

### The Influence of The Communist International on The Formation and Development of Ho Chi Minh's Thought About the Revolutionary Path of Vietnam

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**Abstract.** Ho Chi Minh was a professional revolutionary, the first communist in Vietnam. With his great merit, he was recognized by UNESSCO as the hero of national liberation, a great man of the culture of Vietnam. However, Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary career was closely linked to the Communist, international worker movement and especially the Communist International. In 2019, on the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the Communist International, we look back on the influence of the Communist International on the formation and development of Ho Chi Minh's thought about the revolutionary path of Vietnam.

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### 1. The birth of the Communist International - the most important premise in the process of forming and developing Ho Chi Minh's thought about the revolutionary path of Vietnam

Ho Chi Minh's thought in general, Ho Chi Minh's thought about the revolutionary path of Vietnam has not only opened the Vietnamese nation an era of sustainable development but also be a foundation of thought and a guideline for every act of the Communist Party of Vietnam during the revolutionary leadership. In fact, in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the Vietnam Revolution was happening crisis and deadlock in the way to save the country and development path. Because at that time, the landlord and feudal class were outdated, unable to maintain the independence of the nation before the invasion of the French colonialists. A series of revolts against the French under the feudal and bourgeois ideology were carried out by many different methods but failed, the intellectual and patriotic class always wondered about it day and night but could not find out which path is right to liberate the nation and develop the country. Commenting on the revolutionary path of Vietnam in this period, Ho Chi Minh wrote: "In the past few decades, when the Party has not been established, the situation was as dark as no way out" (Minh, 2011a).

The above fact urged Nguyen Tat Thanh to go and find out a new way to save the country. After nearly ten years of traveling, exploration, research, and comparison of contemporary ideologies, political doctrines, and revolutions which have been successful in the West with the goal, ideal of gaining independence for the nation, freedom, prosperity, and happiness for the people, Nguyen Ai Quoc determined the right, revolutionary and scientific way to save the country, ensuring the sustainable development of the Vietnamese nation. It was a proletarian revolution path with the goal of national independence associated with socialism.

Ho Chi Minh's thought about the revolutionary path of Vietnam was a product of a combination of objective premises and Ho Chi Minh's subjective factors. It was the convergence and shine of a great personality with a burning desire to gain independence for the nation, freedom, prosperity, and happiness for the people based on acquiring, applying and developing creatively the cultural and political values of the era created by the communist and international worker movement. The Communist Party of Vietnam has affirmed: "Ho Chi Minh's thought ... is the result of the application and creative development of Marxism-Leninism in our country's specific conditions,

inheriting and developing good traditional values of the nation, absorbing the essence of human culture ..." Communist Party of Vietnam, (2001).

The birth and operation of the Communist International was an objective necessity, closely associated with the name of V. I. Lenin - the great leader of the communist and international worker movement, who together with the Russian Bolshevik Party led the October Revolution successfully, realized the communist ideal and opened a new era in the process of human development. The political thought of V. I. Lenin was the inheritance and development of the political culture of humanity to a new height. Because it was V. I. Lenin who protected and developed Marxist theory successfully against sabotage, distortion of opportunism and revisionism to give birth to Marxism - Leninism, the most revolutionary and scientific theory of the era, a sharp theoretical weapon of the working class and working people around the world. Therefore, V. I. Lenin's thought unified with the political fundamental and way of the Communist International and became a political and cultural value of humanity created by the working class in the process of class struggle.

In the process of operation in the cultural and revolutionary centers of the world such as Paris, New York, London, Ho Chi Minh studied and learned about some typical revolutions in the West and contacted two famous Declarations of the 1789 French bourgeois revolution and the 1776 American bourgeois revolution. However, after the process of learning and comparison, he drew the conclusion that: "The French Revolution as well as the American revolution, meaning the capitalist revolution, incomplete revolution, although it is republican and democratic, it practically deprives workers and farmers inside, oppresses colonies outside. Although the revolution has been made four times already, French workers and farmers still must make revolution again to escape the oppression" (Minh, 2011b). Not only studying and learning about major revolutions, Ho Chi Minh also participated in several organizations tending to support colonial countries such as: in 1914, he joined the Association of Overseas Workers in London - a secret organization of Asian workers in the UK who tended to progress, support the patriotic struggle of colonial countries; In early 1919, he joined the French Socialist Party. When asked why he joined the French Socialist Party, Ho Chi Minh replied: "Only because this is the only organization in France defending my country, the only organization pursuing the noble ideal of the Great French Revolution: "Freedom, Equality, Love" (Minh, 2006). The reason why until 1919, despite being in Paris - a cultural center of Europe, Ho Chi Minh was not exposed to the values of the October Revolution is that the opportunistic perspective of the leaders of the worker movement at that time with the ruling apparatus that hated the Soviet government surrounded, distorted it. In this regard, V. I. Lenin said: "In foreign countries, people know very little, little too horrible, little too ridiculous, about our revolution. There, the military censorship regime did not let anything pass ... However, despite all, just by instinct, European workers all agreed to the bonsevich government" (Lenin, 1987).

Thus, before coming to the October Revolution and the Communist International, there was not a revolution or a political doctrine that satisfied Ho Chi Minh's lofty ideals as to how to make the country completely independent, the people completely free, everyone has food, clothing, education. However, after reading the first draft of the essays on ethnic issues and colonial issues published in *L 'Humanité* newspaper on two issues dated July 16 and 17, 1920, Nguyen Ai Quoc officially identified the path of national salvation and national liberation. He wrote: "In these essays, there are confusing political words. But reading them repeatedly, I finally understood the main part. Lenin's essays made me very moved, excited, clear, trusting! I was excited to tears. Sitting alone in a room, I spoke aloud as if speaking to the masses: "Dear fellow sufferers! This is a necessity for us, this is the way to liberate us!". Since then I completely believed in Lenin, believed in the Third International" (Minh, 2011c).

The reason for Ho Chi Minh's absolute belief in Lenin and the Third International is that, in these essays, Lenin emphasized: "The policy of the Communist International on ethnic issues and colonial issues is to make proletariat and working masses of all nations and all countries close together to conduct a common revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landlords and the bourgeoisie; national liberation movements in the colonial country must be closely tied to the struggle and victory of Soviet authorities against world imperialism; communist parties must directly support the revolutionary movement of colonial nations,..." (Lenin, 1977b). Thus, V. I. Lenin's essays not only affirmed that imperialism and landlord class are common enemies of the working class and working people around the world; advocate for the struggle of the colonial countries' people to eliminate the oppression of the landlord and bourgeoisie classes, but also required the communist and international worker movement to help the revolution in the colonial country and conduct activities to realize the connection between the national liberation revolution in the colonial country and the working class liberation revolution in imperial countries.

Thus, one of the most important prerequisites affecting the formation, development and deciding the revolutionary and scientific nature of Ho Chi Minh's thought is Marxism-Leninism and Communist International. Because, in the process of finding out a way to save the country, Ho Chi Minh came into contact with various political doctrines such as Confucianism, Buddhism, Three-wayism in the East or Christian and Bourgeois ideology in the West. However, he said: "Now there are many doctrines, there are many isms, but the most righteous, most certain, most revolutionary ism is Leninism." (Minh, 2011d). Ho Chi Minh's above view on Leninism was the result of a process of inquiry, experimentation, comparison and only confirmed when he was exposed to the first draft of the essays on ethnic issues and colonial issues prepared by V. I. Lenin for presentation at the II<sup>th</sup> Communist International Congress.

International

# 2. Ho Chi Minh with activities in the Communist Interna

After finding the right way to save the country in V. I. Lenin's essays, at the XVIII<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the French Socialist Party (December/1920), Nguyen Ai Quoc voted in favor of the French Socialist Party to join the International III, became one of the founders of the French Communist Party and the first communist of Vietnam. Since then, Ho Chi Minh's revolutionary activities became more and more vibrant and fierce to realize the proletariat revolution path in Vietnam.

As a member of the French Communist Party from 1921 to 1923, Nguyen Ai Quoc was passionate about studying V. I. Lenin's theory and the Communist International's way on all issues of revolutionary struggle, especially ethnic issues and colonial issues. At the same time, he actively participated in practical activities to implement the Communist International's theory and resolutions. With the consent and support of the French Communist Party, Nguyen Ai Quoc and the French colonial countries' delegates present in Paris campaigned to establish the Colonial Union - a form of front of the nations dominated by the French colonialists, allied with the working class in the metropolitan to fight against colonialism. After many meetings and exchanges, on June 26th, 1921, anti-colonial fighters from many different countries living in Paris organized the first meeting to discuss the establishment of the Union, develop its program, charter and appoint its Executive Committee.

The birth of the *Colonial Union* marked a new development in quality in the struggle against colonialism. This form was born only after 1920, meaning after the Communist International had documents on ethnic and colonial issues. The III<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist International met from June 22<sup>nd</sup> to July 12<sup>th</sup>, 1921 in Moscow considered the policy to establish the United Front to be the main method to expand the Communist Party's influence in the masses. At the IV<sup>th</sup> Congress of the Communist International took place from November 5<sup>th</sup> to December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1922, the outline of the Unified Front of Workers drafted by the Executive Committee of the Communist International was certified.

Thus, the birth of this primitive frontal organization was the result of positive movements of Nguyen Ai Quoc and the consent and support of true Marxists to bring the Communist International's theory into fighting practice. In an effort of the Executive Committee of the Union of Colonial Nations, especially of Nguyen Ai Quoc, on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1922, the newspaper Le Paria - the Union's mouthpiece was published. This was a very effective and practical propaganda channel to the colonial nations including Vietnam. Since then, the name of Nguyen Ai Quoc became more and more influential as revolutionary Nguyen An Ninh once said: "It is Mr. Nguyen Ai Quoc who makes me eager to revolutionize. I totally agree with the Third International's way and I always consider Mr. Nguyen Ai Quoc a guide for me." (Xanh and Quoc, 1990).

Nguyen Ai Quoc's outstanding activities were highly appreciated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of France and thus it sent him to attend the Congress V of the Communist International in Moscow from June 17<sup>th</sup> to July 8<sup>th</sup>, 1924. In this Congress, Nguyen Ai Quoc read a speech on the activities of the Communist International Executive Committee, ethnic issues, colonial issues, and land issues. Nguyen Ai Quoc also presented to the Congress specific proposals that, according to him, would make favorable conditions for the Communist Party of France to promote activities on ethnic issues and colonial issues. The Congress appointed Nguyen Ai Quoc to be a member of the Standing Committee of the Colonies of the Communist International.

Nguyen Ai Quoc's activities at the center of the international communist movement were inevitable consequences created from the relationship between the development of the communist, international worker movement and the desire for independence, freedom, equality of colonial nations. Because that was the period when the Communist International was trying to expand its influence and build a base in Indochina. In addition, Nguyen Ai Quoc was the one seeking to propagate Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam's revolutionary movement. Therefore, through Nguyen Ai Quoc's works, many Communist International's documents were transferred to the Indochina.

After the unified front policy against imperialism a strategic task set by the IV Congress of the Communist International, in China, the activities of the Communist Party and the Nationalist Party were close together, creating Giant revolutionary forces thus exploding revolutionary climax in the years of 1925-1927. Guangzhou, China was then referred to as "Moscow of the East". In this situation, in order to expand its influence, the Communist International established centers to propagate Marxism-Leninism to Eastern countries, including a Mission in Guangzhou.

As a colony resident, a Communist Party member working at the Standing Committee of the Colonies of the Communist International, Nguyen Ai Quoc firmly grasped the situation of colonial countries, especially those in Asia and Indochina. Therefore, he repeatedly asked to come to the South of China to contact the political organizations and the patriotic Vietnamese youth there. In the end, the Communist International decided to appoint him to there to strengthen the Borodin Mission in Guangzhou.

On October 11<sup>th</sup>, 1924, Nguyen Ai Quoc was present in Guangzhou. Here, he built a revolutionary organization step by step - from contacting patriotic Vietnamese people to setting up a secret group to be nuclear, eventually establishing the Vietnam Revolutionary Youth League and putting it in connection with Southeast Asian revolution, that is, in the *Union of*  *Oppressed Nations* in Asia established on July 9<sup>th</sup>, 1925. After establishing the Union, Nguyen Ai Quoc set up a system for communication with the Communist International and in the country and organized political training courses for members. From the end of 1925 to April 1927, Nguyen Ai Quoc opened 3 political training courses for about 75 people. Most of them returned to the country after completing their studies. These were the core nuclei of the Vietnamese Party and a revolution later. The Vietnam Revolutionary Youth League had many merits in organizing propaganda of Marxism-Leninism into Vietnam. All these activities were reported by Nguyen Ai Quoc to the Eastern Committee of the Communist International.

With the propagation of Marxism-Leninism into Vietnam, the revolutionary movement in the country developed strongly, leading to the birth of three communist organizations at the end of 1929. Closely monitoring the revolutionary situation taking place in Indochina, on October 27th, 1929, the Communist International sent Vietnamese Communists an Directive on the establishment of a united Communist Party in Indochina, which stated: "The most important and urgent task of all Indochinese communists is to establish a revolutionary Party of a class nature of the proletariat... That party has to have only one and is the only communist organization in Indochina" (Duan, 1970). The problem at this point was that it is necessary to have a person with sufficient prestige in this great work. Although the Directive did not reach Nguyen Ai Quoc with a spirit of initiative and creativity, once again, Nguyen Ai Quoc appeared at the right time to decide on a major issue of the Vietnamese revolution.

In early February 1930, as a member of the Eastern Committee, Nguyen Ai Quoc returned to China to directly convene the Hong Kong Conference to unite three Communist organizations into a united Communist Party the Communist Party of Vietnam. With the presence of Nguyen Ai Quoc, the Conference took place quickly and smoothly. The First Party Central Conference (October/1930) decided to change the name of the Communist Party of Vietnam to the Communist Party of Indochina. The 9<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist International (1931) admitted the Communist Party of Indochina as an official member.

During his time in the Communist International, Nguyen Ai Quoc accumulated a lot of experience of revolutionary struggle to contribute to the Communist International and to lead the revolution in Indochina later. He deeply grasped the situation in the colonies, held the views of the Communist Parties related to colonial issues, gathered and provided the Communist International with precious materials and insightful comments. That content was presented in speeches at the First Farmer International Conference; the Vth Congress of the Communist International; the IIIth Congress of the Red Communist International, etc. together with dozens of research papers published in the journals of the Communist International (International Letters, Communist International) and the press of the international unions (Farmer International, Red Trade Union International, Female Worker) ...

Overcoming many difficulties and challenges, in 1941, Nguyen Ai Quoc returned to the country to directly direct the Vietnamese revolution. At this time, in the country, the enemy fiercely repressed the revolution. In foreign countries, the war spread, so the communication between the Central Communist Party of Indochina and Nguyen Ai Quoc with the Communist International was interrupted. However, the Resolutions of the VIIth Congress of the Communist International and the Conferences of the Executive Committee of the Communist International then illuminated the revolutionary struggle to move forward to gain national independence, against imperialism and fascism of the Vietnamese people. Before the international context and the development of the Communist Parties, in 1943, the Communist International declared dissolution, but its glorious spirit and tradition were still inherited and promoted by the Communist Party of Vietnam, led by Ho Chi Minh, making the 1945 August Revolution successful in the whole country, greatly contributing to the glorious career of the world revolutionary movement.

## 3. The value and significance of Ho Chi Minh's thought about the revolutionary path of Vietnam

The reality shows that Ho Chi Minh's thought about the revolutionary path of Vietnam has ended crisis and deadlock in the way to save the country and develop the country. Under the leadership of the Party and on the revolutionary path chosen by Ho Chi Minh, the Vietnamese people made the August Revolution successful, took the government to the hands of the working people, established the first state of workersfarmers in Southeast Asia; defeated the war of aggression, firmly defended revolutionary achievements, unified the country and carried out the reform process to obtain important and significantly historical achievements.

Those achievements can only be created on the path of the proletarian revolution. Because that path is true not only to the objective law of human society's movement and development interpreted in Marxist-Leninist doctrine of socio-economic morphology but also to the trend of the era opened after the 1917 Russian October Revolution and the earnest aspirations of the strata of the people who want to be independent, free, well-off and happy. Referring to the correctness of the revolutionary path of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh later continued to affirm: "To save the country and liberate the nation, there is no other path than the path of the proletarian revolution" (Minh, 2011e).

Today, in the new revolutionary period, the world political situation has many complicated and unpredictable changes and the competition between political values is



increasingly fierce. However, since the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam and after 50 years of implementing President Ho Chi Minh's Will, Vietnam's development path is clearly evident as a sustainable, harmonious and friendly development model with different political regimes. Therefore, Ho Chi Minh's thought about the revolutionary path is a sustainable political value, an important part of the legacy that he left for the Party and the people of Vietnam, continuing to orient the development of the nation in the future./.

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