

**HO CHI MINH NATIONAL ACADEMY OF POLITICS**

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**THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM'S LEADERSHIP  
COMBINES NATIONAL STRENGTH WITH THE STRENGTH  
OF THE TIMES IN THE RESISTANCE WAR AGAINST THE US  
TO PROTECT THE COUNTRY (1954 - 1975)**

**SUMMARY OF DOCTORAL THESIS**

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## INTRODUCTION

### 1. Rationale for the study

In the development process of each country, combining national strength with the strength of the times is an objective necessity, stemming from the requirements of the revolutionary cause as well as the development law of the times. Through the process of movement and development of countries, it has been shown that no country can exist in isolation without connections with the outside. Therefore, combining national strength with the strength of the times is not only a strategic choice but also an inevitable development law of many countries.

Combining national strength with the strength of the times is one of the five great lessons of the Vietnamese revolution that the Communist Party of Vietnam has summarized, and it is also one of the factors that contributed significantly to the victories of the Vietnamese revolution in the 20th century. The resistance war against the US to save the country of the Vietnamese people took place in an international context where many factors emerged that created the strength of the times, namely, the development of the world socialist system, the national liberation movement in colonial and dependent countries, and the movement for people's livelihood and democracy of peace-loving people. In the face of the strong development of the "three revolutionary streams" in the world, the Party led the building of revolutionary strength in the country, creating a foundation to take advantage of the strength of the times. On the basis of inheriting the leadership experiences of the previous period, the Party combined favorable factors in the country with favorable factors of the

times to create a great source of strength to help defeat enemies many times stronger.

Combining national strength with the strength of the times was one of the important reasons leading to the victory of the resistance war against the US to protect the country. Although during this period there were no directives or resolutions of the Party on the policy and direction of combining national strength with the strength of the times, the practice of the resistance war clearly showed the leadership and direction of the Party in combining national strength with the strength of the times.

Therefore, studying the process of the Party's leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US to save the country will help clarify the lessons learned by the Party, thereby clarifying the decisive role of the Communist Party of Vietnam in the resistance war and understanding more about the external factors affecting the fight of the Vietnamese people in the period 1954 - 1975. At the same time, it will also provide a more comprehensive perspective on the Party's leadership and direction and the role of the people in the resistance war.

Countries that grasp the development trends of the times and know how to maximize internal strength combined with external strength will increasingly develop. The work of building and defending the Socialist Republic of Vietnam today faces many opportunities and challenges not only domestically but also internationally, requiring the Party to have the right perception to promptly make appropriate decisions to maximize internal strength while taking advantage of the strength of the times to bring the country firmly into a new era - the era of the Vietnamese

people's rise. Up to now, the resistance war against the US to save the country of the Vietnamese people is still a topic that attracts the attention of many scholars and researchers at home and abroad. There have been many domestic and international seminars, theses, dissertations, research works, and valuable summaries with many different approaches that have mentioned many aspects of the resistance war. However, the issue of the Party's leadership combining national strength with the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US to save the country has not yet been summarized and researched systematically and comprehensively.

Therefore, the study of this issue has important theoretical and practical significance, contributing to providing data and experience to continue promoting national strength combined with the strength of the times to achieve the highest results in the process of innovation and integration of Vietnam.

Based on the above reasons, the Ph.D student decided to choose the content: *"The Communist Party of Vietnam's leadership combines national strength with the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US to protect the country (1954 - 1975)"* as the thesis topic.

## **2. Research objectives and tasks**

### **2.1. Research objectives**

The study clarifie the process of the Party's leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US to protect the country (1954 - 1975), thereby drawing out experiences that can be used in the process of national construction and defend the Homeland today.

## 2.2. ***Research tasks***

Based on the proposed research objectives, the thesis focuses on implementing the following specific tasks:

- Overview of the research situation related to the thesis topic.
- Briefly present the historical context, viewpoints, and policies of combining national strength with the strength of the times of the Party in the resistance war against the US to protect the country (1954 - 1975).
- Systematically present the process of the Party's leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times in each stage of the resistance war against the US to protect the country.
- Comments and draw experiences from the Party's leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US to protect the country (1954 - 1975).

## 3. ***Research object and scope***

### 3.1. ***Research object***

The research object of the thesis is the practical process of the Party's leadership combining national strength with the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US to protect the country (1954 - 1975), through guidelines, policies and practical guidance. (Although during this time, the Party was called the Vietnam Workers' Party, but to unify the name, the researcher would like to call it the Party as the name of the thesis).

### 3.2. ***Scope of research***

- Regarding the content: The thesis focuses on studying the general concept of national strength, the strength of the times; the viewpoints and directions of the Party on combining national strength with the strength of

the times through the stages of the resistance war against the US to protect the country (1954 - 1975); giving comments and experiences.

- Regarding the space: Research in the two regions of South and North Vietnam and international scope (related countries).

- Regarding the time: The research period of the thesis is from 1954 to 1975. However, to ensure systematicity and achieve the research purpose, the thesis has expanded the scope of research before 1954.

#### **4. Theoretical basis, research methods and sources of materials**

##### ***4.1. Theoretical basis***

The thesis is based on the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism, Ho Chi Minh's Ideology and the Party's perception and viewpoints on the trend of the times, on revolutionary war, on building national strength, international solidarity, on the relationship between each country's revolution and the world revolution.

##### ***4.2. Research methods***

The thesis mainly uses historical and logical methods. Through research materials, the thesis presents the process of the Party's leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times in chronological order from 1954 to 1975. Besides, from the process of leadership and direction of the Party's revolutionary practices, the thesis draws conclusions on the advantages, limitations and experiences in combining national strength with the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US to protect the country (1954-1975).

In addition, the researcher also uses a number of other methods, such as statistical methods to gather the results that the two regions of the North

and South have achieved in various fields and the assistance of socialist countries to Vietnam.

Analysis and synthesis method is used to study different documents and materials related to the issue of the Party's leadership combining national strength with the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US, then separates them into each aspect and each issue in chronological order. Finally, important contents are selected to synthesize the information learned.

The comparative method is used to highlight the change in strength between the stages of the resistance war, as well as the difference in each stage in terms of support and assistance from countries.

#### ***4.3. Source of materials***

- Some works of leader Ho Chi Minh, documents of the Party and some works of Party and State leaders on combining national strength with the strength of the times.
- State documents on foreign policy. Reports of the National Assembly and the Government related to the research issue.
- Scientific works of scientists, theses, dissertations, magazine articles written about the resistance war against the US to protect the country (1954 - 1975) at home and abroad.

#### **5. New contributions of the thesis**

- Providing some new documents, systematizing documents related to the Party's leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US to protect the country (1954-1975).
- Contributing to objectively reconstructing the process of the Party's

leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US to protect the country (1954-1975).

- Providing comments and assessments on the process of the Party's leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US to protect the country (1954-1975) on two aspects: advantages and limitations, clarifying the causes and summarizing valuable experiences for reference in the present.

## **6. Scientific and practical significance of the thesis**

- *Scientific significance*: Through this research, the thesis contributes to clarifying the great role of the Party in leading and taking advantage of favorable international conditions to strengthen the country's internal strength to defeat the enemy.

- *Practical significance*: The thesis is a necessary reference material for lecturers, students, and scientists in researching and teaching the subject of History of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the resistance war against the US to protect the country.

## **7. Structure of the thesis**

In addition to the introduction, conclusion and list of references, the thesis consists of 4 chapters:

Chapter 1: Overview of the research situation related to the topic

Chapter 2: The Party's leadership combines national strength with the strength of the times (1954-1965)

Chapter 3: The Party's leadership combines national strength with the strength of the times (1965-1975)

Chapter 4: Comments and experiences from the process of the Party's leadership combining national strength with the strength of the times (1954-1975)

## Chapter 1

### OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH RELATED TO THE THESIS TOPIC

#### 1.1. Research related to the thesis topic

##### 1.1.1. *Research works on the resistance war against the US to protect the country that mention national strength and the strength of the times*

###### 1.1.1.1. *Vietnamese research works*

Some major works with a general nature on the resistance war against the US to protect the country are *History of the resistance war against the US, saving the country 1954 - 1975* (compiled by the Vietnam Military History Institute, 2013); *Vietnam Military History - Volume 11: The resistance war against the US, saving the country (1954 - 1975)* (Vietnam Military History Institute, 2005); Book series *Vietnamese History*, volume 12, volume 13 (Institute of History, 2014, 2017); *Vietnam Revolutionary War 1945 - 1975: Victory and Lessons* (War Summary Steering Committee under the Politburo, 2000).

Some works mention national strength and the strength of the times are *Summary of logistics in the resistance war against the US to save the country (1954 - 1975)* (General Department of Logistics, Ministry of National Defense, 1997); *The victorious strength of the resistance war against the US to save the country* (Institute of History, 1985); *Vietnam's economic history 1945-2000, volume II: 1955-1975* (Dang Phong, 2005); *Tet Offensive 1968 - A great turning point in the resistance war against the US, saving the country* (Ho Khang, 2008); *Why did the US lose in Vietnam* (Nguyen Phu Duc, 2009); *Vietnam's history 1954 - 1975*

(Nguyen Dinh Le, 2010); *Vietnam's resistance war against the US, saving the country - A historical choice* (Nguyen Thi Viet Nga, 2015); *Judgment - How did the major countries intervene in the Vietnam War?* (Nguyen Van Huong, 2016).

Research works from the perspective of the History of the Communist Party of Vietnam are *History of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Volume II* (Institute of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh's Ideology, 1995); (Luong Viet Sang, 2005); *The Party's leadership in the construction of the Truong Son route in the resistance war against the US, saving the country (1959 - 1975)* (Nguyen Huy Dong, 2012); *The historical value of the Mau Than General Offensive and Uprising 1968* (Institute of Party History, 2014); *The process of the Party's leadership in the diplomatic struggle - At the Paris Conference on Vietnam (1968 - 1973)*; *The belt to destroy the US in the Southern battlefield (1965 - 1973)* (Trinh Thi Hong Hanh, 2014); *The Communist Party of Vietnam's leadership in the resistance war against the US, saving the country (1954 - 1975)* (Nguyen Manh Ha, 2022).

#### 1.1.1.2. Foreign research works

*The verdict on Vietnam* (Joseph Amter, 1985); *America and Indochina from Roosevelt to Nixon* (Peter A. Poole, 1985); *Anatomy of a war* (Gabriel Kolko, 1991); *America's longest war* (George C. Herring, 1998); *No peace, no honor, Nixon, Kissinger and betrayal in Vietnam* (Larry Berman, 2003); *The Vietnam War dossier - Revealing the historical secret of Nixon-era strategy* (Jeffrey Kimball, 2007); *Because our fathers lied* (Craig McNamara, 2025).

***1.1.2. Works addressing the issue of the Party's leadership combining national strength with the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US to protect the country***

***1.1.2.1. Vietnamese research works***

Specialized and reference works include *Summary of the resistance war against the US to save the country - Victory and lessons* (Committee for summarizing the war under the Politburo, 2000); *Vietnam's military history - volume 12: Factors that made up Vietnam's strength in defeating the US* (Vietnam Military History Institute, 2011); *Building and motivating political and spiritual strength in the cause of defending the country of the Vietnamese people* (Institute of Military Social Sciences and Humanities, 2009); *Vietnamese mettle* (Tran Van Giau, 2005); *Vietnamese diplomacy in the historic confrontation* (Nguyen Phuc Luan, 2005); *The war in the heart of America* (Ngo Van Quy, 2005); *The Northern rear in the resistance war against America, saving the country (1954 - 1975)* (Nguyen Xuan Tu, 2009); *Vietnam's resistance war against America, the impact of international factors* (Nguyen Khac Huynh, 2010); *Lessons learned from the Vietnamese revolution* (Le Huu Nghia, 2013); *Socialist countries supporting Vietnam's resistance war against America, saving the country (1954 - 1975)* (Nguyen Thi Mai Hoa, 2013); *The triangular relationship between Vietnam - Soviet Union - China in the resistance war against America (1954 - 1975)* (Pham Quang Minh, 2014); *The Party's policy of seeking international assistance in the period 1965 - 1975* (Hoang Duc Thinh, 2015); *The strength of Vietnamese culture in the resistance war against the US to save the country* (Pham Ba Toan, 2015); *The national strength of the Vietnamese revolution in the light of Ho Chi Minh's*

*Ideology* (Le Mau Han, 2017); *The solidarity in fighting between Vietnam - Laos - Cambodia in history* (Duong Dinh Lap, 2018); *The 5 Ho Chi Minh trails* (Dang Phong, 2020); *Applying the lessons of the Communist Party of Vietnam on combining national strength with the strength of the times in promoting internal and external resources to serve the current comprehensive national renewal* (Nguyen Viet Phuong and Le Tuan Vinh, 2020); *Vietnam took advantage of military aid from socialist countries in the resistance war against the US to save the country (1954 - 1975)* (Nguyen Van Quyen, 2022); *The process of planning the Party's revolutionary path for national liberation and some key leadership lessons (1930 - 1975)* (Nguyen Manh Ha, 2022).

Articles, magazines, theses are Le Van Dung: *The Party's revolutionary line has converged and promoted the combined strength of the nation and the times, leading the resistance war against the US to save the country to complete victory*, *Journal of National Defense*, No. 2, 2025; Tran Quoc Long: *Combining national strength and the strength of the times in the process of the Vietnamese revolution*, *Journal of Party History*, No. 7, 2010; Nguyen Hung Son: *Combining national strength and the strength of the times in the new situation*, *Journal of International Studies*, No. 4, 2010; Nguyen Thi Ngoc Dien: *The spirit of independence and self-reliance combining national strength and the strength of the times of the Communist Party of Vietnam in the resistance war against the US to save the country (1954-1975)*, *Journal of Theoretical Education*, No. 289, 2019; Tran Thi Ngoc Thuy: *The Party leads the international movement against American imperialism and its invasion of Vietnam (1954-1975)*, PhD thesis, 2015.

### *1.1.2.2. Works by foreign authors*

*The Secrets of the Vietnam War* (Philip B. Davidson, 1995); *The Soviet Union and the Vietnam War* (Ilya.V. Gaiduk, 1996); *Vietnam's War Against America* (Truong Loi Hoa, 1998); *Barefoot, Steel Will* (James G. Zumwalt, 2011); *Fragile Peace - Washington, Hanoi and the Process of the Paris Agreement* (Pierre Asselin, 2015).

## **1.2. Research results of the works have been summarized and the issues that the thesis focuses on solving**

### *1.2.1. Overview of research results of published works*

Research works related to the thesis topic have solved the following issues:

*In terms of theory*, the works have mentioned the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism, Ho Chi Minh's Ideology and the Party on national strength and the strength of the times and the need to combine national strength and the strength of the times. They affirmed that the combination of national strength and the strength of the times is one of the important factors that created the victory of the resistance war against the US to protect the country.

*In terms of practice*, through historical events, research works have highlighted the role of national strength and the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US to protect the country; affirmed the great strength of the Vietnamese people, a nation with a small land area, a small population, and a slow-growing economy, but can completely defeat an imperialist country that is powerful in economy, science, and military. In addition, the works focus on explaining the reasons why the US failed in the war in Vietnam; focus on analyzing the developments of battles and

campaigns to find the laws of the war of aggression, coming to the conclusion that the US's defeat in Vietnam was inevitable.

*In terms of methodology*, historical, logical, statistical, and analytical methods have been used effectively by the authors, contributing to the vivid reproduction of the resistance war against the US to protect the country in many different aspects.

The above scientific works have affirmed the great leadership role of the Party in the resistance war against the US to protect the country. With the policy of independence, self-reliance, and reliance on its own strength, the Party has directed the army and people of the two regions, the South and the North, to overcome difficulties and defeat the war strategies of the US imperialists. In addition, the works have analyzed the favorable and difficult factors affecting the Party's policy planning, notably international factors.

Based on the content of the above research works, the researcher has inherited the following aspects:

Regarding materials: The research works of the authors will be a valuable source of theoretical and practical information on the Party's leadership of the resistance war against the US to protect the country for the researcher to compare when implementing the research objectives and tasks of the thesis.

Regarding the content: *Firstly*, the above works have mentioned the national strength in the resistance war against the US to protect the country (1954 - 1975) in some specific factors, such as the Party's leadership; the Northern rear; the supply routes to the South; logistics; the art of conducting people's war; the strength of culture, patriotism, the tradition of solidarity... leading to the victory of the resistance war.

*Secondly*, mentioning the strength of the times affecting the resistance war against the US.

*Thirdly*, there have been many publications at scientific conferences and articles published in magazines about the combination of national strength with the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US.

Regarding research methods: The above research works have used many research methods, such as historical method, logical method, statistics, interviewing historical witnesses, analysis, synthesis... These are important methods for the author to use and inherit while doing the thesis.

### ***1.2.2. Focused issues of the thesis***

*First*, the factors affecting the Party's perception and direction of combining national strength with the strength of the times from 1954 to 1975.

*Second*, the process of the Party's perception, policy formulation and direction of the organization to implement the policy of combining national strength and the strength of the times to gain an advantage on the battlefield, creating a combined strength to win the final victory.

*Third*, evaluate the advantages, limitations and some experiences from the process of the Party's direction of combining national strength and the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US to protect the country (1954 - 1975).

In order to be able to make objective and honest comments on the process of the Party's leadership in combining national strength and the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US, the researcher relies on the research results presented in Chapters 2 and 3, and closely follows the Party's documents, the general summaries of the Politburo, and of specialized agencies to clarify the advantages and limitations. From there, draw experiences from the process of the Party's leadership in combining national strength and the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US to protect the country (1954-1975).

## Chapter 2

# THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP COMBINES NATIONAL STRENGTH WITH THE STRENGTH OF THE TIMES (1954 - 1965)

## 2.1. General perception of national strength and the strength of the times

### 2.1.1. *National strength*

### 2.1.2. *The strength of the times*

### 2.1.3. *The relationship between national strength and the strength of the times*

## 2.2. Factors affecting the Party's leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times

### 2.2.1. *International and domestic context*

### 2.2.2. *Practice of Party leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times before 1954*

## 2.3. The Party's viewpoint on combining national strength with the strength of the times from 1954 to 1965

- First, there must be internal revolutionary strength to effectively use external opportunities (focusing on building strength in the South and the North).

- Second, the Vietnamese revolution is a part of, closely related to, the world revolution.

- Third, the factors of the times have a great impact on the domestic revolution, it is necessary to take advantage of and combine to create a comprehensive strength to fight the US.

## 2.4. The Party's leadership combines national strength with the strength of the times from 1954 to 1965

### 2.4.1. *Period of 1954-1960*

- Combining the building of revolutionary strength with the support of socialist countries

- Combining the struggle to implement the Geneva Agreement and expand international relations

#### **2.4.2. *Period of 1961-1965***

- Combining the building of revolutionary strength with the support of the international community
- Combining the building of great national unity with international solidarity with the aim of defeating the US imperialists and their lackeys

*In general*, in the years 1954-1965, realizing that the world situation was developing strongly in a direction favorable to the Vietnamese revolution, the Party proactively placed the Vietnamese revolution in the flow of the world revolution. The Party proposed the policy of building the North along the socialist path and conducting the revolutionary war of national liberation in the South. In order to bring the Vietnamese revolution to move with the world revolution, after July 1954, the Party directed economic restoration, healing the wounds of war, and socialist transformation to build real strength for the North. In the process of directing the building and promotion of national strength, combined with taking advantage of and taking advantage of the strength of the times in this period, the Party always thoroughly understood that it was necessary to rely mainly on one's own strength, not to expect or rely on outside forces.

### **Chapter 3**

## **THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP COMBINES NATIONAL STRENGTH WITH THE STRENGTH OF THE TIMES (1965-1975)**

### **3.1. New historical context**

#### ***3.1.1. International situation***

#### ***3.1.2. Domestic situation***

### **3.2. The Party's viewpoint on combining national strength with the strength of the times from 1965 to 1975**

First, the Vietnamese revolution is a part of the world revolution, and it is necessary to strive to gain international support and assistance.

Second, it is necessary to continue to build revolutionary potential in both the South and the North and gain international sympathy and support to the highest level.

Third, political and military struggles are combined to contain and defeat the US on the main battlefield in the South with promoting diplomatic activities.

Fourth, it is necessary to build the determination of the entire nation to fight against the US and propagate the just nature of the resistance war to the world to gain international public opinion.

### **3.3. The Party's leadership in building national strength and combining it with the strength of the times from 1965 to 1975**

#### ***3.3.1. Period of 1965 - 1968***

- The Party directed the combination of building potential in all aspects with taking advantage of material assistance from socialist countries.
- The Party directed the building and mobilizing of domestic political and spiritual strength and promoting foreign propaganda to take advantage of world public opinion.
- The Party directed the combination of political, military and diplomatic struggles to restrain and defeat the US on the main battlefield in the South.

#### ***3.3.2. Period of 1969-1975***

- Combining the building of material strength with the help of socialist countries, helping the Lao and Cambodian revolutions to create a position and force to end the war
- Combining military and political struggles on the battlefield with diplomatic struggles to contribute to the victory of the Paris Conference
- Continuing to mobilize the spiritual strength of the entire nation and foreign propaganda, coordinating with democratic and peaceful forces in

the world to fight to force the enemy to strictly implement the Paris Agreement

*In general*, during this period, the material strength and spiritual strength of the Vietnamese people continued to be built and promoted to a high level, especially in difficult times for the revolution, spiritual strength was mobilized and aroused by the Party, creating an extremely great source of strength to help the nation overcome all obstacles, leading the resistance to final victory. The Party and President Ho Chi Minh always affirmed the spirit of independence, autonomy, and self-reliance throughout the resistance war. At a time when the world revolutionary movement was developing strongly, attacking imperialism, the Vietnam Workers' Party proactively placed the Vietnamese revolution in the flow of the world revolution, considering the Vietnamese people's resistance war against the US to protect the country as an integral part of the world revolutionary movement. Therefore, the resistance war of the Vietnamese people always received the attention and support of countries in the socialist system, the national liberation movement and peace-loving people in the world, including the progressive people of the US. The Party skillfully directed the use of diplomatic struggle as a means to combine domestic strength with international strength to create a combined strength for the nation's resistance war. The harmonious combination of military struggle on the battlefield with struggle at the negotiating table led to the victory of the Paris Conference. Along with that, state diplomacy and people's diplomacy activities created a world people's front against the war of aggression, supporting Vietnam, contributing to putting pressure on the US imperialists to gradually de-escalate, sign the Paris Agreement on ending the war, restoring peace in Vietnam and withdrawing all troops home.

## Chapter 4

# COMMENTS AND EXPERIENCES FROM THE PROCESS OF THE PARTY'S LEADERSHIP IN COMBINING NATIONAL STRENGTH WITH THE STRENGTH OF THE TIMES (1954-1975)

### 4.1. Comments

#### 4.1.1. *Advantages and causes*

##### 4.1.1.1. *Advantages*

First, the Party has correctly recognized the national strength and the strength of the times and proactively grasped the situation, providing guidance on various forms of combining national strength with the strength of the times, thereby contributing to bringing the resistance war to victory

Second, the Party has always determined and focused on directing the building of increasingly strong national strength in all fields, considering it a decisive factor to combine with the strength of the times appropriately and effectively.

Third, the combination of national strength with the strength of the times has brought about great results, contributing significantly to the victory of the resistance war.

##### 4.1.1.2. *Causes of the advantages*

First, the Party has always firmly grasped the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint on combining domestic strength and international strength.

Second, the Party has had leadership experience in combining national strength with the strength of the times in the struggle for power, in the resistance war against French colonialism.

Third, the Party has clearly recognized the role and relationship between national strength and the strength of the times, thereby focusing on building national strength, considering it a decisive factor for victory.

### ***4.1.2. Limitations and causes***

#### ***4.1.2.1. Limitations***

First, some policies and directions for building national strength in the period 1954-1965 were not suitable for the actual situation.

Second, in handling relations with the Soviet Union and China, there were times when there was no harmony.

Third, the assessment of the comparison of our forces with the enemy was sometimes incorrect, so there were inappropriate policies and directions leading to the loss of forces.

Fourth, the Vietnamese nation's resistance war against the United States for national liberation was carried out in an international environment marked by a number of favorable conditions.

#### ***4.1.2.2. Causes of limitations***

*Objective cause:* Contradictions and divisions in the international communist and workers' movement.

The enemy that Vietnam faced was a country with the most potential in terms of economy, military, science and technology, and was aggressive and cunning.

*Subjective cause:* being influenced by the viewpoints of the Soviet Union and China.

Incorrect assessment of the attitudes of major countries towards the resistance war against the US.

The Party's awareness of national strength and the strength of the times is not profound, stereotyped, and mechanically based on foreign experience.

### **4.2. Some experiences**

***4.2.1. Always correctly perceive the position and role of national strength and the strength of the times, considering national strength to play a decisive role, a prerequisite for combining with the strength of the times***

***4.2.2. Pay attention to directing the building of national strength in both material and spiritual aspects***

***4.2.3. Maintain an independent, autonomous, and creative viewpoint in leadership to combine national strength and the strength of the times***

***4.2.4. Maintain a proactive position, promptly grasp the major trends of the world and balance relations with major countries to effectively combine national strength with the strength of the times***

## **CONCLUSION**

The Vietnamese people's resistance war against the US to protect the country took place in an international context with many changes, with great advantages for the revolution and also many difficulties. Looking back at the history of the resistance war, the image of a small Vietnam fighting against a powerful empire shows that our ancestors' military art of using the small to fight the big, using the few to fight the many still has great practical significance. During the 21 years of leading the resistance war, the Communist Party of Vietnam has maximized favorable domestic conditions, effectively taken advantage of favorable international conditions to bring the Vietnamese revolution from a position of imbalance in strength compared to the opponent to a position of balance and enough strength to successfully end the long resistance war. The issue of the Party's leadership combining national strength with the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US to protect the country (1954-1975) that the thesis focuses on is an issue that no independent research work has fully, comprehensively, systematically

addressed, nor has any directive, resolution or document of the Party directly mentioned. From the study of documents and documents of the Party in the resistance war against the US to protect the country and the stages of the resistance war, the researcher has summarized the process of the Party's leadership combining national strength with the strength of the times, affirming that this is an important content in the Party's resistance leadership line, which contributed to the final victory.

Based on the analysis of the characteristics of the world and domestic situation, the factors affecting the leadership of combining national strength with the strength of the times of the Party and the factors creating national strength and the strength of the times through the periods 1954-1965 and 1965-1975, the thesis clarifies the Party's perception of national strength as well as the strength of the times. Thereby, it affirms that national strength is a decisive factor, so it is necessary to focus on building revolutionary strength; the strength of the times has a great impact. If we know how to take advantage of, utilize, and combine it with national strength, it will create a comprehensive strength. From the reality of the resistance war and the process of planning the Party's resistance war strategy, it can be seen that many documents and directives of the Party mention the issue of combining national strength with the strength of the times. Based on that, the thesis clarifies the Party's viewpoints and directions on combining national strength with the strength of the times through building revolutionary strength in the North and South and promoting diplomatic activities to gain international support.

The process of the Party recognizing the strength of the times and combining it with the strength of the nation in the resistance war against

the US to save the country demonstrated the correctness and acumen of the Party in leading and directing the resistance war. Thanks to promoting the strength of the nation combined with taking advantage of the strength of the times, Vietnam received great support both materially and spiritually from many countries in the world. Combining the strength of the nation with the strength of the times created a comprehensive strength higher than the enemy in each stage and in the entire resistance war. That was a great success and a valuable experience of the Party in the war.

Through studying the Party's leadership of the resistance war, the thesis affirms that the Party led the combination of national strength with the strength of the times, contributing to the victory of the resistance war. The growth of three revolutionary streams has affected the world's movement trend. The Party and the great President Ho Chi Minh skillfully placed the Vietnamese revolution in that stream, increasing the strength of the nation's resistance war. When the Vietnamese revolution won, it contributed to increasing the strength of the times, contributing to the bankruptcy of the global military strategies of neo-colonialism, contributing to protecting world peace, and encouraging the national liberation movement. Vietnam's victory over a powerful empire has partly weakened the imperialist system.

Based on the analysis of the Party's viewpoints and guidance, the researcher draws some conclusions in the process of the Party's leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times (1954-1975). In the years 1954 - 1960, national strength was mainly spiritual strength, material strength was weak, especially in the South. The country had many difficulties, while in the world, the trend of détente

began to appear, affecting the Vietnamese revolution. During this period, the Party had not yet brought into full play the strength of the times. From 1961 - 1975, national strength was brought into full play, along with the support and assistance of the socialist bloc, the support of peace-loving people around the world, especially the movements opposing the war of aggression against Vietnam in the US, which contributed to creating great momentum for the revolution. On the basis of its position and strength having grown strong enough to win decisive victories on the battlefield and at the negotiating table, the Party decided to seize the opportunity and launch strategic attacks to successfully end the resistance war. Throughout the entire resistance war, there were historical moments when the Party did not yet recognize and promote the strength of the times, but promoted the strength of the nation. There were periods when the combination of national strength with the strength of the times achieved great results.

From the process of the Party's leadership in combining national strength with the strength of the times in the resistance war against the US to save the country, the thesis draws a number of valuable experiences for reference for the Vietnamese revolution in the current period.

## LIST OF RESEARCH WORKS RELATED TO THE THESIS

1. Than Thi Thu Ngan (2024), “Some features of combining domestic and international strength in the August Revolution of 1945”, *Journal of Party History*, No. 2-2024 (339), pp. 103-107.
2. Than Thi Thu Ngan (2025), “The Party's leadership in promoting national strength in the resistance war against the US to protect the country (1954-1975) - Some experiences”, *Journal of Party History*, No. 1-2025 (410), pp. 22-28.
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4. Vu Thi Hong Dung, Than Thi Thu Ngan (2024): “Vietnam's national liberation revolution in relation to Southeast Asian countries (1930-1945)”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, June 2024, pp. 54-61.
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6. Than Thi Thu Ngan (2024), Some experiences from the process of combining national strength and the strength of the times of leader Nguyen Ai Quoc - Ho Chi Minh (1930-1945) for the current cause of building and defending the Vietnamese Fatherland, *Journal of Education and Society*, Special issue May 2024, 10-14.