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**Original Research Article** 

# **International Factors in the Southern Resistance Event (September 23, 1945)**

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**Article History** 

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**Abstract:** The resistance war of the South Vietnamese army and people against the French colonialists has encouraged the heroic fighting spirit of the army and people throughout the country, opening the way for the victories of the resistance war later, and at the same time leaving many The lesson has profound theoretical and practical significance, including the lesson on building the all-people national defense and the people's war posture and applying it to the current cause of national construction and defense. This study focuses on analyzing the views of the US - from the policy of placing Indochina under the "international trusteeship" regime to the policy of dividing Indochina at the 16th parallel; active British support for the reconstruction of French power in Indochina; the Soviet Union's silent attitude towards France's intention to retake Indochina; France's conservative stance on Indochina issues; thereby drawing lessons on building the all-people national defense and the people's war posture.

**Keywords:** International factors, Southern Resistance event, September 23, 1945, Vietnam.

## Introduction

76 years ago, on September 23, 1945, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee led by President Ho Chi Minh, the Party Committee, the People's Committee, and the Southern Resistance Committee promptly launched troops and Southerners started the resistance war against the French colonialists. The South became the frontline of the whole country, showing heroic mettle, determination to protect the independence and freedom of the Fatherland, bravely fighting against the invaders, creating favorable conditions for the Party and the Government. The government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has time to prepare for a long resistance war.

September 23, 1945, went down in the history of the Vietnamese nation with the name - The Day of "Southern Resistance", marking the event that the people of the South united against the second invasion of the French colonialists. In his memoirs, General Vo Nguyen Giap once shared: "In 1985, a French scientist came to Hanoi and passed me a question from the daughter of the late Marshal Leclerc: "The war between Vietnam and Can France avoid it?" [1, p. 16]. More than 75 years have passed, many historical aspects of the war have been discussed. The article adds a comment on the influence of international factors on the event of the Southern Resistance, specifically the intentions of the forces supporting the return of France to Indochina. Since then, it is confirmed that the confrontation between Vietnam and France in the next nine years is inevitable. Because the fire was not ignited from the Vietnamese side, nor only from the French side, but the forces supporting France were also responsible for this issue.

76 years have passed, the history page of the "Southern Resistance" has merged with the glorious feats of our army and people, defeated two enemies, France and the United States, and completed the cause of the struggle for independence and freedom, peace, and unification of the country on April 30, 1975.

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# RESEARCH RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The view of the US - from the policy of placing Indochina under the regime of "international trusteeship" to the policy of dividing Indochina at the 16th parallel

Indochina, with its strategic location in the Asia-Pacific region, after World War II, became the site of a power dispute between two groups of allies, the US - Chiang, and Britain - France. If Britain and France had long-term interests in Southeast Asia, in September 1940, the Japanese fascists entered Indochina and used Indochina as a springboard to launch a war in the Pacific really attracted the attention of the US.

The concept of establishing an "international trusteeship" regime in some former colonies of the empires occupied by the fascists was raised by President Roosevelt at the Teheran Conference (November 28, December 1, 1943). This point of view has shown the intentions of the US towards Indochina. The US President had a very convincing explanation for his point of view: "I have an opinion that Indochina cannot be returned to France, but can be placed under international control. France has ruled this country for nearly a hundred years, the 30 million people there have lived more miserable than before, etc. The case of Indochina is clear, the Indochinese people have the right to enjoy what is better than before" [2, p. 43].

The US advocates that this trusteeship regime is managed by a council consisting of a number of countries (China, the Soviet Union, the Philippines, France, and one or two Indochinese delegates) for about 30-40 years to gradually hand over the foundation independence for the Indochinese countries. Roosevelt also instructed the Americans in Indochina not to do anything to help the French carry out their intentions [3, p. 56]. However, this is actually just a political trick that the US has calculated in advance, with the aim of gradually replacing old-style colonialism with newstyle colonialism, creating conditions for the US to exert influence, gradually embrace the colonial system of France and Great Britain, including Indochina. This is evidenced when the conflicts of interest are resolved, the US changes its attitude towards the Indochinese issue. Specifically, to the Yalta Conference (February 1945), the US was softer in its policy by agreeing to the proposal to leave the colonies under mandate only if the "motherland" agreed [3, p. 11]. While there were no conditions for direct intervention, the US pressured the remaining countries in the Allied faction to force Chiang Kai-shek - America's vassals, to take over Indochina instead of the US.

As for Chiang Kai-shek, although Chiang declared to support the Vietnamese people for independence, in fact, Chiang was very active in implementing the plan "The Chinese army entered Vietnam" - relying on the US to replace the French in Vietnam. In order to carry out a long-term conspiracy against Vietnam, Tuong tolerated all Vietnamese people who had anti-French thoughts and actions to flee to China. More dangerously, Tuong fostered false Vietnamese names, impersonating Vietnamese patriots such as Nguyen Hai Than, Vu Hong Khanh, Nguyen Tuong Tam, etc., and established reactionary organizations such as the Vietnamese Revolutionary DongMinhHoi (Viet Cach), Vietnam Nationalist Party (Viet Quoc). In addition, Chiang assigned General Tieu Van to be in charge of Vietnam to direct the bureau - the organization responsible for political affairs in Vietnam. With the above series of actions, the conspiracy of the Chiang forces for Vietnam's politics was clearly revealed.

The developments at the end of the Second World War with Truman's rise to the position of President, with concerns about the great position of the Soviet Union, changed the US position on the East issue Yang in favor of France. The Potsdam Conference (July 17 to August 2, 1945) can be seen as a compromise between the United States and France when President Truman abandoned the previous form of "international trusteeship" of Roosevelt, replacing it with a policy of sharing Indochina doubles along the 16th parallel. However, this solution shows that the US still maintains the position of keeping the North of Indochina for Chiang Kai-shek's forces.

On August 22, 1945, De Gaulle personally went to Washington to meet Truman. The purpose of the trip was to persuade the US to have a pro-French attitude to replace Chiang Kai-shek in North Vietnam on the task of disarming the Japanese fascists. Although Truman's position was no longer as tough as that of Roosevelt, the US at this time did not fully support the De Gaulle government, instead, it was a hesitant, unclear attitude. In the US State Department cable to the Chongqing Government, it was announced: "America neither opposes nor supports the re-establishment of French rule in Indochina" (Archimedes LA Patti, 2008, p. 380) and ordered that "the American representative in Vietnam must be absolutely neutral" [4, p. 368].

Thus, from Roosevelt to Truman, the US made fundamental changes in its view of Indochina. In order to win the power race with the Soviet Union, the United States needed to strengthen ties with its Western European allies, in this case, enlisting links with Britain and France. The limitations in the extreme anti-communist thought of the head of the White House made the US foreign policy at that time no longer retain the flexibility, flexibility, and sensitivity as under Roosevelt. That was the reason for the US to keep a neutral attitude, gradually come to a compromise, and open the door for France to return to Indochina.

#### Active British support for the reconstruction of French power in Indochina

The US - Chiang conspiracy for the Indochinese region not only worried France but also made another Allied country feel unsettled. Britain did not want its vast colonial system to eventually fall under "international governance", even more, worried that this would be a driving force for the independence movement in the British colonies in Southeast Asia. In the words of Roosevelt: "The only reason Britain was against international trusteeship was that Britain was afraid of its influence on the British colony" [2 p. 43]. Because of this, supporting France to restore the colonial rule in Indochina and preventing American expansion were the top priorities of British foreign policy at that time.

In his address to the British Parliament on October 24, 1945, the British Foreign Secretary, Ernest Devin, on one hand, declared: "The British government does not want unnecessary involvement in government or political affairs. in non-British territories and the objective was to withdraw British troops as soon as possible", but on the other hand Britain also confirmed that "there was close friendly cooperation between the British and officers only command of France" to transport French troops to Saigon (Academy of International Relations, 2002, p. 56).

The pro-French stance was publicly stated by Britain in the British Government's note sent to Chiang Kai-shek's government on August 18, 1945: "The British Royal Government believes that Mr. President (Republic of China) agree with us that the common goal of our two governments is to be able to restore French authority in Indochina, and to make it as easy as possible for the French forces and French rulers to return to Indochina as soon as possible" [2, p. 56].

Accompanying these statements, Britain took active support to bring France back to control of Indochina. On September 6, 1945, the first mission of British general - Gracey, just arrived in Saigon, demanded disarming of the Vietnamese military forces. Then, on September 22, 1945, British and Indian troops occupied the Southern Administrative Committee headquarters, the central prison, released the French, and equipped 1,400 French prisoners of war in camp 11 RIC. Thanks to this help, on the night of September 22 and September 23, 1945, the French army was equipped with weapons, invaded Saigon, captured the administrative offices, and brutally killed our compatriots. Events of the Southern Resistance have blown up from the wire.

#### The Soviet Union's silent attitude towards France's intention to retake Indochina

After the end of World War II, with the victory of the Allies and the defeat of fascism - militarism, a new world order was re-arranged through agreements between the powers at the Yalta Conference (February 4-12, 1945). In fact, this is a conference to divide interests, areas of influence and to establish the Soviet-American bipolar world order.

As a country that made the biggest contribution to the victory of the war to destroy the reactionary fascist forces, the Soviet Union has affirmed its position and pivotal role in solving international problems. The victory of the Soviet Union was also a strong encouragement of the national liberation struggle movement, as well as the movements for the right to life and democracy in the world at that time. Therefore, the Soviet Union can be considered as a reliable ally of the Indochinese revolution in general and Vietnam in particular.

Although on the side that won the battle, it was the country that suffered the most. After the Second World War, the Soviet Union fell into serious difficulties in all socio-economic fields. Not only that, the bipolar division in the new world order is one of the main causes leading to the Cold War launched by imperialism, led by the US, against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries meaning, to realize the intention of world hegemony.

To overcome the consequences of the war, in the context of being surrounded and embargoed by hostile forces, the Soviet Union wished for peace, improved international relations, and created a conciliatory atmosphere, mainly with the imperialists. The United States, and at the same time want to take advantage of the contradictions of imperialism to keep the balance in Europe, take time to restore and develop the economy. Therefore, the interest and support for the revolutionary movements of the countries and the national liberation movements of the colonial countries were limited. This contributes to explaining why in solving the Indochina problem, the Soviet Union left a very faint mark. When the US mentioned the "international trusteeship" regime, it was only through President Roosevelt's account that Stalin fully agreed without seeing an official statement from the Soviet leader on this issue [5, p. 78].

The Soviet compromise for the French return to Indochina was also concretized in the "Treaty of alliances in the war against fascism and mutual assistance after the war" on the occasion of De Gaulle's visit to the Soviet Union in October. December 1944. The treaty contained a provision: "Each party shall not enter into an alliance or join an alliance against the other" (Hau, 2004, p. 39). These commitments can be considered as one of the reasons the Soviet Union kept silent about the French intention to retake Indochina.

### France's conservative position on the Indochinese issue

On the French side, with decades of domination and great benefits from Indochina, the French colonialists viewed this place as an integral part of France. A typical figure for this idea is General De Gaulle. This is very evident in

De Gaulle's statements on Indochina. On December 8, 1943, De Gaulle announced in Brazaville (Congo) that France was still ruling in Indochina [5 p. 55]. Then, notably, was the Declaration of the French provisional government in Paris on March 24, 1945, half a month after the Japanese coup d'etat in Indochina (March 9, 1945). The main body of the Declaration consists of four points:

The Federation of Indochina, consisting of five countries (Tonkin, Central, Cochinchina, Laos, and Cambodia) is a part of the French Union, entitled to autonomy in some internal affairs, while diplomacy is governed by the French Union. Representative France;

Establishment of the Indochinese Federal Government headed by the French Governor-General, consisting of ministers selected from the Indochinese and the French residing in Indochina;

Elect a parliament by suffrage appropriate for each country in the Union;

The Indochina Federation enjoys economic autonomy so that it can fully develop agriculture, industry, and commerce [6, pp. 55-57].

The content of the declaration reflects the ambition to restore the French colonial rule over Indochina as it was before 1940. This colonial view was assessed by a French historian - Philippe Devillers as "outdated" politically, etc. almost 15 years backward" [7, p. 145]. However, this view followed France during the subsequent Indochina War nine years later, with the result of a bitter, humiliating defeat.

Along with these statements, De Gaulle acted aggressively to prepare forces for the recapture of Indochina. On April 17, 1945, France established the "French Expeditionary Force in the Far East" led by General Leclerc. On August 17, 1945, after Japan announced its surrender to the Allies, France decided to reform the command apparatus in Indochina, appointing Admiral D'Argenlieu as High Commissioner with the instruction: "The first mission of the High Commission is to restore French sovereignty over the territories of the Indochinese Federation"; at the same time, appointing Leclerc as Supreme Commander of the French Expeditionary Force in the Far East with the task of "taking all necessary military measures to restore sovereignty there" [8, p. 131].

#### Some lessons learned

Firstly, strengthen the leadership of the Party, promptly set out correct and creative guidelines and policies in building the all-people national defense and the people's war posture.

As soon as the French army opened fire to invade, on the morning of September 23, 1945, the Party Committee and People's Committee of the South convened a conference at Cay Mai Street, deciding to launch the entire people's resistance, establishing the Southern Resistance Committee. The set; at the same time, send a telegram to the Central Government. Entering the resistance war, the army and people of Saigon in particular and the South, in general, faced many difficulties and shortages on all sides: The revolutionary government was still young, weapons, finance, and forces had not yet been built. In that context, the urgent requirement is to unify the party organization, consolidate the top leadership agency, and serve as a basis for building and consolidating the revolutionary government and resistance force. On October 15, 1945, the Conference of Southern Party cadres agreed to dissolve the two Party Committees (Tien Phong and Liberation) and establish a unified Southern Party Committee led by Comrade Ton Duc Thang as Secretary. Ten days later, before the rapid development of the situation, the expanded Southern Party Committee Conference was held in Thien Ho (My Tho), discussing the policy of consolidating and further consolidating the party organization system across the country. South Vietnam, unify the armed forces. The conference appointed comrade Le Duan as Secretary of the Party Committee to replace comrade Ton Duc Thang. The unification of party organization - the leading body of the resistance throughout the South has created the basis for building and strengthening the government and revolutionary organizations and unions.

Following closely the situation, the Party Central Committee and President Ho Chi Minh regularly gave timely and close instructions to the resistance war in the South. Right on September 23, 1945, after receiving a telegram from the Southern Resistance Committee, President Ho Chi Minh urgently convened the Standing Conference of the Party Central Committee, approving the resistance determination of the South. On September 26, 1945, through the Voice of Vietnam radio wave, President Ho Chi Minh sent a message to the Southern compatriots expressing his belief in the "patriotic determination of the Southern compatriots". On September 27, 1945, the Central Government sent the Instruction to the South. In particular, on November 25, 1945, the Standing Committee of the Party Central Committee issued a Directive on the resistance to national construction, which clearly defined "our tactical tasks in the South". Implementing this directive, the South Vietnamese army and people applied appropriate and effective tactics, stopped the enemy's advance, and won certain victories [9].

The centralized and unified leadership of the Party Central Committee, timely setting out the right guidelines and policies have created the premise and basic conditions for the resistance war to develop step by step in all aspects.

Lessons on strengthening the absolute and direct leadership of the Party in all aspects, along with setting out the right and creative guidelines and policies to help the resistance war in the South overcome difficulties and steadily move forward value remains. Strengthening the absolute and direct leadership of the Party in all aspects, improving the effectiveness of State management over military and national defense work, with the cause of building the all-people national defense, the battlefield People's war is always considered the most important factor, the basic solution, throughout. Our Party is both the organizer, leader, position-determiner, and policy-determiner, and at the same time the nucleus of solidarity and mobilization of the strength of the entire Party, people, and army in order to successfully achieve the objectives. The plan in building the all-people national defense, the people's war posture. The Party's leadership in defense tasks must be maintained regularly and consistently from the central government to localities, departments, branches, and mass organizations. Building an all-people national defense must be determined by the Party committees and authorities at all levels as an important task, a regular job that requires proper attention; have close, timely, and effective leadership and direction for this work in their locality. Guidelines, policies, a system of resolutions, directives, and guiding documents of the Party and State on building the all-people national defense and the people's war posture need to be thoroughly grasped and implemented in practice serious and effective. In particular, focus on the roles and responsibilities of the Party Committee, the chairperson, the advisory body, in charge of military and national defense work at agencies, units, and localities in leading, directing, and deploying perform.

Second, focusing on building the "command of the people" posture, the determination to protect the independence, freedom, and reunification of the Fatherland for the whole people - an important factor in building the all-people national defense, the war posture people.

On September 2, 1945, in Hanoi, President Ho Chi Minh read the Declaration of Independence, affirming: "Vietnam has the right to enjoy freedom and independence and in fact has become a free and independent. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to use all their spirit and strength, life, and wealth to maintain that freedom and independence. "With that spirit, before the invasion of the French army, Saigon and the South united to fight to protect the independence and freedom of the nation". On September 26, 1945, the Government issued a summons to the entire people: "Please support the fierce struggle movement of the Southern compatriots". Responding to the Government's call, the "Southern Resistance" Fund was established, along with the appearance of "Southern Divisions" in many localities to register volunteers to fight in the South. Many "southern advance" armies were successively established and set out to aid the South. Towards the South, many material donations to support the Southern resistance war, many rallies and demonstrations broke out, demonstrating the spirit of solidarity and determination to defend the independence, freedom, and reunification of the Fatherland. In the context of globalization, international exchange, and integration, the strong development of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, especially the fierce opposition of hostile forces to the Vietnamese revolution. The cause of building the all-people national defense, the people's war for the defense of the Fatherland is posing new requirements.

Building a "people-friendly posture", fostering and promoting the spirit and determination to defend the independence, freedom, and reunification of the Fatherland for the entire people, especially the armed forces, is an important daily requirement taking the lead in building the all-people national defense and fighting the people's war. Along with building a political system, building a "combat position" in order to create a unified force of will and action, creating a solid foundation for the construction of the all-people national defense and the war posture people. The focus of building the "combat of the people's hearts" is to build and strengthen the people's trust in the Party, State, and the socialist regime, arousing patriotism, national pride, and responsibility of the people all citizens. In order to build a firm "position of the people's hearts", it is necessary to well implement the grassroots democracy regulations; foster national defense and security knowledge; close to the people, respect and listen to the people's opinions, take care of the legitimate interests and constantly improve the material and spiritual life of the people. All levels and branches must regularly propagate and educate the whole people to uphold the spirit of revolutionary vigilance, to make people realize the nature, plots, and tricks of hostile and reactionary forces; thereby, raising awareness and responsibility, contributing to the construction of the all-people national defense, the people's war posture to firmly defend the Fatherland in all situations.

## **CONCLUSION**

It can be seen that, because of the intertwined interests, before France's intention to retake Indochina, major countries either actively supported it as in the case of Great Britain, were neutral as in the case of the US, ignored as in the case of the Union Bucket and bargain, an exchange like in the case of Chiang Kai-shek government. This helped De Gaulle's attempt to retake Indochina without any significant resistance. Only three weeks after the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, on September 23, 1945, the French colonialists hid in the shadow of the British army, disarmed the Japanese army in the South, opened fire to invade our country once again. On the morning of September 23, 1945, the Party Committee and the Southern Administrative Committee (later renamed the Resistance Committee) had an emergency meeting at Cay Mai Street (Cho Lon). Comrade Hoang Quoc Viet on behalf of the Party Central Committee

and Viet Minh Headquarters attended. The conference decided to mobilize the people to resolutely resist the French colonialists. The Southern Resistance Committee was established, ordered a general strike, a strike, a non-cooperation with the enemy, and a blockade of the enemy. Under the leadership of the Party, the people of South Vietnam unitedly stood up, rushed to the front to fight the invaders, and opened a new page of glorious history - the Vietnamese nation's long-term resistance war against the French.

To quote Professor Tran Van Giau - Chairman of the Southern Resistance Committee at that time: "We are ready to talk if De Gaulle's representatives are subject to negotiations on the basis that France recognizes Vietnam's complete independence. But if De Gaulle's deputies want to put the discussion on a different basis (France's return to Indochina), we would like to give the gun and answer, etc. If any part of Vietnam's land is lost, we must use blood but put the problem of Vietnam on the international green carpet" [10] President Ho Chi Minh also wrote many emails and letters to the heads of countries and international organizations such as the US and the Government. Chiang Kai-shek government, Soviet Union, United Nations.

It is clear that the position of the head of the Southern Resistance Committee, along with the diplomatic activities of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, is headed by President Ho Chi Minh. He wrote many emails and letters to the heads of countries such as the US, Chiang Kai-shek's government, the Soviet Union, to the United Nations, etc., to review the war between France and us in the next nine years. It can be seen that not only France but also the Allied countries, because of calculations on the basis of their own interests, did not pay attention to the interests of the Vietnamese people. A peace was missed. France had to pay dearly for the wrong decision to pursue a senseless war of aggression in Vietnam.

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