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#### ACADEMY OF JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION

#### **NGUYEN THANH TAM**

# THE LEADING PARTY COMBINES THE STRENGTH OF THE PEOPLE AND THE STRENGTH OF THE TIMES FROM 1930 TO 1954

**Industry: History of the Communist Party of Vietnam** 

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## SUMMARY DOCTRIBUTION ON HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM

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2. Dr. Pham Thi Kim Oanh
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#### INTRODUCTION

#### 1. Reasons for choosing the thesis topic

One of the lessons learned that our Party has raised to the level of art in the resistance war against French colonialism of the Vietnamese people is that the Party pays great attention to the work of combining national strength with the strength of the times. With the correct policy of combining national strength with the strength of the times, the Party has mobilized all resources of the nation to the maximum, gaining great and effective support and assistance in both material and spiritual terms from the international community. That is the combination of the fine traditions of the Vietnamese people with Marxism-Leninism; the political and military line of the Communist Party of Vietnam and President Ho Chi Minh.

The lesson to this day still has great significance in terms of science and practice. Up to now, there have not been many research works clarifying and specifying this important issue, especially the topic of the Party's leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times. Therefore, the researcher chose the issue of "The Party's leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times from 1930 to 1954" as the topic of the PhD thesis in historical science, majoring in History of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

#### 2. Research purpose and tasks

#### 2.1. Research purpose

Clarifying the process of the Party's leadership in combining national strength and the strength of the times from 1930 to 1954, thereby drawing experiences to apply to the present.

#### 2.2. Research tasks

The thesis focuses on implementing the following main tasks:

- Overview of the research situation related to the thesis topic;
- Outlining the context affecting the Party's leadership in combining national strength and the strength of the times from 1930 to 1954;
- Systematizing and clarifying the Party's policies and directions on combining national strength and the strength of the times from 1930 to 1954;
- Commenting on the advantages, limitations and summarizing the main experiences from the process of the Party's leadership in combining national strength and the strength of the times from 1930 to 1954.

#### 3. Research objects and scope

#### 3.1. Research object

The thesis studies the Party's policy and leadership process in combining national strength and the strength of the times from 1930 to 1954.

#### 3.2. Scope of research

- Regarding content: The thesis focuses on clarifying the main contents of the Party's policy and leadership process in promoting national strength, the strength of the times and combining national strength and the strength of the times in two periods 1930 1945 and 1945 1954; comments and experiences on the Party's leadership.
  - Regarding space: in Vietnam
- Regarding time: from the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam (1930) to the signing of the Agreement on the cessation of hostilities in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia at the Geneva Conference on July 21, 1954, ending the resistance war against the French colonialists.

#### 4. Theoretical basis and research methods

#### 4.1. Theoretical basis

The thesis is based on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism, Ho Chi Minh's thought related to the policy and direction on national strength, the strength of the times and the combination of these two factors from 1930 to 1954.

#### 4.2. Research method

The main methods used are historical and logical methods.

The historical method aims to present the process of the Party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, leading the promotion of national strength, taking advantage of the strength of the times and combining national strength with the strength of the times from 1930 to 1954.

Logical method: From the practical process of the Party's leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times, summarize the main results, draw some comments and experiences on the leadership process of the Party.

In addition to using two historical and logical methods, the thesis also uses other research methods such as: statistical and comparative methods; documentary survey methods; analysis and synthesis methods; historical criticism methods and the typical research method of the Party History science subject is based on the Party's Documents, Resolutions, and Directives to reflect on the actual occurrence of historical events and figures or vice versa... to analyze, evaluate, synthesize and draw conclusions and experiences.

#### 4.3. Sources of documents and references

- Resolutions, directives and reports of the Party Central Committee published in the Complete Party Documents.
  - Articles and speeches of President Ho Chi Minh in the Complete Ho Chi Minh.
- Documents and materials of relevant ministries and branches are kept at the Central Party Office Archives, the Ministry of National Defense Archives Center, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archives, the National Library, the Central Military

Library, the Documentation and Methodology Department of the Party History Institute, etc.

- Research works, summaries, books and articles published in scientific journals, theses and dissertations with content related to the topic of agencies and scientists of Vietnam and internationally.
- Memoirs of leaders, generals, politicians and historical witnesses in the country and internationally who directly or indirectly participated in historical events in the period 1930 1954.

#### 5. Theoretical and practical significance of the topic

#### 5.1. Theoretical significance

- Contribute to systematizing documents, clarifying the policy and direction of the Party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, on combining national strength with the strength of the times from 1930 to 1954.
- Initially, raise comments and draw some experiences from the process of the Party's leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times from 1930 to 1954. State the theoretical and practical significance, lessons learned from the lesson of combining national strength with the strength of the times for the cause of building and defending the socialist Vietnamese Fatherland today.
- Providing scientific data to help clarify the position, role and great contributions of the policy of promoting national strength, taking advantage of the strength of the times, the combination of national strength with the strength of the times led by the Party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh from 1930 to 1954.
- Contributing scientific arguments to help clarify the role of Nguyen Ai Quoc Ho Chi Minh in combining national strength with the strength of the times from the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam (February 1930) to the successful end of the resistance war against French colonialism.

#### 5.2. Practical significance

- The thesis is a reference document for researchers and domestic and foreign policy makers to create a comprehensive strength to serve the cause of building and protecting the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. - Reference material for research and teaching the subject of History of the Communist Party of Vietnam from 1930 - 1954; Revolutionary line of the Communist Party of Vietnam and some other political theory subjects.

#### 6. New points of the thesis

Explained and analyzed the factors affecting the Party's leadership; the Party's policies and directions in leadership combining national strength with the strength of the times through two research periods: 1930 - 1945; 1945 - 1954, on contents such

as: building internal strength, seeking and taking advantage of external strength, combining national strength with the strength of the times...

Analyzed and pointed out the advantages, limitations and causes in the leadership combining national strength with the strength of the times of the Party from 1930 to 1954, thereby drawing some experiences with scientific basis, having reference value for the present.

#### 7. Structure of the thesis

In addition to the introduction, conclusion, list of references and appendix, the thesis is structured in 4 chapters and 9 sections:

#### **CHAPTER 1**

#### OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH SITUATION RELATED TO THE TOPIC

#### 1.1. Overview of research situation

### 1.1.1. Group of general research works on the revolutionary struggle from 1930 to 1954

The works compiled by the Steering Committee for War Summary under the Politburo include: Summary of the resistance war against French colonialism, victories and lessons; Vietnam's revolutionary war 1945-1975, victories and lessons. The work History of the resistance war against French colonialism (1945-1954) compiled by the Vietnam Military History Institute, Ministry of National Defense, published by the People's Army Publishing House, Hanoi, including 7 volumes; The book Ho Chi Minh's Thought and the Vietnamese Revolutionary Path by General Vo Nguyen Giap; The book Under the glorious flag of the Party for independence, freedom and socialism, moving forward to achieve new victories by Le Duan; The book Political and military policies of France in Vietnam in the period 1945-1954 and the reasons for failure by author Nguyen Manh Ha; History of Vietnam, volume 9 (from 1930 to 1945); History of Vietnam, volume 10 (from 1945 to 1950); History of Vietnam, volume 11 (from 1951 to 1954) [171]; Military History of Vietnam, volume 9 and volume 10, compiled by the Vietnam Military History Institute, Ministry of National Defense; The book The Communist Party of Vietnam leads the resistance against the French colonialists (1945-1954) by Nguyen Manh Ha.

In addition to scientific research works on the resistance war against France, there are many articles published in specialized journals on this content.

The research works of authors and researchers abroad include typical works such as: The book History of the Indochina War 1945-1954 by Général Yves Gras; The book Paris - Saigon - Hanoi, archival documents on the war 1944-1947 by Đvile Philip; The book The Indochina War by Lucien Bodard; The book Vietnam 1946, How did the war begin? by Stein Tonnesson; The book Economic Development of

French Indochina by Charles Robequain; The book An ambiguous colony in the period 1858-1954 by Pierre Brocheux and Daniel Hémery; The book De Gaulle and Vietnam (1945-1969) by Pierre Journoud.

## 1.1.2. Group of research works directly related to national strength, the strength of the times, the combination of national strength with the strength of the times in the period 1930 - 1954

The book Vietnamese People's National Democratic Revolution by Truong Chinh; The book August Revolution - Some Historical Issues by the Institute of History; The book Ho Chi Minh, International Revolutionary Soldier by Phan Ngoc Lien, Trinh Vuong Hong; The book Ho Chi Minh with the strategy of international solidarity in the national liberation revolution by Le Van Yen; The book History of Vietnam's Foreign Relations (1940-2010) by Vu Duong Ninh; The book History of Vietnamese Military Thought - Volume V: General Discussion compiled by the Institute of Military History of Vietnam, Ministry of National Defense; The book August Revolution 1945 with the cause of innovation, integration and development by the Institute of History, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences; The book National Strength of the Vietnamese Revolution in the Light of Ho Chi Minh's Thought by author Le Mau Han; Thesis on the Party's Foreign Affairs from 1930 to 1945 by Nguyen Thi Huyen Trang; The book History of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Volume I (1930-1954) by the Institute of Party History, Ho Chi Minh National Academy of Politics, including 2 volumes: volume 1 (1930-1945); volume 2 (1945-1954); The book The Indochinese Communist Party in the Period of 1930-1945 by author Tran Nam Tien; The book The Vietnamese Revolution in the Hearts of International Friends in the Period of 1945-1954 by author Pham Thi Thanh Mai; The book The Process of Planning the Party's National Liberation Revolutionary Path and Some Key Leadership Lessons (1930-1975) by author Nguyen Manh Ha; Proceedings of the Scientific Conference Dien Bien Phu Victory - Epic of the Ho Chi Minh Era jointly organized by the Vietnam Military History Museum and the Ho Chi Minh Museum.

In addition, many journals also published articles analyzing specific aspects of national strength, the strength of the times, the combination of national strength and the strength of the times in the struggle of our people from 1930 to 1954.

Foreign researchers and scholars also had many research works related to the relationship of the Vietnamese revolution with the world, the situation and efforts of the Vietnamese revolution in the period 1930-1954, typically: The book China and the settlement of the first Indochina war (Geneva 1954) by Francois Joyaux; The book The significance of defeating Japanese militarism for the victory of the people's revolution in China, Korea and Vietnam by M.L. Titapenco; The book Ho Chi Minh:

National Liberation and Renovation by Furuta Motoo; The book International Communist and Vietnam by A.A. Sokolov; The book The Story of a Forgotten Peace by Jean Sainteny; The book Comrade Ho Chi Minh by Ephênhi Kobelép; The book OSS and Ho Chi Minh - Unexpected Allies in the War Against Japanese Fascism by Dixee R. Bartholomew - Feis; The book The Soviet Union and Vietnam in the First Indochina War - The Geneva Conference 1954 jointly compiled by the Russian Federal Archives and the State Archives of Vietnam; Facing Ho Chi Minh by Jean Sainteny; Ho Chi Minh: a Life by William J. Duiker; The China - Cambodia - Vietnam Triangle by Wilfred Burchett; The Soviet Union and the Vietnam War by Ilya V. Gaiduk; Ho Chi Minh, the Last Chance of the Vietnam - France Conference at Fontainebleau, July 1946 by Henri Azeau; Vietnam 1945 - The Quest for Power by David G. Marr 7]; Vietnam Revolution 1945 - Roosevelt, Ho Chi Minh and De Gaulle in a World at War by Stein Tonesson; The Verdict on Vietnam by G.A. Amter....

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### 1.2. Results of the reviewed scientific works and the issues the thesis focuses on

#### 1.2.1. Results of the works have been summarized for the thesis topic

#### \* About documents

Research works related to the content of the Party's leadership combining national strength with the strength of the times are diverse in genres, including: books, newspapers, magazines, scientific research topics at all levels, doctoral theses... have clearly demonstrated the attention and leadership of the Party, the State, scientists at home and abroad, one of the valuable lessons of the Party in the process of leading the people to fight for national liberation (1930-1945) and the resistance against the French colonialists (1945-1954). The research works have provided many documents, materials, statistics, organizational charts on national strength, the work of searching, promoting, and combining national strength of the Party. From there, it helps the researcher have a rich source of historical materials for reference and inheritance in the process of implementing his thesis topic.

#### \* About the approach and research methods

The research works have been approached from many different perspectives such as political science, journalism, international relations, philosophy, history and history of the Communist Party of Vietnam. Research methods such as analysis, synthesis, comparison, logic, history and statistics have been used to analyze and interpret the problem. In particular, the comparison and contrast method based on Party Documents has been given attention and focus to create a solid theoretical basis when researching the topic.

<sup>\*</sup> Regarding the research content

From the research content, the doctoral student inherits some basic points:

- Explaining and clarifying the content and concepts of national strength, the strength of the times, the combination of national strength with the strength of the times, and the factors affecting this combination from 1930 to 1954;
- Recreating the panoramic picture of the world situation as well as Vietnam from the time the French colonialists invaded Vietnam to the glorious victory of Dien Bien Phu in 1954;
- The works have provided many documents, both domestic and foreign, on the origin and causes of the outbreak of the second French invasion of Vietnam and the Indochina war; Causes, plots, tricks, characteristics, developments, and results of the resistance war against French colonialism.
- Vietnam's consistent ideology in determining the revolutionary path for national liberation since the founding of the Communist Party of Vietnam; the direction and leadership of the Party to build and promote all the strength and capabilities of the nation, taking advantage of every opportunity to bring the revolution to final victory.
- The Party's policy of promoting economic development, building armed forces, and building the great national unity bloc right from the first days of the country's founding.
- The recognition of opportunities, taking advantage of the capabilities and opportunities of the international situation and of the times to gain victory at decisive moments such as the August Revolution in 1945, the Dien Bien Phu campaign in 1954.
- The ability to combine all aspects of struggle to successfully end the resistance war against the French colonialists, ending the 9-year long resistance war.
- The role of leader Nguyen Ai Quoc Ho Chi Minh in the process of leading the Vietnamese revolution.

However, the above scientific works and articles only mention the contents related to the entire revolutionary struggle for power and resistance against invasion from 1930 to 1954. There has not been any work that has conducted in-depth research on the issue of the Party's leadership combining national strength with the strength of the times from 1930 to 1954. However, at different levels and approaches, these works are useful reference materials to help graduate students inherit many historical contents to write their thesis.

#### 1.2.2. The thesis focuses on researching issues

- Explain and clarify the factors affecting this combination from 1930 to 1954;
- Clarifying the Party's policy and direction, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, on combining national strength with the strength of the times from 1930 to 1954.

- Drawing some comments, assessments and experiences on the process of the Party's leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times from 1930 to 1954. From there, highlighting the theoretical and practical significance and lessons learned from combining national strength with the strength of the times for the cause of building and defending the socialist Vietnamese Fatherland today.
- Clarify the position and role of the Party in leading the promotion of national strength, taking advantage of the strength of the times, and combining national strength with the strength of the times from 1930 to 1954.
- Demonstrate the role of Nguyen Ai Quoc Ho Chi Minh in combining national strength with the strength of the times from 1930 to 1954.

#### **Chapter 1 summary**

The works, articles, and sources mentioned above are very important reference materials, with contents and issues that the thesis can inherit. From there, the doctoral student continues to research and clarify the issues raised in the thesis on the Party's policies, leadership and direction in combining national strength with the strength of the times in the revolutionary and resistance struggle from 1930 to 1954, thereby drawing conclusions on the advantages, limitations and experiences in the Party's leadership and direction on this issue, while contributing to proving the role and contributions of President Ho Chi Minh in the important moments of the country and the nation.

#### **CHAPTER 2**

## THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP COMBINING NATIONAL STRENGTH WITH THE STRENGTH OF THE TIMES (1930 - 1945)

- 2.1. Conditions and premises for combining national strength with the strength of the times before 1930
- 2.1.1. Some general theoretical issues on combining national strength with the strength of the times
  - 2.1.1.1. Some concepts

National strength is the synthesis of the endogenous resources of the nation, including all material and spiritual factors to achieve the goal of building and protecting the nation and people. For Vietnam in the first half of the 20th century, national strength is the indomitable and resilient will to fight of the entire Vietnamese nation.

The strength of the times refers to the political, economic and social trends in the world reflected in different periods of the world in both material and spiritual aspects. The impact of the strength of the times on Vietnam is expressed in both material and spiritual aspects. Combining national power with the power of the times means focusing on building internal strength (both material and spiritual) in conjunction with grasping the situation and development trends of the times so that when the opportunity comes, "we use our own strength to liberate ourselves".

#### 2.1.1.2. Viewpoint of Marxism - Leninism

V.I. Lenin added the slogan of Marx and Engels: "Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!". At the same time, Lenin affirmed: "We must absorb the entire culture left by capitalism and use that culture to build socialism. We must absorb all science and technology, all knowledge, all art. Without these, we cannot build the life of a communist society." This viewpoint of Lenin is the core ideology of combining national strength with the strength of the times.

## 2.1.2. Nguyen Ai Quoc - The One Who Built the Foundation for Combining National Strength with the Strength of the Times

2.1.2.1. Ho Chi Minh's Thought on Combining National Strength with the Strength of the Times

Creatively applying Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of the Vietnamese revolution, leader Nguyen Ai Quoc - Ho Chi Minh clearly recognized the special importance of national strength, the strength of the times as well as the relationship between these two factors. The revolutionary path of national liberation since 1930, the Party's 30-year path of resistance against foreign invaders is a testament to the correctness and creativity of Ho Chi Minh's thought in combining national strength with the strength of the times. His thought has become a precious heritage of the nation and one of the great lessons throughout the Vietnamese revolutionary process under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

### 2.1.2.2. Nguyen Ai Quoc prepared the conditions and premises for combining national strength with the strength of the times before 1930

As soon as they began invading Vietnam, the French colonialists encountered fierce resistance from all walks of life with hundreds of struggles such as the Can Vuong movement, the movement led by Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chau Trinh. In addition, there were struggles of the petty bourgeoisie, the patriotic movement of the Vietnam Nationalist Party, and the patriotic movement with proletarian tendencies. However, all movements failed due to the lack of a correct line, the lack of an organization capable of gathering, uniting and leading the people in the struggle.

In the context of all paths to save the country being blocked and suppressed, the patriotic young man Nguyen Tat Thanh was determined to leave to find a new path to save the nation (1911). The activities and practices gained during the journey of testing created the premise for Nguyen Ai Quoc's subsequent activities as an international soldier.

During the years 1923-1924, Nguyen Ai Quoc lived and worked directly in the Communist International in the Soviet Union. He proactively prepared the ideological, political, organizational and personnel conditions for the birth of a proletarian political party according to Lenin's Theses (later the Communist Party of Vietnam).

It can be seen that, in his position as a cadre of the Communist International, Nguyen Ai Quoc had thoughts and activities that not only served the Vietnamese revolution but also had a significant impact on colonial and dependent countries. At the same time, he clearly demonstrated his consistent viewpoint in the struggle for national liberation, which was to know how to rely on one's own strength while uniting with external forces to achieve the final victory. Or in other words, it was to know how to combine national strength with the strength of solidarity of the times to reach the final goal.

## 2.2. The Party's leadership combined national strength with the strength of the times when there was no revolutionary situation and opportunity (1930 - 1939)

#### 2.2.1. Historical context

#### 2.2.1.1. World situation

In 1917, the success of the October Revolution in Russia led to the birth of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (1922). In March 1919, the Communist International (Third International) led by V.I. Lenin was established. In 1929, the economic, political and social situations of capitalist countries were in serious crisis, deepening the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

#### 2.2.1.2. Situation in Vietnam

On September 1, 1858, the French colonialists invaded Vietnam, causing very important changes in Vietnam's politics, economy, and society. The Vietnamese revolution fell into crisis and deadlock in its direction.

By the end of 1929, three communist organizations had appeared in Vietnam: the Annam Communist Party, the Indochina Communist Party, and the Indochina Communist Federation. In that situation, Nguyen Ai Quoc, as a delegate of the Communist International, proactively convened and chaired the Conference to unify communist organizations into the Communist Party of Vietnam. The conference took place from January 6, 1930 to February 8, 1930 in Kowloon, Hong Kong, China.

Under the leadership of the Party, the Vietnamese revolutionary movement developed strongly with many diverse activities, creating the revolutionary climax of 1930-1931 and the national democratic revolutionary climax of 1936-1939, thereby contributing to affirming that the Party Central Committee initially had a unified perception of the role, position and method of solving the task of national liberation and the task of democracy, combining the Vietnamese revolution with the world revolution.

#### 2.2.2. Party's policy

The first Political Platform of the Party adopted at the Party Founding Conference emphasized that the Vietnamese revolution needed to unite with the world revolution to strengthen its strength, combining national strength with the strength of the times.

The political platform drafted by comrade Tran Phu determined that the Vietnamese revolution must build a worker-peasant alliance as the core under the leadership of the Communist Party, must have connections, and be a part of the world revolution.

The first Congress of the Indochinese Communist Party (May 1935) determined the specific tasks of the Vietnamese revolution, and at the same time connected with the brother communist parties.

In the period of 1936-1939, the Indochinese Communist Party determined the tasks: fighting fascism, fighting colonial reactionaries, demanding freedom and democracy, focusing on reporting the situation as well as receiving instructions from the Communist International. In addition, the assistance from the Communist Parties and progressive movements of other countries was also a factor contributing to the strength of the times for the Vietnamese revolution in the years 1936-1939.

The 8th Conference of the Party Central Committee (May 10-19, 1941) decided to establish the Vietnam Independence League (Viet Minh), and at the same time expand and consolidate existing national salvation organizations. The Party advocated preparing a ready force so that when the opportunity came, with the available force, we could lead a partial uprising in each locality and also win victory, paving the way for a great general uprising; The Conference decided to use the mountainous region of Viet Bac to build bases, first of all building the Cao Bang base and the Bac Son - Vo Nhai base.

#### 2.2.3. Directing implementation

Immediately after its establishment, the Indochinese Communist Party, through the Central Region Party Committee, actively distributed leaflets and mobilized the masses to participate in the struggle. From May 1930, the movement developed into a climax, culminating in the Nghe-Tinh Soviet. In that situation, Nguyen Ai Quoc proposed that the Communist International, the Peasants' International... help the Vietnamese people's struggle movement.

On April 11, 1931, the Indochinese Communist Party was recognized by the Executive Committee of the Communist International as an independent branch of the Communist International. On August 5, 1935, the Indochinese Communist Party was admitted to the Communist International, from then on, the Indochinese Communist Party officially became a branch of the Communist International.

Thus, in the revolutionary climax of 1930 - 1931, the Indochinese Communist Party built national strength, which was the strength of the alliance of millions of peasants with the proletariat. At the same time, through the active activities of leader Nguyen Ai Quoc, the Party gained more strength of the times from the guidance, support and assistance of the Communist International and the Communist Parties around the world.

However, during this period, the combination of national strength with the strength of the times still had certain limitations when implementing the guiding ideology of the Communist International; not fully recognizing the strength of French colonialism; the Party's untimely directives and one-sided, mechanical and dogmatic views also reduced the Party's prestige.

Faced with the new situation, in order to build national strength, the Party Central Committee, with the help of the Communist International, issued the Action Program of the Indochinese Communist Party (June 1932). From 1932 to 1935, in addition to the help of the Communist International and members of the Communist International.

In 1936, the Party directed the building of the Indochinese People's United Front against Imperialism. Thanks to that, the Party gathered and promoted the internal strength of the masses, the Party's ranks were increasingly consolidated and unified.

The Party's foreign activities in the period 1936-1939 mainly focused on the French Government and left-wing parties, while calling for support for the antifascist movement, demanding peace and democracy in Vietnam. During this time, the Indochinese Communist Party maintained contact with the Communist International, asking the Communist International to provide information about the French Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party.

## 2.3. The Party's leadership combined the strength of the nation with the strength of the times when the revolutionary situation and opportunity arose (1939 - 1945)

#### 2.3.1. Historical context

#### 2.3.1.1. World situation

In September 1939, the outbreak of World War II fundamentally changed international relations, the strategies of major countries and the development trends of the world, creating new situations and opportunities for the liberation struggle of colonial peoples around the world.

#### 2.3.1.2. Situation in Vietnam

From mid-1939, the Party decided to withdraw into secret activities, and at the same time determined that the top goal to be solved by the Indochina revolution was "the problem of national liberation".

In September 1940, Japanese fascists landed in Indochina, the French colonialists gradually compromised and surrendered to Japanese fascists. From here, our people fell into a situation of "one neck, two yokes". Faced with the new situation, the people continuously rose up to fight with uprisings such as Bac Son (September 27, 1940); Nam Ky uprising (November 23, 1940), Do Luong mutiny (January 1941).

In early 1941, leader Nguyen Ai Quoc returned to the country. From here, the Vietnamese revolutionary movement had him as its direct leader and leader.

Faced with the rapid changes in the world situation and the practical situation of the revolutionary movement in the country in late 1944 and early 1945, with a long preparation process, the Party quickly seized the opportunity, established the National Uprising Committee, issued the Uprising Order, the people of the whole country simultaneously rose up to seize power, combining the strength of the times with internal strength, promoting the strength of the great national unity bloc to stand up to fight, sacrifice, and gain the final victory.

#### 2.3.2. Party's policy

The 6th Central Party Conference (November 1939) advocated the establishment of the Indochinese National Anti-Imperialist United Front to unite all forces, and at the same time connect with and support the world revolutionary movement.

The Central Party Conference in November 1939 continued to consistently implement the policy of combining the Vietnamese revolution and the world revolution outlined by the Party since the Party's founding conference in 1930. The conference opened a period of direct preparation of conditions for the national liberation movement in terms of both national strength and the strength of the times.

The 8th Central Committee Conference of the Indochinese Communist Party from May 10 to 19, 1941 decided to establish the Viet Minh Front, placing the task of national liberation above all else. The conference advocated promoting the preparation of the conditions for the uprising, determining the methods of the uprising, building forces, preparing internal forces to be ready to welcome the opportunity to seize power. At the same time, affirming the viewpoint that the Vietnamese revolution is a part of the world revolution,

On March 12, 1945, the Central Party Standing Committee issued the Directive on Japan and France fighting each other and our actions.

On August 14, 1945, the National Conference of the Indochinese Communist Party decided: The Party must promptly seize the opportunity to launch and lead the entire people to seize power before the Allied forces arrive; it is necessary to seek the sympathy of the Soviet Union and the United States against the French plot to restore its position in Indochina and the plot of some Chinese militarists to occupy our country.

#### 2.3.3. Implementation direction

2.3.3.1. The Party directs the building of internal strength. This is the fundamental factor that determines the victory of the revolution. Since its establishment, the Party has always determined: "If we are strong, they will "pay attention to us". If we are weak, we are just a tool in the hands of others, even if they may be our allies". Therefore, the Indochinese Communist Party has always been proactive in building revolutionary strength in the following aspects:

Directing the building of political forces: Immediately after the 8th Central Conference (5/1941), the Party urgently directed the building of revolutionary forces. On June 6, 1941, leader Nguyen Ai Quoc sent a letter calling on all people to promote the tradition of patriotism, unite as one to save the country from slavery. On October 25, 1941, the Viet Minh Front announced the Action Program to unite the masses. From the end of 1941 to 1942, the Party directed the establishment of the National Salvation Workers' Association, National Salvation Farmers' Association, National Salvation Women's Association, National Salvation Youth Association, etc. throughout the Northern provinces; Vietnam Liberation Association (Yunnan - China).

Directing the building of armed forces: In 1940, in the South, in addition to the self-defense organization, guerrilla groups and teams, typically the My Tho guerrilla team, the Hoc Mon guerrilla team (Gia Dinh), Can Giuoc (Cho Lon), Vinh Lien (Vinh Long) ... were built. After the Bac Son uprising (September 1940), the Bac Son Guerrilla Team was born, then developed into the National Salvation Army Team I (May 1, 1941), with the Bac Son base (Lang Son) as the main area of operation. On September 15, 1941, the National Salvation Army Team II was established at the Vo Nhai base (Thai Nguyen). From the end of 1941, self-defense and guerrilla teams were established in places where there were national salvation associations of the Viet Minh Front. On December 22, 1944, leader Ho Chi Minh issued a Directive to establish the Vietnam Propaganda Liberation Army. By the end of 1944, the Vietnamese revolutionary armed forces had been formed into three types of troops, including: (1) The main force - the Vietnam Propaganda Liberation Army; (2) National Salvation Army teams and local armed teams, including armed teams that had escaped from provinces, districts, and counties; (3) Paramilitary forces at the grassroots level in villages, factories, and streets, including guerrilla teams, national salvation self-defense teams, and combat self-defense teams. In April 1945, the Northern Military Revolutionary Conference decided to unify the National Salvation Army and the Vietnam Propaganda Liberation Army into the Vietnam Liberation Army (consisting of 13 companies). The above-mentioned armed organizations and units, together with the Ba To guerrilla team (Quang Ngai), the Southern Guerrilla Army and armed units in the war zones became the predecessors of the later Vietnam People's Army.

Directing the construction of revolutionary bases:

The Party focused on building many bases. The first was the Bac Son - Vo Nhai base. In 1941, Nguyen Ai Quoc chose Cao Bang to build a revolutionary base. From 1942, the Southern advance route connected the Cao Bang base to the provinces of Bac Kan, Thai Nguyen, Lang Son with the Bac Son - Vo Nhai base. In June 1945, the Viet Bac Liberation Zone was established.

In addition, the Party also paid special attention to the work of building and consolidating the Party in all aspects. In addition, the Party identified culture as a revolutionary battlefield; the Party focused on publishing and journalism; established the Vietnam Democratic Party; and promoted the work of mobilizing Vietnamese soldiers in the French army.

- 2.3.3.2. Along with building national strength, the Party also focused on taking advantage of the strength of the times, through: Supporting and uniting with the Soviet Union against fascism; Conditional alliance, coordination with the Allies; linking with the revolutionary movements of surrounding countries such as Laos, Cambodia, Burma, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, etc.
- 2.3.3.3. The Party directed to seize the opportunity in the August General Uprising

Faced with the "once in a thousand years" opportunity, under the direction of the Party and leader Ho Chi Minh, the people of the whole country quickly seized the opportunity, unanimously rose up to carry out the General Uprising from August 14 to 28, 1945. Thanks to careful preparation of forces, taking advantage of the strength of the times, and breaking out at the right time, the August Revolution achieved a "quick, neat, and bloodless" victory. This is a typical success in the art of combining national strength with the strength of the times.

#### **Summary of chapter 2**

The victory of the August Revolution in 1945 left many valuable lessons for the Vietnamese revolution, including the lesson of combining national strength with the strength of the times. Although there were still certain limitations and difficulties during this period, the results achieved proved that the Party's policy of placing the Vietnamese revolution in the world revolutionary stream was completely correct.

#### **CHAPTER 3**

THE PARTY LEADERSHIP COMBINING NATIONAL STRENGTH AND THE STRENGTH OF THE TIMES IN THE PERIOD OF 1945-1954

## 3.1. The Party's policy and direction on combining national strength with the strength of the times in the early years of the resistance war against French colonialism (1945-1949)

#### 3.1.1. Historical context

#### 3.1.1.1. World situation

\*Advantages

In 1945, World War II ended; revolutionary movements and forces around the world merged into three revolutionary streams, rapidly attacking colonial, imperialist and international reactionary forces; creating a new situation, a great power of the times, having a positive impact, dominating and changing the development direction of the world as well as of each country and nation, including Vietnam.

#### \* Difficulties

The world entered the Cold War period. The major countries in the imperialist bloc arranged with each other to deal with the world revolutionary movement, including the Vietnamese revolution. After the General Uprising, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was not recognized by any country or international organization, including the Soviet Union; the French colonialists were determined to restore the colonial regime in Indochina. The national liberation movement in the world could not create a strong revolutionary wave.

#### 3.1.1.2. Domestic situation

#### \*Advantages

The August Revolution of 1945 opened an era of independence, freedom, unity, and progress on the path of building socialism; The influence and prestige of the Indochinese Communist Party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, were affirmed and enhanced among the masses; The regular army and the people's armed forces continued to be built, consolidated, and strengthened.

#### \* Difficulties

After the August Revolution, besides the above fundamental advantages, our country faced many difficulties and serious challenges in all aspects of politics, military; economy, culture - society; internal and external enemies; and lacked international support.

#### 3.1.2. Party's policy

Right at the first meeting of the Government Council, on September 3, 1945, President Ho Chi Minh outlined the urgent tasks of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. On November 25, 1945, the Central Executive Committee of the Indochinese Communist Party issued the Directive "Resistance and National Construction"; On November 5, 1946, President Ho Chi Minh wrote the document Urgent Work Now, directing the entire Party, the entire people, and the entire army to

actively promote the resistance and national construction. On December 12, 1946, the Central Standing Committee of the Party issued the Directive on National Resistance, which determined the nature and general direction of the resistance as "National, comprehensive, long-term and mainly self-reliant"; At the same time, it also outlined the policy of solidarity with Cambodia, Laos and other nations that love freedom and peace, and united with the French people to fight against French colonial reactionaries. In September 1947, General Secretary of the Party Central Committee Truong Chinh published the book "The Resistance Will Definitely Win", continuing to affirm the core content of the Party's guidelines and ideology for the resistance war "All-people, comprehensive, long-term, relying mainly on one's own strength". On March 27, 1948, the Party Central Committee issued a directive to launch the Patriotic Emulation movement.

In addition to the policy of building up real strength to prepare for a long-term resistance war, the Party and President Ho Chi Minh also paid special attention to planning foreign policies and guidelines to take advantage of the strength of the times, and to gain international support and assistance for the Vietnamese revolution in the new situation. The expanded conference of the Party Central Committee (January 1948) advocated helping Laos and Cambodia expand the battlefield, forcing the French colonialists to disperse their forces. From January 14 to 18, 1949, at the Sixth Central Conference, the Party emphasized "Expanding the Laos and Cambodia fronts; promoting "Coordination with the Chinese Liberation Army"; making great efforts in international propaganda, gaining more support from the world's democratic forces; sending delegations abroad.

#### 3.1.3. Directing the implementation

The Central Party and Government, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, led the people of the South to fight against the French colonialists; led the people of the whole country to support the resistance of the South; the Party focused on building a new regime; focused on solving the problems of "famine" and "illiteracy"; mobilized the entire people to build a new culture, focused on the role of the literary and artistic class, consolidated and strengthened the great national unity bloc; built the people's armed forces and national security; focused on building revolutionary bases.

## Combining national strength with the strength of the times in the situation of "fighting in a siege" of the country

The Party proactively sought sources of strength of the times for the resistance in the South; the Party made efforts to expand relations with countries and forces of peace and democracy in the world; sought support and assistance from the Communist Party and the people of France; the Party directed the work of building a fighting alliance with Laos and Cambodia; The Party focused on strengthening

relations with the Communist Party of China; the Party constantly sought and sought support and assistance from the Soviet Union.

In short, in the period from late 1945 to the end of 1949, the Indochinese Communist Party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, soon realized the important role of national strength, so it proactively implemented the motto of "relying mainly on one's own strength", both fighting the war and building the country, striving to save peace, taking advantage of time to prepare in all aspects, ready to enter a long-term resistance war. At the same time, the Party also made efforts to carry out active foreign affairs activities to gain international support and assistance, laying the foundation for mutual assistance and assistance in the future.

## 3.2. The Party's policy and direction on combining national strength with the strength of the times in the final stage of the resistance war against French colonialism (1950 - 1954)

#### 3.2.1. Historical context

#### 3.2.1.1. World situation

The Soviet Union continued to play an important role in the international arena and greatly influenced the national liberation struggle in the world. The Chinese revolution succeeded, and the People's Republic of China was established in October 1949. Since 1950, the revolutionary movement in Laos and Cambodia had many positive changes. In France, the Border Campaign (1950) had a strong impact on French politics.

The US imperialists plotted to use South Korea to invade North Korea, turning the Korean peninsula into a springboard to sabotage the People's Republic of China and the national liberation movement in Northeast Asia. In Southeast Asia, the US imperialists intervened more deeply in the war of aggression against Indochina, directly supporting the French colonialists and the Bao Dai government. That made the Vietnamese people's resistance war against French colonialism even more difficult.

#### 3.2.1.2. Domestic situation

Under the leadership of the Party, our army and people have continuously won victories on the military front, typically the victory in Viet Bac (1947); the Border campaign (1950); the Party operated openly, separating the Lao and Cambodian Regional Committees to establish separate Party organizations for Laos and Cambodia (February 1951). On the French colonial side, they relied on American imperialism to save the passive and confused situation after the Border campaign. The resistance war against France entered a new phase.

#### 3.2.2. Party's policy

In early 1950, the Governments of China, the Soviet Union and socialist countries successively recognized and established diplomatic relations with the

Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In contrast, the American and British imperialists recognized the National Government of Bao Dai. On January 18, 1950, the Central Party Standing Committee issued a Directive on propagating the foreign policy of the Vietnamese Government.

Faced with rapid and strong changes in the world and domestic situation, as early as January 1950, the Central Party held the 3rd National Conference, and at the same time issued many Directives and Resolutions to lead and direct the entire army and people to continue building national strength, serving the resistance war against French colonialism. To meet the requirements of promoting the resistance to victory, the Indochinese Communist Party held the Second Congress of Delegates at the Viet Bac base (from February 11 to 19, 1950). In the new context, the Party and President Ho Chi Minh had correct, sensitive, and timely diplomatic policies, in line with the rapid changes in the world and domestic situation.

In March 1951, the Party Central Committee issued Resolution I, identifying Vietnam's resistance as an integral part of the world peace movement led by the Soviet Union... The entire population actively participated in the resistance and international campaigns against the aggressors and to protect peace.

The fourth meeting of the Party Central Committee (January 1953) approved the Party's Draft Platform on land policy and determined that in 1953 it was necessary to thoroughly launch rent reduction, implement interest reduction, redistribute public land, The land of the French colonialists and Vietnamese traitors was given to the peasants, practically preparing for land reform, implementing land to the tillers. On April 12, 1953, President Ho Chi Minh signed Decree No. 149/SL regulating land policies, rectifying the tax regime. In November 1953, the First National Conference of the Second Party Congress passed the Land Platform. In December 1953, at the third session, the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (First Party Congress) passed the Land Reform Law.

On December 27, 1953, the Central Party Secretariat issued a Notice on the President's Statement to the Swedish journalist; In December 1953, the Party issued a Directive on Explaining the Declaration of the Vietnamese Delegation at the World Peace Council Conference (November 1953).

Combining national strength with the strength of the times is a consistent and continuous policy of Vietnam. In all conditions and circumstances, the Party, the Government and President Ho Chi Minh always seek ways to build national strength, take advantage of the strength of the times, and skillfully combine national strength with the strength of the times. The above documents, policies and directives have demonstrated the steadfast political will, the sharpness, sensitivity, and rich and

specific practical experience of the Party, headed by President Ho Chi Minh, leading the resistance war against French colonialism to final victory.

#### 3.2.3. Implementation direction

On November 1, 1949, the Central Party Standing Committee directed the establishment of the Central Laos-Cambodia Office (the predecessor of the Central Foreign Affairs Committee), under the comprehensive leadership of the Central Committee.

On January 14, 1950, President Ho Chi Minh, on behalf of the Government, affirmed Vietnam's foreign policy: "The Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam is ready to establish diplomatic relations with any government that respects the equality, territorial sovereignty and national sovereignty of Vietnam, to jointly protect peace and build world democracy".

The Party directed the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and China; Strengthening and expanding relations with peace-loving people around the world; The Party focused on building the Vietnam-Cambodia-Laos fighting alliance.

After the 1950 Border Victory, despite receiving international support and assistance both materially and spiritually, with the spirit of "we are strong, they will care", the Party still paid great attention to the work of building national strength.

The Party focuses on directing military work: launched the Tran Hung Dao; Hoang Hoa Tham; Quang Trung; Hoa Binh; Tay Bac; Thuong Laos campaigns, maintaining strategic initiative on the battlefield.

Strengthening the direction of building armed forces: By the end of 1952, the main units under the General Command included 6 infantry divisions, 1 artillery division and 2 infantry regiments, 1 information battalion, 1 reconnaissance battalion. The total number of troops was 96,212. Local troops in the province and district were also reorganized and consolidated.

Strengthening the direction of work to ensure weapons and equipment: the work of ensuring weapons and equipment was always focused on and promoted.

The Party focuses on directing political work: On March 3, 1951, the Vietnam National United Front (abbreviated as the Lien Viet Front) was unified.

On April 30, 1951, the Party Central Committee issued a Directive on Party issues, publicly announcing the name of the Vietnam Workers' Party.

Strengthening ideological work direction: The Party Central Committee decided to establish the Central Propaganda and Education Committee (September 14, 1950), the Central Propaganda and Training Committee (April 16, 1950). From April 30, 1952 to May 6, 1952, the National Congress of Emulation Fighters and Exemplary Cadres met in Viet Bac.

The Party improves the quality of Party rectification work: The Party Central Committee focused on the issue of Party development, strengthening the organization, improving the quality of Party members, doing well the work of "criticism and self-criticism", "cadre training, and studying theory".

Pay attention to directing press work: under the direction of the Party, press agencies have made great efforts to improve quality and increase the number of publications.

The Party focuses on directing the building of a strong economy: The Party has directed the Government to implement a series of economic measures to improve labor productivity, accelerate economic growth, meet people's living standards, and effectively serve the resistance war.

The Party directs the promotion of cultural, social, educational and health work: continue to be promoted according to the motto of serving the resistance war, serving people's lives, and serving production.

## Dien Bien Phu Campaign and Geneva Conference (July 1954) - a typical example of combining national strength with the strength of the times

With the focus on building national strength for the Dien Bien Phu campaign, the Party, the Government, and President Ho Chi Minh constantly sought to combine national strength with the strength of the times to create a combined strength for the campaign.

After 56 days and nights of arduous fighting, with the great source of national strength combined with the strength of the times, under the leadership of the Party, our army and people destroyed the Dien Bien Phu stronghold. This was the greatest military victory during the 9 years of resistance against French colonialism, creating favorable conditions for diplomatic struggle at the negotiating table.

With the efforts of the Soviet Union's representative at the Berlin Conference and the material and travel assistance of China, Vietnam was invited to attend this conference. This is the strength of the times of the Vietnamese revolution. However, if Vietnam did not have national strength, did not have decisive victories to create its prestige and position in the international arena as well as to change the situation on the battlefield, it would not have been able to achieve victories at this important Conference.

The military victory of the Dien Bien Phu campaign and the diplomatic victory in the Geneva Conference were great victories of the united, united, and heroic bloc fighting under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh and the Party; were the result of 9 years of resistance and long-term national construction of the people of the whole country from the South to the North, from the free zones to the temporarily occupied zones; were the result of the persistent struggle, gaining international

sympathy and support for the struggle of the Vietnamese people. That was a glorious victory of combining national strength with the strength of the times in the resistance war against French colonialism (1945-1954).

#### **Summary of chapter 3**

With the skillful combination of national strength and the strength of the times, under the leadership of the Party, our entire army and people have best protected and developed the achievements of the August Revolution in 1945; consolidated and developed the people's democracy in all political, economic, cultural and social fields; initially promoted the democratic rights of the Vietnamese people to the highest level, bringing confidence in the vitality and inevitable victory of the resistance war and the transitional path to socialism in Vietnam.

#### **CHAPTER 4: COMMENTS AND EXPERIENCES**

#### 4.1. Comments

## 4.1.1. Advantages in the process of Party leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times from 1930 to 1954

One: Combining national strength with the strength of the times is a consistent and continuous policy of the Party in the process of leading the struggle for power and the resistance against French colonialism.

Two: In directing the combination of national strength with the strength of the times, the Party always focuses on building national strength and revolutionary strength on the basis of the country's reality, considering this a decisive factor in the victory of the resistance.

Three: Combining national strength with the strength of the times has contributed worthily to the victory of the cause of fighting for national independence and the resistance against French colonialism.

### 4.1.2. Limitations in the process of Party leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times from 1930 to 1954

One: In the process of directing the implementation of building national strength, there were times when the revolutionary forces, cadres, party members, and party organizations suffered heavy losses.

Two: The factor of the power of the times is sometimes overestimated, sometimes the power of the times is not fully utilized and affects the building of national strength.

Three: There were times when the awareness, influence, and overestimation of the role and capabilities of the strength of the times were not consistent with the actual situation in the country. Four: The effectiveness of the Dien Bien Phu victory was not fully exploited and the strategies of the major countries at the Geneva Conference were not fully understood, so the results of the Geneva Agreement were somewhat limited.

#### 4.2. Some experiences

One: Always adhere to the principle of independence and autonomy in leadership, combining national strength with the strength of the times.

Two: Pay attention to building and promoting national strength in both material and spiritual aspects, considering this a decisive factor for the victory of the resistance war.

Three: Regularly monitor and grasp the international situation to make the most of the strength of the times.

Four: Be proactive and creative in handling relevant international relations on the basis of national interests, while implementing the motto "helping friends is helping yourself".

#### **Summary of Chapter 4**

In this chapter, the researcher focuses on making comments and analyzing the advantages and limitations in awareness, policies, directions and implementation results, thereby drawing some experiences in the process of the Party's leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times - one of the factors that contributed decisively to the victory of the national liberation struggle (1930-1945 and the resistance war against French colonialism (1945-1954). The lesson of combining national strength with the strength of the times is still valuable and is increasingly promoted in the cause of building and defending the socialist Vietnamese Fatherland today.

#### CONCLUSION

The lesson of combining national strength with the strength of the times is one of the great lessons of Vietnam in the process of leading the revolution. At the same time, this is also a matter of law in the Party's revolutionary leadership. In the struggle for national liberation (1930-1945) and in the resistance war against French colonialism (1945-1954), the Communist Party of Vietnam (Indochinese Communist Party, Vietnam Workers' Party) combined the material and spiritual strength of the nation with the maximum support and assistance of international friends, especially fraternal socialist countries. That combination led to the great victory of the Vietnamese people in the resistance war against the French colonialists, the peak of which was the victory of Dien Bien Phu.

With the skillful combination of national strength and the strength of the times, the Party led our army and people to defeat the large-scale invasion war of the professional invading army with powerful military and economic potential, led by experienced politicians, talented military generals of the French colonialists, along with the most advanced and modern means of war, weapons, and scientific and technical equipment at that time. Completely smashing the more than 80-year domination of French imperialism and its feudal lackeys in Vietnam. And this was the first time in history that a small and weak colony defeated a powerful colonial country. It was a glorious victory of the Vietnamese people, and at the same time a victory of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism in the world. This victory also contributed worthily to the great struggle of progressive humanity for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress in the world; has a strong effect of encouraging the movement to liberate the colonial peoples in the continents of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

In the current process of building the country, the lesson of applying national strength and the strength of the times has once again been creatively applied by our Party in the period of renovation. Therefore, after 35 years of renovation, our country has achieved great achievements of historical significance on the path of building socialism and defending the socialist Fatherland. In the current situation, before the constant changes of the world, the country and the region. More than ever, it is necessary to inherit the achievements and experiences of previous periods, at the same time it is necessary to: Take national interests as the highest goal; firmly maintain independence, self-reliance, proactively and actively integrate into the international community and correctly perceive the motto of combining national strength with the strength of the times. Ensuring that Vietnam has the greatest overall strength, firmly steps on the path of national independence and socialism, promotes industrialization, modernization and international integration./.

### LIST OF PUBLISHED SCIENTIFIC WORKS RELATED TO THE AUTHOR'S THESIS

- 1. Nguyen Thanh Tam, *The role of Nguyen Ai Quoc Ho Chi Minh in combining national strength with the strength of the times (1930-1954)*, Electronic Journal of Party History, August 31, 2024, ISSN 2815 6013.
- 2. Nguyen Thanh Tam, *The process of the Party's leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times in the period 1950 1953*, Journal of Political Theory and Communication, special issue No. 2-2024, pp. 5-8, ISSN 1859-1485.
- 3. Nguyen Thanh Tam, *Dien Bien Phu Campaign and Geneva Conference* (*July 1954*) *A typical example of combining national strength with the strength of the times*, Journal of Party History No. (411), February 2025, pp. 51-55, ISSN 2815 6382.