

HO CHI MINH'S POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE VIETNAM-AMERICA RELATIONSHIP FOR THE PURPOSE OF INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM IN THE PERIOD OF 1945 – 1946

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Abstract: *The period 1945-1946 remarked the outstanding abilities and political viewpoint of Ho Chi Minh, especially as a constructor and builder of the relationship between Vietnam and the USA in order to gain freedom and independence. In the foundation of historical knowledge that President Ho Chi Minh bequeathed in such period, the communist Party of Vietnam has been constructing and developing continually the strategic partnership and comprehensive cooperation with the USA in the recent period.*

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh's viewpoint, Vietnam - The USA's relationship, 1945-1946.

1. Ho Chi Minh's Political Viewpoint

According to Vietnamese dictionary, viewpoint is the ability to see things in their own development [5, page 404]. We can understand "viewpoint" as the logical thinking, the way to see things and phenomena and their relationships in an objective world to find out their movement trend and development. Thus, "viewpoint" is the scientific thinking which helps one to see the nature of things and understand the relationships between those things and the objective world in order to find out their development tendency.

According to Vietnamese dictionary, politics is a problem of organization and management of governmental system on the relationships between one government to another, in general [5, page 84].

Political viewpoint is the thoughts based on a political worldview and methodology; based on a special ideology, representing a certain class in a certain historical period with personal remarks of the political leaders. The content of political viewpoint is the political interest of the representative class in a certain society which shows the relationships that are natural, objective, common and typical of the events, phenomena, political relationships, political force balance of that society. Based on that, political entity makes suitable solutions to basically neutralize

the common interest of different classes and nations to bring out political benefits to the leadership in a certain historical period.

Ho Chi Minh's political viewpoint was his political opinions in the fight to free the country, to free society, and to free people to find out suitable political solutions suitable with the actual situation of Vietnam's revolution and the contemporary development trend to understand and resolve the political conflicts and interest in the relationship between nation and class to gain freedom for the country and find out the right development path for Vietnam, for the purpose of independence – freedom – happiness for Vietnam.

1945 – 1946 was a period when important movements of Vietnam revolution happened. This period marked the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and determined Ho Chi Minh's function in the fight to gain, retain, and protect our independence and helped Vietnam build its position in the global political map. A lot of important political events happened in this period. The complicated political relationships after the Second World War with political interests and skims from the big nations like America, England, Soviet Union, and China in the issue of colonization and influential area after the War. This period saw the fight under a new form between socialism and capitalism which was shown in the fight between the movement of fighting for the country of the colonized nations against the colonizers all over the world.

Ho Chi Minh was a political leader of of Vietnam revolution. He was a professional politician who actively joined the fight to free Vietnam and other colonized countries in the world. The period 1945-1946 proved his vision and political abilities in understanding the actual situation of both national and international politics regarding the fight to free the country and the skim to return to invade Indochina of the French; between national interests and the political skim of the England, of the Chinese on Vietnam. In addition, his viewpoints was shown in the resolution of the interest relation between classes, parties, among different political viewpoints, even contradictory in how to establish, organize, and develop the Socialist Republic of Vietnam after the August 1945 Revolution. Moreover, Ho Chi Minh has a strategic view on the relationship between Vietnam revolution and America against fascism and anti-war. Especially, he constantly asked for support from the American government, especially OSS in the fight to gain freedom and independence for Vietnamese people against the skim to invade our country of the French. Thus, Ho Chi Minh built the first stones of the Vietnam-America relationship which was a sign for the good faith between the two countries later.

Thus, it is safe to say that Ho Chi Minh's viewpoint in the period 1945-1946 was perspective, methodology, and political art of Ho Chi Minh in understanding the political relationship and handling the political conflicts of Vietnam and in the world

in order to gain, retain, and protect our freedom and independence and build a foundation for Vietnam revolution and international revolution.

In the Vietnam-America relationship in the period 1945 – 1946, Ho Chi Minh had outstanding viewpoint, beyond the contemporary conflict between imperialism and socialism; between the fight to gain freedom of the colonized countries and the colonist. By his consistent political opinions, with a scientific worldview, a smart political method, and his political abilities, Ho Chi Minh sailed the Vietnam revolution boat actively, by utilizing support from America in the fight to gain freedom for the country and protect the August 1945 revolution's results.

2. Ho Chi Minh political viewpoint in understanding and resolving political interests between Vietnam and America in the period 1945 - 1946

Political interest is the basic and core issue of any political relationship, whether it is national issue or issues between classes and nations. The political entity during leadership of national political revolution shall always be understood correctly on the political interests between different classes and nations to resolve the national and international political conflicts to gain crucial benefits and political success in that revolution. In the 1945-1946, Ho Chi Minh had an outstanding political viewpoint which is revolution and scientific when he resolved the political interest issues between Vietnam and America in a changing situation when the World War II ended with the changes in political position of the big countries and the growth of the movement to gain freedom of colonized countries.

2.1. The period 1945 – 1946 witnessed the cooperation between Viet Minh and America in the fight against fascism

Viet Minh was established on May 19, 1941 with a public purpose of “unite all classes, parties, and patriots to fight the Japanese and French, make Vietnam completely independent, and build The Democratic Republic of Vietnam”. Obviously, Viet Minh was typical for union, common spirit of Vietnam.

Based on the actual situation of Vietnam revolution in the period 1945-1946; based on the political tendency and force balance between classes and parties, both internal and external, Ho Chi Minh stated that: Vietnam revolution, particularly Viet Minh, needed to have a position in the Allies against the Japanese Fascism in Orient. Only by that way, can Vietnam revolution receive support from the Allies in the nation liberation. American force caught Ho Chi Minh's most attention.

While trying to find a way to save the country, Ho Chi Minh learned and drew a lot of important conclusions. In a work of his, Duong Kach Menh (1927), he wrote: “Vietnam revolution is part of national revolution. Whoever carries on the revolution activities shall become our friends” [3, page 125]. With the situation of Vietnam in the period 1945-1946, Communist Party of Indochina and Ho Chi Minh, with their great

vision, had determined that Vietnam revolution and international revolution had the same battle field and all international revolution soldiers are our allies.

When the Second World happened, the fascism started and brought about countless wars and brutal crimes on human being. The civilized people protested the brutal crimes and kept on protesting the fascism war. Thus, people all over the world must joined hands in the Allies to fight the Fascism and protect the world's piece.

Our history of building and protecting the country has proved that each time our country is invaded or colonized, the Vietnamese people never surrendered. We always fight to free the country. When Japanese fascists invaded Vietnam, the French quickly handed Vietnam to them. Vietnamese people, under the instruction of the Vietnam Communist Party had carried out an additional task, to fight the Japanese and French to gain freedom. Thus, our fight was not just limited in a national scale but it became a positive factor in the fight against the fascism, together with other piece-lover nations in the world.

Thus, all the nations in the world who were fighting the fascism and world war were our friends "Whether they are in Africa, Asian, or Latin America, all the nations who fight for peace are on the same battle field [3, page 125]. American is a country on the Allies side against the fascism and Japanese fascism in Orient. Thus, Vietnamese and American had a common enemy, on the same battle field. This will help both countries to cooperate for the common purpose. Union, development, and force gathering and classifying enemies were not only a strategy but it was a great guidance of Ho Chi Minh and the Communist Party. "Uniting the forces on a common battle field, based on the fundamental classes and the common interests were the things that Ho Chi Minh and the Communist Party highly focused on during the process of liberating the country" [2, page 52]. The purpose of Vietnam revolution at that time was to liberate the country. Other purposes had to be put aside.

The Vietnam revolution movement in 1945 had significant steps due to the ideological changes of Ho Chi Minh and the Communist Party in determining the right revolution methodology which were creative especially the cooperation with OSS "Under the nickname Licius, Ho Chi Minh had provided OSS with confidential information on the Japanese forces in Indochina and that his people saved 17 American pilots whose planes were taken down by the Japanese force" [4] while carrying out the bombing in Indochina. This cooperation created a good opportunity for Vietnam and America for the short term and common purposes.

2.2. During the period 1945 – 1946, Ho Chi Minh determined that America was an ally in the fight to gain freedom of Vietnam

National freedom was the most important matter of Vietnam revolution during the period 1945-1946. Like Ho Chi Minh emphasized in his talk with L.A.Patti: The right to live – survival – that's the most humble purpose of the revolution. When relating the fight for national freedom of Vietnam in 1945 with the fight against the

rule of the English carried out by 13 American colonies in 1775 and freedom declaration in 1776, we can see many similarities. Since the American revolution was also a fight against the colonist to gain freedom and unite the country. The political scientist Seymour Martin Lipset “America was the first colony that was successful in fighting against the rule of the colonist. In this sense, it was the “first new” country. Therefore, Ho Chi Minh, in 1919, sent the request with 8 articles to Versailles Convention on requesting freedom rights and civil rights for An Nam – a small country in Indochina. Thus, Ho Chi Minh had studied about America and American revolution to have objective viewpoints on the two fights to gain freedom of the two countries with different geographical locations and society. Thus, our relationship with America during the fight to gain freedom in the period 1945-1946 showed a great political viewpoint and had political solutions that were typical of Ho Chi Minh.

From 1942 to 1944, the freedom of all dependent nations became an important issue and America committed itself to implement the principles on self-decision making right of the nations by, together with England, making the General Atlantic Announcement. In 1942, this issue was discussed again when 26 countries approved the Atlantic Charter. In June 1945, the United Nations signed the Charter to give common ideology on establishing and developing international peace and security. The Charter admitted the principle of putting the rights of people from non-autonomic territories first. Thus, during and after the World War II, the dependent and non-autonomic nations had opportunities and possibilities to carry out their self-decision making rights. America was an outstanding country in committing itself to implement and respect “the right to develop freely” and “the rights to choose to live in whatever kind of government they want.” Ho Chi Minh saw that and he soon realized that we had to utilize the support from America in our fight because he knew that the French would reclaim Indochina to be their colony once they had a chance.

After the the end of the Second World War with the Allies winning, the force balance between America, England, France, Soviet, and China changed. Ho Chi Minh knew quite well those changes and he had his own plans in determining the ally relationships and strategies to gain benefits, even the smallest ones, to Vietnam revolution. It was Ho Chi Minh who constantly built good relationship with America in the period 1944-1945. On the other hand, when the revolution of Vietnam entered critical stage with special opportunities and situations in 1945, which Ho Chi Minh established a relationship with a big country like America was a smart political move to create good reputation for our independence and fight for freedom.

America was an imperialistic state that opposed colonialism (of course for its own good), particularly the rule of the French in Indochina. Being an experienced politician, Ho Chi Minh understood rather well the purposes of the American in the issue of Indochina and Vietnam when President Roosevelt wanted to establish a mandatory mechanism in here. Although that ideology didn't resolve completely the

independence issue for Vietnam but at least it was a better idea than the French ruling Vietnam. Thus, during the period 1945-1946, Ho Chi Minh, thanks to his great mind and great knowledge and with all of his efforts, Ho Chi Minh tried his best to develop a good relationship with OSS to utilize the support from America in the fight for freedom of Vietnam.

During and after the World War II, Soviet was not really concerned with the Indochina and the fight for freedom of Vietnam because Soviet itself had its own national problems after the War. Knowing this, Ho Chi Minh determined that our revolution had to seek for support from another source and he shared his thoughts of looking for ally in the fight for freedom of Vietnam with L.A. Patti: "I really trust America on their support on Vietnam's independence before I could seek help from Soviet"[1, page 609]. That Ho Chi Minh cooperated with "Deer Team" and met L.A. Patti, Charles Penn, and so on, the AGAS became a typical revolution method, typical in looking for allies; classifying and isolating enemies to step by step gain actual benefits for the fight to gain freedom for the Vietnamese. Thus, the Vietnam revolution during the period 1945-1946 was able to avoid the unnecessary interaction with Chiang Kai-shek army and the reactionary forces in Vietnam and abroad. Obviously, Ho Chi Minh, with his outstanding vision and capacities of persuading people, had specific political solutions that are suitable with American organizations and individuals and Vietnamese to gain success for the August 1945 revolution.

3. Ho Chi Minh's political viewpoint in determining purposes and method to develop Vietnam – America relationship

Political viewpoint of Ho Chi Minh in determining the purposes and method to develop Vietnam – America relationship in the period 1945 – 1946 consists of the followings:

First, theoretical viewpoint of Ho Chi Minh on national independence of Vietnam which was actually to resolve the colonized country issue, to free the country and build an independent government. The period 1945-1946 was the time to make that dream come true by a real revolution. In 1911 when Nguyen Tat Thanh went abroad to find a way to save the country, and before meeting Marxism, Ho Chi Minh had a great national spirit. According to him: it was patriotism and national spirit, not yet the communism, that made me follow Lenin and the International 3. . Thus, it's the passion to live and to make the country independent and free that was the strongest motivation for Ho Chi Minh. By his will, desire and an actual revolution ideology, he pushed the revolution in Vietnam in 1945 by practical and highly effective solutions. The cooperation with America in this period was a proof for the solution for conflicts between Vietnam and the world that was suitable with the actual situation and it was a strategic move of Ho Chi Minh.

After the Second World War, Ho Chi Minh realized that in Yalta and Posdam, the Allies decided important things without any consideration on the wishes of the Vietnamese while opinions of America were much more beneficial to Vietnam revolution: “While protecting the revolution of Vietnam, Roosevelt clearly stated that he just wanted to end the colonialism in Indochina even if it meant the conflict with England and interruption of the relationship between America and France”[1, page 396]. Thus, Ho Chi Minh considered American to be an ally in the fight for freedom of Vietnam revolution in the period 1945-1946. The success of the August 1945 revolution was a confirmation for national independence in Vietnam – the independence of an Asian country gotten from the French colonist with American support.

Second, it is a good solution as America cooperated with Vietnam in the fight against Japanese fascism after the Second World War as well as the support for the fight for freedom of the Vietnamese in 1945. Benefits of American in that cooperation was undeniable when considering the political relationship between the big countries in international political map: after 1945, Indochina was put on an important spot which had great effect on the international political division and the influential areas between America and Soviet. As an ally in delivering Japanese fascists in Asia-Atlantic field, American position and image was strengthened in the eye of the big countries and brought great benefits to them at that time. Moreover, the function of America in the international issues were shown clearly, particularly in the Conventions like Yalta and Potsdam, especially in the mechanism and organization of the United Nation.

Third, it's beneficial to Vietnam resolution in building a special relationship with America. First of all, it can be seen that it was a great creative move of Ho Chi Minh and the Indochina Communist Party on revolution ideology and how to put that idea into practice using smart and flexible political solutions to serve independence for Vietnam revolution. That Ho Chi Minh carried out the operational tasks with OSS, the Deer Team to build diplomatic relationship with American government, with French government and English colonists on independence of Vietnam were both tactical and strategic solutions. With his great vision, Ho Chi minh built political relationship with the colonists to make a foundation for the independence of Vietnam.

On the other hand, when becoming part of the Ally against Japanese fascists, the process to gain freedom for Vietnam was received proper attention, especially from American. Then, Ho Chi Minh gradually built the bases for establishing relationships with other countries after reclaiming authority, especially America, England, France, and China – the countries that had army forces in Vietnam during the period 1945-1946.

Fourth, issues on method to build the America-Vietnam relationship by Ho Chi Minh. Firstly, the constant viewpoint of Ho Chi Minh during the period 1945-1946

was independence of Vietnam; and all of his political solutions in this period were to serve those political purposes. By personal interaction, directly or indirectly, with L.A. Patti, with Chennault, and P.Berna, C. Fenn and especially that he sent letters to Presidents Roosevelt and Truman to show our desire to live in peace and independence. That was the first diplomatic letter between Vietnam and America and its content was none other than our desire that America had positive actions in Vietnam's independence issue. Thus, national independence became the principle for building political and diplomatic path of Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1945.

After the Democratic Republic of Vietnam was established by the victory of the August 1945 revolution, marked by the Freedom Declaration on September 02, 1945 by Ho Chi Minh, Vietnam revolution entered a new difficult period. The objective motivations in the relationships between colonists had worsened the attitude and policies of America towards Vietnam, especially when President Truman took over. Ho Chi minh was the one that understood best about the beneficial relationships between America, England, and France so he knew the political move of America when France and England had actions against our independence of Vietnam in both the south and the north towards the end of 1945. In that situation, Ho Chi Minh kept sending letters with good will to American President Truman in order to request America on having actions in supporting the self – decision making right and independence of Vietnam. However, as we know, those letters were never answered.

To enter 1946 with countless difficulties and challenges for Vietnam revolution, especially when the Charter between China and France was signed on February 28, 1946; Ho Chi minh, with his sensitive political sense, signed the Ho–Sainteny Agreement (06/03/1946) and the *Modus Vivendi* (14/09/1946). It was a temporary political solution but, through those agreements, Vietnamese, American, and French understood the good will of Vietnam in wishing for peace. With his tireless struggle, Vietnam revolution received strong and positive support from the advanced forces and peace lovers in the world.

Ho Chi Minh's political viewpoint in determining purposes and method to build relationships between Vietnam and America was a historical issue and it was highly consistent. We can say that since 1919 when Nguyen Ai Quoc sent the request with 8 articles to Versailles Convention and America President Wilson on requesting freedom rights and civil rights for An Nam, he had had strong hope on the support from America in fighting the French and gaining independence for Vietnam. He also studied the American Revolution in 1776 and realized that this revolution created a foundation against the colonist. Although it was incomplete, the ideas in the Freedom Declaration of America to live, to be free and seek for happiness became the moral value for the human being and it cannot be denied that America had great contribution on the principles of democratic in emphasizing that people had their own rights. The influence of this Declaration of America on Vietnamese Freedom Declaration in 1945

was the most concrete proof for Ho Chi Minh's great political vision on adopting and developing the ideology the rights to live, to be free and seek for happiness into idea on national independence for all colonized countries all over the world in the fight against the force of the colonists; for peace, democracy, and socialist ideology.

4. Building and Developing America-Vietnam relationship in current period

Ho Chi Minh political viewpoint in Vietnam-America relationship in the period 1945-1946 was shown in the diplomatic policies of Indochina Communist Party on major international issues after the second World War: anti fascism, anti-war, keeping peace in Indochina and Asian-Atlantic area. On the other hand, the special politic relationship between Vietnam and America in this period showed the great political vision and excellent political abilities of Ho Chi Minh. With strong and creative mindset and revolution methods that were accurate and effective, Vietnam gained its independence after 80 years being ruled by the French. Through historical lessons on the relationship with American that Ho Chi Minh left for us, the Communist Party of Vietnam has been developing the cooperation relationship with America in the current period. This confirms that it's Ho Chi Minh who set the first stone for the historical relationship between Vietnam and America by his desire for freedom and independence through the actual experience from the fight the fight to gain freedom of Vietnam in 1945-1946.

The world is undergoing great changes in politics, economics, culture, and society. The international politics are now multi-dimensional. Thus, the relationship between countries is constantly changing and includes complicated factors. The issues of globalization, international security, economic development, climate change, environment protection, and so on put the countries that have the same interests of peace, stability, and sustainable development. In this situation, the relationship between Vietnam and America has had exceptional steps with the purpose of letting go of the past, surpassing the differences, enhancing similarities, and focusing on the future. In recent years, the vision on the relationship of the two countries have focused on the purpose of strengthening the long term cooperation and focusing on international issues for the shake of people from both countries and for the peace, cooperation, and development in Asia-Atlantic area and in the world.

The talks of General Secretary Nguyen Phu Trong, Prime Minister Nguyen Xuan Phuc and the two Presidents Barack Obama and Donald Trump in recent years have promoted the cooperation between the two countries on important factors like economics, education, and resolution for war effects and marine security. Especially, the enhancement on confidence has confirmed the vision and efforts from both countries in anti-terrorism, international crimes to join greatly in the peace protecting activities of the United Nations. This is the continuity of the historical relationship

between Vietnam and the US in 1945-1946 for the purpose of peace and sustainability of Asia-Atlantic area and in the world.

America is a country with history of fighting and building for democracy so in the announcement of the common goal of the Vietnam-America relationship, the both countries emphasized the development of good relationship between people from the two countries; especially the results of the straight talks on human right on round 21 human right talks of Vietnam-America to shorten the distance of differences and keep on building trust. The emphasizes of the leaders of the both countries on protecting and enhancing human rights and the relations between human rights and security and sustainable development of each country is the result of long term understanding, building, and developing since the past; From the idea of building an equal relationship between nations in the Freedom Declaration of America that Presidents Thomas Jefferson and Roosevelt sent to next leaders of American. Thus, history and the outcome of the Vietnam-America relationship is a linear relation with efforts of President Ho Chi Minh in the fight to free the country and of citizens of both countries after the war.

Ho Chi Minh political point of view in the relation of Vietnam-American surpassed the limitations in historical issues, in fight between capitalism and socialism, of the historical situations of both countries in the 1940s. The further foundation of that viewpoint is the need, the desire for peace and independence of Vietnam; by his ability to realizing and handling conflicts of the nation and the world in a creative and flexible way and a typical political and scientific capacity, Ho Chi Minh built a relationship between Vietnam and American by good faith which go beyond the regular political senses for a consistent purpose of national independence, peace, and democracy for Vietnam and other nations in the world.

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