them was on the award with the Labor Order to a Soviet woman-ballet-master for her "precious assistance in the foundation of the Choreographic School in Vietnam," the other was on the award with the Labor Order to two Chinese specialists, who assisted in the construction of the fabric for production wheat and rice noodles in Viet Tri (North Vietnam).

"Having signed both these decrees," noted Vu Ky, "Ho Chi Minh told those present: "The Governments and the peoples of the Soviet Union and China from all their hearts help our people in building socialism and in fighting against American imperialist aggressors. We must be thankful to them and every day strengthen inviolable friendship between the people of Vietnam and the peoples of the two fraternal countries."¹²

"Next morning", continued Vu Ky, "having finished his work at the manuscript in his wooden stilt house, on the way to the dining-room Uncle Ho told me to control, whether the letter to Soviet children he had signed last Saturday and the letter to Chinese children he had signed that week had been sent. His desire was to build the base of fraternal friendship... not only for the past and present generations, but also for the generation that will come after us."¹³

At present, the three countries develop many-sided fruitful cooperation, as if following Ho Chi Minh's ideas. Russia and Vietnam are built

¹¹ Vū Ky. *Op. cit.* Tr. 29.

¹² *Ibid.* Tr. 29.

¹³ *Ibid.* Tr. 30.

ding “the relations of traditional friendship and cooperation on the principles of comprehensive strategic partnership.” Russia and China concluded (2001) the Treaty of Good-Neighborliness and Friendly Cooperation. Finally, Vietnam and China develop and strengthen “relations of comprehensive strategic partnership” following the course of 16 hieroglyphs: “good-neighborliness, comprehensive cooperation, long-termed stability, orientation for the future” and 4 “good”: “good neighbors, good friends, good comrades, good partners.”

The USSR—Vietnam

The late 1950s saw the appearance of ideological discords in the Soviet—Vietnamese relations, which in the 1960s transformed into tensions in international relations. The first symptoms of the mutual misunderstanding appeared after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which not only debunked Stalin's personality cult, but also proclaimed the course of “peaceful coexistence” in the USSR foreign policy. The latter strategically contradicted the interests of the CPV leadership, which those years was making preparations for the deployment of partisan war in South Vietnam in order to obtain the implementations of Geneva Accords 1954.

The Soviet—Chinese ideological discords, having received publicity after the Congress and later transformed into fierce confrontation of the two great socialist powers (the main allies and “sponsors” of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam), naturally, caused the painful reaction in Hanoi. Ho Chi Minh and the CPV were in the extremely serious situation — as they say, “between Scylla and Charybdis.” Each opponent actively aspired to make the Vietnamese to take the unambiguous stance of the only side. Ho Chi Minh and the leadership of the CPV had to show wonders of maneuvering in order not to be involved in public disputes and to take somebody's side openly. In the conditions of the long and difficult war against the USA aggression it was vital for the DRV to have as more friends as possible and as few enemies as possible.

In those critical years there were plenty of reefs. It is known that the leadership of the CPC condemned the Resolution of the 20th Congress of the CPSU with the conviction of Stalin's cult of personality. The opposite position was taken by Ho Chi Minh and the leadership of the CPV. In July of 1956 M.V. Zimyanin, the Soviet ambassador in the DRV, reported to Moscow about the perception in Vietnam of the CC CPSU resolution “On the Cult of Personality and its Consequences”. In particular, in his report he cited Ho Chi Minh: “the leading nuclear

of the Party (the Workers' Party of Vietnam) considers this resolution to be just and good."¹⁴

In the article "To strengthen and develop ideological unity of Marxist—Leninist parties," published in the Soviet "Pravda", Ho Chi Minh wrote: "Having exposed I.V. Stalin's mistakes to harsh criticism and having begun the resolute fight against the cult of personality, the 20th Congress of the CPSU has given us the brilliant example of political fortitude and the faith in the people. The Worker's Party of Vietnam considers the criticism of the cult of personality to be the excellent proof of the strength, the great victory of the CPSU and of international revolutionary movement."¹⁵ One of the chief showings of Ho Chi Minh's loyalty to ideas of revolutionary internationalism is his attitude to the Soviet Union and, especially, to the Russian people.

In the years before the victory of the August Revolution Ho Chi Minh sojourned in the Soviet Union about six years in total. As the President of the DRV he paid many official visits to this country and came here on vacations. According to the evidence of the former officials of the CC CPSU Department for relations with Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries, Ho Chi Minh was the only foreign statesman, who visited all the Union republics of the USSR.

Naturally, all those years left an indelible impression for him, having made him the friend of our people forever. That is why in rich publicist literature and in memoirs about Ho Chi Minh he was unanimously called (both in Vietnam and in the Soviet Union) the man, who "had laid the foundation of fraternal friendship" of the two peoples and contributed in every possible way to its development and strengthening. In 1950, when diplomatic relations between the DRV and the USSR had been established, with four years more to wait for the Geneva triumph, Ho Chi Minh was the initiator for the foundation of the Vietnamese — Soviet friendship society and asked his best friend Ton Duc Thang to head it.¹⁶

¹⁴ Novaya i novejšaya istoriya (1998), № 3. Moskva. S. 132.

¹⁵ Ho Chi Minh. *Ukrepliat i razvivat ideologicheskoe edinstvo marksistsko-leninskih partii*. Pravda, 3.08.1956.

¹⁶ Ton Duc Thang (1888—1980) was an outstanding figure of the Vietnamese national liberation movement. In 1919 during the rising of sailors of French military ships which took part in the intervention against Soviet Russia he hoisted a red flag on the cruiser "Waldeck—Rousseau" in Odessa raid. After the rising had been put down by French authorities, he spent 17 years in the concentration camp on the island of Pulo Condor (the archipelago of Con Dao). Since 1960 to 1969 he was the Vice-President, and in 1969, after Ho Chi Minh's death, became the President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Died 1980.

Today the Vietnamese — Russian friendship society successfully continues the proud traditions of its great predecessor, having its branches almost in all provinces and cities of Vietnam. As usually, the Society works actively and contributes greatly to strengthening and development of relations of comprehensive strategic partnership uniting today the Russian Federation and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Instead of conclusion

In 2019 there was issued a book “Ho Chi Minh: The Missing Years 1919—1941”¹⁷ by Sophie Quinn-Judge, an American scholar of the LSE University (London). Using the Comintern documents, materials of the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI) and of the National Archives of France the author traces Ho Chi Minh's activity up to the victory of the August Revolution and tries to give the “objective” image of the Vietnamese revolution leader and to show his real place in the international development of that period. This is another eloquent testimony that up to date Ho Chi Minh's outstanding personality is of interest for scholars both in America and in Western Europe.

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Chapter 26

HO CHI MINH AS TEACHER, SCHOLAR, JOURNALIST, DURING HIS WORK AT THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (1923—1938)

Ho Chi Minh was a teacher, scholar and journalist during his work at the Comintern (1923—1938). This period is characterized by Ho Chi Minh's activities not only in the Soviet Union, but in China, Siam and European countries too.

As undergraduate, postgraduate and teacher, Ho Chi Minh attended all the three Comintern educational establishments, the Communist University of the Working People of the East (CUWPE), the International Lenin School (ILS), and the Research Institute for National and Colonial Issues (RINCI). He delivered lectures on organizational matters, history of the party, geography and history of Vietnam; he took up a postgraduate course in the subject of the agrarian revolution in Southeast Asian countries.

In the first half of the 1920s he published his articles and essays in the Soviet press (the newspapers *Pravda*, *Gudok*, *Bakinsky rabochy* (*Baku Worker*), the magazine *Rabotnitsa* (*Working Woman*)), as well as in foreign editions (*Le Paria*, *L'Humanite*, *La vie ouvriere*). The main subjects of his publications were 1) the workers movement in the Far East in colonial and dependent countries; 2) publicizing the achievements of the nascent Land of Soviets, its assistance to colonial peoples.

In those years Ho Chi Minh completed work on the book *The Trial of French Colonialism* (1925), prepared a brochure entitled *The Way of Revolution* (1925), and a series of documentary travel sketches called *The Diary of a Shipwreck* (1930—1931), as well as other journalistic pieces.

Keywords: Comintern, Vietnam, national-liberation struggle, journalism, political schools, Soviet Union, China, revolutionary writings

Upon arrival in the Soviet Union in the summer of 1923, Ho Chi Minh took a short-time course at the CUWPE, while in the fall of 1924 he went to China on a Comintern appointment and stayed there for over two years. The practical work of Ho Chi Minh at the time largely consisted in training people for the would-be Vietnamese revolution. In Guangzhou he set up the Partnership of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth and initiated the opening of political education courses for young patriots. The main lecturer there was Ho Chi Minh himself, and he again was the person who selected students for further studies at the Wam-pu Military School (China) and CUWPE (USSR). Among those sent to study in Moscow were Tran Phu and Phung Chi Kien, who eventually became outstanding figures of the communist and national-liberation movement in Vietnam.¹

Ho Chi Minh's second trip to Moscow took place in the spring of 1934, after his release from confinement in Hong Kong. That time his sojourn in the Soviet Union lasted four years, till the fall of 1938. Then it was that he focused on teaching and postgraduate studies.

At the time the Comintern officials decided to offer Ho Chi Minh practical work in Moscow. In her letter addressed to Indochina Communists in 1935 V.Ya. Vasilyeva, head of the Indochina Sector at the CUWPE and ILS, wrote, "As for Ai Quoc (i.e., Ho Chi Minh), we believe that for the next two years he should concentrate on studying in earnest and do nothing else. After his studies we have serious plans as to using him."²

In October 1934 Ho Chi Minh entered the ILS which trained top-level political personnel for foreign communist parties. At first, he was in a Chinese group, but eventually was moved to the French group where he studied the matters of party construction relying on the experience of Soviet industrial enterprises and collective farms.

When the ILS underwent reorganization at the end of 1936, Ho Chi Minh went to work at the RINCI. Simultaneously he instructed undergraduates at the CUWPE, and delivered lectures on organizational issues, the history of the party, etc.

Ho Chi Minh conducted classes in the French-language group where the majority of the students were North Africans and Indochine-

¹ In his letters from China of January 5, 1925 and of July 22, 1926 Ho Chi Minh asked how many young Indochinese the CUWPE could enroll for studies. See: Russian State Archives of Socio-political History (RSASPH). Stock 4954, List 154, File 594. Pp. 30 and 50.

² RSASPH, Stock 495, List 154, File 585. P. 1.

se. He was older than most of them, had considerable experience in political struggle, and compared favorably with the other CUWPE teaching staff because he had a profound understanding of the problems faced by his students' countries of origin, as well as by his own, and treated the students as equals and comrades-in-arms who worked for the same common cause.

At the production meeting of teachers and Vietnamese students on April 1, 1936, V.Ya. Vasilyeva spoke appreciatively of Ho Chi Minh (his alias at the time was Lin) as a teacher and researcher, pointing out his good knowledge of his country and vast experience in revolutionary work.³ Ho Chi Minh paid a lot of attention to improving the general educational standards of Vietnamese students; there is evidence that he even coached them in their native tongue. He taught students to write in simple style easy to understand, use correctly various terms, meticulously corrected and edited their written works, papers and translations, making them rewrite those pieces several times.⁴ He appealed to them to preserve the purity of the Vietnamese language, use foreign words sparingly, and try looking for analogues in their own language, yet he himself invented many new terms to reflect the changes under way in the world.⁵ It is known that he wrote his lectures in the geography and history of Vietnam in verse, to make it easier for the Vietnamese students to memorize the material (after all, some of them were people well advanced in years and of little education).

Ho Chi Minh never missed a chance to check his students' knowledge, tried to relate the material covered in class to the practical tasks of revolutionary struggle. He translated various texts into Vietnamese, including a textbook in political economy, and also reports and materials on the work of communist parties and the fight of the working people abroad.

In the second half of 1937 Ho Chi Minh was included in the group of RINCI postgraduates organized to train lecturers in economics and history. The Comintern archives contain the individual plan of postgraduate Lin, from January 1 to December 31, 1937, under which he was to do the following in stated time:

1) complete a course in philosophy, ancient and medieval history, modern history and the Russian language;

³ RSASPH, Stock 532, List 1, File 385. P. 32.

⁴ Nguyễn Khánh Toàn (1975). *Bác Hồ ở Liên Xô*. In: *Bác Hồ. Hồi ký*. Hà Nội: Nxb Văn Học. Tr. 108—109.

⁵ Hồng Hà (1980). *Bác Hồ Trên Đất Nước Lê-nin*. Hà Nội: Nxb Thanh niên. Tr. 291—292.

2) work in the Indochina Office, preparing a popular brochure *The Position of Peasants in Indochina* (8 quires) and make a survey of the Indochina press (1.5 quires); and on top of that;

3) translate into Vietnamese the *Communist Manifesto* and Lenin's *Infantile Disease of Leftism in Communism*.⁶

According to some information, he intended to write a thesis on the agrarian revolution in Southeast Asia countries, and actively worked with theoretical sources and the press.

* * *

Journalism had always been an element of Ho Chi Minh's life. He first tried his hand at this work in the early 1920s while staying in France. After his arrival in the Soviet Union he started cooperating with the Soviet press simultaneously contributing pieces to the French newspapers *Le Paria*, *L'Humanite*, and *La vie ouvriere*. In the Soviet Union his articles and essays were published on the pages of *Pravda*, *Gudok*, *Bakinsky rabochy (Baku Worker)*, and in magazines *Rabotnitsa (Working Woman)*, *Krestyansky Internatsional (Peasant International)*, and *Inprekorr*.

The first publication related to the Vietnamese patriot and revolutionary that appeared in the Soviet press, and possibly the first ever piece to do with Indochina, was the interview Nguyen Ai Quoc (the name he was known by at the time) *The Guest of a Comintern Man* that Ho Chi Minh gave to Moscow journalist and writer Osip Mandelshtam. History immortalized the names of the interview participants; it was published in 1923, in the December issue of *Ogonyok* magazine. The former went down in the history of the 20th century as Ho Chi Minh, the famous political leader and the first president of independent Vietnam; the latter entered world culture as an outstanding poet.

In the Comintern period the publicistic work of Ho Chi Minh focused on two clear-cut subjects:

- workers' movement in the Far East, in colonial and dependent countries;
- promoting the achievements of the young Soviet country and disinterested assistance of the Russian revolution to colonial peoples.

Ho Chi Minh published in the Soviet press a number of articles about Vladimir Lenin: "Lenin and Colonial Peoples" (January 27, 1924, *Pravda* daily); "Lenin and Peoples of the East" (*Le Paria*); "Lenin and the East" (*Gudok*), "Lenin and Peoples of the East" (*Bakinsky rabochy*).

⁶ RSASPH, Stock 532, List 1, File 264. P. 66.

There he minutely examined the role of the leader of the world proletariat in furthering national-liberation movements, highly assessing the significance of Lenin's theses on the national and colonial issues in which he saw a program of revolution making in colonial countries.

Ho Chi Minh was among the first people in the history of Vietnamese journalism to raise his voice in defense of women of the East who were deprived of civil rights. On request from *Rabotnitsa* magazine he wrote a piece "Women of the East" for the festive May issue (published on May 5, 1924) in which he painted an impressive picture of women fighting for their rights. Another of his articles, "Capitalist Civilization and Women in Colonies," became a passionate indictment of the capitalist system.

While he worked in Moscow, apart from publications in the Soviet press, he prepared a brochure, *The Military Work of the Party among Peasants* (eventually it was included in the book *The Armed Uprising* as a separate chapter); he edited the book *China and the Chinese Youth* (1925); he also completed work on the book *The Trial of French Colonialism* (published in Paris in 1925). When in Germany in late 1927, he was a non-staff correspondent of the *Die Welt* newspaper.⁷

Ho Chi Minh also made a big contribution to the creation of the Vietnamese revolutionary press. Thus, when in China in 1925, he took part in the foundation of the newspapers *The Worker and the Peasant*, *The Revolutionary Soldier*, *Youth* and also worked as a non-staff correspondent of the ROSTA telegraph agency in Soviet Russia.

Another thing that merits special mention is Ho Chi Minh's publicistic heritage. The best know of his works in the agitation and propaganda genre at the time were two political pieces, *The Trial of French Colonialism* (1925) and *The Way of Revolution* (1927).

The Trial of French Colonialism comprised major articles by Ho Chi Minh published in the first half of the 1920s on the pages of journal *Inprekorr* (Internationale presse korrespondenz), a CIEC organ, the newspapers *Le Paria*, *L'Humanite*, *La vie ouvriere*, and others. It was issued by the Workers Library Publishers in Paris in 1925. The book was based on the author's personal observations during his stay in Algeria, Sudan, the United States, and other countries. Compositionally it consists of 12 chapters and a supplement, "The Vietnamese Youth".

⁷ Hồ Chí Minh (2008). *Tiểu sử*. TS. Chu Đức Tính chủ biên. Hà Nội. Tr. 64. Retrieved on June 14, 2019 from URL: <http://baotanghochiminh.vn/ho-chi-minh-tieu-su.htm>.

The book is a passionate denunciation of one nation oppressing another, an appeal for fighting for one's country, for freedom and national independence. A good few pieces there are on Indochina: "Racial Hatred", "Modernized Slavery", "Civilizers", etc.

It was banned by the authorities as "subversive literature". For the first time in Vietnam's history Ho Chi Minh described the French colonization as it really was and proved graphically that the "civilizing mission" of the West in the East consisted in conquering and enslaving people in Asia, destroying their unique ancient culture.

By writing this book Ho Chi Minh, among the first, started fighting against the so-called pro-colonial literature that praised the exoticism and wonders of far-off oriental countries (Pierre Loti, Claude Farrere, etc.), and this is his unquestionable merit as a politician and a writer.

Around the same time Ho Chi Minh also wrote the brochure *The Way of Revolution* (published in 1927), which became a logical sequel to *The Trial of French Colonialism*. The material for the piece was lectures he had delivered at the political cadre training course in Guangzhou. And whereas previously Ho Chi Minh focused his attention on unmasking colonizers, in the brochure *The Way of Revolution* he outlined specific ways of liberating his people. As many scholars rightly observed, in the history of the Vietnamese revolution this work of Ho Chi Minh's played a role similar to that of Lenin's book "What Is to Be Done?" in the revolutionary movement in Russia. The ideas about the nature and motive force of the revolution in Vietnam, about the party and its philosophy suggested there proved fundamental for the Vietnamese revolutionary movement for many years to come. It mapped out specific ways of liberating the Vietnamese people from the yoke of French colonizers, and formulated for the first time the tactics of the Vietnamese revolution. It became a program manifesto of Vietnamese revolutionaries.

A major role in the emergence and foundation of the Vietnamese revolutionary literature belongs to the works of Ho Chi Minh in fiction and publicistic genres, essays, newspaper satire, pamphlets, short stories, plays. More specifically, those were the essays *Indecent Jokes or the Encounter between Varenne and Phan Boi Chau* (1925), *Class Solidarity* (1925), the pamphlet *The Tortoise*, a set of documentary sketches *The Diary of a Shipwreck* (1930—1931). And while he worked in Siam in 1928, Ho Chi Minh wrote a play, *The Hero De Tham*, about the leader of armed uprisings against French colonizers in North Vietnam in the late 19th and early 20th century, and a long poem *The Ode about Tran Hung Dao*, the illustrious military leader and defender of his native country in the 13th century.

The essay *Indecent Jokes or the Encounter between Varenne and Phan Boi Chau* was published in October issues of the newspaper *Le Paria* (1925); it is based on a real case. In 1925 a prominent Vietnamese patriot, Phan Boi Chau, was apprehended and sentenced to death. But the popular movement that unfolded then made the authorities replace the original sentence with penal servitude for life. The essay describes Governor General of Indochina Alexandre Varenne pressured by public opinion into promising to settle the Phan Boi Chau sentence problem during his trip to the colony. But he did not keep his promise.

The essay *Class Solidarity* was published in the May issue of the newspaper *Le Paria* (1925) and was about the solidarity of Brazilian workers trying to defend their comrade, a sailor unlawfully sentenced to 30 years of hard labor. Thanks to their cohesion and solidarity the workers managed to get him freed. The essay shows graphically that Ho Chi Minh's literary and publicistic work already in those years displayed a profound international vector expressing the interests of the working people in various countries of the world.

The pamphlet *The Tortoise* (*Le Paria*, February — March 1925) again tackles a permanent subject in Ho Chi Minh's publicistic writings, Vietnam's colonization by the French.

The experience of living in Soviet Russia and personal impressions of Ho Chi Minh found expression in the travel sketches *The Diary of a Shipwreck*, which are believed to have been created and popularized during the Nghe Tinh Soviets of 1930—1931.

This is a story of three friends, a European, an African and a Vietnamese, surviving after a shipwreck and landing on an uninhabited island. They stayed there until a Soviet vessel passing by picked them up. Then they found themselves in the Soviet Union where they lived for a while getting to know the facts of life in the country and the people, and eventually returning home. The sketches are written in a lively and lucid manner, and obviously, apart from an agitation and propaganda purpose, are also of artistic interest. In that work he described a likely model of socio-political system for his country. Naturally, Vietnamese patriots at the time saw communism and the possibility of translating into practice communist ideas in a somewhat simplistic way. And perhaps precisely this kind of Soviet communism seemed fairly attractive to them because it was demonstrative, understandable and accessible. Let me observe that Ho Chi Minh did implement that idea quite successfully after Vietnam won independence.

Those sketches combined traditional and innovative features of Ho Chi Minh's publicistic work. The innovation consists in the fact that he

was the first writer in Vietnamese literature to describe in artistic imagery the Soviet Union and the socialist transformations effected there. It is also acknowledged that *The Diary of a Shipwreck* in fact became the “first revolutionary novel in the Vietnamese language.”⁸

The merit of Ho Chi Minh’s publicistic works in the 1920s–1930s is that they prepared a hero who subsequently entered Vietnamese literature. This is the image of a man who is a victim of exploitation in a colonial country. A similar phenomenon could be observed in many literary schools of the East at the time, as the dissemination of enlightenment ideas caused the theme of the man-in-the-street oppressed by exploiters to emerge and develop in the literatures of those countries. And there a special personal trait of Ho Chi Minh was revealed particularly vividly; to him as a politician literary work became a variety of struggle for national-liberation. His publicistic pieces prior to and especially during his work at the Comintern laid the foundation of realistic literature with democratic leanings in Vietnam, starting a revolutionary trend that provided for a new understanding of art and its tasks. The literary-publicistic writings of Ho Chi Minh at the time were internationalist in content and form, they expressed not only ideas of a just transformation of society, but also ideas of national liberation.

The study of Ho Chi Minh and other Vietnamese patriots and revolutionaries in Soviet communist universities, their work at the Comintern became a major stage in the nurturing of a new national political elite oriented toward dissemination and practical realization of communist ideas in their country.

The personal contribution of Ho Chi Minh himself to establishing close ties between the Comintern and the national-liberation movement in Indochina is likewise unquestionable and universally acknowledged. In practice that meant that from the 1920s on that French colony had been involved in international politics.

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⁸ Lê Trọng Khánh, Lê Anh Trà (1959). *Xô-Việt Nghệ—Tình qua một số thơ văn*. Hà Nội: Nhà Văn học. Tr. 28.

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Chapter 27

PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH'S IDEAS ON FOREIGN POLICY OF VIETNAM

The article is devoted to some ideas and principles, which were strictly adhered to by the first President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in matters of foreign policy and which are inherited and successfully implemented by his disciples and followers in modern Vietnam. The author selected three examples, in his view, presenting the main principles of the national independence and sovereignty, namely the invincible gratitude to the Soviet Union for help and support to the cause of national liberation of the Vietnamese people, faithful to him based on friendship and cooperation between our peoples and countries, and finally the openness and flexibility of foreign policy in the interests of his nation. All of them are successfully implemented in the actual foreign policy of the SRV and brought it significant successes on the international arena and high authority in the world community.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh, sympathy to the Vietnamese people, the list of Annamite people wishes, the Declaration of Independence 1945, nothing is more precious than independence and freedom, while drinking water, remember the source

The founder of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the leader of the August Revolution, who proclaimed independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in Hanoi on September 2, 1945, Ho Chi Minh was its first President. He showed great political and diplomatic art, standing up for its independence and sovereignty. In conditions of the utmost isolation from the whole world he and his associates could by means of “people’s diplomacy”, with the assistance of the mass (that time) peace movement to denounce the Vietnamese aspirations to the world community, having branded the French intervention in Indochina as the “dirty war”.

Even then his name was the symbol of struggle with colonial rule. But it got incomparable global popularity in the years of the Resistance war against the USA aggression. Those years the author of this article, who was the executive secretary of the Soviet Committee for the support of Vietnam, participated time and again with thousands of people in meetings and demonstrations against the war in many countries, the USA among them. One should have seen the enthusiasm of their participants, especially young ones, who recited in streets and squares of many European and American towns: Ho, Ho — Ho Chi Minh!!! This was the expression of their liking to the leader of the Vietnamese people, warm support of their just cause and the outcry against the USA aggression.

President Ho Chi Minh left the significant intellectual legacy in great many spheres, including the analysis of the international situation of the country, the defense of its national interests and the determination of its foreign policy course. Ho Chi Minh lived and fought decades ago, but he still remains our contemporary. His activity, the ideas he promoted in the DRV foreign policy are in many aspects keeping with what now is called a new political thought of the 21st century. A lot of them are still realized in the policy of his followers and successors. We will only concentrate on some of them, which can be clearly seen in foreign policy of Vietnam.

There is nothing more precious than independence and liberty

The List of Annamite People Wishes

Ho Chi Minh is one of the prominent revolutionary figures of the 20th century, who paid special attention to morals. In his life he was the standard of those norms and principles he tirelessly affirmed in his articles and speeches. However, it is important to emphasize that these very norms and principles of equal and just relationship among the ordinary people he transferred to what the relations between the nations and states had to be in his mind. The life according these principles gives birth to harmony, while their rejection creates hostility and chaos, what recent events in the world confirm.

This year they have actively celebrated the 100th anniversary of the first political document having been written and offered to the world community by Ho Chi Minh. On June 18, 1919 he (Nguyen Ai Quoc) sent “The List of Annamite People Wishes” on the address of the Versailles

Peace Conference (the Paris Peace Conference). This was the first political Manifesto of the Vietnamese national liberation revolution, offered in the name of the Vietnamese patriots sojourning in France. At the same time, he sent a letter to the USA President Woodrow Wilson, having enclosed “The Demands of Annamite People” and having called him to support those demands at the Versailles Peace Conference.

He got no answer to his letter. But the document was published in “L’Humanité”. It attracted considerable attention in France and in many colonial countries. It was the first document in history, which had made the name of Nguyen Ai Quoc to be known in many countries as the man, who dedicated his life to the national liberation. Thus, Ho Chi Minh entered history and deserved the recognition as one of the greatest figures of the world national liberation movement by the UNESCO resolution.

At the conference organized in the Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics numerous participants emphasized that the demands of equality, of political and democratic freedom having been formulated 100 years ago by Ho Chi Minh are still actual for the world community.

The Independence Declaration

Speaking of Ho Chi Minh’s ideas for foreign policy of modern Vietnam, it is impossible to disregard another historical document, exactly: the Independence Declaration, which he read out in Hanoi, in the Ba Dinh square on September 2, 1945. It was signed by all the 15 members of the Cabinet of Ministers of the proclaimed Democratic Republic of Vietnam, but nobody doubted that the short (only 3 pages) historical document had been written by Ho Chi Minh.

It was planned as the appeal of a new power to citizens of the country and to the peoples of the world. The Declaration opens with a citation from the United States Declaration of Independence 1776 and is followed with a paragraph from *la Déclaration des droits de l’homme et du citoyen de 1789* having been adopted in revolutionary France. He wished to show that the August Revolution (1945) in Vietnam was not a single and accidental event in the world. It was closely connected with world revolutionary traditions of the past and with the ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity, having been proclaimed by the French Revolution.

Decisively coming out against plots of French colonizers to restore their rule, Ho Chi Minh called the allies of World War II to recognize



President Ho Chi Minh in the Ba Dinh Square on September 2, 1945. The photo from: K.W. Taylor & John K. Whitmore. *Ho Chi Minh's Declaration of Independence*

the right of the Vietnamese people to their independence in the sort of the resolutions of the Teheran and San-Francisco conferences.

At the end of the mass meeting in the Ba Dinh Square, President Ho Chi Minh said: “We are to go through many hardships and sufferings. But all the compatriots must support the new power in order to have many joyful feasts and victories in the future.”¹

Since then the Declaration has become the state symbol of Vietnam learned by every pupil with the first letters of the alphabet. Thus, in the first years of the Soviet Union people were learned to read the first words: “We are not slaves, slaves are we not.”

The Declaration written by Ho Chi Minh shows that working out his foreign policy he always tried to insert it fully in the course of historical development and to lean it on the main developmental tendencies and on the support of progressive forces of the world. Usually every report of the CPV leadership at every Party Congress begins with the fundamental assessment of the period of the country's life and activity. Now this traditional definition shows both the legacy of the Party's founder and the creative approach to it from a new generation of the CPV leadership, having rejected some obsolete doctrines. Thus, in the years of the USSR existence they used to consider the modern era to be

¹ Marr, David G. (1995). *Ho Chi Minh's Independence Declaration*. In: Taylor, K. W. and Whitmore, John K. (eds.). *Essays into Vietnamese Pasts*. Studies on Southeast Asia. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University. P. 221.

the epoque of transition from capitalism to socialism in the world scope. Now the CPV bases itself on a much more realist assessment, pointing out that we are living in the era of “complicated changes in the world, but the main tendency of the world development is (as it used to be) the strive of the peoples to national independence, democracy, cooperation and development.”² The foreign policy of Vietnam of recent decades has been oriented to be inserted in this tendency.

The idea having seized the masses

On July 7, 1966 during the escalation of the USA aggression in the South of Vietnam and still more bitter bombardments of Hanoi, Hai Phong and many other towns of the North Vietnam President Ho Chi Minh made a speech on the waves of “The Voice of Vietnam” broadcasting station to his compatriots. He said that the war could have lasted for 5, 10, 20 years or even longer. Hanoi, Haiphon and some other towns, as well as many enterprises, could have been destroyed, but nothing could have frightened the Vietnamese people! “*There is nothing more precious than independence and liberty!*”, he proclaimed. “The Victory Day will come, and our people will make this country still more majestic and beautiful.”³

These words, being the idea that had seized the masses, became the greatest material force that had permitted the Vietnamese people to gain the historic victory, to liberate the South Vietnam, to reunite their Motherland and to begin building a new life. Now these words are still the slogan of foreign policy of the country. They were constantly used by the leaders of the Party and State in the most difficult moments, which were many.

After the great victory in the Resistance war against the US aggression and after the victory in the border conflict with China (1979) Vietnam has been living in peace and doing everything to keep and strengthen peace and cooperation with its Northern neighbor. But President Ho Chi Minh taught that peace is inseparable from independence and liberty. The political legitimacy itself, the leading role of the CPV take their origin in history of the people’s national liberation struggle for liberty and independence. Vietnam will never agree to such terms of

² Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (2016). *Báo cáo chính trị của Ban Chấp hành Trung ương tại Đại hội Đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ XII*. Hà Nội: Nxb Sự thật. Tr. 3.

³ Nhân Dân, 8.07.1966.

peace, which could have meant either the loss of independence or inequality or the attempt upon its territorial sovereignty.

Territorial disputes with China in the region of the South China Sea (SCS) are “the hottest problem” in public opinion of the country. In this aspect 2019 is again a very strained year. Over many years the Vietnamese diplomacy is in front of the most serious challenges again. Its full-scale task is both to keep peace and stability in the region, necessary for the country development, and to defend independence and territorial sovereignty.

Defending legal interests of the country, the CPV leadership does its best to exclude war disaster off the suffering land of Vietnam. It spares no effort to avoid the conflict with China, to give no way to any provocations or to any pressure from outside. Such was the case of many crises in the past, and it has been confirmed this summer in the confrontation of the two sides in the Southern part of the Easter See.

While drinking water, remember the source

On January 20, 2020 the communities of Russia and Vietnam will celebrate the 70th anniversary of the foundation of diplomatic relations between our countries. This memorable date appeals to turn to the origins of Russian-Vietnamese friendship and cooperation and to bow low once again to President Ho Chi Minh, the great son of the Vietnamese people, the founder of the basis for the two peoples and states friendship, which has endured all the misfortunes and ordeals.

In his numerous articles and speeches on V.I. Lenin, the October Revolution and the Soviet Union, Ho Chi Minh often used a Vietnamese proverb (the exact equivalent of a Russian one): “While drinking water, remember the source.”⁴ This most important ordinance of President Ho Chi Minh to preserve and strengthen friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union his comrades and successors have been true for ever. In contradistinction to many other politicians of the former allies of the USSR, they have done their best to preserve their gratitude and respect to Russia in mass consciousness of the Vietnamese people up to now.

True to Ho Chi Minh's ordinances, a new generation of Vietnamese leaders develops cooperation with the Russian Federation in all spheres. Since 2001 the Russian Federation and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam have been linked with the relations of strategic partnership,

⁴ Kobelev, E.V. (1978, 1983). *Ho Ši Min*. Moskva: Molodaya gvardiya.

which since 2012 has reached the level of “comprehensive strategic partnership”.

Strategic partnership is an organizational form of mutual activity of the states in the main spheres, designed for a long-termed projected perspective, based on the contractual recognition of mutual interests, on the respect and achievement of mutual vital aims.

This relationship is an important factor on a new “chess-board” of international relations in the Pacific Rim. To take dignified positions on the world arena Russia needs trustworthy strategic partners in this important dynamically developing region. For many years Vietnam has been such a partner. Traditionally friendly Russian-Vietnamese relations, tried in severe times are an invaluable property of the peoples of both countries.



President Ho Chi Minh during official visit to Moscow. TASS Photo. 1955

During passed years the RF and the CRV have built the ramifying system of active political contacts, both on the highest and on all the rest levels, having created a concrete base for political cooperation. The RF President has already twice visited the CRV. By analogy all the leaders of the CRV, each in their turn, have paid return visits to the RF. There has been established a constant active dialogue between the Ministries of foreign affairs, of defense, of economic development, education and science, as well as between other departments and largest corporations

of both countries. Both sides attach great significance to so called “people-to people diplomacy”. Every visit at the highest and at high levels is an important step in the development of the bilateral cooperation. They are thoroughly prepared and are accompanied with signing of important agreements. The visit to Russia in May 2019 of Nguyen Xuan Phuc, the Prime Minister of the SRV, was no exception.

The positions of our countries either coincide or are akin in the whole spectrum of global and regional problems, which, however, does not exclude some differences in national interests. For example, Russia showed understanding of the official stance of Vietnam in the UN Organization in connection with the Crimea, while Vietnam showed the same attitude to Russian stance in connection with the verdict of the international arbitration tribunal for the lawsuit of Philippines to China.

Following independent foreign policy, Vietnam supports the course of the Russian Government directed to the further strengthening of positions and influence of the Russian Federation in the world. Both sides are mutually striving to coordinate their actions on the world arena in order to form a democratic world order. Both of them consider international security to be inseparable and comprehensive, basing on the standpoint that security of some countries cannot be achieved at the cost of security of others, either limiting their legal interests and sovereignty, or widening global and regional military and political alliances. Now it is actual for the whole so-called Indo-Pacific region and especially for the countries of the South China Sea.

Russia does not participate in the disputes of sovereignty, which often break out here, and does not want to be drawn in them. Both Russia and Vietnam are proceeding from the standpoint that all the states concerned must strictly follow the principle of non-use of force or the threat of force, to continue the persistent search of the ways of political and diplomatic regulation of actual problems on the base of the rules of international law, having been recorded foremost in the UN Charter and in the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) 1982. Consultations and negotiations on the territorial problems of the South China Sea must be carried on by the direct participants of the disputes in the optimal form they can choose. Also, Russia supports efforts of Vietnam and ASEAN States in the development of the legally effective Code of behavior in the South China Sea.

Russia supports strategic partnership both with Vietnam and with China. On the global level Russia and China support each other in the existing international situation in their confrontation to the USA pressure, but on the regional level, foremost in their relations with Vietnam,

their interests often differ. In spite of constantly growing cooperation with China, Russia shows quietly, but clearly enough its unwillingness to sacrifice own interests in the region and continues military, political and economic cooperation with Vietnam regardless of discontent of the Chinese side. The cooperation is not against China, but Russia does not intend to neglect its important interests in the region, as the recent events show. It was confirmed again during the summer crisis in the South China Sea, when the Chinese authorities lodged claims to “Rosneft”, which for a long time has cooperated successfully with “Petrovietnam” in oil production on the shelf of Vietnam.

As many friends as possible and as few enemies as possible

The author of this article was lucky to meet President Ho Chi Minh several times; he was a person of great simplicity and of immense charm. In November of 1964 the International conference of solidarity with the Vietnamese people took place in Hanoi. It was called by the World Peace Council in connection with the 10th anniversary of the Geneva Agreements on Indochina (1954), which by that time had already been broken by the Saigon authorities at the support of the USA. I participated in the conference as a member of the delegation of the Soviet Peace Committee. President Ho Chi Minh delivered a report, and when the conference had finished, he invited foreign guests to his small house in the yard of the President’s Palace in Hanoi to have an unofficial friendly conversation. It was clear then that the implementation of the Geneva agreements had been subverted completely by the Ngo Dinh Diem regime. The Gulf of Tonkin incident had recently taken place, and on August 5, 1964, American Air Forces made the first raids to the North Vietnam. The USA Congress passed the famous “Tonkin Resolution”, which made the way to the USA aggression. Having taken the opportunity to speak to the President in Vietnamese, I asked him, what would be his foreign policy then, in such hard circumstances. The President’s answer was short and sure: “Just this: as many friends as possible and as few enemies as possible.”

Many years have passed, but those wise words come to my mind always when I get an overview of the great historical path of Vietnam since the August Revolution of 1945 up to the victory of 1975 and after it. This wisest in its simplicity formula is the clue to understanding and assessment of every government’s policy, because it really expresses vital interests of every people.

President Ho Chi Minh directive determined the important conclusion, which was made at the 6th Congress of the CPV in December 1986 by new leaders of the Party and of the country, exactly: it is impossible to develop successfully the country without being open to the world, without using all the advantages of economic, scientific and technological cooperation. The inherent part of the then affirmed “policy of renovation” was foreign policy, radically changed and based on the three fundamental principles:

- deideologization and diversification of international relations;
- “open-door” policy in economic relations;
- establishing of normal multilateral relations with all the great powers.

This course, having implemented President Ho Chi Minh's wise advices, permitted in short time to achieve striking successes in domestic and foreign policies, in strengthening of international situation of the country. During past 33 years of the “Doi moi” policy Vietnam, the poorest, ruined by the two wars country, which after the collapse of the USSR was left with empty treasury and huge debt, nearly with no friends and allies, has transformed into a quickly developing state, a reliable partner in integration processes in East Asia and in the Pacific Rim, into a responsible and trustworthy member of the international community.

The SRV Government strives to show their neighbors in the region and the whole world that Vietnam is a friendly and peaceful state. It has set a steady course for multi-pronged and multi-lateral international links, for active integration into the world community as a trustworthy partner. Carrying out the ordinance of its founder and leader, Vietnam shows readiness to cooperate both with old friends and with new partners.

In its bilateral relations it always adheres to independence. It has no intention to use any problems in relations of these countries between them and, especially, between the great powers. With such an approach its aim is to force the countries having discord and even the most serious conflicts to negotiate and to seek a solution on the base of international law and mutual respect.

Vietnam supports diplomatic relations on different levels with 180 countries and territories. In 2019 Vietnam has had relations of strategic partnership and global partnership with 30 countries. Among the most important successes of its foreign policy have been the normalization of relations with all the leading world's powers, including the USA, successful summits of Asia—Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in

Hanoi (2006) and in Da Nang (2018), joining the World Trade Organization (WTO) (2007), election as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in 2008/2009, a member of the UN Human Rights Council in 2014/2016. Vietnam is a member of 63 international organizations; it supports connections with 500 non-governmental organizations of the world. It plays an important role in many UN structures and participates actively in the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). This year Vietnam raised a number of important region issues at the October summit of the movement in the capital of Azerbaijan Baku. Also, Vietnam participation is noticeable in the activity of the WTO, ASEAN and APEC⁵.

Since its joining ASEAN (1995) as its seventh member Vietnam plays an increasing constructive role in this organization. Partly it can be explained with the fact that the years following Vietnam has remained politically stable inside, while many others experienced serious inner shakings and were utmost anxious to retain political stability in their countries. For instance, Thailand after a coup d'état in 2014 or Myanmar and its problems. The Vietnamese policy of diversification and its multi-littoral foreign links, as well as the policy of non-alignment in its relations with the great powers is well fit into the main orientation of ASEAN countries. The role of Vietnam as an independent and constructive member of the regional and world community has raised its international standing to a higher level.

Presidency of Vietnam in ASEAN in 2010 was recognized by all the members of the Association as one of the most successful in its history. For a year Vietnam was transformed into an actively operating center of the regional policy. Its regional impact and authority, based on the achievements of the renovation policy, revealed completely. It initiated the meeting of the ministers of defense of the ASEAN countries and of the eight greatest states-partners in the dialogue. Since then these meetings are regular; they have become an important machinery of peace and security maintenance in the region. At the same time at the active assistance of Vietnam Russia and the USA were adopted as equal participants of the East Asia Summits (EAS). Due to it, the most representative multi-lateral organ is now slowly but steadily transforming into the machinery sought for security for the immense Pacific Rim.

Vietnam strives in ASEAN and with its partners in the dialogue to make these countries mutually communicate in the issues of security

⁵ *Sách mới đánh giá di sản Hồ Chí Minh*. BBC, 30.12.2018. URL: <https://www.BBC.com/vietnamese/vietnam-46378169>—BBC.

and to let them know that without mutual security in the region no country can satisfy its own interests, what coincides completely with the principle of equal security always promoted by Russia for everyone without exception, being the fundamental principle of security in the Pacific Rim.

No doubt, another presidency of Vietnam in ASEAN in 2020 will make for the strengthening of unity of this organization, for the increase of its central role in solving urgent problems in the South China Sea and in the South-East Asia as a whole.

The integration of the country in the world economy and economic cooperation got a new development with the entry of Vietnam into the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) of the 11 states of the Pacific Rim and with the agreements of Free Trade and investment protection with the EU and with the signing of the agreement of Free Trade with the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU).

On July 7, 2019 at the General Assembly of the UN 192 states out of 193 members of this world organization, i.e. practically the whole UN, unanimously voted for the election of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam for the second time as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for 2020—2021.

The Council consists of 15 states of the world, 5 of them being the great powers, which are permanent members of the UN SC, having the veto right, and the rest ten are elected from the main world regions for two years.

This time the election of non-permanent members was conducted in the complicated situation of diplomatic impasse in the UN SC, which was not able to reach agreement and to find answers to crises in various world regions, from Syria to Myanmar, Venezuela or Soudan. In this unfavorable situation the sensation was not so much the fact of the election of the SRV, represented by the only candidate from all the countries of the Pacific Rim, as the result of the election (192 out of 193!). This is quite the unexpected record in the history of the UN. No state in the world has ever got such a unanimous support within the UN. It has shown the high esteem and credence of the global community on Vietnam. The UN SC member status raises the role of the elected state in resolving international problems and attaches greater importance to its voice while considering the most urgent crisis situations, what is especially important for Vietnam due to increased tension in the South China Sea.

General Secretary of the CC CPV, the SRV President Nguyen Phu Trong warmly congratulated his compatriots on the event. In his address

to the nation in “Nhan Dan” newspaper (July 8, 2019) he wrote: “Vietnam has become a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. This is a great honor for our country, confirming that its foreign policy course drawn up by the Party and the State is correct, but at the same time it imposes a special responsibility and requires joint efforts for the execution of the mission which the world community lays on us. Vietnam has pursued and will pursue the autonomous and independent foreign policy, develop multi-pronged and multilateral international connections, proactively integrate in the world economy. It has been and will be a friend and a trustworthy partner, a responsible member of the world community, assisting to strict observance of the UN Charter and the norms of international law, contributing actively in common efforts for the maintenance of peace, cooperation and development.”

Both Russian public and Vietnamese people have perceived this event as a great diplomatic and political success of Vietnam on the international arena. It strengthens the stances of the states standing up for a new, just and more equitable order in the world.

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Chapter 28

HO CHI MINH IN VLADIVOSTOK: A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE CULTURAL MEMORY OF RUSSIA

The paper reveals the identity of Ho Chi Minh as a person who laid a durable foundation of the Russian—Vietnamese friendship. It describes his visits to Vladivostok in the 1920s and the 1930s and mentions memorial sites associated with that. The author concludes that Ho Chi Minh holds a special place in the cultural memory of Vladivostok and Russia as a whole.

Keywords: 20th century, UNESCO, cultural memory of Russia, the best features of a nation, Ho Chi Minh's monuments and memorial sites in Russia, Vladivostok

Ho Chi Minh is an outstanding historical personality of the 20th century. His name is among the 20th century's 100 greatest persons listed by the British influential *Daily Telegraph* in July 1999. He lived a long, arduous and dazzling life. After the August Revolution triumphed in 1945, Ho Chi Minh headed independent Vietnam that had rebuffed the aggression and defended the country's independence. This gave UNESCO ample grounds for calling Ho Chi Minh the liberator of the Vietnamese people. An ardent patriot, a consistent fighter for freedom and justice, a perfectly honest and highly moral person, this is how his contemporaries saw him. And this is how those who were fortunate to personally meet Ho Chi Minh remember him. These are my fellow-countrymen in the Far East, honorary citizen of Vladivostok Viktor Miskov (alas, he has recently departed this life), and Vasily Bugrov who is still with us; formerly both were long-voyage captains, and are now respected veterans of the Far Eastern Shipping Company. In the distant 1950s the Company vessels under their command docked at the North Vietnam seaport of Hai Phong bringing to the people there the commo-

dities they needed so much. Veterans recall that as soon as Ho Chi Minh learned of the Vladivostok ships arriving, he invariably hastened to go to Hai Phong from Hanoi to look up the messengers from Vladivostok, a city he had visited in the 1920s and 1930s. He loved that city and called it his rescuer.

Information about the leader of the Vietnamese people, Ho Chi Minh, having been to Vladivostok was not backed up by documents, and for a long time remained merely a sort of hearsay. The press did not start actively talking about the fact until a book by Vietnamese author Hong Ha titled *Ho Chi Minh in the Land of Soviets* came out. In Vietnamese the book was published by the Youth Publishers in Hanoi in 1980 under the title *Uncle Ho in the Country of Lenin*. In Moscow it appeared in 1986 as *Ho Chi Minh in the Land of Soviets* in E.P. Glazunov's translation.¹

From then on mention of the visits to Vladivostok by Nguyen Ai Quoc (pseudonym of Ho Chi Minh) and attempts at their reconstruction can be found in lots of articles and books by domestic researchers and journalists. Above all this is the book *Ho Chi Minh* by E.V. Kobelev published as part of the "Life of Remarkable People" series in Moscow in 1978 and 1983 by the Molodaya Gvardia Publishing House. Ho Chi Minh's sojourn in Vladivostok was also covered by E.P. Glazunov in his paper "A Word of Ho Chi Minh", which is to be found in the book *Vladivostok — Hai Phong, a Bridge of Friendship* issued by the Far Eastern publishing house in 1989 (compiled by A. Sokolovsky and Yu. Kolganov).² The same book contains Valentina Voronova's article "The Beginning" where a few pages describe the stay of Ho Chi Minh in Vladivostok. The subject was also touched upon by the Far Eastern press. Thus, the regional insert of the newspaper *Konkurent* (issue May 18 of 19 — May 25, 2009) carried an article by the local Oriental studies scholar and journalist, Yuri Ufimtsev, "Uncle Ho in Vladivostok". Earlier still, the May 1998 issue of the local newspaper *Krasnoe znamya* (*Red Banner*) contained my article on the matter. But these testimonials were not official. They had to be confirmed officially by an authoritative organ, preferably Vietnamese. And the confirmation did come. The official confirmation of Vietnam's would-be president visiting Vladivostok was officially made by the Ho Chi Minh Museum in Hanoi, in the letter N164/BTHCM of April 24, 2007, which reads,

¹ Hong Ha (1986). *Ho Ši Min v strane Sovetov*. Mosva: Politizdat.

² *Vladivostok — Hajfon* (1989). Most družhby: Primor'e i Socialisticheskaya Respublika V'etnam. Grani sotrudnichestva. Sostavlenie A. Sokolovskij, Yu. Kolganov. Vladivostok: Dal'nevostochnoe izdatel'stvo.

“The Ho Chi Minh Museum received on April 4, 2007 a fax from the Consulate General requesting information about the activity of Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh) in 1924, 1927, and 1934 in Russia’s Far Eastern city of Vladivostok. Falling back on some materials and books in the Ho Chi Minh Museum, we can report the following. President Ho Chi Minh visited Vladivostok thrice. The first time was roughly in late October or early November 1924. At the beginning of October 1924 Nguyen Ai Quoc left Moscow for Vladivostok by rail setting out from the Yaroslavl Railroad Station. At the time the Moscow — Vladivostok train departed once a week and took about three weeks to reach its destination. Normally the journey lasted at least 16 days. In Vladivostok Comintern representatives met Nguyen Ai Quoc and organized his trip to China. It is not clear on what day precisely Nguyen Ai Quoc arrived in Vladivostok, but we can make a guess that it happened in late October or early November 1924. Because it is known that Nguyen Ai Quoc departed from Vladivostok by sea on board a Soviet steamer to go to Guangzhou via Japan. In order to reach the Japanese port of Moji from Vladivostok he had to spend three days and three nights. A vessel typically takes four days to get to Guangzhou. In his letter to the Comintern of November 12, 1924 Nguyen Ai Quoc wrote that he had arrived in Guangzhou on December 11, 1924.

Nguyen Ai Quoc’s second visit to Vladivostok occurred in late May 1927. It is known that in early May 1927 Nguyen Ai Quoc left Hong Kong for Shanghai. From there he went to Vladivostok, and further, to Moscow. It is known that he arrived in Moscow on June 15, 1927. As to the precise day of his coming to Vladivostok, it is not known. But the data about the length of the route and conditions of traveling by rail at the time suggest that Nguyen Ai Quoc arrived in Vladivostok from Shanghai in late May 1927.

For a third time Nguyen Ai Quoc visited Vladivostok in 1934, also in May. On board a Soviet merchant ship he sailed from Shanghai to the USSR. The exact date of his arrival in Vladivostok is unknown. Yet it is known that Nguyen Ai Quoc came to Moscow from Vladivostok in June 1934”³.

The letter also contains information about the well-known article by Ho Chi Minh “The Problems of Asia”. It is assumed that the author wrote it in 1924 when in Vladivostok for the first time. The article was

³ Based on materials about the activity of Nguyen Ai Quoc in Vladivostok. Archives of the Primorye Territorial Society of Friendship with Vietnam. 2007, № 164/BTHCM.

published in Issue 19 of *Inprekorr* in 1925.⁴ Besides, I carefully collected and generalized information about Ho Chi Minh's visit to Vladivostok from private individuals who were highly authoritative and respected persons (both Vladivostok dwellers and Vietnamese). In the opening paragraphs of this paper I have already mentioned the names of V.M. Miskov and V.F. Bugrov who, on board the steamer *Stepan Razin* met Ho Chi Minh in 1957 and were pleasantly surprised to hear from the president himself that he had been to Vladivostok, which had repeatedly provided to him shelter from French and Chiang Kai-shek's sleuths. One more interesting fact I heard in the lobby of the 4th congress of the Vietnamese-Russian Friendship Society (that convened in Hanoi, on December 25, 2011) from a CPV veteran, deputy chairman of the Vietnamese-Russian Friendship Society, Ho Anh Zung, who not only confirmed that Ho Chi Minh had visited Vladivostok, but also told me that the would-be president very much liked the song of the Far Eastern partisans *Up Hills and Down Dales*, which, according to Zung, he frequently hummed.

Once the Vladivostok local authorities received the official reply from the Ho Chi Minh Museum on the Vladivostok visit of the spiritual leader of the Vietnamese people, they got a weighty reason for unveiling a memorial plaque in his honor in Ho Chi Minh's rescue city, as it were. And the plaque did appear on the building of the railroad station where Ho Chi Minh used to arrive from Moscow, and whence he left for the capital after his foreign trips.

The plaque was ceremonially unveiled on Ho Chi Minh's birthday on May 19, 2009. The ceremony was attended by representatives of the city and territory administration, by staff members of the SRV Consulate General, a delegation of the Russian-Vietnamese Friendship Society headed by its chairman V.P. Buyanov, and member of the RVFS Board cosmonaut V.V. Gorbatko who is known to have made a space flight with Vietnamese cosmonaut Pham Tuan, veterans of the Far Eastern Shipping Company and the Pacific Fleet, activists of the Primorye Territory Vietnam Friendship Society, Vietnamese nationals working in Vladivostok and Primorye, and also university undergraduates and schoolchildren. The memorial plaque had the following legend chiseled on it in gold,

"In 1924, 1927, and 1934 the city of Vladivostok was several times visited by Ho Chi Minh, an outstanding figure of the international and national liberation movement, heroic liberator of the Vietnamese peop-

⁴ *Ibid.*

le acknowledged by UNESCO, and prominent culture worker who laid a good foundation of the Russian—Vietnamese friendship.”

The life and work of Ho Chi Minh, the fact that he repeatedly visited Vladivostok, and also the perpetuation of his memory have tremendous significance to the history of Russian—Vietnamese relations, their furthering and consolidation of the traditional friendship between the peoples of the two countries. The cultural memory of Vladivostok also retains another important place closely connected with his stay in Vladivostok. This is the historic hotel *Versailles* where Ho Chi Minh invariably put up.

There a city rally takes place in his memory annually on May 19, his birthday. Its participants are representatives of the city and territory administration, members of the SRV Consulate General, representatives of the Vietnamese community, veterans of the Far Eastern Shipping Company, the Army and the Navy, activists of the Primorye Territory Vietnam Friendship Society, university students and schoolchildren who come to pay tribute to Ho Chi Minh whom they deeply respect. They lay flowers before his portrait solicitously kept in the historic building of the hotel. Under its vaults Vladivostok students and schoolchildren who study Vietnamese recite his poetry in Russian and Vietnamese.

On June 5, 2019 Vladivostok witnessed a major cultural event. A monument to Ho Chi Minh was solemnly unveiled. The idea to put up the monument to the great son of the Vietnamese people and a faithful friend of Russia appeared several years ago. And at the end of 2017 the Vietnamese Consul General turned to the city authorities with request to approve this initiative. To erect the sculpture, they chose a smallish park in a picturesque part of the city. A year later a present from the Vietnamese side, a bust of Ho Chi Minh, could finally be seen by Vladivostok dwellers. The unveiling date was not randomly chosen, The Ho Chi Minh sculpture appeared in the year of the 26th anniversary of signing the treaty on the foundations of friendly relations between the two countries and the 10th anniversary of establishing twin-city relations between Vladivostok and Ho Chi Minh City. And it is quite symbolic that the sculpture was put up in the cross year of Russia and Vietnam proclaimed by the presidents of the two countries.

“President Ho Chi Minh was the man who laid the foundations of the traditional friendly relations between the peoples of Vietnam and Russia. The construction of the monument has long been the wish of the Vietnamese community in the Far East and of the Russian friends,” said Consul General of the socialist Republic of Vietnam in Vladivostok Nguyen Hoang Viet in his speech at the monument inauguration. The

solemn ceremony was attended by the leaders of the city and the territory, of the SRV Consulate General, members of the Vietnamese community in Vladivostok, delegations of Ho Chi Minh City, and Hai Phong, Vietnamese undergraduates from Moscow State University, FESC veterans, and participants in combat in Vietnam. There were lots of warm words said about the national leader of the Vietnamese people. “An outstanding culture figure and statesman, a heroic liberator and faithful son of the Vietnamese people, a patriot and internationalist,”⁵ such was the characteristic of Ho Chi Minh given by president of the regional public organization the Society of Vietnamese in Primorye Territory Do Quoc Viet. “Ho Chi Minh invariably noted the importance of developing the culture of the Vietnamese people and believed that culture would be the motive force of progress. He used to say that nothing was more precious than independence and freedom. The main ideas for his people, for the development of the Vietnamese state Ho Chi Minh borrowed in the USSR. He always advocated consolidation of relations between the fraternal peoples. Here in Vladivostok President Ho Chi Minh wrote a number of articles, it is via this city that he sent all of his supporters to study in the Soviet Union, and I am confident that he always valued the hospitality, spiritual beauty and strength of the Russian people,” said Do Quoc Viet.⁶ The magnificent monument that the Society of Vietnamese in Primorye Territory presented to the city was made by prominent sculptor Pyotr Chegodaev. The monument was cast in bronze and mounted on a marble pedestal. The author’s conception was that Ho Chi Minh was standing behind a rostrum, and his hands rested on a book. The space around the monument was paved with tiles of natural stone forming an unusual circular pattern. In gratitude for the gift the amateur choir of veterans named Children of War (art director, Merited Culture Worker Sergei Strelnikov) sang songs not only in Russian, but also in Vietnamese.⁷

Now Vladivostok can boast one more site associated with the outstanding politician and culture figure of Vietnam. Here in the cozy little park, Vladivostok dwellers will be able to rest and remember Uncle Ho who loved our city, which became practically his own. There is confidence that from now on poetry will be recited on Ho Chi Minh’s birthday

⁵ Vladivostok News, 5.07.2019. Retrieved from URL: <https://www.newsvl.ru/vlad/2019/07/05/182024/#ixzz5wOyF3z62>.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

not only in the Hotel Versaille, but also here in the lovely park by his monument.

I would like to conclude my piece by mentioning yet another fact that is to do with the subject. The recent regional contest of professional skills of tourist guides in Vladivostok has been won by Tatiana Rodionova who works at the Far Eastern Federal University; she sent to the contest her work “Ho Chi Minh in Vladivostok” in the Outings through the Eyes of the Young category. The author introduces Russian and foreign tourists (above all Vietnamese) to the sites related to Ho Chi Minh’s stay in Russia’s Far Eastern city keeps religiously the memory of one of the greatest persons of the 20th century.

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Chapter 29

HO CHI MINH'S JOURNEY TO CHINA TO FIND THE WAY FOR NATIONAL SALVATION, LIBERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

In the struggle for independence of the Vietnamese nation in the first half of the 20th century, Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary activities in China were extremely important not only for the Vietnamese people but also for the people in China.

After 32 years of traveling abroad, China was the country chosen by Ho Chi Minh as the main place of operation since 1924 before returning to Vietnam in 1941. China was also the country that Ho Chi Minh stayed and carried out his revolutionary activity for the longest time. During his time in China, Ho Chi Minh promoted the foundation of the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth Association, a precursor organization of the Communist Party in 1925 in Guangzhou. Five years later, He continued to chair the Conference of the foundation of the Vietnamese Communist Party in Hong Kong. These are the most important events in Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary activities in China. Also, during revolutionary operations here, Ho Chi Minh had either publicly or secretly organized many training courses for Vietnamese revolutionary cadres. At the same time, Ho Chi Minh wrote more than 200 articles and essays contributing to find right arguments and strategies for the Vietnamese revolution and increasing the relationship between the Vietnamese revolution and the Chinese and the world ones, promoting international interest to Vietnam, supporting the Vietnamese people to fight for independence. Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary activities in China, contributed to promoting the deep friendship between Vietnamese and Chinese Communist Parties and

peoples, making China a reliable overseas base for Vietnam's revolution. The reason why Ho Chi Minh chose China as a revolutionary destination in 1924 and the relationship between his activities here and the Vietnamese revolutionary movement will be presented in this essay.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh, China, journey, national salvation, Vietnamese revolution

The reason why Ho Chi Minh chose China in 1924 to carry out his revolutionary activities

In order to find a way to save and liberate Vietnam, in June 1911, Ho Chi Minh left the country to travel around the world. In February 1941, Ho Chi Minh returned Vietnam from the Vietnam—China border, directly led the movement to liberate the Vietnamese people. In August 1942, at the request of the revolution, Ho Chi Minh once again left Vietnam, and in July 1944 returned to Vietnam. In 1945, the Vietnamese people under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh and the Communist Party of Vietnam won the August Revolution, resulting in the foundation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Statistically, Ho Chi Minh had time to conduct revolutionary activities abroad for a total of 32 years. During this period, Ho Chi Minh went to Europe, Africa, the Americas, Asia and many countries. The time he spent in China was the longest, nearly 10 years¹. Specifically, that period of time was: from November 1924 to May 1927 in Guangzhou; from December 1929 to early 1934 in Hong Kong and Shanghai; from December 1938 to February 1941 in Guangxi, Hunan and Yunnan; from August 1942 to July 1944 in Guangxi. Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary activities in China surpassed all his activities in France, in Russia or in any other country. There are many explanations about why Ho Chi Minh chose China as a destination for revolutionary activities in 1924, but mainly due to the following three reasons:

Firstly, Ho Chi Minh returned to China in 1924 for the purpose of implementing a defined program, namely:

- opening a training course for Vietnamese patriotic youths in Guangzhou (China) about the way to save the country and liberate the people according to Marxist—Leninist views, attracting young people

¹ Nguyễn Ái Quốc ở Quảng Châu (1924—1927) (1998). Học viện Chính trị quốc gia Hồ Chí Minh, Viện Hồ Chí Minh và các lãnh tụ của Đảng. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị Quốc gia. P. 7.

from Vietnam. After training, he sent them back to Vietnam to activate and propagate the revolution;

- from the results of training, a revolutionary organization of young people would be selected, in which loyal members were transformed into a proletarian political party in Vietnam;
- monitoring and directing the peasant movement in China and Southeast Asia, helping the Communist International (or *Comintern*) to understand the situations of liberation movements in the Eastern countries.²

The reason for this program is that after traveling abroad to find a way to save the country, in 1920 Ho Chi Minh joined the French Communist Party, and in 1923, he went to Moscow. This was the time when he was aware of Marxism—Leninism. After arriving in the Soviet Union, Ho Chi Minh attended the 5th International Congress of Farmers and the 5th Congress of International Delegates. In the International Congress of Communist Delegates in June 1924, the Communist International identified new forms of communist direction and revolutionary mission in the world. This was a great encouragement for Ho Chi Minh, making him realize that only with the foundation of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the proletariat revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party could liberate the Vietnamese people from the yoke of French colonialism. Therefore, he chose a location near the Vietnam to facilitate, soon realized the purpose of establishing an organization to lead the people's struggle movement, and no place could be better than China at that time.

Secondly, Ho Chi Minh chose China as his revolutionary base since 1924, because China, especially the Guangzhou region, was a new center of Chinese democratic revolution, and it was also home to many revolutionaries in the world frequented their activities because at that time Guangzhou was also called “Moscow of the East”.

Ho Chi Minh had known Guangzhou — China when he was in Paris through the Chinese youth team studying there. Minister French colony Albert Saraut invited Ho Chi Minh (in the name Nguyen Ai Quoc) to meet and threatened him that: “Now there are extravagant activists in France. They have contacted the Bolsheviks in Russia. From Russia they have contacted Guangdong. And from Guangdong they would contact Vietnam. The French government knows all those lines.”³ Also,

² *Ibid.* Tr. 50.

³ Lan, T. (1976). *Just walking the road, telling stories*. Hanoi: Truth Publishing House. P. 15—16.

in France, in May 1921, in the journal *La Revue Communiste*, Ho Chi Minh wrote: “The establishment of the government of the gilding house Sun Yat Tien in the South, made a promise about China which would be reorganized and nullified.”⁴

At that time in Guangzhou, after Sun Yat-sen had established the revolutionary government, an advisory team was sent by the Soviet Union and the Communist International. In January 1924, the Kuomintang of China (KMT) organized the Great Congress to hold the First National Congress under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen, defining the policy of “Inter-Russia, Inter-Communist, Supporting workers and peasants.” The Chinese communists whom President Ho Chi Minh knew, such as Zhou Enlai, Li Fu Xuan, and Zhang Tailei, all gathered in Guangzhou, created the situation of KMT — CPC Cooperating to promote the Chinese revolution.

At that time, Guangzhou was also the place to attract many revolutionaries from oppressed countries. President Ho Chi Minh believed that he was in Guangzhou at this time, joining the practice of Chinese revolution with the goal of campaigning for the Vietnamese revolution, would definitely be effective.

Thirdly, China was also a haven for many Vietnamese patriotic and revolutionary activists of many generations, either trying to find a way to save the country or fleeing abroad if they failed.

After the defeat of the Can Vuong Movement, Ton That Thuyet, Nguyen Thien Thuat and the sons of a patriotic scholar who refused to join the enemy, turned to Guangzhou, China. In the twentieth century, Phan Boi Chau's Dong Du movement (meaning Go East Movement) sent hundreds of Confucian youths from Vietnam to study in Japan. However, after that, France colluded with Japan, expelled Vietnamese youths from Japan, they had to flee to China. Along with a group of educated youths from Vietnam to China at the call of their predecessor Phan Boi Chau, they founded the Vietnam Restoration Association. But due to the limitations of the struggling tendency of Phan Boi Chau, these young Vietnamese people established the “United Hearts Society” at the end of 1922.

In June 1924, Pham Hong Thai, a member of the “United Hearts Society”, was throwing his life into the Chau Giang river after the unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the Indochina Governor. This event caused great echoes in Vietnam as well as the whole world. Ho Chi Minh was aware that he had to quickly come to Guangzhou to change

⁴ Hồ Chí Minh (2002). *Toàn tập*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia, t. 1. Tr. 34.

this organization and lead Vietnamese youth in the right revolutionary way of Marxism—Leninism.

Thus, in essence, China was selected by Ho Chi Minh as an operation area, an international base for Vietnam's revolution.

Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary activities in China

During his time in China, Ho Chi Minh carried out many galvanizing activities in many Chinese locations. According to the initial Ho Chi Minh Museum research and statistics, there were over 70 locations and monuments related to Ho Chi Minh's activities in China. Talking about his relationship with the Chinese Revolution, Ho Chi Minh wrote: "For my part, during two periods, I had the honor of working in the Chinese Communist Party. Arriving in Guangzhou in 1924—1927, I was following the domestic revolutionary movement and participating in the work assigned by the Chinese Communist Party ... The second time I went to China in late 1938 was the period of Japanese resistance. In the battle against Japan, as a private soldier in the Red Army, I became the Head of a unit in Guilin. After that, I was selected to become a Secretary of Party cell (in charge of Radio) of a unit in Hoanh Duong."⁵ Thus, without counting the later visits and working trips but only the time Ho Chi Minh was in China, the locations were associated with many Ho Chi Minh's activities mainly in places such as Guangdong, Guangxi and Hong Kong. Ho Chi Minh's activities there had a great influence on the formation and development of Ho Chi Minh's ideology, as well as the victory of Vietnam's revolutionary movement.

Conducting the foundation of the Communist Party for the working class of Vietnam

After operating in the Soviet Union, in November 1924, Ho Chi Minh went to Guangzhou, China as an envoy of the Communist International, in the mission with the Advisor Borondin. Ho Chi Minh had to complete the Farmers' International Association as a Commissioner of the organization, responsible for monitoring and directing the farmer movement in Asia. At the same time, Ho Chi Minh promoted the preparation of political, ideological and organizational premise for the birth of a real political party in Vietnam. In Guangzhou, Ho Chi Minh

⁵ Nhân Dân, no. 2658, 01.07.1961.

quickly promoted his work, *preparing politically, ideologically and organizing the foundation of the Communist Party of Vietnam*.

The first thing Ho Chi Minh did was to select the most active young people in the “United Hearts Society” who had passed challenges in direct activities, attended revolutionary training classes, and then established a secret group, including 9 people called the Communist Union, 5 of whom were reserve members of the Communist Party. This was mentioned by Ho Chi Minh in his report to the Communist International Presidium in February 1925: “We have set up a secret group of 9 members,⁶ including: two people were sent home; three at the front (in Sun Yat-sen’s army); a person on a military trip (in KMT). Among those members, 5 are already reserve members of the Communist Party.”⁷

Not long after, the Communist group was expanded into an public wider organization, attracted and gathered many patriotic young people to join the revolution, then, the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth Association was born. This Association “is a revolutionary vanguard of the Vietnamese people, extremely organized to turn the people into a fighting force, very powerful; with utmost sacrifice, leading the people to fight fiercely with the exploiting, suppressing people, to regain their rights and to seize the power of the government.”⁸

As the direct leader of the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth Association, Ho Chi Minh set an activity program for the Association with four specific contents: *firstly*, training cadres; *secondly*, perfecting the organizational structure; *thirdly*, publishing Marxist—Leninist propaganda books; *fourthly*, establishing communication system with international revolution. Ho Chi Minh was both a direct participant and leader in the above unit.

In addition to the above-mentioned tasks, Ho Chi Minh also reorganized the system of domestic communication lines to transport young people from Vietnam to China for training. At the same time, he established the relationship with the Chinese Communist Party, individually based on the old friendship between Ho Chi Minh and the Chinese communist comrades such as Zhou Enlai and Zhang Tailei, Banh Bai,

⁶ There are listed 9 members including: Le Hong Son, Ho Tung Mau, Le Hong Phong, Le Quang Dat, Lam Duc Thu, Vuong Thuc Oanh, Truong Van Linh, Luu Quoc Long and Ho Chi Minh — see in *Nguyễn Ái Quốc ở Quảng Châu (1924—1927)*. *Op. cit.* Tr. 52—53.

⁷ Hồ Chí Minh. *Op. cit.*, t. 2. Tr. 152.

⁸ Đảng Cộng sản Việt Nam (1998). *Văn kiện Đảng toàn tập, 1924—1930*. Hà Nội: Nxb Chính trị quốc gia (Communist Party of Vietnam. *Complete Party Documents, 1924—1930*. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House), t. 1. Tr. 98.

or due to the joint activities in the Union of oppressive ethnic groups with Lieu Trong Khai and Bao Hue Tang ...⁹

Thanks to the help of the Provincial Communist Party of China in Guangdong and the revolutionary Guangzhou Government, Ho Chi Minh created conditions to open special political training class for the youth in the revolutionary organizations, to prepare ideologically for the birth of the Vietnamese Communist Party in early 1930.

Along with the combination of the revolutionary movement, until 1929, from North to South of Vietnam, there were three Communist organizations operating, namely: Indochinese Communist Party, An Nam Communist Party and Indochina Communist Federation. Although marking the leap forward the development of the Vietnamese revolution, this showed the split in the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth Association, revealing the contradictions in the patriotic movement. These three organizations all declared their support for the Communist International and claimed to be the true revolutionary party. In operation, these communist organizations competed for influence, attacked each other, the effect was detrimental to the development of the Vietnamese revolution.

Under these circumstances, the Communist International entrusted Ho Chi Minh with the responsibility of unifying the communist organizations to form only one Communist Party. In November 1929, Ho Chi Minh left Thailand for Hong Kong, the land that Manchu Dynasty (China) signed for British colonists to concession for 100 years since 1887. In these years, Hong Kong was “Open city”. British authorities here did not check closely the alien empire and immigrants. Moreover, the democratic organizations could operate relatively freely; the political quarries in other countries could come here to reside.

At the end of January 1930, the representatives of Vietnamese communist organizations were present in Hong Kong on the recommendation of Ho Chi Minh. From February 3 to 7, 1930, the Conference for the Integration of Communist Organizations in Vietnam was held. The conference agreed on the unification of the Parties and agreed to name the new Party as the Communist Party of Vietnam. The Conference adopted official Party documents such as Brief outline, Brief strategy, Brief charter ... drafted by Ho Chi Minh. These documents were the first political platform of the Communist Party of Vietnam, which officially affirmed the basic views on Vietnam’s revolutionary guidelines and methods, the organization and construction of the Communist

⁹ Nguyễn Ái Quốc ở Quảng Châu (1924—1927). *Op. cit.* P. 55—56.

Party of Vietnam became a leading organization of the Vietnamese revolution. The first political platform demonstrated the creative application and development of Marxism—Leninism in solving relationship between class — nation in the Vietnam's revolution way.

Thus, Ho Chi Minh founded the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth League in Guangzhou (China) and organizing the Conference for setting up the Vietnam Communist Party in Hong Kong. These were two major events in Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary activities in China, marking the development of Ho Chi Minh's ideology on the Vietnamese revolution. From this movement, the liberation of the Vietnamese nation under the leadership of the Vietnamese Communist Party has gradually won.

Organizing staff training class for the revolution in Viet Nam

Ho Chi Minh was deeply aware that if he wanted the revolution to win, not only he needed a revolutionary political party, but also needed to foster and create a team of ideological beliefs that were plated and tested through difficulties and struggles. Therefore, Ho Chi Minh during the days of conducting revolutionary activities in China, paid great attention to doing this work well. More than 10 years in China can be said to be a period when Ho Chi Minh made great efforts and gained tremendous achievements.

After Ho Chi Minh came to Guangzhou, through the foundation of the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth Association and the organization of a special political training class, he embarked on fostering revolutionary cadres for Vietnam. The students were Vietnamese patriotic youths who were active in revolution in Guangzhou, and the youths were brought from Vietnam to China. Ho Chi Minh paid great attention to educating those students to learn Marxist theory, and at the same time, educating them with revolutionary beliefs and revolutionary morals as the most important subject, requiring Vietnamese youths had a memory of revolutionaries in their heart after this special political class.

The location chosen by Ho Chi Minh to be the venue for the training classes from 1926 to 1927 was 13 and 13B (now houses No 248 and 250), Van Minh street, opposite the Zhongshan University (now the Museum of the revolution Guangzhou), the front door of this house was carved two lines of Chinese characters: 越南青年政治训练班 (Political Class for Vietnamese Youths) and 越南青年革命同志会 (Vietnam Youth Revolutionary Comrades Association).

During the period from early 1926 to April 1927, Ho Chi Minh opened three classes directly with 75 students.¹⁰ The contents of Nguyen Ai Quoc's lectures for these special political training classes were gathered into a book under the title *Revolutionary Road*. This book was not only the first political textbook of the Vietnamese revolution, but together with *French Colonialism on Trial* published earlier in France, laid the basis for the formation of Ho Chi Minh's ideology on the way of revolution in Vietnam.

During the period Ho Chi Minh in Hong Kong in late 1929 to early 1930, in addition to the time when the British authorities in Hong Kong arrested him, he also conducted training and education of key officers of the Communist Party of Vietnam, asked them to be serious with their responsibilities, to remember the Party's principles, to abide by the Party's decisions, to reach a unified thought, to act in unison. Also during this time, Ho Chi Minh City also repeatedly went from Hong Kong to Shanghai, conducted propaganda revolutionary for Vietnamese community living in the French Concession, convened a meeting among the secret members of the Vietnamese Communist Party in Shanghai, conducting fostering and training, spreading revolutionary theory to them in a short time.¹¹

During the Chinese War against Japan, Ho Chi Minh had two periods of activities in China, from December 1938 to February 1941 and from August 1942 to July 1944, Ho Chi Minh was both involved in the activities of the Chinese Communist Party and paid attention and instructed the revolutionary Vietnamese. He continuously organized the classes of training cadres for the Vietnamese revolution. *The first time*, in early 1940, Ho Chi Minh City from Guilin to Kunming. After contact with the Committee of Communist Party of Vietnam in foreign countries, he directed this Committee with secret organization of the Communist Party in Kunming and along the Yunnan — Vietnam railway, and at the same time, training classes for secret organization members of the Communist Party of Vietnam. *The second time*, in October 1940, under the instruction of Ho Chi Minh, the Committee of Communist Party of Vietnam in foreign countries moved from Kunming to Guilin, then moved to the district Jingxi of Guangzhou near border Vietnam—China circles, in order to facilitate the preparation for the country to lead the

¹⁰ *Ho Tung Mau's memoirs*, kept at the Party History Institute.

¹¹ Hoang Tranh (2000). *Ho Chi Minh's Activities in China with the Independence of the Vietnamese People*. South of the twentieth century. Accessories academic journal "Southeast Asia rampage", September. P. 3.

armed struggle. In Tinh Tay district, on the base of intimate feelings formed for many years of the people of Vietnam and China, Ho Chi Minh focused on organizing training courses to foster key cadres for the Vietnamese revolution. There were 43 people who took part in this class, including a patriotic youth group from Vietnam to Guangxi as a result of the French coercion after the defeat of the uprising against the French.¹² The subject of this training course are: Political theory, propaganda and revolutionary organization, military struggle knowledge ... Ho Chi Minh, Phung Chi Kien, Pham Van Dong, Võ Nguyên Giáp were all teachers of this training class.¹³ The Vietnamese youths were trained, and later, they became the elite revolutionary cadres. *The third time*, Ho Chi Minh held a training class after the time when he was arrested by TMK in Guangxi (from August 1942 to September 1943). After being reinstated, Ho Chi Minh received the invitation of Quaternary war zone of KMT, he participated in the activities of the Vietnam General Revolutionary Union, a revolutionary organization of Vietnam at that time activating in China. At the request of Zhang Fakui, the Commander of Quaternary war zone of KMT, Ho Chi Minh served as Vice President of the Vietnam General Revolutionary Union.¹⁴ In the same year, a group of Vietnamese youths fled to China after the failed anti-French uprising, received by the Quaternary war zone of KMT, Ho Chi Minh permitted these young men to attend a special political training class where Ho Chi Minh was also invited to lecture.¹⁵ Ho Chi Minh noticed that this youth group had rather complex components, so after they participated in training politics, he selected 18 people, personally coaching them in a short time, conducted revolutionary propaganda and belief education. Then, in July 1944, Ho Chi Minh brought these 18 young men to the revolutionary base in the North of Vietnam.¹⁶

From the above presentation, during the time of conducting revolutionary activities in China, in order to ensure the organization, ideology and victory of the Vietnamese Revolution, we can see that Ho Chi Minh fostered and trained a key cadre force for the Vietnamese revolution.

¹² Phan Ngoc Lien (2008). *Ho Chi Minh with the Process of National History*. Hanoi: National Political Publishing House. P. 281.

¹³ Hoang Tranh. *Ho Chi Minh's Activities in China ...* Op. cit. P. 3.

¹⁴ Phan Ngoc Lien. *Ho Chi Minh with the Process of National History*. Op. cit. P. 298.

¹⁵ Hoang Tranh. *Ho Chi Minh's Activities in China ...* Op. cit. P. 3.

¹⁶ Phan Ngoc Lien. *Ho Chi Minh with the Process of National History*. Op. cit. P. 299.

Writing many works to provide the right theory and direction for the Vietnamese revolution

During the time Ho Chi Minh was active in China, he not only participated in the activities of the Communist Party of China, at the same time, he was also interested in the Vietnamese revolution as well. As the founder of the Communist Party of Vietnam and a leader of the Vietnamese Revolution, Ho Chi Minh needed to base on the situations of the struggle of the domestic revolution, in combination with the developing trend of the movement of international communism and the observation and understanding of the Chinese revolutionary movement, to regularly send instructions to the Party facilities in the country. In addition, as a leading member of the Board of Oriental Comintern and International farmers, Ho Chi Minh also should have regularly reported to the President of the International Communist about the revolution in Vietnam, the Chinese Revolution and its own awareness of the trend of the proletariat revolutionary movements in the periods. Therefore, in his days in China, Ho Chi Minh wrote many works, contributed to providing the right theory and direction for the Vietnamese revolution.

The number of works by Ho Chi Minh in China during the period had more than 250 articles.¹⁷ Based on Ho Chi Minh's stay in China, it is possible to generalize the number of works in each period as follows: the period from November 1924 to May 1927 in Guangzhou, Ho Chi Minh wrote an estimated number of nearly 100 articles. These included *Revolutionary Road*, an editorial piece of Ho Chi Minh's lectures for a special political training class in Guangzhou, beside numerous articles and reports by Ho Chi Minh sent to the International Communist, International farmers, or letters sent to individuals, a total of 30 pieces.¹⁸ Besides, there were nearly 30 articles published in the *International correspondence* magazine, dozens of French articles posted in Phan Van Truong's *L'Annam* newspaper in Vietnam and for many other newspapers and magazines. Another issue was the series of articles about *Chinese Farmers Movement*.¹⁹ In addition, when participating in the Second Congress of the KMT, Ho Chi Minh also wrote a lecture and a manifesto to establish the Union of Oppressed Ethnic Groups. From December 1929 to the beginning of 1933 in Hong Kong, Ho Chi Minh wrote about

¹⁷ Hoang Tranh. *Ho Chi Minh's Activities in China... Op. cit.* P. 4.

¹⁸ Nguyen Ai Quoc in *Guangzhou (1924—1927). Op. cit.* P. 67.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* P. 68.

30 articles of all kinds. For example, he drafted the Party's documents, such as a brief outline, a brief strategy, a brief charter ... On the occasion of establishing the Party, Ho Chi Minh on behalf of the International Communist and The Communist Party of Vietnam wrote the *Call* to workers, peasants, soldiers, youths, students and all oppressed and exploited compatriots.²⁰ Ho Chi Minh also wrote a report to the International Communist after establishing the Communist Party of Vietnam. ... From December 1938 to February 1941, Ho Chi Minh wrote more than 20 articles which included articles accusing Japanese crimes against the Chinese people, while highlighting the revolutionary heroism of the Chinese people in their struggles against fascist aggression. In the name of a Chinese journalist as P.C. Lin, Ho Chi Minh submitted many articles and published them in newspapers in Vietnam.²¹ The articles *Letters from China* were transferred to the Indochinese Communist Party by Ho Chi Minh, giving the Vietnamese people the main contents of the Party's lines and policies during the Indochina Democratic Front (1936—1939). During his time in Gui Lin, Ho Chi Minh also wrote truthful articles published in *Rescue Daily*, reports sent to the International Communist and articles for the training classes of Vietnamese revolutionary cadres in Tinh Tay,²² From August 1942 to July 1944, Ho Chi Minh wrote the *Prison Diary* and wrote more than 10 other articles which included a report by Ho Chi Minh at the *International Conference on Anti-Aggression*, meeting in Liuzhou from March 16, 1944 on *The situation of domestic party*, *Report of the Vietnamese chapter* and brochure on guerrilla warfare...²³

It can be seen that during Ho Chi Minh's time in China, he wrote a lot of articles, expressing his growing maturity in revolutionary ideology and the art of fighting, contributing to the drive and guidance for Vietnam revolutionary movement. At the same time, he also contributed to increasing the relationship between the Vietnamese revolution and the Chinese and the world revolutions, promoting international attention to the issues of Vietnam, supporting the Vietnamese people fighting for national independence. The articles by Ho Chi Minh during this time have become an important part of Ho Chi Minh's ideology.

²⁰ Phan Ngoc Lien. *Ho Chi Minh with the Process of National History*. Op. cit. P. 237.

²¹ *How do Japanese People Want to Civilize China?* Notre Voix (Our Voice), February 22, 1939 and March 5, 1939.

²² Hoang Tranh. *Ho Chi Minh's Activities in China...* Op. cit. P. 4.

²³ *Ibid.*

**Practical participating in the Chinese
revolutionary movement, contributing to the development
of Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary theory**

As mentioned above, in 1924, when Ho Chi Minh came to Guangzhou, he was publicly working as a translator of the Borodin advisor (advising the Guangzhou government), and Ho Chi Minh had to complete a duty to the Farmers' International Association as a Commissioner of the organization responsible for monitoring and directing the Asian farmer movement. Therefore, contact with the Communist Party of China and the KMT was only on his own behalf, not recommended by the International Communist. Chinese communist comrades, such as Zhou Enlai, Deng Ying Sieu, Li Fuchun, Zhang Tailei, Tran Dien Nien, Banh Nhai, Ye Jianying...²⁴ and their organization greatly assisted Ho Chi Minh in establishing the communist organizations and carrying out the task of opening training classes for gilding officials. At the same time, the Vietnamese revolutionaries were also actively engaged in revolutionary of Communist Party of China in Guangzhou such as strikes Hong Kong, Guangzhou Uprising, Dong Giang guerrilla warfare... having a silhouette of Vietnamese revolutionary soldiers. Ho Chi Minh was also actively involved in activities in the movement of Chinese farmers, fought alongside the working class of China, while also calling the KMT implemented policies of Sun Yat-sen.²⁵

Witnessing the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal movements of the Chinese people, Ho Chi Minh in a series of articles on *Events in China*, published in *L'Annam* newspaper in Vietnam emphasized the cause of the war against the imperialists and the feudalism of the Chinese people (also known as the Northern War launched by Sun Yat-sen, led by the Communist Party of China) due to the favorable support of Chinese farmers. However, later Ho Chi Minh also assessed the limitations of the Chinese Communist Party's military mission on peasants, he wrote: "In China, as a result of the Northern War, the agricultural movement reached great stature ... The Communist Party of China (the leading party in this period) should have conducted its propaganda and encouragement among farmers in accordance with the resolutions of the Communist International; it should have directed the masses of farmers to follow the path of revolutionary action.., then this would depend on the peasant movement and coordinate with the KMT fighting against

²⁴ *Nguyen Ai Quoc in Guangzhou (1924—1927). Op. cit.* P. 152—154.

²⁵ *Ibid.* Tr. 122—141.

what was in fact already bright revolutionary ideas of farmer organizations. That was the biggest mistake in the leadership of the communists at that time.”²⁶ This restriction led to the fact that when the Chinese proletariat revolted in the city, there were no important revolutionary peasant movements in the outskirts coordinating with, and they did not win. From this failure of the Chinese Revolution, Ho Chi Minh learned from his experience that in order for the revolution to be successful, it was necessary to ensure a sure cooperation between the proletariat and peasantry. He wrote that: “The proletarian revolution can not triumph in the agricultural and semi-agricultural country if the revolutionary proletariat peasant masses are not active supporters.”²⁷ In order to have such a victory, Ho Chi Minh said: “The party of the proletariat, first of all in agricultural and semi-agricultural countries, must pay attention to political and organizational work (both in terms of military work) among peasantry.”²⁸ Because he knew that “revolution can only be won if the revolutionary waves shake the peasant mass under the leadership of the proletariat.”²⁹

These revolutionary theoretical issues of Ho Chi Minh not only have had implications for the International Communist and the fraternal Communist Party in directing the revolutionary movements in the whole world, but were also meaningful in the movements of colonial liberation, especially in agricultural and semi-agricultural countries like Vietnam.

Conclusion

Ho Chi Minh's activities during his time in China opened an important turning point in Vietnam's revolutionary history. Through the above presentations, we can clearly see that, after becoming a communist soldier, finding the way for the people, Ho Chi Minh embarked on creative use and development of Marxism—Leninism in specific conditions of Vietnam. China was the first place where Ho Chi Minh propagated Marxism—Leninism to Vietnamese youths, leading the generations of Vietnamese patriotic youths to the revolutionary truths of the times. Ho Chi Minh directly organized, trained them both in theory and practice, in politics and ethics, in propaganda how to mobilize the people ... Step

²⁶ *Ibid.* Tr. 160.

²⁷ *Ibid.* Tr. 162.

²⁸ *Ibid.* Tr. 161.

²⁹ *Ibid.* Tr. 162.

by step, he brought the revolution to liberate the Vietnamese people into the trajectory of the proletariat revolution, associating national independence with socialism, patriotism and true internationalism. Through the presentation above, it also clearly reflects the long-standing intimate relationship between Vietnam and China; has also recorded the feelings and thinking about the revolution of the two peoples. During this historical period, the Vietnamese people and the Chinese people both deeply appreciated it which encouraged the peoples of the two countries to make efforts to develop cooperative and neighborly relations, to look forward to the better future.

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CONCLUSION

Time has no power for the memories of those who have devoted their whole lives to the cause of serving the people, for their struggle to liberate the nation and society. The glorious years of Ho Chi Minh's life of fighting and revolutionary activities have long gone into the past, but his never-ending image still becomes bold and shining for generations after. In 2019, all Vietnamese friends widely celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Ho Chi Minh Testament, where he outlined the CPV's operating background for the following years. On May 19, 2020, 130 years of Ho Chi Minh's birthday will be completed, and of course, in Vietnam, Russia and many other countries will hold memorial events, seminars and roundtables to honor this important day.

The writings of Russian and Vietnamese authors about the life and activities of Ho Chi Minh are gathered in this monograph, helping us understand what a profound and multifaceted individual he was. He was an outstanding activist of movements for national liberation, communism and international workers. He was the founder of the Communist Party of Vietnam, which for over 90 years has confidently led the Vietnamese people in the struggle to defend the country's independence and to build socialism. He was the founder of the vast coalition of the Vietnamese nation, the Vietnam Front, under the banners and slogans of this Front that the August Revolution of 1945 won. He was the first president of the independent Vietnam from September 1945 until his death in September 1969. He was someone who was not only an indomitable revolutionary practitioner, but was also acknowledged as a thinker of Vietnam's path to socialism, leaving the legacy of Ho Chi Minh's ideology for The Communist Party of Vietnam, which still plays the role of the lodestar for the Party. Finally, he was a prominent figure in world culture, a talented journalist, writer and poet.

Ho Chi Minh lived and fought in an era separated from us by many decades, but he is still very modern. In his activities and ideas which he

has proposed, there is much in accordance with what we call today the political thinking of the 21st century. And here, first of all, it is necessary to talk about his art in order to achieve a dialectical combination between national interests and class interests, patriotic ideals and socialist ideals. The idea of fanaticism is completely alien to him. The harmonization and consensus of the nation, the non-violent methods, the compromise based on the interests of not only the majority but also the minority — it is this political status that really resembles his character.

For Vietnamese people, Ho Chi Minh is a true symbol of national unity. Always standing in the ground of the working people, he knew how to draw representatives of the national bourgeoisie, landlords and intellectuals to the revolution, which allowed the vast coalition of the Vietnamese people, even in the most difficult period, to be still possible to fight against external enemies. Many representatives of the Vietnamese bourgeois and feudalist stated in their memoirs that they sided with the revolution under the influence of Ho Chi Minh's personality in which they saw a glimmer of hope for national liberation and the Revival of Vietnam in the future.

Ho Chi Minh was the initiator and active defender of the strategy of the vast national unity front at each specific stage of the Vietnamese revolution. This strategy has become a powerful weapon in the hands of Vietnamese patriots, first in the struggle to liberate the country from the Japanese militarism and the French colonialists — the Viet Minh Front, then in the struggle of the people of the South against the invasion of the US — The front of National Liberation of the South of Vietnam and today in the cause of national peace and unity building is the Vietnam Fatherland Front.

In the extremely confusing situation of the revolutionary events of 1945—1946, Ho Chi Minh showed his political and state intelligence. The Vietnamese Revolution did not criminally prosecute and persecute the former monarch, as it had happened in many countries before, including France and Russia. In order to preserve the unity of the nation before the enemies outside, in order to attract representatives of the largest classes of people for the national liberation revolution, including the feudal monarchy, although they used to faithfully serve the colonialists, he made a bold and humane decision and at the same time, persuaded a part of his radical and quite extreme comrades about the correctness of the decision that King Bao Dai should be deposed but as an honorary advisor to the Provisional Revolutionary Government, and the King kindly agreed.

Ho Chi Minh went into world history not only as the leader of the Communist Party of Vietnam, leading the communist movement and international workers, but also one of outstanding leaders of the national liberation movements in the world. His great contributions to the national liberation struggle in the world have been repeatedly praised by the leaders of the newly liberated nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America on many international forums. Ho Chi Minh warmly welcomed the introduction of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961; he had close ties to this movement's "founders" — Jawaharlal Nehru and Ahmad Sukarno.

Virtually all Ho Chi Minh biographers, both Vietnamese and foreign, have paid special attention to analyzing the two most remarkable characteristics in Ho Chi Minh's personality. The first is the endless historical optimism and absolute belief in the victory of righteousness — freedom and independence of Vietnam, which he fought all his life for. He tried to instill bit by bit of optimism into the hearts of his teammates, party members, military soldiers and all the Vietnamese working people. He taught them never to fear their enemies, to believe in themselves, and to support their friends. Since then, the fear of outside enemies, no matter how awful and dangerous, has been next to nothing to the people of Vietnam.

Recalling July 17, 1966, shortly after a year and a half of US "air war" against North Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh called for millions of people. At that time, nearly the entire territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was brutally bombed around the clock. From Washington resounded the threat of bombing to turn North Vietnam back to the Stone Age. And Ho Chi Minh said during these difficult days for the Vietnamese that the war can last for 5 years, 10 years, 20 years or longer. Hanoi, Hai Phong and some cities and enterprises may be devastated, but the Vietnamese people are determined not to be afraid! Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. By the day of victory, our people will have rebuilt our country more and more beautiful.

A few years after this call, the world witnessed Ho Chi Minh's prophecies that had truly come true. The Vietnamese people have defeated the invaders, reunited the country, achieved remarkable achievements in economic development, and are making the homeland more majestic and beautiful day by day.

And his second remarkable personality is, in the words of Salvador Allende, "great humanity and great humility." He was the leader of his nation, an uncompromising and wise leader, and in the minds of millions of Vietnamese people, he was always a simple and close person.

Therefore, they called him intimate like a family relative — Uncle Ho, showing both deep respect and emotional closeness..

He gained immense, not limited prestige to his people. But it is truly prestigious, not rather than personal cult with its decadence and error. Thanks to first of all his human qualities, Vietnam did not repeat a distorted socio-political phenomenon on its land, which unfortunately attacked the Soviet Union, China and some other socialist countries.

It is the appearance of Ho Chi Minh that radiated warmth about the soul and spread around. He belonged to the class of people whose suffering is more painful than that of their own. Many foreign representatives who met him said that he was extremely interested in everything related to the lives of the Vietnamese people, the suffering and loss of the people; he was worried about telling the heroism of Vietnamese soldiers when he bitterly repeated: “The best people are sacrificing.”

By nature of being soft and kind, Ho Chi Minh was at the same time a model of toughness, endurance and assertiveness, when the situation called for it. To win the struggle for freedom and independence, he taught, the people had to express a consistent revolutionary spirit, always raising the flag of revolutionary heroism, not retreating first to any deprivation and sacrifice, determined to fight to the end.

But the most important thing was President Ho Chi Minh’s rich spiritual heritage, his irresistible ideas filled with new content and continuing to lead the Vietnamese people from victory to victory. Armed with Ho Chi Minh’s ideology, the Vietnamese people successfully won the Second Resistance War and reunited their homeland on the basis of socialism. In the late 1980s, under the most difficult conditions of the crisis of the socialist system, the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, based on his ideas, was able to successfully implement the renovation path, a new developing strategy which was basically a very effective tool to quickly take the country out of crisis, take the lead in modernizing the country and radically improving the lives of its people.

The policy of innovation has become a powerful and effective weapon in the hands of the Communist Party of Vietnam, because the Party has found the most broadened support of the Vietnamese people; and based on that, the party has the opportunity today and the right to be considered a vanguard of not only the working class, but also the entire Vietnamese nation. As stated in the party charter adopted at the X Congress (2006), the Communist Party of Vietnam is a pioneer of the working class, as well as a pioneer of the working people and the entire Vietnamese people; the party is a faithful representation of the interests of the working class, the working people and the country. This is also a very

important part in implementing ideas on many aspects of Ho Chi Minh, one of the most popular slogans among them is Unity, unity, great unity!

And finally, the author of this book would like to say a few words about Ho Chi Minh's relationship with the Soviet Union and the Russian people. In Ho Chi Minh's rich press and memoirs document, both in Vietnam and in Russia, Ho Chi Minh has been referred to as the founder of the friendship between our two peoples and contributes at all costs to the development and strengthening of that friendship. This platform is so strong that thanks to it, today, Russia and Vietnam, in reality of the new history, have established themselves and in general, are successfully developing a comprehensive strategic partnership.

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LOMONOSOV MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY
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Russia, Moscow, Akademika Khokhlova street, 11
Tel.: +7 495 939 32 91
E-mail: secretary@msupress.com