



**TRUONG CHINH'S WORK NAMED AS  
"THE RESISTANCE WAR WILL WIN" –  
ITS CONTENT AND HISTORIC VALUES**

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**Abstract:**

Truong Chinh was a theorist and General Secretary who contributes greatly to the history of Vietnam. During the course of revolutionary activities, he wrote numerous works, his most important work is known as "The resistance war will win". This work is a deep evidence of the Party's resistance line, having a significant role in directing the entire Party and Vietnamese people to resolutely fight against our enemies by a unified way in order to bring the resistance to the complete victory. Therefore, within the scope of the article, the author focuses on analyzing the basic content of the work: from the ideology of identifying the nation's enemies to devising a line of resistance against invading force, from which the great value of the work can be pointed out.

**Keywords:** resistance war, work, values, revolt against, the people's resistance

**1. Some basic issues in the content of Truong Chinh's work known as "The resistance war will win"**

**1.1. The thoughts of identifying enemies of our nation**

Based on the context in the country and the world, the Party could determine the right path for our country's revolution. At the same time, being clear-headed to timely understand new situations, directions and trends, Truong Chinh proposed the right guidelines, strategies and schemes. Thanks to those, he correctly identified the exact conflicts to find the right enemies. The history has proven that wrongly identifying enemies or not focusing the spearhead on the main enemy but pointing the spearhead at the general enemies who are not the apparently specific enemies, is a serious mistake on strategic guidance.

In the beginning of the work, Truong Chinh put the issue of "Who do we fight against?" This is very significant because it is so vital to correctly identify the enemies that needs to be knocked out, then the measures and schemes can be proposed to fight against those successfully. The work points out exactly the enemy that the Vietnamese revolution had to destroy was French colonialists. We cannot fight against both enemies at the same time but cleverly use one enemy to chase the other, so that in the end there is only one left, we can focus on dealing with it. Hence, in some special cases, compromise is also a specific form of struggle that revolutionists have to know how to employ it if need be.

The work also analyzes that when comparing forces does not allow us to win our enemies immediately while the enemies desire to force us to fight, in which we find the fight completely disadvantageous, then in that case, compromise is essential. Only by that way, we can help our revolution prevent losses, conserve our forces firmly and continue the struggle in other ways in order to achieve our final goal. In extremely urgent situations, it is vital to take the right and timely actions, Truong Chinh wisely points out two basic contradictions of the national democratic revolution of the people: (1) the conflict between the Vietnamese and imperialist aggression; (2) contradictions between the people and feudal landlords. Thereby, he affirms that both contradictions were fundamental which needed to be resolved during the process of national democratic revolution; however, the main conflict that all forces should be focused to resolve was *"the conflict between the Vietnamese people, our nation and the invading imperialists together with their henchmen who were treason puppets and representing the feudal landlords and village bourgeoisie classes in our country."* [2, 408].

Truong Chinh's ingenuity and talent are seen when he always analyzes the situation in a very specific way and by far respects the objective truth. He realized that when the situation had been changed as well as class conflicts and the ethnic conflicts had been altered, then the spearhead focused on would be different from former strategies. Thus, the strategy and tactics also had to be adjusted to suit the actual period in order not to imitate or stereotype previous thought. Based on the convincing analysis, Truong Chinh points out that since the Japanese occupied Indochina and the French fascists surrendered Japan to become minions for Japan (1940), we considered the Japanese fascists and the French to be both main enemies. Therefore, our slogan at that time was *"Fight against Japanese and French fascists."* But today, the French government in Indochina was disintegrated, we just needed to mention *"Win Japanese fascists"*, which was enough. If at that time we still shouted, *"Fighting against Japanese and French fascists"*, it was not political owing to the fact that France was no longer our enemy. Or we shouted, *"Defeat French enemies"* yet *"Defeat Japanese enemies"*, all of which were not political even. He emphasized that *"if we are doing like that, it means that we do not fight against a specific enemy in front, but trying to beat an enemy standing far away, who has fallen and practically not harmed us immediately"* [2, 314]. From that genius judgment, our Party applied it very creatively to protect the revolutionary government in the period from 1945 to 1946. While the *"domestic enemies and oversea invaders"* were threatening the independence of the

nation, we could not defeat all enemies at once, our Party analyzed the situation in details, gradually defeating one by one to protect and sustain the revolutionary fruits by applying flexible, resolute and clever schemes to take advantage of time and prepare forces for long-term resistance against the most dangerous enemy which was the French colonialists; step by step bringing our country through the situation of "*being hung by a thread.*"

In the work named as "*The resistance war will win*", Truong Chinh identifies the conflict between our nation and the French colonialists to refer to the enemy of our nation. But this does not mean that "*all bread is baked in one oven*" or identify the enemy in such a general way. More specifically and deeply, Truong Chinh clearly states that "we do not fight against France, because France is a democratic country in the new constitution, who promised that "*no war of aggression and no power can violate the freedom of a nation*" [1, 9]. Truong Chinh also raises a question that "*Do we beat the French people? In this work, he asserts that we also do not fight against French people because French people love "freedom, equality and charity", they do not yearn for invading our country since they understand that if they invade Vietnam, then their children will die in battle, but only a small number of capitalists will benefit*" [1, 9]. This is entirely consistent with the objective reality, because in fact, the conflict between our country and France was not the entire French people but only reactionary elements of France. Thus, Truong Chinh realizes from the depth of the conflicts that existed in society at that time. That was the conflict between our country and the reactionary French colonialists; between the French people and the French reactionary colonialists; between people who are progressive and loving peace in the world with those who like war. Therefore, he affirms that the enemy we needed to fight against currently was the French reactionary colonialists. This was an art to put all forces in defeating aggressors; By doing so, the French reactionary colonialists would be opposed by the people in their country as well as the people of other countries in the world, along with our fierce resistance, from which it would make their spirit bewildered and upset at the end, then we would definitely win. In addition, Truong Chinh also points out that in terms of some domestic reactionaries namely puppet soldiers, they were manipulated by the reactionary colonists to fight against the Fatherland. Therefore, we must find all ways to propagandize and make them be enlightened, who could take part in the teams of resistance, joining our people to defeat the invading colonists, redeeming themselves for the people. Thus, by identifying the right focus and enemy's key points, we gradually conquered our enemies to protect and sustain the revolutionary results with flexible, resolute and clever policies to take advantage of time and prepare forces for a long resistance war against the most dangerous enemy who was the French colonialists. That shows the wise and ingenious leadership of Truong Chinh.

## **1.2. Thoughts about the motto of the resistance against French colonialists**

In the work named as "*The resistance war will win*", Truong Chinh affirms that this is "*the whole people's resistance war, which is comprehensive, long-term and based on our own strength.*" He explains that the resistance of the entire people is to promote the synergy of the whole

nation, creating the unrivaled power to defeat all enemies' aggressive conspiracy. The whole people's resistance described in the work is also the sublimation based on the whole nation's art of fighting against invaders. The author points out the intimate relationship between the Party and the people; between the people and the army like fish and water, thereby confirming the position and importance of the people that "*the people are the ears and the eyes of soldiers, who help the army combat the enemies.*" "*The people are like water, soldiers are like fish, the people are endless sources...*" [1, 30 - 31]. Thus, in terms of the role and position which are considered as "*people are the root*", "*people are taken as the root*", we need to rely on the entire people to resist and carry out the people's resistance war.

In the war against the French colonialists and the US intervention, in order to achieve our victory, we had to implement the whole people's resistance war, which took small troops to defeat huge ones. Due to the fact that to be able to beat the enemy, we not only relied on the army forces but on the strength of the entire people, in which we did not carry out a normal war between two army forces, but performing a revolutionary war which the entire people and the whole nation stood up together with the armed forces to fight against the aggressive enemies to protect the fruits of the revolution. By implementing the schemes of the entire people beating the enemies, we could mobilize forces and take the initiatives to attack our enemies anytime and anywhere, by all means and all weapons in our hands. This is the art of war that surprised and confused French colonialists since they were continuously beaten regardless of day and night, wherever they went or how quickly they maneuvered, they could not arrive before the on-site forces of our armed forces and the people during our people's resistance war.

In terms of a *comprehensive resistance*, the work named as "*The resistance war will win*", presents a full content of the comprehensive resistance war, in which "*The resistance of our people must be a resistance in all aspects including military, economics, politics and culture*" [1, 26]; because our invaders were extremely cruel and merciless by all means in order to achieve their ultimate goal that they could completely weaken our forces and aim at imposing their yoke of dominance over our entire nation. The invaders had struck us in terms of armed forces, seeking to destroy our core force and armed forces; at the same time, they tried to make us depleted in terms of economics by plundering rice, destroying crops, exploding industrial facilities, transportation works, roads, bridges and damaging dikes...etc. They waged a malicious war to destroy us on the platform of cultural ideology in order to disunite and divide the great unity of our nation, to erode our confidence towards the final victory of the resistance war as well as sway our will and determination of fighting. Therefore, to deal with all of the enemy's vicious conspiracies, we only had to fight against the enemy on all fronts, from the military to culture, politics, diplomacy... Only by which we could create synergic power, a stance and an extremely stable strength for our forces.

Regarding *the long-term resistance war*, in the work named as "*The resistance war will win*", Truong Chinh analyzes this resistance rather logically that "*when comparing our forces with the enemy's, we can clearly see that the enemy is strong, we are still weak; he enemy is an industrial country, we are an agricultural country; The enemy has airplanes, tanks, warships*

*while we have rudimentary weapons. The enemy troops have been trained, our troops have been not used to fighting in battles. If we put all of our forces into some battles to identify who is winner or loser, then we will definitely lose, the enemy will win" [3, 32-33]. He continues to affirm that "to achieve all these results, it takes a long time to carry our resistance. Time works for us; time is our strategic teacher if our people are determined to go on a resistance resolutely" [3, 32-33]. In order to be more convincing, Truong Chinh cites the history of our country under Tran dynasty that we had to fight against our invaders three times, and it took 31 years to win against the Yuan army. In the post-Le dynasty, it took us 10 years to defeat the brutal Ming army. Then, Truong Chinh finally comes to the conclusion that "in the permanent resistance, not only our spiritual forces will be developed but also our physical forces will be increased. The purposes of long-term battles are to promote all physical and mental forces, to foster our strength and reduce our weakness, all of which could turn the losing situation into the winning one to achieve the final victory" [3, 92].*

The principles of Marxist - Leninist philosophy was applied thoroughly by Truong Chinh when he claims that everything and phenomenon have undergone a process of movement and development. Therefore, the revolutionists must carry out a permanent resistance war, gaining partial victory before finally winning completely since in terms of the correlation of forces, our enemies were strong while we were weak. Hence, it took a long time for us to foster our forces, strengthen the solidarity of the entire people to become stronger and stronger as well as make the world movements gradually understand our righteous war. At the same time, it also took time for the enemies to be weakened in their forces, be bewildered and upset in their spirit, all of which would be the opportunity for us to revolt against them and establish our government. Based on this chance, we could point out the strategies of waging our war and how to revolt against our enemies effectively. Thus, on the basis of fully analyzing the objective conditions, properly assessing the correlation of both forces, Truong Chinh proposes the method of transforming the forces in our favor, gradually winning at each step of our revolution. That comes from the idiom as "*he who sees through life and death will meet most success*", which means that "*knowing others, knowing us; a hundred of battles will win*", is the principle of victory in every war. Related to this, comprehending and judging enemies in a right way are to understand the enemy's strategic conspiracies as well as grasp the rules of action and their capacity of waging war ... etc. Those logical thinking has shown that he is a strategist who is by far clear-headed, sensitive and creative. Truong Chinh always considers the war to be a fierce battle in terms of forces and subjective efforts of two sides. Based on the comprehensive analysis of objective conditions, accurate comparison between the enemy's forces and our forces in each period of development, he figures out how to devise methods of transforming the forces in our favor, gradually winning at every stage of our revolution.

In the work named as "*The resistance war will win*", he outlines the stages of the long-term resistance, highlighting the resistance through three stages namely defense, resistance and total counter-attack. Truong Chinh asserts that "*there is no discontinuities in which the later stage has germ in the previous stages; the former stages creates conditions for later*

stages" [3, 37]. These three stages are the process of constantly resolving conflicts and making them always be transforming which is a process of transforming and comparing forces from small scale to larger ones, from being weak to be stronger forces, from one phase to the others. That is the unifying process between the continuity and the discontinuity of the whole long-term resistance, in which sequential development is the process of preparing conditions for changes in quality transformation which is the indispensable fulfillment of the next sequential development process. Regarding the operational motto, Truong Chinh says that *"we are attacked, and the enemy is stronger than us. If we only keep the defence, or resist against our enemies when being attacked, then the more we revolt against them, the weaker we will be. It is advisable in campaigns and fights that we have to find the enemy's weaknesses to actively attack and defeat them, in which when starting to confront the enemies, we must do quickly to vanquish them quickly"* [3, 34]. Hence, the history has proved the long-term strategic motto with three development stages of the resistance which Truong Chinh presents in his work is absolutely exact with evidence of the resounding victories of our army and the people. Truong Chinh's arguments, theoretical bases, and guiding ideas are very profound, convincing, brand new and extremely sharp, which shows his talent and intellect in the art of conducting a revolutionary war. It can be asserted that the motto of long-term strategy and knowing how to win at each stage of war development is a normative issue of each revolution in terms of taking small troops to hit huge ones and take weak forces to beat stronger ones.

## **2. Historic values of the work "Resistance certain victories"**

While the revolution of our country had to confront with many hazardous enemies, the work named as *"The resistance war will win"* is definitely successful in order to explain and develop the Party's resistance line, contributing to bringing our resistance to the complete victory. More than 60 decades passed since the work was composed, it has quickly come into people's life and fighting process of our army because it met the urgent needs of the situation at that time. With these values, the work itself is one of the miraculous handbooks of Vietnamese communists in all eras, especially in those days of resistance.

The profound theoretical values and practicality of the work are seen which makes it become one of the significant documents for our Party to set the line of resistance against French colonialism and properly intervene with the United States. That is the way which are comprehensive, long-term, the whole people fighting against the enemies and relying on our own power. Thanks to this exact and creative way, it has created synergic strength in all fields including economics, politics, culture, diplomacy, etc. and in turn defeated many dangerous enemies namely French colonialists and American imperialists. The work has built up the people's war, creating a stable *"people's popularity towards the Party"*, building immense strength of a nation which is small but extremely heroic. In order to do that, Truong Chinh skillfully and ingeniously applied the principles of dialectics in analyzing properly the basic and main contradictions of our society in

each stages of our revolution, especially the conversion process in which we turned from being weak to be stronger while our enemies turned from being strong to be weaker. At the same time, we always both paid attention to the sequential development of the process and the leaps and changes at every turning point in order to bring the resistance war against French colonialists to a complete victory.

Another value of the work is once again arousing and confirming the will to revolt against the enemies, the national spirit of the entire Party, the whole people and our army. The work upholds the art of people's resistance war and sets a fire of patriotism. It makes the giant invasion army be bogged down in the flames of the people. They were confused, passive and tied into the conflicts between dispersion and concentration, between defense and attack, between quick fighting and prolonged revolution which made the enemy forces increasingly weary as well as their invading spirit become gradually disincensive. This work will definitely be an epic in our country's military art for today and for all times. The work also affirms the precious lesson that the people are the root and the relationship between the Party and the people are intimate; The failure or success of the revolution depends on the people; when promoting the great unity strength of the entire nation, there is no enemy and no force that cannot be defeated by the whole people. That is deeply rooted in the hearts of Vietnamese people and becomes the truth of all times.

### 3. Conclusion

In a very arduous revolutionary situation such as "*being hung by a thread*", the work "*The resistance war will win*" born could meet the urgent needs at that time. The work is a performance of the whole nation's determination and outlines the definitely victorious trend of our nation's revolution. However, above all, it proves the insightful and ingenuous guidelines of Truong Chinh in the revolutionary war as well as in identifying the invading enemies and proposing strategic tactics to revolt against our enemies. From the above analysis, it can be seen that Truong Chinh based on the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism through recognizing contradictions and resolving contradictions thoroughly, in realizing the issues between theories and practicality, all of which show that Truong Chinh is a genius revolutionist as well as affirm that the work has been still valid and valuable to date.

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