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New Ho Chi Minh Biography

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Introduction

We have compiled this volume entitled Chu Tich Ho Chi Minh (President Ho Chi Minh), a brief biography, on the 80th anniversary of the birth of the beloved President Ho in order to begin to present the great life and career of President Ho and his noble ethics. Our work is primarily intended to express gratitude to President Ho, the talented and skillful leader and great teacher of the Vietnamese revolution and then to help motivate our cadres, party members, and people to devote their efforts to the resistance war, to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors, to liberate South Vietnam, to protect North Vietnam and successfully build socialism in North Vietnam, to peacefully reunite the country, and to build a peaceful, independent, unified, democratic, rich, and powerful Vietnam.

This book is composed of the following parts:

Part I. President Ho Makes Up His Mind Early to Drive Out the French Colonialists and Liberate His Compatriots (1890-1911) [Nhan Dan, 17 May 1970, p 1]

Part II. President Ho Finds the Correct Revolutionary Path for the Vietnamese People (1911-1924) [Nhan Dan, 17 May 1970, pp 1, 2]

Part III. President Ho Struggles to Establish the Party of the Vietnamese Working Class (1924-1930) [Nhan Dan, 17 May 1970, pp 2, 3]

Part IV. President Ho Guides the Revolution at Home From Abroad (1930-1939) [Nhan Dan, 18 May 1970, p 2]
Part V. President Ho Comes Home, and, Together with the Party Central Committee, Prepares for the General Uprising to Seize Political Power (1939-1945) [Nhan Dan, 18 May 1970, pp 2, 3]

Part VI. President Ho Leads the Struggle of All the People to Firmly Maintain Revolutionary Power and to Pursue a Protracted Resistance War Against the Aggressive French Colonialists (1945-1954) [Nhan Dan, 18 May 1970, pp 3, 4]

Part VII. President Ho Leads the Socialist Revolution and the Struggle of All the People for the Peaceful Reunification of the Country (1954-1965) [Nhan Dan, 20 May 1970, p 2]

Part VIII. President Ho Leads the Resistance War of All Our People Against the United States and For National Salvation (1954-1969) [Nhan Dan, 20 May 1970, pp 2, 3]

Part IX. President Ho Lives Forever in the Hearts of the Vietnamese People and of People Throughout the World [Nhan Dan, 21 May 1970, p 2]

President Ho's achievements and career are as high as the heavens and as vast as the sea. This book only reflects a part of his achievements and career because of our limitations and the fact that we have not collected much data yet. It is hoped that the readers will provide critical suggestions and observations so that we can continue to study President Ho more effectively.

Hanoi, 15 May 1970, the Party Historical Research Department of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party Central Committee.

President Ho Chi Minh's life and career is closely linked to the proudest historical period of the Vietnamese revolution and to the most tempestuous period of struggle of the world revolution.

A genuine patriot who became a great Communist fighter, President Ho used the light of Marxism-Leninism to illuminate the way for the Vietnamese revolution. He led all our party and people to unite as one, to fight valiantly, to write the most glorious pages of our people's history, and to bring our country into an era of independence, freedom, and socialism.

He is the symbol of the union between the ideals of independence and freedom and the ideal of communism and between ardent patriotism and the international proletarian spirit. He accepted and expanded upon the finest traditions of the Vietnamese people and combined those traditions with the radically revolutionary ideology of the present era, the ideology
of Marxism-Leninism. President Ho founded and led our party and developed our party into a genuine revolutionary party of the working class. He founded the United National Front, established the people's armed forces, founded the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and struggled tirelessly to help strengthen international solidarity. He constantly devoted his attention to the task of training the cadres and party members and constantly "developed the revolutionary generation for the future."

Together with the Party Central Committee, President Ho led two revolutions in our country: the people's national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. He led two prolonged resistance wars against foreign aggression: the earlier resistance war against the French colonialists and the present resistance war against the U.S. imperialists. He led our people to build socialism in North Vietnam and to contribute positively to the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

President Ho is a dazzling example of the radically revolutionary spirit, the steadfast and indomitable will to struggle, the total dedication of heart and mind to the service of the party, the people, and the revolution, and of the complete, sacrificial, and lifelong devotion to the struggle for class liberation, national liberation, and human liberation, and to the struggle for independence, freedom, socialism, and communism.

President Ho's noble ethics are loyalty to the party, fidelity to the people, industriousness, frugality, honesty, righteousness, justice and impartiality, sincerity, modesty, and simplicity. He had a passionate love for the working people. He was close to the masses and had absolute confidence in their ability and power.

In order to obtain a clearer understanding of President Ho's achievements and revolutionary career and to study his ideas, ethics, and lifestyle, let us review the story of his life and career.
Part I. President Ho "Make Up His Mind Early to Drive Out the French Colonialists and Liberate the Compatriots"(1)(1890-1911)

President Ho Chi Minh (when he was small, his name was Nguyen Tat Thanh, and during many earlier years of revolutionary activity he used the name of Nguyen Ai Quoc) was born on 19 May 1890 in the native village of his maternal grandfather, Kim Lien Village, Nam Dan District, Nghe An Province.

He was born to the family of a patriotic Confucian scholar of peasant origin. His father was Nguyen Sinh Huy, also known as Nguyen Sinh Sac (1863-1929). Nguyen Sinh Huy's parents died early and he had to both study and work for a living. He was a good student and intelligent and he received dedicated instruction from President Ho's maternal grandfather, Hoang Duong, a Confucian scholar. He was the second best examinee and lived a pure and unblemished life as a teacher. He taught his children an awareness of work and had them study in order to understand the "principles of humanity." After ranking second in the examination, he was pressured many times by the rulers to become an official but he showed a negative and uncooperative attitude. He often said: "Officialdom, as a slave among slaves, is even more of a slave." Always patriotic and indomitable, he did not flatter the French colonialists and, consequently, after a period of time, was fired by them. He went to Nam Bo to work as a physician and he lived a simple life until his death.

President Ho's mother was Hoang Thi Loan, a mild and responsible person who looked after the fields and taught her children.

President Ho's older sister was Nguyen Thi Thanh, also known as Bach Lien (1884-1954). His older brother was Nguyen Sinh Khiem, also known as Nguyen Tat Dat (1888-1950). Both his older sister and older brother participated in the movement against the French colonialists and were jailed.

President Ho was the third child in the family. When he was small, he was an intelligent student, attentive to his studies, and fond of learning new things. In addition to the books which he had to study, he also liked to read patriotic stories, poems, and songs. Stories of local heroes and soldiers killed in action, such as the stories of Mai Hac De, Nguyen Quang Trung and so forth, and the discussions of current events between his father and other patriots early taught him patriotism and love. He lived with the people and daily witnessed peasants who were cruelly mistreated because they lacked the money to pay their rent or to pay taxes or who were forced to work as coolies in road construction work. He was very pained by the miserable plight of his compatriots and began to develop a hatred and resentment for the country-stealing troops and the country-selling henchmen.
President Ho was born and grew up in an area where the people had long struggled arduously against the severe conditions of nature and where they had a tradition of heroic struggle against foreign aggression. Nghe-An [Nghe An and Ha Tinh provinces] was one of the standard bearers in the movement against the aggressive French colonialists. In response to the Scholar movement, a number of patriotic intellectuals in Nghe An Province such as Tran Tan from Thanh Chuong District, and Dang Nhu Mai from Nam Dan District and so forth assembled a partisan army and carried out an uprising. The "Royalists" (2) movement of Phan Dinh Phung and the Dong Du Movement of Than Boi Chau in Trung Bo, the Dong Kinh Free School Movement, the peasant uprising and guerrilla war led by Hoang Hoa Tham in Bac Bo, and the reform movement of Phan Chu Trinh and the anti-taxation movement of the peasants in Trung Bo had a profound influence on President Ho, particularly when he was studying at the Hue National School (1905-1910). Consequently, he made up his mind early to drive out the French colonialists. When he was 15 years of age, he participated in clandestine activities, serving as a courier for some patriotic Confucian scholars of the time.

All of the aforementioned patriotic movements failed because they did not have the correct line. The leaders of those movements did not differentiate between the French colonialists and the French working class and working people, they did not understand that the task of the Vietnamese revolution was to overthrow the French imperialists, to secure national independence, to overthrow the feudal landlord class, and to return the land to the peasants, and they did not realize that the largest revolutionary force among the people is the peasants and so forth.

The "Royalists" movement of Phan Dinh Phung failed because the rotten feudal landlord class, most of which had surrendered to the French colonialists, put extreme pressure on the people, making it impossible to use the "Royalists" banner to assemble the masses, particularly the peasants.

The peasant uprisings led by Hoang Hoa Tham failed because they did not have a clear line and policy, the vast masses had not been organized, the fighting methods were not good, and there was a shortage of weapons and so forth.

Phan Chu Trinh only demanded reforms and did not advocate the overthrow of the French colonialists and their feudal henchmen.

Phan Boi Chau relied on the Japanese to drive out the French colonialists. That was like "taking the tiger to the front door and welcoming a leopard at the back door."

President Ho had very great admiration for Phan Dinh Phung, Hoang
Hoa Tham, Phan Boi Chau, and Phan Chu Trinh but he did not follow their paths. He did not follow the Dong Du faction to Japan but headed to the Western countries where free ideas, civil rights, democracy, science, and modern technology attracted him. At the same time, he realized that the educational system of the French colonialists was only designed to train the henchmen for the rulers. Therefore, in early 1911, he left school and went to Phan Thiet. There, he taught in a private school by the name of Duc Thanh, established by some patriotic scholars. After a short period of time, he went to Saigon. Nam Ky was no different under the colonial system than Trung Ky and Bac Ky which were under the protectorate system. The people were oppressed and exploited everywhere and the compatriots were abused and tortured. This gave President Ho the idea of going to Western Europe in order to see how the people of the Western European countries operated in order to become independent and powerful. Later, he would return to "help the compatriots" drive out the French colonialists. That idea of his began a new direction for our people's national salvation effort.
Part II. President Ho Finds the Correct Revolutionary Path for the Vietnamese People (1911-1924)

After a brief period of time in Saigon, President Ho, using the name of Ba, worked as an assistant chef at the end of 1911 on the merchant ship L'Amiral Latouche Treville which belonged to the United Transportation Company of France. After that, he traveled and traveled a great deal, first going to France. With ardent patriotism and profound hatred for the colonialists, he steadfastly withstood every challenge, hoping only to carry out his noble dream.

President Ho went to France in order to find the revolutionary path to liberate his compatriots from the yoke of French colonialism. He lived, studied, and trained in the French workers' movement. He did not stop in France but also went to many countries of Europe, Africa, and America. He did manual work in order to live. He worked as a gardener, he shoveled snow, he worked in a hotel, he developed photographs, he fired furnaces and so forth. During years of involvement with the masses, he saw clearly the injustice and cruelty of capitalist society and was extremely moved by the miserable life of the working class and working people of the various countries, including white, yellow, and black people. He saw clearly in a number of colonial countries of Africa that wherever the people lost their country they had the same miserable plight. At the start, he reached an important conclusion that capitalism was cruel and inhumane everywhere, that the working class and working people are very savagely oppressed and exploited everywhere, and that all colonial peoples have one common, implacable enemy: the imperialist and colonialist elements. Consequently, he realized that the working class and working people of all countries are friends and that imperialism is the enemy everywhere.

This was a great change in President Ho's thinking. He taught our people to gradually distinguish between us, our friends, and our enemies. Earlier, the patriotic movement in Vietnam seldom had an anti-foreign character. However, our people gradually realized that the working class and working people of France were their friends and that the colonialists and imperialists of France were the enemy of the Vietnamese people. This was a matter of strategic significance not only to the Vietnamese revolution but also to the revolution in other colonial countries.

In 1917, President Ho, returning to France from England during a fierce period of World War I, plunged into the struggle of the French workers. He participated in the French Socialist Party and established the Association of Patriotic Vietnamese in order to propagandize and awaken the Vietnamese living in France. Both working as a political operative and having the eke out a living, sometimes working for a photographer and sometimes doing sketches for money in the "Chinese Art and Antiques" store, he was always optimistic and steadfastly endured
the hardships, not for one minute moving away from his struggle goal. He wrote reports and distributed leaflets at meetings in order to denounce the crimes of the French colonialists in the colonies. He took advantage of every forum from rallies to discussions in suburban clubs to direct the attention of his listeners to the problem of Indochina.

During those hectic days, the Russian October Revolution erupted, shaking the globe. Like spring thunder, the Russian October Revolution awakened the working class, the working people, and the oppressed peoples throughout the world to rise up in a revolutionary struggle. It ushered in a new era in the history of mankind, the era of the disintegration of capitalism and the era of victory for socialism on a world-wide scale. The Russian October Revolution was a decisive influence in President Ho's life and activities. Enthusiastic about and confident in the bright future of our country's revolution and the world revolution, he resolved to follow the path of the Russian October Revolution.

In 1918, the world war ended. The following year, the victorious imperialist countries held a conference at Versailles in France in order to divide the world market. Representing the patriotic Vietnamese in France, President Ho, using the name of Nguyen Ai Quoc, sent to the conference the famous eight-point demand entitled "The Rights of Nations," demanding that the French government acknowledge the rights of the Vietnamese people to freedom, democracy, equality, and self-determination. This was his first face-to-face attack against the imperialists. However, the Versailles conference, which was only a place for the victorious robbers to divide up the spoils, dumped the entire heavy burden on the people of the defeated countries and on the oppressed peoples. President Ho reached a very important conclusion from that actual experience: the statements of the imperialists about freedom and democracy are only sugar-coated statements which are essentially designed to deceive the oppressed peoples. In order to achieve real democracy and freedom, the oppressed peoples must first of all rely on their own forces and the Vietnamese people must liberate themselves. That conclusion had a very important theoretical and practical significance because it illuminated the revolutionary struggle path of our people and of the people of other colonial countries. President Ho's struggle at the Versailles conference had a very great influence among the Vietnamese people, the French people, and the people of the French colonies. The French people regarded that struggle as a "bomb" shaking French public opinion. The Vietnamese people regarded it as a "signal flare" awakening our people to rise up in revolutionary struggle. At that time, whenever the Vietnamese living in France met one another, they talked about independence and self-determination and thought about Nguyen Ai Quoc with
extraordinary love and respect. This struggle ushered in a new period in the history of the Vietnamese people's fight against French imperialism for national liberation. Our people had very great pride and confidence with regard to the leadership of Nguyen Ai Quoc, a bright star which had begun to emerge in the skies of Vietnam.

After the Russian October Revolution, the international communist and workers' movement developed vigorously. In early 1919, Lenin and Marxist followers supporting Lenin's position held a congress in Moscow, established the Third International (i.e., Communist International), and announced that the "Second International has died." The birth of the Communist International signified a great victory for the international communist and workers' movement because it defeated the opportunistic, reformist, and chauvinist line of the elements in the Second International. Therefore, it promoted the founding of many communist parties and the development of the revolutionary movement in countries throughout the world. The Communist International announced that it resolutely supported the national liberation movement in the countries of the East. Lenin's platform on the issue of nationalism and colonialism was ratified by the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920. It charted the basic line for the revolutionary movement in colonial and feudal countries.

The international working class already had the revolutionary fortress of the Soviet Union and the correct leadership organization of the Communist International. The world revolutionary movement needed to have the leadership of genuine Marxist parties, the new-style parties of the working class. As happened in a number of other worker parties in Europe, there erupted in the French Socialist Party at that time a very bitter struggle to protect Marxism and to combat the revisionists. President Ho participated in the debate in the basic organizations of the French Socialist Party. At that time, Lenin's platform on the problem of nationalism and colonialism had reached him. With the help of French revolutionaries such as Marcel Casin, Paul Vallant Couturier, and Monmousseau, President Ho increasingly realized that the Third International and Lenin's platform had met his most ardent aspirations for the independent of the fatherland and the freedom of his compatriots. He said: "Lenin's platform moves me greatly and gives me immeasurable encouragement and confidence! I am cheerfully happy. Sitting alone in the room, I shouted as if I were addressing a vast number of the masses: 'Miserably abused compatriots! This is essential for us. This is the path to our liberation!" After that, he found the works of Lenin in order to study them and he had complete confidence in Lenin. He allied himself completely with the Third International. At the 18th Congress of the French Socialist Party held in Tours between 25 and 30 December 1920, President Ho read a speech denouncing the heinous crimes of the French colonialists in Indochina and calling upon the working class and genuine Marxists in France to engage in practical acts to support the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people and of
the other colonial peoples. Along with the outstanding Marxists of France, President Ho became one of the founders of the French Communist Party.

President Ho was one of the first members of the French Communist Party and was also the first Vietnamese Communist. This was an extremely important political event in his life and in the revolutionary history of Vietnam. If his struggle at the Versailles conference in 1919 was only a "signal flare" awakening our people in the struggle against the French colonialists, his participation in the founding of the French Communist Party in 1920 marked a great historical turning point in the Vietnamese revolution. It was a decisive development, a leap forward, and a substantial change in his ideological outlook and political stance. After that, President Ho found the correct revolutionary path for the Vietnamese people, the path of combining class struggle with national struggle and of combining genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism. Those two ideological forces are not opposed to one another but, instead, merge with one another into a unified body and promote each other's development.

Enlightened by the Resolution of the Communist International and by Lenin's Platform on the Problem of Nationalism and Colonialism, President Ho, in the course of the actual requirements of his revolutionary activities, realized the necessity of vigorously carrying out propaganda and organizational activities in order to be able to advance the revolutionary movement in colonial countries. In 1921, with the assistance of the French Communist Party, President Ho, along with a number of patriots from the French colonies, founded the Federation of Colonial Peoples. As the representative of the Indochinese people, he was elected to the Central Committee of the Federation and to the Standing Committee. The birth of the Federation was a very important political event for the oppressed peoples. It united the people of the various colonies in a common front against imperialism. At the same time, it developed a spirit of combat solidarity between the peoples of the French colonies and the French working class and working people. In order to mobilize the people of the colonies to rise up in a struggle for their own liberation, the Federation issued a Manifesto which stated: "Applying the words of Karl Marx, we wish to tell you that the only hope for your liberation lies in your own struggle efforts."(5) In order to achieve that goal, the Federation brought issues before public opinion through the press, speeches (organizing talks and rallies and so forth), and "all available means" (6) in order to pursue the revolutionary struggle.

In 1922, the Federation of Colonial Peoples published a newspaper called Le Paria ("The Poor"). President Ho was the publisher and chief editor and manager of that newspaper. Under his direct supervision, Le Paria exposed the policy of savage repression and exploitation of
imperialism, generally speaking, and of the French imperialists in particular, awakening the oppressed nations to rise up in revolutionary struggle. It won the sympathy and support of the working class and working people in France. It created a revolutionary gale which swept through Indochina and many other colonies. Although the colonial government tried in every way to prohibit it, Le Paria was clandestinely sent to Vietnam to our people. Because of that newspaper, many patriotic Vietnamese achieved a clearer understanding of the crimes of the French colonialists and began to understand the Russian October Revolution and Lenin. In addition to Le Paria, President Ho also wrote numerous articles for the newspaper L'Humanite, the national organ of the French Communist Party, and for Vie Ouvriere, the national organ of the French General Federation of Labor and so forth, and wrote the famous book entitled Dan An Che Do Thuc Dan Phap ("The Condemnation of the French Colonial System").(7) In simple and clear language and with precise and profoundly satirical statements, his work condemned colonialism in general and French colonialism in particular in the economic, political, cultural, and social sectors. Using concrete proof, it exposed imperialism as the source of all oppression and exploitation and revealed that the working class and working people in the colonial countries were increasingly miserable and being subjected to very savage massacres. The advent of his work was a decisive blow to imperialism. It also was the first step in charting the correct revolutionary struggle line for our people and for other oppressed peoples. It is not only a valuable historical document in regard to theory and ideology but it also is a very valuable document culturally. Therefore, it had an easy time penetrating the thoughts and feelings of its readers.

In the last half of 1923, President Ho went from France to the Soviet Union. As the representative of the peasants in colonial countries, he attended the International Conference of Peasants which was held between 1 and 15 October 1923, and he was elected to the Executive Committee of the Peasants' International.

On 21 January 1924, the great heart of Lenin stopped beating! Powerfully moved, President Ho overcame all difficulties to go pay his respects to Lenin, and he wrote an article entitled "Lenin and the Colonial Peoples": "We are extremely pained in view of the irreplaceable loss and we share with our brothers and sisters the common sadness of the peoples of all countries. However, we are confident that the Communist International and its chapters, including the chapters in the colonial countries, will carry out the lessons and teachings which our leader left behind..."

"When he was alive, he was our father, teachers, comrade, and advisor. Today, he is a bright star pointing the way for us to reach the socialist revolution."(8)
President Ho remained in the Soviet Union for a while. He worked in the Communist International and wrote numerous articles for Pravda, the newspaper of the Soviet Communist Party, and for the Communist International's International Correspondence Magazine in order to continue to present his ideas about the national liberation revolution in colonial countries.

As the official representative of the French Communist Party, President Ho attended the Fifth Congress of the Communist International held between 17 June and 18 July 1924 in Moscow and later attended international conferences of labor unions, youths, women, and so forth.

At the Fifth Conference of the Communist International, he read an important statement which fully presented his position and viewpoint, which candidly and affectionately criticized some communist parties which had not yet devoted appropriate attention to the colonial revolution, which set forth positive measures for intensifying the revolutionary movement in colonial countries, and which gave special emphasis to the matter of the liberation of the peasants in those countries.

President Ho's revolutionary thought emerged step by step after the Tours Congress in 1920. His combative works and articles, particularly his speech and statements at the Fifth Congress of the Communist International, embodied the basic issues relating to the strategic line and strategies of the Vietnamese revolution and of colonial revolutions in general.

Fully imbued with Lenin's Platform on Problems of Nationalism and Colonialism, President Ho not only clearly understood the intimate relationship between the colonial revolution and the proletarian revolution in the power states but also clearly understood the fact that colonial revolution is an inseparable part of world proletarian revolution. He also clearly outlined the strategic importance of colonial revolution and the need to treat it on par with proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries instead of regarding colonial revolution as dependent upon revolution in the power states. That point of view was expressed in a famous and vivid statement: "Capitalism is a leech with one tube attached to the proletarian class in the power state and another tube attached to the proletarian class in the colonies. If we want to kill that leech, we must simultaneously cut both tubes. If we only cut one tube, the other tube will continue to draw blood from the proletarian class, the leech will continue to live, and the severed tube will grow back." (9)
Capitalism both exceedingly exploits the working class in the power state and callously exploits the working class and people of the colonies. In order to destroy capitalism at its roots, the working class in the power state must carry out a revolutionary struggle and attack its hideouts. At the same time, the working class and people of the colonies must struggle against imperialism and liberate their nations. Therefore, there is created an intimate relationship between the revolutionary forces of the working class in the imperialist countries and the revolutionary forces of the oppressed peoples. Both those forces are allied in a united front against imperialism and for the liberation of the working class in the world and of the oppressed peoples. President Ho concretized Lenin's views on nationalism and colonialism. Using theory and practical action, he struggled resolutely to help implement Lenin's strategic slogan: "Proletariat of all countries and all oppressed peoples unite!"

Underscoring the revolutionary position of the Eastern countries, Lenin wrote in 1913: "The opportunists had not stopped singing the praises of 'social peace' and singing the praises of the ability under the democratic system to avoid tempests when a new source of great storms in the world began to emerge in Asia. At the present time, we are living in an era which is giving rise to those storms and those storms are 'rebounding to Europe.'" (10)

Imbued with the aforementioned teaching of Lenin, President Ho said in 1924: "The fate of the world proletariat class depends to a large extent on the colonies, the places which supply the food and troops to the large, imperialist countries. If we want to defeat these countries, we must first take away all of their colonies." (11) That statement reflected the revolutionary activism of the people in the colonies. During the period of imperialism and proletarian revolution, if the people of the colonies, influenced by the Russian October Revolution, learn how to develop the revolutionary activism, they will be able to achieve victory before the working class in the power states achieves victory. The victory of the 1945 August Revolution in Vietnam proved that the revolutionary viewpoint of President Ho is completely correct.

In order to protect Lenin's arguments on nationalism and colonialism, President Ho resolutely struggled against notions of racial prejudice and chauvinism which still existed in the workers' movement in the countries of western Europe. At the same time, he extolled the international proletarian spirit to the people of the colonies. He urged the Communist International and its chapters to devote full attention to the national liberation movement and to recruit party members and train revolutionary cadres from among the people in the colonies by sending them to study at the University of the East in Moscow and by intensifying revolutionary propaganda activities in the colonies and
so forth. President Ho appealed: "We are students of Lenin and, therefore, we must concentrate all of our power and energy on the problem of colonialism and on other problems in order to carry out Lenin's teachings."(12)

President Ho not only devoted his attention to the revolutionary movement at home but also actively contributed to the international communist movement and the national liberation movement. His political and ideological struggle at that time, which had the very great significance of seeking to defend Lenin's arguments on the problems of nationalism and colonialism, contributed in an important way to tightening the spirit of combat solidarity between the working class in the power states and the people in the colonial and vassal states.

In 1920, President Ho realized that the national liberation revolution would have to follow the path of the proletarian revolution in order to achieve success, that national liberation would have to be closely linked with class liberation, and that national independence could not be separated from socialism and communism. This was the path of complete and thorough liberation for the working class and people of the colonies. He said: "The only way to liberate the nation is to liberate the proletarian class. Both these liberations can only be an undertaking of communism and world revolution."(13)

The national liberation banner which President Ho held aloft was the banner of radical revolution of the working class. Thoroughly imbued with the Marxist-Leninist concept of "constant revolution," he realized that in a colonial environment with a backward agriculture, after winning national independence and after the working class achieved a close alliance with the farmers, it would be necessary and completely possible to move directly to socialism without going through the period of capitalist development.

In order to carry out the national liberation struggle, the people of the colonies would have to clearly understand the targets and forces of the revolution. He made it clear that the chief enemy of the people of the colonies is imperialism and the lackey feudalists. The people of the colonies must concentrate their forces on wiping them out. While condemning imperialism, he did not forget to expose the reactionary feudal elements who are the henchmen of imperialism. When King Khai Dinh went to France to attend a colonial exhibition in 1922, he wrote a play entitled "The Bamboo Dragon" and many articles criticizing that puppet king.

Indicting imperialism in general, President Ho wrote: "The history of the European invasion of Africa -- as well as the history
of the invasion of any colony -- is written from start to end in the
blood of the natives."(14) He made a touching appeal: "Native people,
do not put up with any more insults. Rise up!"(15)

In the colonial countries, the liberation of the people, essen­
tially the liberation of the peasants, and the overthrow of imperialism
and the securing of national independence must be accompanied by the
overthrow of the feudal landlord class and the return of the land to the
peasants. President Ho realized early the role and power of the peasant
class in the national liberation revolution. He monitored the peasant
movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries very attentively.
He pointed out that industry was very underdeveloped in nearly all of
the French colonies, and that consequently the economy was principally
an agricultural economy. Therefore, the peasants represented 95 percent
of the population. Imperialists, feudal landlords, and religious
impersonators seized the land from the peasants, very cruelly oppressed
and exploited them, and made them into serfs. He suggested that the
Communist International strengthen its leadership and organization of
peasants in the colonial countries: "In all of the French colonies,
poverty and hunger are on the increase and resentment is mounting. The
time for the uprising of the native peasants has arrived. In many
colonies, they have arisen several times but have been inundated in
blood each time. If the peasants are still presently in a negative
situation, the reason is that they lack organization and lack leaders.
The Communist International must help them reorganize, must supply
leadership cadres to them, and must lead them to revolution and liberation."

(16) He also suggested that communists in the semi-colonial countries
vigorously conduct an urgent campaign to teach the masses to really
understand their own power and their own rights and to realize that they
have the ability to implement the slogan: "All land to the peasants."(17)

Clearly, the aforementioned viewpoint of President Ho was impregnated
with the teachings of Lenin: "...The peasants in the colonies, although
still backward today, will play a very great revolutionary role in the
next stages of world revolution."(18)

Although the Vietnamese patriots of the past relied on the forces
of the peasants to combat foreign aggression, they did not really under­
stand the position and role of the peasants. President Ho was the first
person in the revolutionary history of our country to raise the role of
the peasants to a level consistent with its importance. This is a major
strategic issue of the Vietnamese revolution.

In order for the national liberation revolution to succeed during
the period of imperialism and proletarian revolution, it must have the
leadership of the working class. President Ho realized early the historic
duty of the international working class to serve as the only class fully
capable of leading the class liberation, the national liberation, and
the liberation of mankind from the yoke of rule of capitalism.
The working class must seize the banner of nationalism in the colonial and vassal countries. From the experience of the workers’ movement in Turkey, he wrote: "The proletarian class in Turkey, the entity which contributed very greatly to the struggle for national independence, now realizes that it is compelled to carry out another struggle: a class struggle." (19) This is also a common lesson for the working class in the colonial and vassal countries.

The working class in our country had not yet become a large force or an independent political force, but President Ho pointed out that the struggle of the 600 plumbers in Cho Lon, Nam Bo in 1922 was a sign of the times, a sign that the working class had begun to become conscious of its forces and capabilities.

In order to complete the national liberation task, President Ho made it clear that the working class in the colonies must have its own vanguard unit for leadership, a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party.

In 1921, he wrote: "The Indochinese people are saving up a power to rise up furiously and, when the time arrives, there will be a violent uprising. The people in the vanguard must hasten the arrival of the time. The cruelty of colonialism has prepared the ground: socialism only sows the seeds of liberation." (20)

Imbued with the concepts of Marxism-Leninism about the role of the masses in history, President Ho understood and had absolute confidence in the fact that the invincible revolutionary forces of the masses would overthrow the yoke of rule of the French colonialists and their feudal henchmen. When he spoke about the masses, he gave very great attention to the forces of youth and women. In 1924, he praised the courageous struggle spirit of 200 student youths in a province in Nam Bo and saw it as a sign worthy of celebration. He had deep sympathy for the miserable life of women in the colonies and, at the same time, he held up as examples Oriental women who had awakened.

In order to liberate the nation, he advocated going home, going among the masses, and organizing, training, uniting, and leading them in a struggle for independence and freedom.

The aforementioned are basic problems relating to strategy and strategem and relating to the leadership role in the Vietnamese revolution which were set forth by President Ho. They represented a very important political and ideological preparation for the eventual establishment of a communist party in our country.
President Ho identified early the revolutionary path for the Vietnamese people, the correct path for bringing the Vietnamese revolution forward in the same direction and at the same pace as the world revolutionary movement. President Ho's first activities were closely linked to the time when the proletarian revolution was inaugurated through the great Russian October Revolution. The success of the Russian October Revolution and the founding of the Communist International helped him to find the light of Marxism-Leninism early. The international communist and workers' movement and the national liberation movement gave him considerable experience in the struggle against imperialism. He also derived historical experience from the patriotic movements of our people. While he was busily operating abroad and particularly after World War I, the workers' movement and patriotic movement in our country was also developing vigorously and thirsting for the light of Marxism-Leninism, which President Ho was the first to bring to our people.

In the process of finding the revolutionary path for our people, he thought independently, diligently investigated, profoundly studied, and kept ahead of the times. However, the important thing is that he went through an arduous process of study, struggle, and training in the international workers' movement. His awakening to Marxism-Leninism had its origin in patriotism. In the realities of revolutionary struggle, both studying theory and engaging in real operations, he reached important conclusions step by step in order to elevate them into principles and use those principles to illuminate his actual activities. As President Ho said: "Step by step, gradually in the struggle, both studying Marxist-Leninist theory and engaging in real operations, I understood that socialism and communism were the only way to liberate the oppressed peoples and working people throughout the world from the yoke of slavery."(21)
Part III. President Ho Struggles to Establish the Party of the Vietnamese Working Class (1924-1930)

After staying in the Soviet Union for a while in order to study the Soviet system and the experience of developing a party in accordance with Lenin's theories, President Ho went to Canton, China in mid-December 1924. There, he used the name of Ly Thuy. Contacting Vietnamese revolutionaries, he promoted political, ideological, and organizational preparations for the establishment of a new-style party of the Vietnamese working class. Several months before, war hero Pham Hong Thai had thrown a bomb in Shemene, Canton, which was intended to kill the Governor General of Indochina, Mec-lanh [Vietnamese phonetics], when he passed through there. Although that bomb did not kill that old colonial rogue, it "signalled the beginning of the period of nationalist struggle like a small swallow signalling the spring."(22) In seeking to understand the patriot organizations of Than Boi Chau and Tam Tam Xa (23) which were operating in China, he placed a very high value on the patriotic spirit of those organizations, but on the other hand, he clearly recognized the weakness of the leaders of those organizations in "not understanding politics and having even less understanding of mass organizations."(24)

President Ho selected a number of patriotic youths from the aforementioned organizations and many other people who had left the country, and conducted political training classes to train them into revolutionary cadres and later sent them home to transmit Marxism-Leninism to the working class and our people. He founded the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Comrades, a predecessor organization of the party and an organization whose leadership nucleus was the Communist Group. He published the newspaper Thanh Nien ("Youth"), the organ of the General Youth Headquarters. He also participated in the founding of the Federation of Oppressed Peoples in Eastern Asia, which had a Vietnamese chapter, in order to unify operations against the common enemy of imperialism.

The lectures which President Ho delivered at the training classes in Canton were assembled into a book entitled Duong cach Lang ("The Path of Revolution"), published by the Propaganda Department of the Federation of Oppressed Peoples of Eastern Asia.

In his book "The Path of Revolution," he outlined the strategic line and strategem of the Vietnamese revolution. First of all, he lists radically revolutionary thinking. He pointed out that it is necessary to carry out revolution in order to live, that unless great efforts were made, small tasks definitely would not succeed and that it was even less possible for large tasks "such as liberating our compatriots and mankind from the shackles and chains of slavery to succeed without making the utmost efforts."(25) Many people, realizing the
difficulties, became disheartened. They did not understand that "with
determination, anything can be done, no matter what the difficulty.
A few people may not be able to do the work but many people working
together can do it. If it is not finished in this life, the next
generation must finish it." The carrying out of revolution requires
determination, sacrifice, courage, and solidarity. To achieve that,
first, everyone must clearly understand why it is necessary to carry
out revolution, must understand that if they do not do the work it will
not be possible to carry out revolution, and must understand that
everyone must work and must work immediately and not wait on others.

President Ho combined the radically revolutionary thinking of the
working class with the finest traditions of the Vietnamese people in order
to set forth revolutionary ethics. In the book "The Path of Revolution"
the first chapter is "The Character of the Revolutionary," i.e., revolu­
tionary ethics: one must be industrious and completely impartial, must
be determined to correct his mistakes, must not seek fame, and must not
be arrogant. He must do what he says, must adhere to his ideology, must
sacrifice, and must have little desire for material things, and so forth.

President Ho regarded the teaching of revolutionary ethics to
the cadres as one of the primary requirements for the ideological and poli­
tical preparations leading to the development of a genuine revolutionary
party of the Vietnamese working class.

In order to successfully carry out a revolution, the cadres not
only must have revolutionary ethics but also must understand Marxist­
Leninist theory and have the correct revolutionary line and methods.
Speaking about the significance and importance of revolutionary theory
on the first page of the book "The Path of Revolution", President Ho
repeated the immortal statement of Lenin: "Without revolutionary theory,
there cannot be a revolutionary movement... Only a party guided by a
vanguard theory can play the role of a vanguard fighter."

The Vietnamese people had many times risen up in valiant struggle
against the French imperialists but had always failed because they did
not have the theory of Marxism-Leninism, did not have the correct revolu­
tionary line and methods, did not understand the world situation, did not
understand the balance of forces between us and the enemy, did not have
"plans," did not understand "strategy," did not know how to seize
opportunities, and "acted when they should not act and failed to act
when they should have acted." Therefore, the revolutionaries must explain
to the people the theories of Marxism-Leninism and the situation and
experience of the world revolution.

President Ho drew lessons from the Russian October Revolution
and from the experiences of the French revolution and the American revo­
lation in regard to the experiences of the world revolution. He
realized that the French revolution and the American revolution were bourgeois and non-radical revolutions. Only the Russian October Revolution was a really radical revolution because it brought freedom, equality, and real happiness to the working people and also helped the oppressed peoples to carry out revolutions for their own liberation. The Russian October Revolution taught us that in order to successfully carry out revolution, it is necessary to rely on the forces of the masses, particularly the workers and peasants, to have a Marxist-Leninist party, and to be strong, unified, sacrificial, and steadfast.

Thoroughly imbued with Lenin's theory on nationalism and colonialism, and creatively adapting the experience of the Russian October Revolution to the concrete conditions of our country, President Ho set forth the Vietnamese revolutionary line as follows: a new-style bourgeois democratic revolution (which we now call the people's national democratic revolution) moving ahead to socialism without going through the period of capitalist development. He said that our people are slaves but that "they will not put up with it anymore, they are awakening and uniting, and they know that they would rather die for freedom than live as slaves." He said that they are working together to topple the oppressive and exploiting regime of the French colonialists and their feudal henchmen and to liberate the nation and win independence and freedom.

Revolution is the common task of the masses and not the work of one or two people. Because the French imperialists used a policy of dividing the Vietnamese people into Central Vietnamese, Southern Vietnamese, and Northern Vietnamese, used religious faiths and cultures to confuse the people, used laws to prohibit their actions, and used power to suppress them, we had to first awaken, organize, unite, and lead all strata of the people in struggle if we were to carry out a revolution. The revolutionaries had to understand that the workers and peasants are the main force of the revolution, and the largest and most seriously oppressed and exploited force. Therefore, the revolutionaries had to organize mass associations such as workers' associations, peasants' associations, women's associations, youth associations, and so forth. In order to organize and unite the revolutionary forces and in order to have the correct revolution line and methods, it was first necessary to have a revolutionary party in order to mobilize and organize the people at home and contact the oppressed peoples and proletarian classes abroad. The party would have to be steady and revolutionary in order to succeed just as a helmsman must be steady if his ship is to navigate properly. For the party to be steady, it would have to have as its pillar Marxism-Leninism. Everyone in the party must understand and obey that ideology. For a party not to have an ideology is like a person not having a mind or a ship not
having a compass. He said: "Now, there are many theories and many ideologies but the most genuine, most certain, and most revolutionary ideology is Leninism."

President Ho also made it clear that the Vietnamese revolution is a part of the world revolution, that it followed the path of the Communist International, and that it was intimately related to the French revolution and to the national liberation movement in the other colonies.

His work "The Path of Revolution" developed his revolutionary ideas during the previous periods and laid the foundation for our party's political program later on. It had a great impact on the Vietnamese revolution.

From late 1924 to 1927, President Ho, living in Canton, China, transmitted Marxism-Leninism home through the book "The Path of Revolution" and the weekly newspaper Youth.

In April 1927, after a reversal by the Chiang Kai-shek group in Canton, President Ho went to the Soviet Union and later attended the Conference Against Imperialist War which met in Brussels, Belgium. Later, he went to Switzerland, Italy, and Siam (Thailand). Beginning in the autumn of 1928, he operated in Siam, training cadres, propagandizing, teaching, and organizing the overseas Vietnamese, and publishing the newspaper Than Ai ("Affectionately"), using it as an organ for propagandizing Marxism-Leninism among the Vietnamese in Thailand and sending the newspaper back to Vietnam.

With his experience, a genuine patriot who became a communist fighter, President Ho approved the sending of the youth whom he had trained and who were filled with revolutionary enthusiasm to spread Marxism-Leninism to the working class and working people of our country. He did not bring the classic theories to our country in tact but creatively adapted Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of Vietnam, set forth the correct revolutionary line, and broadly propagandized that line in his book "The Path of Revolution" and in the newspapers Youth and Affectionately. Using simple and clear language, the Path of the Revolution and the aforementioned newspapers helped the readers to easily understand, remember, and do. This method of operation of President Ho had a quick awakening power over the revolutionary spirit of the workers, peasants, and petit bourgeois strata, making it easy for them to accept Marxism-Leninism and to participate in revolutionary activities.

Beginning in 1928, he implemented the slogan to "proletarianize" the members of the Association of Young Vietnamese Revolutionary Comrades in the factories and mines and on the plantations in order to
propagandize and organize the workers. The workers' movement gradually broke out of its spontaneous, limited, and sporadic stage and moved into a self-conscious, organized, and led stage with coordination among the various sectors and localities. In late 1929, the Vietnamese workers' movement had a clear independent character and had become the nucleus force for the national liberation movement in our country. With its vanguard revolutionary theory and the experience of the international workers' movement, our country's working class, the most seriously oppressed and exploited class, a class which possess a radically revolutionary spirit, and a class which represents the most advanced production methods and the basic and long-term interests of all the people, revealed itself as the most worthy leader of the Vietnamese people.

Marxism-Leninism was spread by President Ho and his students to Vietnam, a country where the people had a tradition of unyielding struggle against foreign aggression, where the working class was small but possessed a radically revolutionary spirit because of the triple-strata of oppression and exploitation by imperialism, feudalism, and domestic bourgeoisie, and where the struggle movement of the peasants and the patriotic movement of the other strata of the people were very vast. Once Marxism-Leninism, the sharpest ideological weapon of the time, had won over the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese revolutionaries, there was no cruel power of the enemy which could stop it. On the political and ideological front, Marxism-Leninism drove back reformism and narrow nationalism and took the forefront in the revolutionary movement in Vietnam. The workers' movement and the patriotic movement of our people demanded the leadership of a party of the working class. The conditions for the founding of such a party had ripened. However, when that question was raised, there was some disagreement within the Association of Young Vietnamese Revolutionary Comrades. There was a struggle between those favoring the establishment of the communist party in Indochina and those who did not believe it was necessary to establish such a party within the Association of Young Vietnamese Revolutionary Comrades and its leadership agencies. There was a struggle between the proletarian viewpoint and the petit bourgeois viewpoint within the Association of Young Vietnamese Revolutionary Comrades in order to establish a new-style party of the Vietnamese working class. That struggle led to the victory of the proletarian ideology and to the birth of the Indochinese Communist Party in Bac Bo and of the Annamite Communist Party in Nam Bo. In that situation, the New Vietnamese Revolutionary Party could not maintain its old organization and, consequently, was reorganized into the Indochinese Communist Federation. All three of those organizations acknowledged that they were genuine communist organizations and sought to win the recognition of the Communist International. While propagandizing and mobilizing the masses, the three organizations attacked one another and sought influence among the masses.
In view of that situation, President Ho, authorized by the Communist International, promptly left Thailand in the fall of 1929 and went to Hong Kong and called a conference to establish a party on 3 February 1930 in Kowloon, near Hong Kong, China. Under his chairmanship, the conference decided to unite the three communist organizations in Vietnam into one party called the Vietnamese Communist Party, and approved the Brief Political Program, the Brief Strategem, and the Party By-laws drafted by President Ho.

Because of the nature of Vietnamese society, a colonial and semi-feudal society, and based on the book The Path of the Revolution, the political program and the strategy of the party reaffirmed that the Vietnamese revolution is a new-style bourgeois democratic revolution (today, it is called a people's democratic national revolution) moving ahead to socialism, and reaffirmed that its task was to overthrow the French imperialists and the feudal landlord class, to make Vietnam completely independent, to return land to the peasants, to establish a worker-peasant, soldier government, to achieve democratic liberties for the people, and to organize a worker-peasant army.

In regard to the party, the brief political program and strategem made it clear that our party is the vanguard unit of the working class and fully capable of leading the masses. The party advocated solidarity with the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples and close contact with the international working class, particularly the French working class.

The brief political program and strategem of the party responded to the most ardent aspirations of the working class and people of our country. Consequently, our party was able to unite all patriotic and democratic forces around its class and to exercise the right to lead the Vietnamese revolution.

On the occasion of the founding of the party, President Ho issued the Appeal, which had a very great stimulating effect on all our party and people: "The communist party in Indochina has been founded. It is the party of the working class. The party will lead the working class to lead the revolution in order to struggle for the rights of all the oppressed and exploited people. Right from now, we must join the party, we must help the party, and we must follow the party."(26)

The conference which founded the party had the importance of a congress because it set forth the strategic line and strategem of the Vietnamese revolution and the basic principles of party development. Pursuant to the resolution of the conference, the communist organizations in Vietnam within a short period of time established a provisional central committee and unified the leadership over the movement country-wide. This was because the resolution of the conference had promptly met
the demands of the revolutionary movement in our country and was a result of the correct leadership of President Ho and the guidance and assistance of the Communist International.

President Ho combined Marxism-Leninism with the workers' movement and patriotic movement in Vietnam in order to found our party, the party of the working class of our country.

The birth of our party was not an accident but was the inevitable product of the revolutionary history of our country, the result of President Ho's long and arduous preparations.

Our party is the chief factor determining every victory of the Vietnamese revolution. It ushered in a new era in the history of the Vietnamese people, an era of independence, freedom, and socialism in our country.
Part IV. President Ho Guides the Revolution at Home from Abroad (1930-1939)

From the moment it was born, thanks to its correct line, our party organized and led a full-blown revolutionary movement, unprecedented in our country. The pinnacle of it was the Nghe-Tinh [Nghe An and Ha Tinh provinces] Soviet.

In order to strengthen the leadership over the revolutionary movement which was boiling up throughout the country, the Party Central Committee held its first conference in October 1930 to discuss and approve the Bourgeois Revolutionary Political Rights Program (now called the people's national democratic revolution) which was drafted by Tran Phu, the first secretary general of the party and one of the outstanding students of President Ho. The conference also decided to change the name of the party to the Indochinese Communist Party, and set forth the immediate tasks of the party.

In 1930 and mid-1931, President Ho, although operating in China, still closely watched the movement and, together with the Party Central Committee, guided the implementation of the party line. First of all, he praised and mobilized the Nghe-Tinh Soviet. He said: "The Nghe-Tinh people have a stubborn voice. Nghe-Tinh became famous during the period of French rule and during the national revolutionary movement (1905-1925). In the present struggle, the workers and peasants of Nghe-Tinh are maintaining their revolutionary traditions... Nghe-Tinh really deserves the title of 'red.'"(27) At the same time, he urgently recommended that the Oriental Department of the Communist International promptly support the Indochinese revolutionary movement. He exposed the bloody policy of suppression of the imperialists and feudalists, and at the same time, extolled the valiant struggle spirit of the party members and the masses: "White terrorism cannot reduce the revolutionary spirit of the fighters..."(28)

The revolutionary struggle of the worker-peasant masses became increasingly fierce, requiring the all-encompassing and close leadership of the party. Therefore, President Ho emphasized the need to consolidate and develop the party. Many party members had been trained in the revolutionary movement but had not yet had an opportunity to systematically study Marxist-Leninist theories and the lines and policies of the party. In order to strengthen the class character of the party and elevate the theoretical level of its members, he suggested that the Party Central Committee organize a department responsible for propagandizing and educating the party members, publishing a party newspaper, and conducting short-term training courses to educate and train the cadres about the party program and by-laws. At the same time, he reminded the party members that they must work in the workers' movement and give attention to the proletariat when developing the party. He emphasized
that our party must clearly define methods for leading the masses. The party propagandizes its lines and policies through its cadres and must use methods of persuasion and not orders. Party committees at all levels must look upon themselves as advisors, teachers, and propagandists and not take over all of the tasks in the local areas. Each party committee must spell out the specific duties for each party chapter and each party member. Directives sent to party chapters must be easy to understand so that the comrades will be able to discuss, study, and implement them. Party committees must also investigate the work of subordinate party organizations. In regard to the responsibility of party members, he stated: "All party members and all party chapters must discuss the directives and resolutions of the Party Central Committee. This is the only way to raise the level of the party members and to see to it that all of the directives and resolutions are executed and that the ideas and actions of the party members are united..."(29) He also criticized some shortcomings such as formal, impractical, and unspecific methods of operation which are not tailored to the situation.

The full-blown revolutionary movement in 1930 and 1931 was, in essence, the full-blown revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants under the leadership of our party. In order to strengthen and consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, he emphasized the need to devote attention to the development of the Workers' Association and the Peasants' Association.

President Ho pointed out that in our country the Workers' Association is a revolutionary organization of the working masses but that, when developing its membership, it should not have high requirements such as those for the recruitment of party members. Rather, it should boldly bring many workers into the association, particularly young workers. The party will continue to educate them so that they can become revolutionary fighters.

Speaking about the guidelines for the development of the Workers' Association, he said that our party not only must strengthen its propaganda activities among the miners and within the other important sectors of the economy but also must give attention to the unemployed workers, the handicraft workers in the cities, and the industrial workers. The Workers' Association must be organized vertically from the basic installations on up to the national-level.

Discussing the struggle movement of the workers, President Ho pointed out that many workers were unemployed and semi-employed and leading miserable lives because of economic crisis, and that they were continuously rising up in decisive struggles. Those struggles had further awakened the working class but they had had limited success because the struggle movement was not uniform and constant, the organization of the Workers' Association was not powerful, and the party members did not have a full understanding of the Workers' Association.
The struggle of the working class is closely related to the struggle of the peasant class and the other strata of working people, and, therefore, President Ho emphasized that the Workers' Association must maintain contact with the peasants' association and that the workers must support the struggle of the peasants. The Workers' Association would also have to participate in the Anti-Imperialism League (30) as a collective member. The Workers' Association did not lose its independence by joining the Anti-Imperialism League but increasingly developed its vanguard role in the struggle movement against imperialism.

In order to mobilize the peasants to struggle more vigorously, President Ho emphasized that the party must teach the peasants about the revolutionary line of the party on land during each period of the revolution. He made it clear that the party must lead the peasants in a struggle for freedom and independence, for a reduction of taxes, for a reduction of poll taxes, for a reduction of rents, to protest the sending of peasants to plantations to serve as coolies and the sending of peasants to other colonies, to protest every deceitful reform, and to combat white terrorism, and so forth. He made it clear that the party must combine economic struggles with political struggles, and encourage the peasants to organize self-defense units in order to support their struggle. President Ho explained that in the struggle movement of the peasants, the party will be able to consolidate and develop the Peasants' Association and that it would be necessary to resolutely purge the rich farmers from the association right from the start.

Drawing from his experience in the struggle movement of the peasants of the Pacific, President Ho identified shortcomings: the failure of neighboring districts to organize reserve forces in order to be able to strengthen the movement, the failure to clearly explain the goals of the struggle to the masses, allowing informants to infiltrate the struggle and allowing the masses to know all of the commanders, failing to learn from the experience of the struggles of the peasants of Nghe An Province and so forth.

Completely agreeing with the resolution of the Party Central Committee on organizing the Peasants' Association from the basic installations on up to the national level, President Ho recommended that the Oriental Department of the Communist International establish the General Indochinese Peasants' Association in order to provide unified leadership to the peasant movement nationwide because no landlord or rich peasants had been able to slip in and monopolize the association here as had happened in some other countries.
In addition to consolidating and developing the Workers’ Association and the Peasants’ Association, President Ho also pointed out the need to devote serious attention to the Anti-Imperialism League. He pointed out the need to unify the youth organizations and for the youth organizations to have their own independent activities. The Workers’ Association, the Peasants’ Association, the Association of Youth, and the Women’s Association would have to actively participate in the Anti-Imperialism League in order to struggle against imperialism. As for the method of propagandizing and mobilizing the patriots to move ahead to establish the Anti-Imperialism League, President Ho often taught the party members not to exhort the sailors in a generalized way and not to talk about the proletariat in an inflexible way. He made it clear that we must first of all overthrow the French colonialists and liberate the people and, as a consequence, that we must awaken the patriotism of all the people.

Moreover, President Ho also suggested that the Oriental Department coordinate the activities of our party with those of the Chinese Communist Party in the strategically important border provinces and that it coordinate the campaign among the workers and enemy troops. He regularly taught the international proletarian spirit and the principles of revolutionary activities to the cadres of our party who were operating in China at that time. He taught that our cadres had the responsibility to mobilize the Vietnamese soldiers and French people in Shanghai. He said that in mobilizing the soldiers, it is necessary to awaken their thoughts of home and family and then to awaken their patriotism and love.

During this period (1930-1931), in his position as the member of the Oriental Department of the Communist International in charge of the Southern Bureau, President Ho made an important contribution to the development of the revolutionary movement in a number of countries of Southeast Asia.

The full-blown revolutionary movement of 1930-1931 and the Nghe-Tinh Soviet are famous in the world because of the valiant and indomitable struggle spirit of our people, because of the correct leadership of President Ho and the Party Central Committee, and because of the assistance of the Communist International. President Ho wrote about the great historic significance of the full-blown revolutionary movement of 1930-1931 and of the Nghe-Tinh Soviet: "The Nghe-Tinh Soviet proved the glorious spirit and revolutionary ability of the Vietnamese working people. Although the movement failed, it trained the forces for the later successful August revolution."(31)

Terrified by the full-blown revolutionary movement of 1930-1931 and by the influence of President Ho's activities in the countries of Southeast Asia, in June 1931, the British imperialists imprisoned President Ho (who at that time was using the name Tong Van So) illegally
in Hong Kong. Confined to a private cell, he was very miserable but he did not worry about his own fate because he knew that he would either be destroyed by the colonialists or he would escape their shackles in order to return to revolutionary activities. Day and night, he worried about the revolutionary movement at home. However, the things which worried him the most were the things he had not finished and the worry about who would take his place to continue his work. He worried about how to transmit some of his experience to the other comrades. Only he himself knew the clues and so he worried about who would do the rebuilding. Although our party had just been founded, its prestige was already high and the struggle movement of the workers and peasants had become strong. However, the imperialists were suppressing the movement and many of the comrades had been arrested, jailed, or killed and many organizations had been destroyed and, consequently, he worried about how the work would be carried out later.

Upon hearing the news that President Ho had been arrested, the Anti-Imperialist Federation To Support National Independence promptly issued a protest statement to the British government and demanded freedom for him. Because of his persistence, the International Red Cross sent in lawyers and because the lawyer Lo-co-by [Vietnamese phonetics] admired him and wholeheartedly helped and defended him, President Ho was freed in the spring of 1933.

While he was in jail, the cadre and party members at home and abroad, in jail and out of jail, were extremely worried about their beloved leader and followed the news about him. Upon hearing that he had left jail, everyone was elated and enthusiastic.

After re-establishing contact with the Chinese Communist Party, President Ho went to the Soviet Union and entered Lenin University, the high-level party school reserved for the leaders of Communist parties throughout the world. After a period of study, he worked in the Communist Internationals' Institute for the Study of Problems of Nationalism and Colonialism. During his stay in the Soviet Union, he maintained close contact with a group of Vietnamese students, teaching them about revolutionary ethics, the spirit of solidarity, the awareness of organization and discipline, the proletarian international spirit, and the revolutionary struggle experience.

In July 1935, a delegation of our party, led by Le Hoang Phong, attended the Seventh International Communist Congress meeting in Moscow. President Ho participated in the congress as an observer. He enlisted all of his sense of responsibility and his capabilities to help our party's delegation properly complete its task at the congress.
Based on the resolution of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and on the concrete conditions of our country at that time, the Party Central Committee, in the summer of 1936, held a conference chaired by Le Hong Phong, who at that time was an alternate member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The conference decided to establish the Indochinese People's Anti-Imperialism Front (later changed to the Indochinese Democratic Front) in order to assemble all of the democratic and progressive forces in a struggle against the enemy, specifically and immediately the French fascists and the French colonial reactionaries, and for democratic liberties and an improvement in the lives of the people. The front was also designed to support the French Popular Front and to combat aggressive fascism and preserve world peace.

In 1938, returning to China, President Ho very closely monitored the democratic campaign at home. Relying on the resolution of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and based on the situation in our country, he sent a letter to the Party Central Committee outlining his ideas for providing correct guidance. Those ideas of his were summarized in a report sent to the Communist International which contained the following issues:

**Struggle slogans:** President Ho made it clear that, at that time, the party could not put forth excessively high demands such as demands for national independence but should only demand democratic liberties and an improvement in the lives of the people, amnesty for all political prisoners, and a struggle to allow the party to operate legally.

**In regard to the matter of the front:** "In order to achieve the aforementioned objectives, it is necessary to organize a broad national democratic front.

"That front not only can include Indochinese people but can also include progressive French people in Indochina, not only working people but also the national bourgeois class.

"As for the national bourgeoisie, the party must have a clever and flexible attitude. It must do the utmost to attract them into and keep them in the front, to promote them to carry out actions if possible, and to isolate them politically, if necessary. It must make the utmost efforts to see to it that they are not outside the front because they will then fall into the hands of the reactionary elements and strengthen their forces."

**The party:** The party cannot demand that the front acknowledge its leadership but must reveal itself as the most loyal, most active, and most sincere member of the front. The only way the party can achieve the position of leadership is by having the masses broadly acknowledge its correct policies and leadership capabilities in the daily struggles and operations.
"In order to carry out the aforementioned tasks, the party must struggle irreconcilably against factionalism and must organize a systematic study of Marxism-Leninism in order to raise the cultural and political level of the party members. The party must help the cadres who are not party members to raise their level. The party must maintain close relations with the French Communist Party." (34)

In regard to the struggle against Trotskyites: "There can be no accommodation with or concessions to the Trotskyites. It is necessary to use every method to expose them as the henchmen of fascism and to destroy them politically." (35)

Moreover, President Ho also reminded the Party Central Committee of the need to control the party newspapers in order to avoid political shortcomings and so forth. He made it clear that the party must have the utmost vigilance in view of the aggressive schemes of the Japanese imperialists against Indochina and in view of the attitude of the French colonial reactionaries on accommodating the Japanese imperialists.

Because of the correct leadership of President Ho and the Party Central Committee, the struggle movement of the masses for democratic liberties and an improvement of life attracted and politically educated millions of people. The prestige of the party increasingly spread among our people.
Part V. President Ho Comes Home and, Together With the Party Central Committee, Prepares for the General Uprising to Seize Political Power (1939-1945)

President Ho realized in 1924 that Indochina and the Pacific would be a cauldron for the new world war. When our party was established, he analyzed the contradictions of imperialism and predicted that World War II would erupt.

In September 1939, World War II broke out. Our party quickly withdrew into clandestine operations and switched the center of its operations to the countryside. In November 1939, the Party Central Committee held its sixth conference chaired by Nguyen Van Cu, the Secretary General of the Party at that time, and decided to reorientate its strategic leadership and concentrate its forces on the national liberation task, and establish the Indochinese Anti-Imperialism United National Front. During that period, President Ho (using the name of Ho Quang) had gone to Honan, China to establish contact with the Party Central Committee and to prepare to return home to work. At the same time, he advocated maintaining international contacts and consolidating our revolutionary organizations abroad and preparing to cope with the situation which would occur when the "Chinese Army entered Vietnam."

In June 1940, the German fascists attacked France, the French bourgeois government surrendered, and the French colonialists in Indochina were confused. President Ho realized that this was a favorable opportunity for the Vietnamese revolution. At the time he was working in Kueilin, China. He thought about building a large base area in Cao Bang Province, a place which had had a strong mass base from the past and which had the conditions necessary for developing the movement down into the delta and for maintaining contact with the international communist movement. He directed some cadres of the party who were operating in China to hurriedly go home to prepare the forces, to wait for the opportunity, and to seize political power.

In 1939, President Ho and the Party Central Committee realized that the Japanese imperialists might invade our country. Just as they thought, in August 1940, the Japanese fascists invaded Indochina. The French colonialists presented Indochina to Japan. Our people had double ropes around their neck but resolved to rise up against the Japanese and French fascists. In November 1940, holding its seventh conference, the Party Central Committee affirmed that its two immediate enemies were Japanese and French fascist imperialists, and set forth the task of preparing for an armed uprising to seize political power. The conference decided to maintain the Bac Son Guerrilla Unit and to build a large revolutionary base.
At the end of December 1940, President Ho went to the Sino-Vietnamese border to conduct a training class for cadres, using the document Con Duong Giai Thong ("The Path to Liberation"). On 8 February 1941 returning to Pac Bo in Cao Bang Province and using the name of Thu, he convened the Eighth Conference of the Party Central Committee, trained the cadres and personally supervised a pilot project to develop national salvation associations in Cao Bang Province. He also made a selective translation of the History of the Soviet Communist (B) Party and published Vietnam Doc Lap ("Independent Vietnam"), called Viet Lap for short. Although he lived and worked in extremely difficult conditions, he remained pleasant and affable:

"In the morning I go out to the stream and in the evening I come into the cave, 
The gruel and vegetables are still ready, 
The flagstone is covered with translations of the history of 
the party, 
The revolutionary life is really fine."(36)

Under the inevitable-victory banner of Marxism-Leninism, President Ho extolled the heroism and self-reliance of an indomitable people who had been fighting and winning for several thousand years of history:

"In the far-off mountains and distant waters, 
The spacious and vast areas, 
Here is the Lenin Stream and there is the Marx Mountain, 
Two hands building one edifice."(37)

In May 1941, on behalf of the Communist International, President Ho presided over the Eighth Conference of the Party Central Committee. Based on a scientific analysis of the world situation and the domestic situation, the conference pointed out that if the Soviet Union, a socialist country, was born during World War I, many other socialist countries would be born during this World War II and that the revolution would succeed in many countries. The conference affirmed that the national liberation task is the most urgent task of the Indochinese revolution. Therefore, the interests of the part and of the class must serve the supreme interest of the people. First of all, it is necessary to secure national independence and freedom for the compatriots.

In order to assemble the various strata of people, win over those revolutionary forces which could be won over, and divide the main enemy of the people -- the Japanese and French fascists -- the conference decided to establish the Vietnamese Independence League, abbreviated the Viet Minh. In order to emphasize the national liberation slogan, the conference identified as the goal of all mass associations in the front that of saving the nation, and consequently, all of the mass
associations took the common name of "national salvation associations." The conference decided to use the name of the Viet Minh Front to mobilize the masses in revolutionary struggle. However, it was necessary to uphold the vanguard nature of the party. As the front increasingly expanded, it became increasingly necessary to consolidate and strengthen the leadership role of the party.

In order to further divide the ranks of the landlord class, the conference decided to continue to temporarily shelve the slogans on confiscating the land of the landlords and dividing it among the tillers, and set forth the following slogan: "Confiscate the land of the imperialists and Vietnamese traitors and give it to the poor tillers, reduce rents, reduce taxes, divide up the public land, and eventually carry out the program of land to the tiller."

The conference advocated resolving the nationalism issue within the framework of each country in Indochina, and replaced the slogan "Establish the federal government of the Indochinese Democratic Republic" with the slogan "Establish the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

The conference also decided to establish, develop, and strengthen the leadership of the armed and paramilitary organizations, to prepare for armed uprisings, to move from partial uprisings to general uprisings, and to seize political power countrywide.

Under the direct supervision of President Ho, the Eighth Conference of the Party Central Committee had special historical significance. The resolution of the conference profoundly and completely embodied the national liberation issue, signified a new step forward for the Vietnamese revolution, and was of decisive importance to the victory of the August Revolution later on.

At the recommendation of President Ho, the conference a new Party Central Committee and appointed Truong Chinh as the Secretary General of the Party.

After the conference of the Party Central Committee, President Ho issued an appeal for all the people to unite in order to drive out the Japanese and French fascists:

"At the present time, the interests of national liberation are higher than anything. We must unite in order to overthrow the imperialists and the Vietnamese traitors and in order to save the race from being plunged into the waters of fire and torment.

"Revolutionary fighters, the time for liberation has arrived. Let us hoist high the banner of independence and lead all the people to smash the common enemy. The sacred voice of the fatherland is resounding
in your ears, comrades! The warm blood of strong men is boiling in your hearts! The struggle of the nation is awaiting your leadership!

"Let us move ahead! All compatriots move ahead! Unite, drive out the French and Japanese!" (38)

In order to prepare for the armed uprisings to seize power, President Ho, in 1941, directed the organization of armed self-defense units in Cao Bang and personally wrote an important document relating to guerrilla tactics: Cach Danh Du Xich, Kinh Nahiem Du Kich Tau ("Guerrilla Fighting, the Chinese Guerrilla Experience"). Moreover, he also translated the "Ten Tu Method of Using Troops" and the Confucian book of teachings which he gave a completely new title to: Cach Huan Luyen Can Bo Quan Su ("The Method of Training Military Cadres").

After the Eighth Conference of the Party Central Committee, the matter of the "southern march" was raised at the instruction of President Ho and urgently carried out. He assigned some cadres to the responsibility of opening the two roads from Cao Bang to Lang Son and from Cao Bang to Bac Can and Thai Nguyen in order to maintain steady communications with the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee and pave the way for developing political bases and revolutionary armed forces.

The resolution of the Eighth Conference of the Party Central Committee and the enlightened decisions by President Ho were enthusiastically carried out by the entire party.

In August 1942, using the name of Ho Chi Minh, he went to China to contact the Vietnamese revolutionary forces who were fighting Japan there. However, just after crossing the border, he was apprehended and imprisoned for more than one year by the Chiang Kai-shek local government. During that time, he wrote the book of poems entitled That Su Trong Tu ("Diary in Jail"). Taken to all 13 districts and to 18 prisons in Quang Tay Province, President Ho lived a life of misery, without enough food and without a change of clothes. His teeth fell out and his hair greyed. The life in jail was "an inhuman life." However, the countless hardships and difficulties did not shake his iron-like will:

Four months already

"Patiently and steadfastly,
Never retreating at all.
Although miserably materially,
The morale is not shaken." (39)
There are changes in Vietnam
"I would rather die than live as a slave forever,
Fly the flag everywhere.
I am detained in jail,
And cannot dash out onto the front line."(40)

"He escapes from jail and goes out to build the country,
Straightforward in adversity;
He knows anxiety and great strengths,
The jail opens its doors and the dragon surely flies."(41)

The Diary in Jail is a collection of invincible poems describing
the noble thoughts and feelings of a great revolutionary fighter. It had
a profound educational impact on all our party and people in regard to
revolutionary qualities and ethics.

In September 1943, after being freed, he contacted the anti-Japanese
and anti-French organizations of the Vietnamese people in Lanchow
and, as the same time, he re-established contact with the party in order
to return home to continue leading the movement.

At the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1942, guerrilla warfare
raged for 8 straight months in Vu Nhai, Thai Nguyen Province. In 1944,
the revolutionary movement developed vigorously. In the Bac Son, Vu
Nhai, and Cao Bang base area, the movement rose to the level of the
guerrilla struggle. In July 1944, the Cao-Bac-Lang [Cao Bang, Bac Son,
and Lang Son provinces] Inter-Province Party Committee held a meeting to
analyze the situation and observed that conditions had ripened for the
launching of guerrilla warfare in the inter-province. Later, the inter-
province party committee was about to organize a final meeting to resolve
remaining issues and determine the date of the uprising when President
Ho returned to Pac Bo in Cao Bang Province. After hearing a report on
the situation and on the resolution of the Inter-Province Party Committee,
President Ho decided to postpone the uprising because that resolution
was only based on the situation in Cao Bang, Bac Son, and Lang Son
provinces and not based on the national situation, i.e., it only took
into account a part instead of the whole. Many areas in the country
were not ready for uprisings. All of the cadres and weapons were
scattered. There was a tremendous shortage of key forces. Under those
conditions, the launch of too large a guerrilla campaign inevitably
would result in defeat because the imperialists would concentrate all
of their forces on suppressing the campaign. He realized that the period
of peaceful revolutionary development had passed but that the time for
an all-people general uprising had not yet arrived. Therefore, if we
only operated in the political area, it would not be enough to intensify the movement. However, if we launched a general uprising right away, it would have been endangered by the enemy troops. The time had come for the struggle to move from a political form to a military form but the political content was still more important than the military content and it was necessary to find an appropriate form in order to succeed.

Thus, President Ho enunciated the precept of combining the political struggle and military struggle forms in order to step up the movement and make it possible to move ahead to an uprising to seize political power. He emphasized that in order to develop the armed forces, it is essential to rely on the people and on the political struggle of the masses. As the revolutionary organizations of the masses became stronger and stronger, and as the political struggle of the masses became more powerful, we would achieve an increasingly stronger foundation for organizing the armed forces and carrying out armed struggle.

Based on the emerging people’s armed forces, President Ho, on 22 December 1944, directed the establishment of the Vietnamese Liberation Army Propaganda Unit commanded by Vo Nguyen Giap. He stated:

"...The Vietnamese Liberation Army Propaganda Unit has more political significance than military significance. It is a propaganda unit. The primary principle for successful military operation is the principle of concentrating forces. Therefore, pursuant to the new directive of the organization, we will select from the ranks of the Cao-Bac-Lang Guerrilla Unit the most resolute and enthusiastic cadres and unit members and we will assemble a large percentage of the weapons in order to establish a main force unit.

"Because our resistance war is the resistance war of all the people, it is necessary to mobilize all the people and to arm all the people. Therefore, while assembling the forces in order to establish the first unit, it is necessary to maintain the armed forces in the local areas, to coordinate their activities, and to provide them assistance in every respect. On the other hand, the main force unit has the task of leading the armed cadres of the local areas, helping to train them, and giving them weapons if possible in order to make them constantly mature."(42)

He emphasized that in order to carry out an armed struggle in accordance with the aforementioned precept and principle it would be necessary to take resolute and rapid action. After establishing the unit, it is necessary to have combat achievements and to win victory with the first battle. In operations, it is necessary to give attention to the
local armed units and to send trained cadres to the various areas to exchange experiences, to coordinate military operations, and to maintain liaison with the leadership agencies. As for military tactics, he advised the adoption of clandestine, aggressive, and rapid guerrilla-style attacks, the avoidance of subjectivity and underestimation of the enemy, and the following practices that prevent the enemy from knowing when we arrive and when we leave.

The aforementioned directive of President Ho spelled out the main issues relating to the military line of the party during that period and during the entire later period of the prolonged resistance war. It encompassed the problem of the all-resistance war and of arming and mobilizing all the people, it set forth guidelines for moving ahead to develop the three types of troops, and it affirmed the operational formula of combining military affairs with political affairs in the armed forces and the principles of guerrilla operations and tactics and so forth.

While devoting serious attention to the development of the military forces and the political forces, he sent a letter to the compatriots throughout the country affirming that the opportunity for national liberation was drawing close and appealing to all political parties and organizations to intensively prepare for a national congress:

"The aggressive faction is close to its day of annihilation. The allies are about to win final victory. There will be an opportunity for our national liberation in just one year or one and a half years. The time is very urgent. We must work fast!"

"I hope that all political parties and organizations will intensively prepare and hold joint discussions in order to begin the National Congress this year. In that way, we will be certain of foreign assistance and our national salvation tasks will be certain to succeed!" (43)

After the Eighth Conference of the Party Central Committee and particularly after September 1944, President Ho and the Party Central Committee realized that the Japanese fascists and the French colonialists would eliminate one another. Indeed, on 9 March 1945, the Japanese carried out a coup d'etat, kicked out the French colonialists, and became the sole occupiers of Indochina. Between 9 and 12 March 1945, the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee held an enlarged conference at Dinh Bang in Bac Ninh Province to assess the situation, and issued a very important directive entitled "The Fight Between Japan and France and Our Activities." The conference realized that the Japanese coup d'etat would create a profound political crisis, rapidly ripening conditions for a general uprising. It clearly affirmed that the main enemy at that time was Japanese fascism and its clique of
henchmen. It set forth as the task of all our party the launching of a full-blown anti-Japanese national salvation movement to serve as the foundation for the general uprising.

In May 1945, President Ho went to Tan Trao in Son Duong District, Tuyen Quang Province from Cao Bang Province in order to personally direct the revolutionary movement throughout the country. After hearing a thorough report on the situation, he unanimously concurred with the contents of the directive of the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee and with the contents of the resolution of the Bac Ky Revolutionary Military Conference in April 1945. At the same time, he also added some important matters such as the establishment of the Viet Bac Liberation Zone and the unification of all armed forces into the Liberation Army on 4 June 1945. Right after that, President Ho set forth 10 policies for the Liberated Zone: To drive out the Japanese fascists and their clique of henchmen, to confiscate the property of the country-stealers and country-selling Vietnamese traitors and give it to the poor, to achieve the right for a general election and other democratic rights, to arm the masses and mobilize them to support the guerrillas and participate in the Liberation Army, to clear land and mobilize production and achieve a self-sustaining economy in the liberated army, the implement social insurance and refugee laws, to divide up public land and reduce rents and taxes and postpone debts, to do away with taxation and coolie service, to combat illiteracy and provide military and political training for the people, and to achieve equality among the races and between men and women.

The birth of the liberated area was a great victory for our people. It was the great revolutionary base area of the entire country and the picture of the future Vietnam. It encouraged and vigorously stimulated the anti-Japanese national salvation movement of all our people.

The world war had entered its final stage. The German and Italian fascists had surrendered to the Soviet Union and the allied countries. The Japanese fascists were also about finished. In Indochina, the Japanese army was extremely confused and demoralized. The revolutionary movement throughout the country was unprecedentedly intense. The necessary conditions for the general uprisings had ripened. Fully understanding this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity, President Ho and the Party Central Committee decided to launch a general uprising by all the people in order to seize political power throughout the country. He realized: "This time, the conditions at home and abroad are very favorable. Therefore, our party definitely must lead the people to achieve their independence. No matter what the sacrifices and even if the entire Truong Son Mountain Chain is burnt down, we are determined to achieve independence."(44)
At the recommendation of President Ho, the National Conference of the Party and the National Congress, which had been prepared earlier, met immediately in Tran Trao, Son Duong District, Tuyen Quang Province at a time when the heroic Soviet Army had just destroyed the main force army of the Japanese fascists in northeastern China.

The National Conference of the Party, meeting on 15 August 1945, decided on the general uprising and identified the following struggle goals: "Protest aggression," "complete independence!," and "people's power," and identified the three principles of concentration, unification, and timeliness for supervising the uprising. It called for the immediate occupation of areas where success was certain whether they be cities or rural areas, it also made clear the need to combine the military struggle with the political struggle in order to destroy the morale of the enemy before attacking. As for domestic relations, the conference clearly outlined the necessity of devoting special attention to propagandizing and organizing the masses, it decided upon a national flag and national song for the DRV, it approved the 10 major policies of the Viet Minh, regarding them as the immediate basic policies of all our party and people. As for foreign relations, it recognized the need to thoroughly exploit the contradictions between England, France, and the United States and Chiang Kai-shek and to take the utmost precautions to avoid having to fight many enemies at once. The conference pointed out the need to clearly understand the contradictions between England, the United States, and France and the Soviet Union which might make England and the United States make concessions to France and allow France to return to Indochina. The conference emphasized the need for the political and organizational unification of the party and for combatting rightist and "leftist" tendencies in order to lead all the people to rise up in a general uprising for political power.

The resolution of the conference identified for all our party and people the precepts and policies to be implemented during the immediate general offensive, and it also had a guiding role after revolutionary power was achieved nationwide.

Right after the National Conference of the Party, the National Congress met on 16 August 1945 under the chairmanship of President Ho. For the first time, representatives of the political parties, people's organizations, ethnic groups, and religious faiths -- including representatives from central Vietnam, South Vietnam, and North Vietnam and a number of representatives of the Vietnamese living abroad, were able to see President Ho, the beloved leader whom our people admired. The National Congress warmly approved the decision of our party and of the General Headquarters of the Viet Minh for a general uprising. The congress revealed its determination to achieve independence before the allied troops entered Indochina: "The defeat of Japan will not automatically make our country independent. Many hardships and obstacles
will arise. We must be clever and determined. We must be clever in order to avoid matters which work to our disadvantage. We must be resolute in order to achieve complete independence. After this war, any nation in the world which is determined to defeat its independence will definitely become independent. We will win."

The congress passionately appealed to the people throughout the country and all revolutionary organizations to promptly rise up and to unit in struggle in order to carry out the 10 policies of the Viet Minh. In order to lead the national liberation revolution to victory, the congress appointed the Vietnamese National Liberation Committee, i.e., the Provisional Government of the DRV with Ho Chi Minh as President.

The entire country resounded with the general uprising appeal of President Ho:

"Dear comrades!

"...At present, the Japanese army has been routed and the national salvation movement is spreading everywhere...

"The decisive hour for the fate of our people has arrived. Let our compatriots throughout the country rise up and enlist our power in the cause of our own liberation. Many oppressed peoples in the world are racing ahead to achieve independence. We cannot delay.

"Move ahead! Move ahead! Under the banner of the Viet Minh, let our compatriots valiantly move ahead!"

In answer to his appeal, all our people from the north to the south and from the delta to the mountains, millions as one, unanimously rose up to carry out a general uprising and seize political power throughout the country.

The August revolution took place at an opportune time predicted by President Ho and the Party Central Committee when World War II broke out, an opportune time which the people in the vanguard would have to push ahead as President Ho had explained clearly when he first found the revolutionary path for our people.

After seizing power in Hanoi, the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee held a conference to determine important questions relating to domestic and foreign policy in the new situation. Unanimously agreeing with the resolution of the Standing Committee, President Ho recommended that the Central Committee further expand the composition of the Provisional Government, decided to issue the Manifesto of Independence, and organized a very large rally in Hanoi to celebrate the revolutionary government.
On 2 September 1945, President Ho, on behalf of the Provisional Government, formally read the historic Manifesto of Independence in Ba Dinh Square of Hanoi, announcing the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the complete elimination of colonial and feudal power, and affirming the freedom and independence of the Vietnamese people before our people and the people of the world:

"A people which courageously fought against the yoke of slavery of France for more than 80 years, a people which courageously sided with the Allied camp against fascism for the past several years, that people must be free! That people must be independent!

"Vietnam has the right to enjoy freedom and independence and it really has become a free and independent country. All the Vietnamese people are determined to enlist all of their spirit and forces, their lives and property, in the cause of maintaining that freedom and independence."

The Manifesto of Independence was the crystallization of the earlier works of President Ho, the document of the party, and the manifestos of earlier national heroes and revolutionaries. The Manifesto of Independence is the proudest page in the history of the resolute and indomitable struggle of the Vietnamese people.

The victory of the August revolution ushered in a new era in the history of the Vietnamese people because it created the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first people’s state in Southeast Asia. The August revolution not only was the result of the national liberation campaign during the years 1939-1945 but was also the result of the long and courageous process of struggle of our people under the leadership of the party and President Ho.

The victory of the August revolution in Vietnam proved that the national salvation line of President Ho was completely correct. Leading the August revolution to victory, he made a contribution to the world revolution, i.e., leading our people to smash the colonial system of imperialism at one of its weakest links and helping to inaugurate the period of disintegration of the colonial system in the context of the success of the October Revolution and the emergence of the world socialist system.

The victory of the August Revolution proved that President Ho had creatively adapted Lenin’s theory on nationalism and colonialism to the concrete conditions of Vietnam: during the period of proletarian revolution, the national liberation revolution, at first having the decisive character of a people’s national democratic revolution led by the working class, is completely capable of winning victory in a colonial and semi-feudal country. That revolution is intimately related to the
proletarian revolution in the power states but it is not dependent upon the revolution in the power states. On the contrary, it can develop its initiative in order to achieve victory before the working class in the power states comes to power. As President Ho said: "This is the great victory of the Vietnamese people but it is also the first victory of Marxism-Leninism in a colony."(48)