

HO CHI MINH NATIONAL ACADEMY OF POLITICS

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**HO CHI MINH'S DIPLOMATIC ART AND ITS
APPLICATION IN VIETNAM IN THE CONTEXT OF
GLOBALIZATION AND INTERNATIONAL
INTEGRATION**

SUMMARY OF DOCTORAL THESIS

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INTRODUCTION

1. Reasons for choosing the topic

Every nation, in the process of its formation and development, must address two fundamental issues: domestic and foreign affairs. These two issues have a dialectical relationship, interacting and supporting each other, creating mutual strength and leverage. Although foreign policy has a certain degree of independence, as V.I. Lenin outlined, foreign policy is a continuation of domestic policy, serving domestic policy. Diplomacy is both a tool and the most important means to implement a country's foreign policy. Throughout thousands of years of nation-building and defense, diplomacy has been an effective tool used by feudal states to establish friendly relations and peaceful coexistence with neighboring countries. Vietnamese feudal dynasties often implemented a clever, flexible, and appropriate foreign policy: persistently pursuing a flexible, tolerant, and principled diplomatic policy and line to achieve strategic goals. All of these have created a diplomatic art with a unique Vietnamese identity, full of spirit, humanity, peace and friendship. "Defeating brutality by great righteousness; Replacing violence with benevolence"; "Ending wars for eternity; Establishing lasting peace" are thoughts and philosophies of universal value, built, nurtured and passed down to future generations by our ancestors, and they remain relevant today.

These traditions and fine values have been further enriched, promoted, and illuminated in the Ho Chi Minh era, forming Vietnam's diplomacy associated with his thoughts, style, and diplomatic art. That is the art of dealing with neighboring countries, the art of diplomacy to balance relations with great powers, the art of diplomacy to be fair, "to be firm in objectives, flexible in strategies and tactics", "to make more friends and fewer enemies", to take advantage of conflicts to divide enemies, the art of international mobilization, to raise the flag of peace and justice, the art of knowing how to win step by step, both fighting and negotiating... All of these have become classic lessons in gathering forces, isolating, weakening, and dividing the enemy, building alliances, winning international public opinion, and gaining widespread domestic and international support for national independence, freedom, and unity.

Consistently adhering to the policy of "resolutely and persistently safeguarding sovereignty, territory, and national-ethnic interests at sea, in the air, and on land," Vietnamese diplomacy has creatively applied Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art: knowing how to seize, capitalize on, and create opportunities, "knowing oneself, knowing the enemy, knowing the times, knowing when to stop and when to change," knowing how to win over partners and subdue opponents, "making more friends and fewer enemies," "setting aside the past and looking to the future" for peace, cooperation, and development, and grasping the dynamics of the relationships between the country's strength and the international situation, which is one of the factors contributing to the success of the renovation cause. However, at the 12th National Congress, our Party also frankly acknowledged that: "Foreign affairs and international integration have not been proactive in some aspects, and their effectiveness has not been high. There are no synchronous and effective solutions to limit the negative impacts in the process of accelerating international integration. In awareness and practical guidance, we have sometimes failed to keep up with the rapid and complex changes in the world and regional situation" [65, p.152]. The 13th National Congress of the Party pointed out major limitations that Vietnamese diplomacy needs to overcome: "International integration has not been implemented evenly, and the overall effectiveness is not high. The capacity for international integration is slow to improve. We have not fully exploited and promoted the effectiveness of intertwined and stable relationships with important partners" [66, p.77]. In addition, relations with some partners, including strategic and comprehensive partners, are not truly deep and commensurate. The handling of bilateral and multilateral relations "has not fully promoted the spirit of resolute, proactive, and offensive action in matters related to strategic interests" [197, p.38]."

How to "turn danger into safety" and position the country most advantageously in the strategic chessboard in the region and the world? In these conditions: "Diplomacy must take the lead in building peace, protecting the Fatherland, and attracting resources for national development. We must grasp and skillfully apply the lessons of our forefathers: 'Building the country goes hand in hand with defending the country,' 'defending the country when it is not in danger,' and have strategies to prevent and eliminate the risks of war early and from afar"

[198, p.12]. Vietnam must continue to creatively apply Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art: maintaining the "unchanging" of national and ethnic interests to have a flexible and adaptable "ever-changing" diplomatic approach to a constantly changing world is an urgent requirement in the new era. In the next stage, diplomacy must do a good job of strategic research and forecasting to discover new trends and opportunities, placing Vietnam in the right development trend of the times; continue to "implement an independent and self-reliant foreign policy, multilateralization and diversification, proactive and active international integration; maintain a peaceful and stable environment, creating favorable conditions for the cause of national construction and defense; enhance Vietnam's position and prestige in the region and the world" [65, p.79]."

With lasting value, timeliness and application in a new context, I decided to choose the topic: ***“Ho Chi Minh’s diplomatic art and its application in Vietnam in the context of globalization and international integration”*** as a doctoral thesis in Ho Chi Minh Studies.

2. Research Objectives and Tasks

2.1. Research Objectives

Research and clarify the content of Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art. On that basis, propose directions to continue creatively applying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art in the context of globalization and international integration.

2.2. Research Tasks

-To achieve the above objectives, the thesis must focus on the following tasks:

-Overviewing the research situation related to the thesis and issues raised for further research.

-Building a system of related concepts.

-Analyzing and interpreting the art of Ho Chi Minh diplomacy.

-Assessing the current status of applying the art of Ho Chi Minh diplomacy focusing on research in the period of globalization and international integration. From there, identify issues raised to continue creatively applying the art of Ho Chi Minh diplomacy in the context of globalization and international integration.

- Orientating creative application of Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art in the context of globalization and international integration.

3. Research Subjects and Scope

3.1. Research Subjects

The thesis focuses on studying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art and applying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art in the context of globalization and international integration.

3.2. Research Scope

- Regarding time: The thesis focuses on studying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art from 1945 to 1969.

- Regarding content: studying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art, analyzing and explaining the current situation of applying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art from ideology to diplomatic activities in the context of globalization and international integration.

4. Theoretical basis and research methods

- Based on the methodology of Marxism-Leninism on dialectical materialism and historical materialism, the foreign policy and viewpoints of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the foreign policy of the State of Vietnam.

- Analytical and synthetic methods; Historical and logical methods; Comparative and contrastive methods.

On the basis of these methods, the author of the thesis must use many techniques to process, compare and filter the rich sources of documents collected, ensuring scientific and orthodox nature.

5. Scientific contributions of the thesis

Clarifying some basic concepts and contents of Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art; some main contents of creative application of Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the State of Vietnam in the new context.

After completion, the thesis will contribute a source of materials for Ho Chi Minh studies, diplomatic science and related sciences.

6. Significance of the thesis

In theory: affirming the value and significance of Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art in planning the Party's foreign policy and the State's diplomacy. Providing scientific arguments on Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic

art for Party committees, leaders, and diplomatic officials to refer to in building diplomatic strategies and tactics and organizing their implementation creatively, achieving high results.

In practice: Clarifying the practical value of Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art in the Vietnamese revolutionary process, the current status of applying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art in the renovation period. The thesis contributes additional sources of documents for research, study, and creative application of Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art to enhance Vietnam's position in the international arena.

7. Structure of the thesis

In addition to the Introduction, Conclusion, and References, the thesis consists of 4 chapters.

Chapter 1

OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH SITUATION RELATED TO THE THESIS TOPIC

1.1. RESEARCH WORKS ON HO CHI MINH'S DIPLOMATIC IDEOLOGY

Up to now, many scientists have researched Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic ideology. Notable authors are: Vo Nguyen Giap, Pham Hong Chuong, Tran Minh Truong, Vu Duong Huan, Dang Cong Thanh, Do Thi Thao, Trinh Xuan Thang, Phan Ngoc Lien, Dang Van Thai, Nguyen Thi Kim Dung, Le Kim Hai, Dinh Xuan Ly, Song Thanh, Vu Duc Hinh, the Diplomatic History Research Committee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hoang Diep, Vu Khoan, Vo Van Sung, Le Van Yen... Researchers have clarified Ho Chi Minh's ideology on the worldview and foreign policy for peace, cooperation and development, for the progress of Vietnam and the world, and the role of Ho Chi Minh in establishing friendly and equal relations between Vietnam and countries around the world.

1.2. RESEARCH WORKS ON HO CHI MINH'S DIPLOMATIC ART

Some authors initially mentioned Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art from different perspectives such as: Nguyen Phuc Luan, Tran Duong, Nguyen Dy Nien, Mai Van Bo, Song Thanh, Nguyen Khac Huynh, Vo Nguyen Giap, Luu Van Loi and Nguyen Anh Vu... In addition, the research works

of some foreign scholars have provided valuable sources of documents on the success of Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art, documents from the Pentagon, the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee... helping the author to refer, compare, select, and supplement new sources of data on Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art of handling situations, taking advantage of conflicts to divide opponents and balancing relations with the great powers.

1.3. Research works on the application of Ho Chi Minh's ideology, style and diplomatic art

The authors Nguyen Phu Trong, Mai Van Bo, Tran Nham, Bui Dinh Phong, Vu Duong Ninh, Tran Minh Truong, Nguyen Thi Binh, Vu Duong Huan... clarified the creative application of Ho Chi Minh's ideology and diplomatic art in the two resistance wars against France and the US to save the country, the period of breaking the blockade and embargo, and the period of renovation and international integration.

With the current capacity and conditions, it is difficult for the author of the thesis to fully grasp the research works of domestic and foreign authors related to the thesis topic.

1.4. ISSUES RELATED TO THE THESIS HAVE BEEN RESEARCHED

Research works on Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic ideology and style have clarified the following issues: the basis for formation and basic content of Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic ideology, initially mentioning Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic style and school; analyzing Ho Chi Minh's viewpoints and principles of conduct in international relations, "applying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic ideology".

Some works initially address Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art from different perspectives, often linking the study of Ho Chi Minh's thought with his diplomatic art, or linking methods and styles with his diplomatic art, or, in the process of studying specific foreign affairs activities, pointing out some aspects from the perspective of Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art when handling complex and difficult diplomatic situations. Some works have combined the study of the application of Ho Chi Minh's thought and diplomatic art in the new situation.

Up to now, there has been no dedicated research monograph on Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art, covering the terminology, basic content, value,

and practical application in Vietnam. Nevertheless, the published works are rich and valuable scientific resources that have provided insights and guidance for the author to identify the content areas that the thesis needs to focus on.

1.5. Research focus of the thesis

Firstly, analyze and interpret Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art: the concept and main contents; *Secondly*, analyze the influencing factors, the current situation of applying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art in Vietnam during the renovation period, and the issues raised; *Thirdly*, the author boldly presents and analyzes some orientations in the creative application of Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art today to create a favorable environment to enhance Vietnam's position and prestige in the region and the world, maintain a peaceful environment, and create conditions for national development.

Chapter 2

HO CHI MINH'S DIPLOMATIC ART

2.1. CONCEPTS

2.1.1. Diplomacy and Foreign Affairs

Diplomacy is the activity of a country in terms of international relations or the communication of a country with the outside to protect national interests and solve related international issues. *Foreign affairs* refers to matters concerning foreign countries or external entities, describing the policies and interactions of a State or an organization to distinguish them from domestic affairs.

2.1.2. Concept of Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic ideology

Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic ideology is a system of arguments on strategic and tactical lines in relations between Vietnam and other countries to protect national interests and resolve international issues through peaceful negotiations.

2.1.3. Diplomatic art and diplomatic art of Ho Chi Minh

Concept of Diplomatic Art: Diplomatic art refers to creative diplomatic methods and approaches that are used flexibly, skillfully, and ingeniously to achieve the highest effectiveness in establishing a nation's position on the international stage.

Concept of Ho Chi Minh's Diplomatic Art: Chi Minh's diplomatic art is the art of creating and skillfully and fluently using leverage and power in diplomatic activities to firmly protect national interests and sovereignty and satisfactorily resolve international issues.

2.2. MAIN CONTENT OF HO CHI MINH'S DIPLOMATIC ART

2.2.1. The art of 'handling situations' and seizing opportunities in international relations

Firstly, studying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art, it can be seen that the art of "handling situations" and seizing opportunities was used extensively by him in diplomatic activities to establish a new diplomatic entity, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV). *Secondly*, Ho Chi Minh determined that the opportune moment to declare the birth of the DRV was immediately after Japan's surrender and before the Allied forces arrived: Even if the Allied forces have not landed, our general uprising can still erupt and achieve victory [75, p.65].

However, the DRV, a fledgling diplomatic entity, fell into a dangerous situation with complex and intertwined international relations. These contradictions continued to be resolved by Ho Chi Minh through the art of "firm in objectives, flexible in strategies and tactics", skillfully applying the "five knowledges".

2.2.2. The art of diplomacy "firm in objectives, flexible in strategies and tactics", skillfully apply the "five knowledges"

Firstly, "firm in objectives, flexible in strategies and tactics" resolutely maintain independence and autonomy to build the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, a new diplomatic entity in international relations.

Secondly, "firm in objectives, flexible in strategies and tactics" with Chiang Kai-shek's puppet forces to protect the revolutionary government and hold back the French army from entering Hanoi. *Thirdly*, with the French-Chiang, through the newspaper Le Monde, Ho Chi Minh sent a message of readiness and made many concessions to avoid a possible war. *Fourthly*, to be able to change while still maintaining principles in diplomacy, Ho Chi Minh skillfully applied the "five knowledges": knowing oneself, knowing others, knowing the situation, knowing when to stop and knowing how to adapt.

2.2.3. The diplomatic art of making more friends and fewer enemies, exploiting contradictions within the opposition

Firstly, skillfully establishing various diplomatic channels to gradually break the revolution's "fighting within encirclement" situation, "making countries recognize the independence of Vietnam" [141, p.174].

Secondly, the diplomatic art of "peace for progress" with the Chiang army and its henchmen, following the principle of "turning major issues into minor ones, and minor issues into non-issues," focusing on deepening contradictions within the opposition. *One*, to protect the newly established fledgling government, moving the revolution from a weak position to a stalemate, Ho Chi Minh's diplomacy first created a conciliatory and friendly atmosphere with Chiang's army generals. *Two*, applying Sun Tzu's military strategy to deal with the Chiang army, Ho Chi Minh secretly and skillfully "made the enemy suspicious of each other, the superiors unable to command the subordinates, and the subordinates unwilling to obey the superiors."

Thirdly, both making peace with the French to drive out the Chiang army and deepening the contradictions within the French army to weaken them.

Fourthly, the diplomatic art of dividing France and the US and their henchmen.

2.2.4. The diplomatic art of balancing relations with great powers

Firstly, a correct understanding of the dominant role of large countries in international relations. *Secondly*, overcoming differences in ideology, finding common ground in interests, and gradually building balanced relations with major powers. *Thirdly*, respecting and saving face for major powers while protecting the honor of the Vietnamese nation. *Fourthly*, the diplomatic art of balancing relations with the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and China.

2.2.5. Diplomatic art with neighboring and regional countries

Firstly, building a relationship of "both comrades and brothers" with China. *Secondly*, creating a special relationship and building the "three Indochinese countries fighting alliance". *Thirdly*, building friendly relations with Southeast Asian countries and India.

2.2.6. The art of "fighting and negotiating simultaneously," knowing how to win step by step.

Firstly, Negotiating and signing the Preliminary Agreement 6.3 and the Provisional Agreement dated 14.9.1946; Deciding to launch a nationwide resistance: "Rather sacrifice everything, than absolutely not lose the country, absolutely not be slaves".

By mid-1953, the international situation had changes that affected the development trend of the Indochina issue. Ho Chi Minh declared that Vietnam was ready to resolve the issue peacefully through direct negotiations between the DRV Government and the French Government, on the basis that France respected the true independence of Vietnam;

The Dien Bien Phu victory and the Geneva Conference are vivid examples of the art of "fighting and negotiating simultaneously," knowing how to win step by step.

Secondly, during the resistance war against the Americans.

Ho Chi Minh directed that it was necessary to be proactive and create conditions to apply the strategy of fighting and negotiating simultaneously, emphasizing the relationship between military, political, and diplomatic struggles: "We only gain at the negotiating table what we have gained on the battlefield".

Regarding the principle of combining fighting and negotiating, Ho Chi Minh believed that fighting was the main thing. Fighting and negotiating simultaneously was to divide the enemy. Negotiating was to serve fighting: "The art of combining offense and negotiation with the enemy must be extremely flexible, not falling into excessive reliance or ambiguity regarding resolving the situation through negotiation; first, we must resolve the situation through gaining strength, then we will have the conditions to negotiate".

2.2.7. The diplomatic art of winning hearts and minds, enhancing justice and peace in international mobilization

Firstly, persistently persuading the international community to recognize the "undeniable truth" regarding Vietnam's independence. *Secondly*, skillfully persuading the opponent with reason, justice, and morality to restore peace. *Thirdly*, the diplomatic art of mobilizing peace and justice-loving people around the world to support Vietnam.

During the resistance war against the French, Ho Chi Minh appealed: “For humanity, justice, common peace, and common interests, the Vietnamese people hope that you will help in every way”

During the resistance war against the Americans for national salvation, Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art brought great results to the Vietnamese revolution: "Throughout the world, a boiling wave of opposition to the US and support for us was created”.

Ho Chi Minh's art of international mobilization received the deep affection of the leaders of many countries.

Chapter 3

APPLICATION OF HO CHI MINH'S DIPLOMATIC ART CURRENT SITUATION AND ISSUES RAISED

3.1. BASIC CONTENTS IN THE APPLICATION OF HO CHI MINH'S DIPLOMATIC ART DURING THE PERIOD 1975-1985

3.1.1. International Context of the Period 1975-1985

After 1975, the world experienced major changes in all aspects of politics, economics, and international relations. Major countries adjusted their foreign policies according to a new and extremely complex situation, signaling significant shifts in international relations, which strongly impacted the application of Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art.

3.1.2. Application of Ho Chi Minh's Diplomatic Art in 1975-1985

3.1.2.1. Prioritizing Cooperation with the Soviet Union and Socialist Countries

Applying and developing Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art in the new stage, the Communist Party of Vietnam affirmed its readiness to cooperate with all countries regardless of political regime, without creating enmity with anyone. However, the rapid changes in the Soviet-Chinese-American triangle caused Vietnamese diplomacy to fall into a seriously besieged position, gradually leaning towards the Soviet Union.

3.1.2.2. Persistently resolving relations in accordance with the tradition of peace and friendship with China and Cambodia

With China: While respecting the dignity of a major power and safeguarding the honor of the Vietnamese nation, and while also being

grateful for the assistance of a friendly country, building a relationship of "both comrades and brothers", Vietnam persistently and proactively proposed negotiations to resolve disputes peacefully. Vietnam persistently sent 17 diplomatic notes requesting China to resume peace negotiations. Vietnam consistently affirmed its continued persistence in restoring the long-standing friendly and good neighborly relations with the Chinese people. Vietnam was always "ready to negotiate with China at any level, anywhere, anytime, and without preconditions."

With Cambodia: After its establishment, the People's Republic of Kampuchea established full diplomatic relations with Vietnam. The two sides exchanged ambassadors and signed the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation. Since then, Vietnam has restored and developed friendly, good neighborly, and comprehensive cooperative relations with Cambodia.

3.1.2.3. Establishing, strengthening, and expanding cooperation with countries and international organizations for post-war reconstruction

The Spring 1975 victory enhanced Vietnam's prestige and position in the world. Creatively applying the diplomatic art of winning hearts and minds, enhancing justice and peace in international mobilization, Vietnam successively became a full member of major international financial organizations such as: IMF, WB, ADB (1976), and became the 149th member of the UN (9.1977). Relations between Vietnam and the UN were maintained and developed in a number of areas.

3.1.2.4. Fighting against the US Policy of Encirclement and Embargo

Creatively applying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art by overcoming ideological differences and finding common ground in interests, Vietnam has always struggled and explained to the US that normalizing Vietnam-US relations is a political and diplomatic issue that benefits both countries and contributes to regional and global peace and stability. Based on the tradition of benevolence and national morality, Vietnam has been, is, and will cooperate with the US on these issues, regardless of whether normalization occurs.

3.1.3. Some experiences in applying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art during the period 1975-1985

Firstly, fully understanding the era and the trends of movement and change in basic international relations to formulate correct diplomatic

strategies and tactics. *Secondly*, in conditions where the international relations of the great powers have rapid shifts, it is necessary to calmly handle diplomatic situations, save face for the great powers in order to "make more friends and fewer enemies," and seize all international conditions to rebuild and build the country. *Thirdly*, being non-partisan and not taking sides in international relations. *Fourthly*, prioritizing the resolution of all disputes with neighboring countries through negotiations, avoiding confrontation, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. *Fifthly*, persistently pursuing national reconciliation, mobilizing, propagandizing, and persuading peace and justice-loving people around the world, connecting with the overseas Vietnamese community to support Vietnam's continued cause of national construction and defense.

3.2. APPLICATION OF HO CHI MINH'S DIPLOMATIC ART IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION AND INTERNATIONAL INTEGRATION

3.2.1. International context affecting the application of Ho Chi Minh's Diplomatic Art in the context of globalization and international integration

3.2.1.1. Strong development of the scientific and technological revolution

The achievements of science and technology strongly impact all aspects of social life on a global scale, transforming the face of each nation and profoundly affecting Vietnam's foreign policy, requiring Vietnam to continue to creatively apply Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art to open the door to the world.

3.2.1.2. The collapse of Eastern European Socialist countries and the Soviet Union changed the world order

The Warsaw Pact was dissolved. The Cold War of the bipolar world order ended, leading to fundamental changes in the global order. Major countries shifted or adjusted their foreign strategies. The trend of opening up, détente, and improving relations of both cooperation and struggle with each other became increasingly clear. This diversified and multilateralized international relations.

The world was in a state of "one superpower, multiple great powers." These included the US, Western Europe, Japan, Russia, and China. International relations continued to be dominated by major powers. In this

context, Vietnam was required to creatively apply Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art to gradually enhance its position on the international political stage.

3.2.1.3. The impact of globalization

Globalization is the process of spreading common values on a global scale. The impact of science and technology, telecommunications networks, transnational corporations, regional and international organizations... has made globalization an inevitable and objective trend that strongly impacts the development of all countries in the world, including Vietnam.

3.2.1.4. Financial crises, regional and global economic recession, and the Covid-19 Pandemic

From the impact of these crises, the relationship between independence, self-reliance, and international integration, between internal and external forces, needs to be more fully and clearly understood. All of the above poses a requirement for diplomacy to firmly grasp the world's trends, forecast the situation, and enhance the capacity to handle it, so that the country can continue to integrate deeply into the world economy and continue to develop sustainably in the direction of national independence, democracy, and social progress.

3.2.1.5. A world of peace but not tranquility

The issue of ethnicity and religion is often associated with separatist tendencies, threatening national sovereignty and territorial integrity. The sudden changes in the foreign policies of major powers, the conflicts in Ukraine, the Middle East, and the conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia... have a strong impact on Vietnam's diplomacy. This context requires Vietnamese diplomacy to creatively apply Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art to contribute to building understanding between nations and religions, and to prevent and repel actions that exploit ethnic and religious issues to interfere with the country's sovereignty.

3.2.2. Achievements in applying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art during the renovation period

3.2.2.1. Negotiating the resolution of the Cambodian issue, unraveling the Knots in Vietnam's international relations

Creatively applying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art, Vietnam built a friendly and emotional bond with international public opinion in resolving

the Cambodian issue flexibly and skillfully. The biggest knot in Vietnam's international relations with countries in the region and the world was untied, opening up favorable opportunities for the normalization of relations between countries in the region and the world.

3.2.2.2. Normalizing and Developing Relations with China and the United States

Negotiating the Normalization of Relations with China

The policy of being ready to negotiate to resolve issues related to relations between Vietnam and China, normalizing relations and restoring friendship between the two countries in the spirit of equality, ensuring independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. For the benefit of the people of the two countries, Vietnam proactively and publicly declared its readiness to negotiate with China at any level, at any time, anywhere to normalize relations between the two countries.

Normalization of relations (3.1991).

Comprehensive strategic partnership (2008).

The two countries upgraded their relationship to a "Community of Shared Future" in 2023. However, normalizing relations is a long-term process, with many complex issues to resolve, especially the issue of sovereignty over sea and islands. Vietnam continues to creatively apply Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art to handle relations with China skillfully and flexibly in each specific issue.

Negotiating the Normalization and Development of Relations with the United States

Applying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art, Vietnam proactively shifted from a confrontational struggle to a combination of cooperation and struggle, peaceful coexistence, and not considering any country as an enemy, in order to gradually normalize relations with the United States.

President G.H. Bush sent Vietnam a detailed Road Map of the stages of normalizing relations (4.1991).

During the negotiation process, Vietnam created all favorable conditions for the US to clarify all information related to the POW/MIA issue.

Applying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art, Vietnam chose the fields of economics, science, and education as a breakthrough in building relations with the United States.

3.2.2.3. Building, consolidating and developing relations with neighboring countries

Developing a special relationship with Laos.

Building good neighborly relations, traditional friendship, comprehensive and long-term sustainable cooperation with Cambodia.

Building cooperative relationships with countries in the Southeast Asian region.

3.2.2.4. Resolving land border issues and protecting sea and island sovereignty through peaceful negotiations

Negotiating to build a peaceful land border

With China, this is a fair result for the two countries to sign the Agreement on Land Borders (1999), creating a solid and long-term stable legal basis for demarcation and marker planting in the field.

With Laos, the 2337km long border was completed in demarcation and marker planting in 1987. *With Cambodia*, the two countries have planted markers to demarcate 84% of the border (1045km) with 2047 markers.

Protecting sea and island sovereignty

Vietnam has signed: Agreement on historical waters with Cambodia (1982); Agreement on sea border demarcation with Thailand (1987); Agreement on joint exploitation cooperation of overlapping continental shelves with Malaysia (1992); Agreement on demarcation of territorial waters, exclusive economic zones and continental shelves, Agreement on fishery cooperation with China in the Gulf of Tonkin (2000) and Agreement on continental shelf border demarcation with Indonesia (2003). These agreements mark the success of Vietnamese diplomacy in creatively applying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art to resolve complex issues related to national sovereignty.

3.2.2.5. Building and consolidating cooperation with the Russian Federation and traditional friendly countries

Consolidating relations with the Russian Federation.

Vietnam proactively restored and developed relations with the Russian Federation by setting aside differences in political systems and renewing relations by negotiating and signing the Agreement on Economic and Trade Relations and the Protocol on Goods Exchange.

Currently, Vietnam-Russia relations are secured by a legal framework consisting of eighty different documents.

During President Putin's first visit to Vietnam (3.2001), the two countries elevated their relationship to a strategic partnership.

With traditional friendly countries in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, after these countries transitioned to capitalism, Vietnam proactively restored relations.

With Cuba, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, despite many difficulties, with the "command of the heart," Vietnam has always supported Cuba, helping it overcome difficulties caused by the strict US embargo.

With India, since 1991, Vietnam has defined a strategy to develop solidarity, trust, and improve the efficiency of multi-faceted cooperation with India. In 2020, the Vietnam-India comprehensive strategic partnership was guided by the "Joint Vision for Peace, Prosperity and People”.

3.2.2.6. Proactive, Flexible, and Creative Multilateral Diplomacy

With international financial organizations, Vietnam's innovation message and development goals attract strong interest and support from international donors.

With the United Nations: Vietnam considers relations with this largest global international organization a top priority in its multilateral diplomacy strategy.

With the EU: While international relations were narrowed due to the severe crisis in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, Vietnam quickly negotiated and established diplomatic relations with the EU (11.1990).

With the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Vietnam actively builds cooperation mechanisms between members and with ASEAN partners to build this organization into a highly reputable regional organization in the world.

3.3. MAJOR ISSUES FACING VIETNAMESE DIPLOMACY IN CONTINUING TO CREATIVELY APPLY HO CHI MINH'S DIPLOMATIC ART

In the context of international relations with many new, complex, and unpredictable developments, especially the East Sea issue, a number of key issues are being raised that Vietnamese diplomacy needs to continue to creatively apply Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art to resolve.

First, in international relations, it is necessary to constantly innovate thinking, "look broadly, think carefully" to assess and forecast the world situation and the trends of the times accurately. *Second*, develop broad, independent, self-reliant, and balanced relations with major powers. *Third*, attach importance to deepening, stabilizing, and sustaining friendly relations with neighboring countries, avoiding any risk of confrontation or conflict. *Fourth*, promote new strengths and positions to enhance Vietnam's position in multilateral organizations, maximizing external resources for national development.

Chapter 4

DIRECTIONS FOR THE CREATIVE APPLICATION OF HO CHI MINH'S DIPLOMATIC ART TODAY

4.1. INTERNATIONAL FACTORS AFFECTING VIETNAM'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

4.1.1. The Impact of Globalization and International Integration

Globalization is increasingly developing, having a multidimensional impact on Vietnam's international relations.

In the process of globalization, the economic power and influence of wealthy major countries are transformed into political power and influence. Conflicts of economic interests and clashes of cultural values often lead to political contradictions, increasing relations between small and large countries in international relations.

4.1.2. Adjustments in the Foreign Policies of Major Powers in the Indo-Pacific Region

The Indo-Pacific will continue to be a focal point for competing new foreign policies of major powers, significantly impacting Vietnam's international relations.

4.1.2.1. The U.S. Asia-Pacific Pivot Strategy

The friction between the U.S. FOIP and China's BRI will create opposing forces of attraction for the U.S. and China as they increase their influence and rally support in the region. Therefore, maintaining diplomatic balance with major powers is a challenging task for all small nations, including Vietnam.

4.1.2.2. China's Core Interests Strategy

Amidst the increasingly tense confrontation in U.S.-China relations, China's policy adjustments regarding its core interests are posing new challenges to the international relations of countries in the region, including Vietnam, in maintaining balance with major powers.

4.1.2.3. India's "Act East" Policy

India has publicly declared that "India's strategic interest extends from the northern Arabian Sea to the southern South China Sea," but identifies ASEAN countries as the starting point and strategic pillar of its Act East policy. The issue of security, safety, and freedom of navigation in the South China Sea is a crucial link in India's Act East initiative.

4.1.2.4. Russia's "Turn to the East" Policy

For Northeast Asia, Russia cooperates closely with China in a "no limits" partnership, encompassing content, space, and time, considering it a "priority partner" of strategic significance, not based on "temporary interests or opportunistic calculations." Russia is building a close alliance with North Korea.

For Middle East, Russia positions itself as the most reliable mediator, gradually resolving the complex relationships between Middle Eastern countries. The Middle East is where Russia has restored and enhanced its prestige, influence, and international standing, which were lost after the end of the Cold War.

India is a major pillar in Russia's "Turn to the East" policy.

The important position of ASEAN", Russia's support for the full implementation of the Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea and the early conclusion of a Code of Conduct in the South China Sea are of particular significance".

4.1.2.5. Japan's Foreign Policy Adjustments

Japan's new diplomatic policy adjustments have a strong impact on international relations in the ASEAN region, with predominantly favorable impacts for Vietnam.

However, Vietnam needs to creatively apply Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art to both leverage Japan's foreign policy in affirming its national role, position, and sovereignty, while not adversely affecting its relations with China and Russia.

4.1.2.5. Adjustments in Australia's International Relations

Regarding the South China Sea issue, Australia maintains its neutral stance, advocating for non-interference in regional sovereignty disputes, focusing instead on ensuring unimpeded international shipping routes.

Vietnam "places Australia's position in its foreign policy priority order on par with key European countries such as the UK, France, and Germany, and the two leading Asian countries, Japan and South Korea".

4.1.2.7. ASEAN's Indo-Pacific Outlook

In the context of major powers adjusting their foreign policies towards the Indo-Pacific region, to avoid being placed in a position of having to "choose sides," ASEAN countries have discussed and reached a consensus on a common perspective regarding the Indo-Pacific region.

In summary: The adjustment of major powers' foreign policy strategies towards the Indo-Pacific region will continue to have significant impacts on Vietnam's foreign affairs.

Positive impacts:

Firstly, the new diplomatic strategies of major powers in the region all identify Vietnam as a "pillar," "important partner," "key bridge," and "safe gateway" for them to enter the region. *Secondly*, major powers expand the scope of strategic competition and increase influence from the Asia-Pacific region to the Indo-Pacific region, but all have an interest in maintaining peace and stability in the ASEAN region. *Thirdly*, the South China Sea is a prominent issue in the diplomatic strategies of these countries. Major powers strongly condemn China's dangerous actions, support Vietnam's stance to maintain the status quo, avoid complicating the situation, and gradually resolve the South China Sea issue through peaceful means. This has a favorable impact on Vietnam's struggle to protect its maritime sovereignty.

Negative impacts:

Firstly, the fierce strategic competition between major powers makes the global situation and the Indo-Pacific region highly volatile, complex, and unpredictable. *Secondly*, in the process of implementing and protecting their strategic interests, major powers often display and maintain a military presence in the region. National security and sovereignty challenges are becoming increasingly complex, not only

directly or indirectly affecting the peaceful and stable environment for development but also creating difficulties for Vietnam's international relations. *Thirdly*, the competition for influence among major powers, especially the rivalry between the two superpowers, the US and China, puts small countries in the region, including Vietnam, under significant domestic and foreign pressure. *Fourthly*, although ASEAN countries have a unified perspective on the Indo-Pacific outlook, the emphasis placed by major powers on ASEAN's role and position also has a negative impact on the internal unity and cohesion of the bloc.

4.2. GUIDELINES FOR THE CREATIVE APPLICATION OF HO CHI MINH'S DIPLOMATIC ART IN THE CONTEXT OF UPCOMING GLOBALIZATION

4.2.1. Applying Ho Chi Minh's Diplomatic Art to Resolve the East Sea issue through peaceful negotiations

Firstly, conduct thorough forecasts of potential scenarios or situations in the South China Sea to guide the application of Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art in resolving disputes through peaceful means. *Secondly*, firm in objectives, flexible in strategies and tactics in resolving the East Sea issue. *Thirdly*, persevere, remain calm, be wise, flexible, and achieve gradual victories leading to complete success. *Fourthly*, engage in persuasive advocacy using international law and reason, and mobilize international public opinion support.

4.2.2. creative application of Ho Chi Minh's Diplomatic Art in consolidating and developing good neighborly relations

Firstly, build a friendly relationship that is "forever green and eternally sustainable with China". *Secondly*, strengthen the special friendly relationship with the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the long-term peaceful and friendly relationship with the Kingdom of Cambodia. *Thirdly*, with Southeast Asian neighbors: President Ho Chi Minh laid the foundation and built bridges of friendship between the people of Vietnam and the people of neighboring Southeast Asian countries. Having gone through regional fluctuations, from confrontation to dialogue, and becoming good friends and partners within the common ASEAN home, the relationship between Vietnam and its Southeast Asian neighbors is increasingly developing.

4.2.3. Expanding diplomatic relations with major powers based on the principle of steadfastness, perseverance, and determination

Firstly, creatively apply the "five knowledges" diplomatic art, "know yourself, know your enemy," regularly and proactively forecast and grasp regional and global situations related to the major powers' force gathering process, in order to have flexible and balanced responses in relations with the great powers. *Secondly*, balance relations with major powers based on national interests. *Thirdly*, skillfully maintain independence and self-reliance, avoiding one-sidedness. *Fourthly*, respect the role of major powers but persevere, remain steadfast, and resolutely struggle in partner and counterparty relationships.

4.2.4. Applying Ho Chi Minh's international advocacy art to elevate national status and secure international resources to quickly transform Vietnam into a developed industrial country

Firstly, affirm position through ASEAN, "a regional organization, international interests". *Secondly*, the UN is the largest multilateral international organization of 193 countries worldwide. The UNSC is an organization with a crucial role in global security and peace, so members compete fiercely to represent their regions in nominations and elections.

CONCLUSION

Along with the birth of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh founded and built the foundation of modern Vietnamese diplomacy. In the spirit of proactively building a Vietnamese revolutionary path consistent with the laws of historical movement, guided by righteousness and justice, Ho Chi Minh's thought and "diplomatic activities reached the level of art" [168, p.786]. Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art was creatively applied in the conditions of each period of the Vietnamese revolution. This includes the use of "situation handling" art, seizing opportunities in international relations to establish a constitutional diplomatic entity, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, immediately after the end of World War II; the art of "using the unchanging to respond to the changing"; the art of "making more friends and fewer enemies," exploiting contradictions to divide the enemy ranks; the art of balancing diplomacy with major powers;

the art of knowing how to win step by step, fighting while negotiating; the art of building comrade-like and brotherly relations with neighboring countries; the art of international advocacy using reason, justice, and righteousness to effectively combine national strength with the strength of the era, the nation with the international community, in order to gradually establish the position and image of an independent, democratic, just, and progressive Vietnam on the international stage. Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art demonstrates the height of intellect and diplomatic courage to think and act in dangerous situations, resolutely handling difficult issues of the Vietnamese revolution through diplomacy, leading the revolution to overcome all harsh challenges and advance towards victory. Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art also demonstrates the spirit of a humane, tolerant, and peaceful diplomacy based on international reason and justice. Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art was primarily implemented creatively and with great versatility by himself as the head of state and the Vietnamese diplomatic sector. At times, he seized opportunities to handle situations, "at times, he made peace to advance," at times, he "resolved to die for the Fatherland to live," at times, he fought while negotiating, achieving gradual victories to advance towards complete victory. This is the genius of Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art.

After completing the anti-American resistance for national salvation, creatively applying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art, Vietnamese diplomacy achieved many positive results. However, the diplomacy of the period 1975-1985 also left many important lessons in handling relations with major powers and neighboring countries to establish a peaceful and stable environment, continuing to promote international support that was already very strong during the war for the cause of national reconstruction. Entering the Renovation period, Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art continued to guide Vietnam in untangling knots in international relations. From peaceful negotiations to resolve the Cambodian issue, normalizing and developing relations with China and the United States to deeply integrating into international life, Vietnam has become a responsible, proactive and active member of regional and international organizations. Up to now, Vietnam has had good friendly relations with neighboring countries and all countries in the world, balancing relations with major countries. For nearly

forty years of applying Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art, Vietnam has maintained national sovereignty and security, a peaceful environment, creating conditions for the country to carry out strong reforms and integrate deeply into the world. The Communist Party of Vietnam has established relations with 63 ruling parties, 38 parties participating in the ruling coalition, 92 communist parties in 115 different countries. State diplomacy has established relations with 193 members of the UN. Including 12 comprehensive partners, 11 strategic partners, 7 comprehensive strategic partners, 3 special relationships (9.2024). Vietnam participates in most major regional and international multilateral institutions and has twice become a non-permanent member of the UNCS and many other UN organizations. The peaceful environment, stable politics, national security, social order and safety are always guaranteed, the abundant, intelligent and hardworking young labor force has created a new position and strength for Vietnam. That is the strong belief for Vietnam to attract international investment. To date, Vietnam has successfully negotiated FTAs with 55 countries, attracted 21,666 investment projects with more than 293 billion USD, more than 100 [197, p.8] leading national corporations in the world have been present in Vietnam, opening up new prospects for the country's development.

The process of globalization, international integration and strategic adjustments of major countries will continue to have multi-dimensional impacts on Vietnam's international relations. To promote positive impacts and limit negative impacts, Vietnam applies Ho Chi Minh's diplomatic art to resolve the East Sea issue by peaceful means, deepen friendly relations with neighboring countries, balance relations with major powers, and advocate internationally to maintain a peaceful and stable environment to affirm Vietnam's position in the international arena.

LIST OF PUBLISHED RESEARCH WORKS RELATED TO THE THESIS

1. Nguyen Minh Khoa (2017), “Ho Chi Minh's Journey to Find a Way to Save the Country and the Birth of the 'Duong Cach Menh’”, *Journal of Political Theory*, (6).
2. Nguyen Minh Khoa (2019), “Ho Chi Minh's Art of Seizing Opportunities on the International Political Chessboard”, *Journal of Theoretical Activities*, (2).
3. Nguyen Minh Khoa (2019), “Ho Chi Minh's Diplomatic Art with Major Powers to Establish Vietnam's Position on the International Political Chessboard”, *Journal of Theoretical Activities*, (5).
4. Nguyen Minh Khoa (2019), “Vietnamese Diplomacy 1975-1985: Achievements and Key Diplomatic Lessons”, *Journal of Theoretical Activities*, (8).
5. Nguyen Minh Khoa (2023), “Countering Distorted Arguments About Ho Chi Minh's Journey to Find a Way to Save the Country and Design a New Social Model in Vietnam”, *Journal of Ho Chi Minh Studies*, (55).