

THE WISDOM IN THE IDEOLOGICAL SHIFT OF HỒ CHÍ MINH THOUGHT FROM NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE TO THE COMBINATION OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE WITH SOCIALISM

LÊ THỊ LAN^(*)

Hồ Chí Minh's wisdom in national independence

Hồ Chí Minh's inheritance of traditional nationalism combined with the contemporary thought on nation is a wise line of thought.

Studying Hồ Chí Minh thought on national independence, we see that this thought is a combination of three elements: traditional nationalism, Leninist thought on nation and national liberation, and Sun Yat-sen's thought on national independence in *Three Principle of the People*. These elements joined together and shaped the activities and thought of Hồ Chí Minh.

First, Hồ Chí Minh thought on national independence originated from traditional nationalism with patriotism as the core value. From Hồ Chí Minh's drafts and manuscripts, we can see that under his thought is erudite knowledge on national history, a sense of national culture, and the rights of national independence. Hồ Chí Minh inherited nationalism with

some unique characteristics, which consists of:

- National independence and sovereignty stand the most important criteria of Vietnam's nationalism. Whenever Vietnam is invaded, Vietnamese people fight tirelessly, "sacrifice everything to not let the country fall into foreigners' control, not let the people fall into slavery" to regain national independence, protect sovereignty.
- The pride of Vietnamese culture is considered the most unique trait of nationalism. The pride of national culture's uniqueness is also the most fundamental factor of Vietnam's nationalism and one of the incentives driving the war to protect national independence.
- National coalition derived from the belief of having common ancestors, being the same race calls for the alliance of all people to fight against the enemies.

^(*) Associate Prof. Dr., Institute of Social Sciences Information.

These fundamental characteristic of Vietnam's nationalism was employed masterfully by Hồ Chí Minh to apply in the development of his thought and the revolution of Vietnam.

In early 20th century, during the French domination, the failure of Vietnamese resistances and revolutions started by feudal and democratic parties had led to the crisis of national liberation; Hồ Chí Minh obtained the thought of Phan Bội Châu who approached the issue of nation in a new aspect, in regional scale, in the comparison with Eastern-Western culture, in the over-the-border search for supports of national liberation.

Patriotism, the strong will of national liberation from foreign dominance drove Hồ Chí Minh in the path to liberate his people. He stated "Liberty for my people, independence for my Homeland, they are my desires" [5, 44]. The experience from the failures of previous national liberations: farmer's resistance, bourgeoisie's aggression, democratic movements, etc., the understanding of the nature of capitalism's exploitation and repressions towards colonized nations, Hồ Chí Minh faced with the utmost important issue: the path of national liberation. Lenin helped him to realize the proper path: liberate nation by proletarian revolution. Because, at that time, all over the world, only Soviet socialists claimed to respect and protect the sovereignty and autonomy of all nations, including colonies and dependent. Pursuing the proletarian revolution, the Marxism-Leninism, Hồ Chí Minh solved not only the crisis of

revolution path, but also a number of problems in Vietnam's revolution, such as leading party, leading class, revolutionary force, method, organization, etc.

Besides the traditional nationalism and Lenin's thought on nation, during the period of national liberation process, Hồ Chí Minh was also under the influence of Sun Zhong-shan's thought on independent nation:

Sun's Three Principles of the People (Doctrines of Sun Yat-sen) is a revolutionary doctrine which plays an important role in the Chinese history movement during pre-modern era. The Xinhai Revolution in 1911 led by Sun Zhong-shan and under the three principles marked the end of feudalism which lasted for thousands of year in China. Sun's Three People's Principles propagating "People's Nationalism, People's Sovereignty, People's Livelihood" quenched the thirst of Vietnamese people in the search for ideal path of national independence and was warmly accepted by Vietnamese patriotic scholars.

Hồ Chí Minh paid special attention to political and revolution events occurred in China. He shows the fitness of the three people's principle to Vietnam revolution: "Doctrines of Sun Yat-sen has an advantage that its policy is suitable for our country's circumstance" [6]. Underneath the official name "The Democratic Republic of Vietnam" lays the motto "Independence – Freedom – Happiness". This motto has adhered with the Vietnam's proletarian state til

now, reflecting the superior, lasting, appropriate purposes of Vietnam revolution led by Hồ Chí Minh.

The core of Hồ Chí Minh Thought on national independence

The review of Hồ Chí Minh's writings and cross-exam with his activities, we can see that his thought on national independence is outstanding in following aspects: national independence is the first and foremost objective, the supreme criteria, and the righteous state to regain and protect at all cost of the revolution; and national independence must bring freedom and happiness to people – the final and core objective of revolution.

For the purpose of national independence, Hồ Chí Minh joined political parties, taking advantage of every possible opportunities, every forum to speak and proposition in order to seek support, especially from the Communist International. Fully understanding about the first and ultimate target of national independence, Hồ Chí Minh affirm the legacy of predecessors' aggression and the traditional bravery, indomitability, and heroism of the nation who resist against slavery: "Roughly eighty years to date... we have not stopped fighting and sacrificing for our country's freedom..." [2, 41].

National independence is the ultimate and current principle of the revolution, so Hồ Chí Minh led the Communist Party of Vietnam to develop revolutionary forces, propagate and campaign to encourage the mass to take advantage of the chance and regain

national independence. Shortly after Japan's withdrawal to the Allied Force, the army broke up, the power structure in Vietnam fell over, Hồ Chí Minh seized the opportunity and commanded the total uprising all over the country. The uprising succeeded, the establishment of Democratic Republic of Vietnam is the first step to the goal of national independence.

National independence is the righteous flag of the revolution led by Hồ Chí Minh. The righteousness is soundly affirmed by Him in the Proclamation of Independence. The argumentative strength of liberty, equality of the era is employed by Him to prove the rights of independent and free of the country and its people: "All men are created equal... This immortal statement was made in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America in 1776. In a broader sense, this means: All the peoples on the earth are equal from birth, all the peoples have a right to live, to be happy and free [2, 53]. A nation with a long history of culture, bravery and righteous, fighting against the repression of French colonialist, supporting the Allied Force against fascism is entitled to independence and freedom: "Viet-Nam has the right to be a free and independent country - and in fact it is so already. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to mobilize all their physical and mental strength, to sacrifice their lives and property in order to safeguard their independence and liberty." [2, 55] He states: "Our immutable purposes are peace, independence, unity, and democracy. Our principles must be

solid, but our strategy is flexible.” [2, 166] Therefore, national independence in Hồ Chí Minh Thought is the first and utmost goal, also the immutable target, and the righteous foundation of the people's democratic revolution led by Him. This thought has led Hồ Chí Minh and the nation carry out the national liberation.

The wisdom of Hồ Chí Minh on socialism

Selecting socialism as the goal of the revolution is a wise choice of Hồ Chí Minh. Finding opportunity and resolution for the issue of national independence in the proletarian revolution encouraged Hồ Chí Minh to join the Third International and become a communist soldier. During the period in French Communist Party, Hồ Chí Minh developed deep awareness of socialism.

First of all, socialism is represented by the Soviet state led by Lenin, is the best society in which the exploitation is abolished; there is no inequality; no class inequality, no ethnic inequality. On the other hand, socialism was well-aware by Hồ Chí Minh with clear, specific, straightforward criteria: "To put it briefly and simply, socialism primarily aims at making working people escape poverty, to make people have jobs, living a prosperous and happy life. With the efforts of the Party and people to increase production, practice austerity, all tasks done faster, better, cheaper, most state plans will be realized, and people's lives will definitely improve forever" [2, 219]. Awareness of socialism fit perfectly and met the

aspirations of the majority of Vietnamese people at the time.

Second, socialism chosen by Hồ Chí Minh is a good society with specific contents. Marxist theory and the reality of international revolutions in early twentieth century proved that only by overthrowing the capitalist' government, setting up the government of the working class and farmers the proletarian revolution can eliminate oppression, exploitation, and class inequality. Hồ Chí Minh has experienced two development models which are capitalism and socialism (the Soviet Union). Only socialism model commits to eliminate injustice, poverty, exploitation, and promises equality, prosperity, and independence for the nation. He said: "There is no any other model that respects human, takes into account the individual interests, and ensures to be satisfied by the socialist regime and communism" [2, 186]. It is the basis for Hồ Chí Minh's choice of the path of national development.

In the Report on the Amendment of Constitution, Hồ Chí Minh City identifies the organizing principles of the State Democratic Republic of Vietnam with the leading principle: "the State must develop democratic and political life, in order to promote the goodness and creativity of people, making Vietnam citizens actually participate in managing state affairs." [2, 200] Hồ Chí Minh affirms the fundamental rights and duties of citizens, as well as the fundamental human rights of socialism, smashes all

allegations of misrepresentation: "Citizen of Democratic Republic of Vietnam has the right to work, to rest, to education, to liberty, to freedom of speech, freedom of press and to assembly, to associate, to protest; the right to freedom of religion, follow or not follow any religion, have the right to vote, stand for election, etc. Citizens are equal before the law. Women have equal rights with men in the political, economic, cultural aspects, in society and family..." [2, 203-204]. Thus, the content of socialist society is stated clearly by Hồ Chí Minh in the new Constitution in 1959 in terms of politic, economic, and cultural facets.

Third, socialism in Hồ Chí Minh Thought has very clear criteria about the quality of people's lives. It must undergo a roadmap with concrete steps and specific objectives for each step. In most of his writings, when it comes to the goals of the revolution, Hồ Chí Minh emphasizes the criteria "building a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic and prosperous nation" [see 2, 208, 214, 224, 238], thus it is not the illusion of a perfect society. He points out, socialism is the goal of the revolution of which the direction is "victory of the resistance, build new democracy toward socialism." [2, 83] But to achieve that purpose, each specific stage of the revolution needs to solve specific tasks.

In theory, socialist society no longer has class exploitation, particularly capitalist economic relations represented by the bourgeoisie. However, in the specific

context in Vietnam, national bourgeoisie has contributed significantly to the success of the national liberation. "The majority of them have agreed with the working people to fight against imperialism, feudalism, joined the resistance," so it was not right to apply strict policy for this group. Understanding the class viewpoints, Hồ Chí Minh however always emphasized the principle of solidarity of economic forces in society, calling, persuading, and reeducating this group to contribute voluntarily and participate actively during the formation of the socialist economy. Policies towards national bourgeoisie are "Peacefully reeducate national bourgeoisie. In terms of economic interest, we do not seize their means of production but redeem them. In terms of politics, we still give them legitimate rights, they keep their status in the Fatherland Front." [2, 217] The viewpoint of balancing benefits between classes in the context of national unity, to maximize national strength in the development of the country, on the basis of understanding the importance, the position, and role of all classes during the country's development, is a wise perception.

In the process of building socialism, Hồ Chí Minh emphasizes the low startup of Vietnamese economy, which could be described as an out-dated agriculture-based economy; therefore, we must take agriculture as the key object of the improvement and economic development: "It is crucial to improve and develop agriculture before developing other economic sectors. We must reform and develop agriculture to

facilitate the industrialization. We must have a developed agriculture such that industries can thrive." [2, 217] The mutual development between industry and agriculture is the starting point for agricultural development in a country where agricultural accounts for 90% share of the economy is a wise vision with scientific insight. Practical development all over the world has demonstrated Hồ Chí Minh's scientific point. It is the most efficient way to go on for countries which desires to modernize their economies.

Fourth, socialism can only be built based on a wise ruling party that "always stands up for the proletariat, and be absolute loyalty to the interests of the class and of the people." [2, 219] Hồ Chí Minh summarized brilliant achievements in 30 years of revolutionary leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, thanks to mastering and properly handling the issues of farmers; strengthening alliance of workers and farmers; skillfully gather all patriotic and progressive forces in Unified National Front; always inclined to fight selfishness, narrow-mindedness, anyone who disregards all the force that can enlist, and fight the tendency to one-dimensional union, against the union without fighting in the Front; combine the revolutionary movement of our country with the revolutionary movement of the international working class and the oppressed people. That is the lesson that the Communist Party of Vietnam has always thoroughly understood and maintains leadership in the country to ensure the successful

construction of socialism. In particular, Hồ Chí Minh always appreciates the work of criticism and self-criticism in the Party, which is considered a crucial method to strengthen and strengthen the Party's leadership. That was the most positive method to ensure the supreme leadership of the Party.

Hồ Chí Minh wise coherence of national independence and socialism

When researching about Hồ Chí Minh on Vietnam revolutionary path, we see a clear shift from the goal of national independence to the combined goal of national independence and socialism. Hồ Chí Minh said: "At first, it was patriotism, not communism that led me to believe in Lenin, believe the Third International. Step by step, during the resistance, studying Marxism - Leninism and doing field work, I gradually understood that socialism and communism can liberate the peoples and the oppressed workers of the world from the oppression." [2, 227-229]

Therefore, it is certain about the logic of time and thought that the goals of national independence and socialism for Vietnam's revolution had formed and strengthened immediately after Ho Chi Minh's enlightenment of Marxism - Leninism. On 02/18/1930, in the Call for the establishment of the Communist Party of Indochina, Hồ Chí Minh combined nationalist agenda with the characteristics of the socialist revolution in 10 slogans [2, 40]^(*). In the First

(*) In 10 slogans that represents the targets of the revolution led by the Communist Party, only the first two goals were about national independence,

Platform of the Party, Hồ Chí Minh advocated revolutionary in the early period as "carry out new bourgeois revolutionary and local revolution to form a communist society." [3, 1] In a letter to the People's Committees of the regions, provinces, districts, and villages in October 1945, Hồ Chí Minh affirmed the goal of the revolution not only stop at national independence but also go to a higher purpose as well, the prosperity and freedom for the majority of working people: "Today we build the country the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. But an independent country where people do not enjoy the happiness of freedom and independence does not mean anything." [2, 58] The concept of organic cohesion between purposes of national independence and socialism in Vietnam's revolutionary was set by Hồ Chí Minh in the very first revolutionary documents. We can summarize Hồ Chí Minh's thought on the organic cohesion of national independence and socialism by the following points:

First, the Hồ Chí Minh was aware of imperialism era, the proletarian revolutionary to accomplish the ideal of communism is the only way to achieve the objective of national independence for the colonized and oppressed peoples. This summarizes many years of practical experience of traveling abroad to find a

way to liberate Vietnam and summarizes his revolutionary theory. Both in practices and theory, Hồ Chí Minh confirmed the only true revolutionary way during that period is the proletarian revolution: "Step by step, during the resistance, studying Marxism - Leninism and doing field work, I gradually understood that socialism and communism can liberate the peoples and the oppressed workers of the world from the oppression." [2, 109]

Second, although reasoning about Vietnam revolutionary way to proceed in two stages: the people's democratic national revolution and the socialist revolution, in Hồ Chí Minh's thought, there is absolutely no differentiation in a predetermined manner but it is in parallel and depending on the specific historical conditions that the target of national independence or socialism is emphasized as the primary task." According to Hồ Chí Minh, in the process of national liberation, the issue of nationalism and democracy were two basic tasks to be carried out together, but not unanimously and simultaneously equal." [5, 274-275]

Before the August Revolution, Hồ Chí Minh determined: "At this moment, the cause of national liberation is higher than everything else." [2, 44] When the August Revolution succeeded, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was established, declared independence of the French empire. However, with the re-occupation of France, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam under the leadership of

and the next 8 slogans refer to the target must be performed to establish a socialist society regime characterized by the government of workers and farmers, the nationalization of the means of production from aggressive bourgeoisie and colonialists, bring freedom and equality to the people, implementation 8-hour work day.

President Hồ Chí Minh must continue to simultaneously perform two tasks of national liberation and class liberation. In this phase, the goal of national independence is supreme, the highest priority, but the task of class liberation must be conducted step by step in accordance with the development of the national liberation revolution.

The conduct of national and socialist revolution during the resistance war against the U.S. is considered equally important, showing the importance, interaction, close connection, the cause and effect for each other of the two revolutions. The leading slogan in Hồ Chí Minh's speeches, appeals, statements show a single goal, which is above all else and consistent, of Vietnam's revolution is: "a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam." [2, 173, 208, 222, 301] This slogan reflects not only the goal of national independence and socialism that combine in a dialectic way, inseparable, each one the cause and effect of the other, of Vietnam's revolution, but also points out the priority to that purpose in time manner. Thus, one of the highlights of Hồ Chí Minh's thought of national independence and socialism is that two objectives must be associated, prioritized in accordance with the revolutionary step.

Third, in Hồ Chí Minh thought, national liberation and national independence are to liberate the people, for the people to have a prosperous life, freedom, and happiness. The hood outcome of the

Soviet Socialist Republic has proved eloquently the scientific value and target of Marxist - Leninist theory of revolution. For Hồ Chí Minh: "Socialism, communism from just a lofty dreams of men, after the Great October Revolution became a reality in society, exerts extremely great power and encourages millions of people to revolutionary action for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress." [2, 301].

Fourth, in the era of imperialism, a nation can only be liberated, radically independent by completing democratic national revolution in the way of people's proletarian revolution, and at the same time, can only construct socialism as an independent nation. The people's democratic national revolution brings independence and freedom for the country, facilitates people perform ownership through the democratic path; it can maximize labor and knowledge in building the country and improving their lives. The interaction of national independence and socialism has been confirmed by Hồ Chí Minh since the beginning of the revolution.

Fifthly, the combination of national independence and socialism is inevitable and can only be done with the prerequisites and also closely linked with each other: build Communist Party that always united and faithful, "red and integrity". The Party is constantly being enhanced and always loyal to the highest purpose of serving the country, serving the people, building democracy to the fullest, promoting the people's ownership in the cause of building and

defending the country. Hồ Chí Minh insists every victory of the revolution is due to: "Our Party has always stood firm on the proletariat stance, absolute loyalty to the interests of the class, the people." [2, 219] Therefore, he urged all officers to combat corruption, wastefulness, and bureaucracy; constantly cultivate moral revolution, anti-individualism, enhance the Party's capacity. And above all, he urged the whole Party and the people to uphold the banner of solidarity because it is the triumphant power source that led to victorious revolution. He advised: "Solidarity is a force for all triumph. Thanks to solidarity, the revolution was victorious, the resistance was successful," [2, 176] "the comrades, from central to local, need to preserve the unity of the Party as keeping people of its eyes." [2, 329]

Hồ Chí Minh's thought on the combination of national independence and socialism can be summarized as an increasingly clear revolution. It becomes more profound, sustainable in logic, ideas and paths, and be authenticated by reality. The wisdom of the thought national independence associated with socialism is embedded the last time by Hồ Chí Minh in his testament: "It is my last wish that the entire Party and people unite, strive to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam." [2, 331]

Conclusion

Hồ Chí Minh's combination of national independence and socialism shows his wisdom. It is actually the result of the creative application of advanced theory

of revolution at that time and traditional practices in Vietnam's revolution. The wisdom in the idea of national independence in association with socialism is reflected in the most notable way in the basic revolutionary objectives that He constantly emphasized to reach.

The era of globalization now requires the creative application and development of Hồ Chí Minh thought on combining national independence and socialism in the spirit with a new target "building a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, and prosperous Vietnam." Nowadays, it is not only the work of theorists □

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