

JPRS 76134

30 July 1980

Vietnam Report

No. 2203

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 5, 1980

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

30 July 1980

VIETNAM REPORT

No. 2203

TAP CHI CONG SAN

No. 5, 1980

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the monthly theoretical and political journal of the Vietnam Communist Party published in Hanoi.

CONTENTS

President Ho Will Live Forever in Our Undertaking (pp 1-9) (Editorial)	1
Program for the Celebration of the 90th Anniversary of the Birth of President Ho Chi Minh (pp 10-25).....	10
President Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnam Communist Party on the Question of National Independence (pp 26-32, 42) (Ha Huy Giap)	31
Remembering the Teachings of Uncle Ho (pp 33-42) (Le Trong Tan)	41
Successes and Experience Gained in the Construction of Socialism and an Advanced Socialist Regime in Czechoslovakia (pp 43-52) (Jiri Jez) [Not translated]	
Our Party, a Creative Marxist-Leninist Party (pp 53-62, 67) (Nguyen Duc Binh)	55
President Ho and the Ethnic Minorities (pp 63-67) (Lo Van Hac)	68
Ho Chi Minh, the Personification of Proletarian Internationalism (pp 68-76, 85) (Hong Phuc, Thanh Le)	75

Research: The Names Used by President Ho Chi Minh and His Great Journey (pp 77-85)	
(The Tap, Thanh Nam).....	87
A New Achievement of the Documentary Film Sector in Presenting the Image of Uncle Ho (pp 86-88)	
(Dinh Nam).....	99

PRESIDENT HO WILL LIVE FOREVER IN OUR UNDERTAKING

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 5, May 1980
pp 1-9

[Editorial]

[Text] The 4,000 year history of the Vietnamese people has been a history of tenacious, unyielding struggle against foreign aggression. When the French colonialists invaded and occupied our country, our people, refusing to live as slaves, continuously arose in armed struggle, determined to fight the country-robbers and their traitorous lackeys. However, before our party was founded, every anti-French national salvation movement was drowned in a sea of blood. The primary reason for these defeats was that our people, although they possessed a high spirit of fighting to save the country, did not have a correct national salvation line.

At the time the crisis surrounding the line for national salvation was at its deepest and there seemed to be no way to extricate the country from its dark situation, Nguyen Ai Quoc, that is, our revered President Ho, went in search of a line with which to save the country and met the pressing need of history.

By researching the revolutionary situation and revolutionary activities in many countries, from capitalist, imperialist and colonial countries to Soviet Russia, the first worker-farmer state in the world, Uncle Ho, a genuine patriot, adopted Marxism-Leninism at an early date and became an outstanding communist fighter.

The genius of President Ho was seen in his creative application of Marxism-Leninism and the lessons of the Russian October Revolution to the conditions of our country; he charted for our people the genuine course of national salvation, the course of the proletarian revolution.

Like a flash of lightning at night, the national salvation thinking of President Ho went far beyond the vision and the thinking of contemporary

revolutionaries and patriots and opened a path that led to the historic turning point in the Vietnamese revolution: the turning point that ushered in the period of the Vietnamese patriotic movement being closely linked to communism. As Le Duan wrote: "The first great contribution made by President Ho was that he closely linked the Vietnamese revolutionary movement to the international worker movement, thereby leading the people of Vietnam down the course he himself had followed, from patriotism to Marxism-Leninism. This was the only course of liberation, it was the course charted for the working people and all oppressed nations of the world by the Russian October Revolution."(1)

Applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism, President Ho scientifically analyzed the basic antagonisms within Vietnamese society and pointed out that the Vietnamese revolution was a new style bourgeois democratic revolution (later to be called the people's national democratic revolution) and that the tasks and objectives of the Vietnamese revolution were to topple the imperialists and feudalists, win national independence, give land to the tiller and then advance to the socialist revolution without experiencing the stage of capitalist development.

The correct national salvation line of President Ho was clearly evident in many of his famous topics of discussion. As early as the 1920's, he pointed out the role of the masses in the revolution: "The revolution is the work of all the people, not just the work of one or two persons." He emphasized the tremendous role played by workers and farmers: "Workers and farmers are the masters of the revolution," "are the base of the revolution." He highly evaluated the role played by farmers, but he never placed sole emphasis upon the role played by farmers. He stated: "By themselves, farmers can never throw off the heavy weight that is crushing them" and "all opportunist movements that seek to ingratiate themselves with farmers, that consider farmers to be the principal force, the only moving force behind the revolution, the only revolutionary corps, will only lead to adventurism, extreme anarchy and to the betrayal of Leninism." He always emphasized that the revolution must be under the leadership of the working class and its party in order to win victory. He asserted: in order for the revolution to be successful, "it must first have a revolutionary party to mobilize and organize the masses at home and maintain liaison with the oppressed peoples and the proletariat everywhere. To be strong, the party must have as its nucleus...the most genuine, the most reliable, the most revolutionary of philosophies, Leninism." He also asserted: "Only socialism, communism can liberate the oppressed nations and the workers of the world from the yoke of slavery"; "the only course to follow to save the country and liberate the nation is the course of the proletarian revolution." He also upheld the thinking: "There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom." President Ho also pointed out the close relationship between the revolution of our country and the world revolution: "The Vietnamese revolution and the French revolution must maintain liaison with each other"; "we revolutionaries must also maintain liaison with all revolutionary parties in the world in order to combat capitalism and imperialism (such as the 3rd International)"; "the Vietnamese revolution is also a part of the world revolution. Anyone

who carries out a revolution in the world is a comrade of the Vietnamese."

President Ho attached importance to building militant solidarity between our people and the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, between our people and the peoples of the other countries in the world. He taught that we must closely coordinate the revolutionary task at home with our international revolutionary task, coordinate genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism, make positive contributions toward strengthening the solidarity of the fraternal socialist countries and the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and wholeheartedly support the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Through the basic viewpoints mentioned above, President Ho correctly and creatively resolved the strategic questions of the Vietnamese revolution in accordance with the thinking of Marxism-Leninism.

These basic viewpoints of President Ho laid a firm foundation for the 1930 political platform of our party and our party's line of coordinating and brandishing the two banners of national independence and socialism in the course of leading the revolution and were the beacon that led our people to the great victories of today.

President Ho was not only a thinker of major importance, he was also a talented strategist. He smoothly combined the very best attributes and the fine traditions of the nation with the thoroughly revolutionary thinking of the working class, with the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism; he skillfully mobilized and developed the potential strength of the nation; he skillfully combined the strength of our nation with the strength of our times, thus creating the invincible strength of the Vietnamese revolution. He had the clear-sighted vision of an outstanding strategist, vision that enabled him to correctly evaluate the situation, to grasp the situation, to set forth the correct line and policy, to clearly distinguish among the various enemies and correctly point out the main enemy, to correctly determine the target of the revolution. In particular, in complex and perilous situations involving the struggle, President Ho skillfully combined the strategic objectives of the revolution and rigid adherence to principles with tactical flexibility, thereby setting forth suitable policies and measures concerning the struggle so that we could win victory over the enemy and win victory for the revolution.

Chiefly as a result of these skills and talents of President Ho and the leadership of the party, our people overcame every difficulty and challenge, triumphed over every enemy and won brilliant victories. Encircled by the enemy, our people carried out the victorious August General Uprising and became the first people within the colonial system to throw off the ruling

yoke of the colonialists and feudalists and win political power for themselves. In the extremely perilous situation following the August Revolution in which they faced both domestic and foreign enemies, our people maintained their young government and prepared forces for the war of resistance against the French. Our people were the first people in the world to win victory over the old style colonialism of the French imperialists and were also the first to win victory over a war of aggression waged by the international gendarme, the U.S. imperialists, thereby taking their place within the ranks of the vanguard nations of the world struggling for the most beautiful ideals of mankind in our times.

President Ho not only made the tremendous contribution of setting forth the correct revolutionary line for our people to follow, but he was also the great organizer of the Vietnamese revolution. President Ho founded and forged our party, founded the United National Front of our country, was the beloved father of our army and brought out state into existence.

From the time he participated in the founding of the French Communist Party (1920) and especially from the time he visited the USSR (1923) to personally research the October Socialist Revolution, President Ho had a fervent desire to establish a communist party in Vietnam and he actively struggled in every possible way to found the vanguard party of our country's working class.

While overseas, he made every effort to spread Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam; he founded the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth in Canton (China), organized the Communist Group as the nucleus of the association, published the paper THANH NIEN and trained communist cadres who were sent home to teach and organize the masses and build the forces of the revolution, thereby combining Marxism-Leninism with the worker movement and the patriotic movement in Vietnam.

The Marxist-Leninist thinking and the correct line for national salvation of President Ho rapidly permeated the masses like a remarkable vitality and led to strong struggles of a new quality. In 1929, three communist organizations came into being in our country one after the other: the Indochinese Communist Party, the Annamese Communist Party and the Indochinese Communist Federation. The "Red seeds" planted by President Ho had sprouted. On 3 February 1930, President Ho, on behalf of the Communist International, convened a conference to merge the three communist organizations mentioned above into the Vietnam Communist Party, a conference which marked a great turning point in the history of the Vietnamese revolution: from that point onward, the leadership of the revolution was entirely within the hands of the proletariat.

Applying the principles of Marxist-Leninist doctrine on the new style proletarian party, President Ho, ever since the party was founded, always concerned himself with building and forging our party into a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, into "the wise, determined and loyal leader of the working class and laboring people."(2)

As soon as the party was founded, President Ho confirmed the class nature of the party: our party "is the party of the working class. The party will guide the proletariat in leading the revolution in order to struggle for the rights of all oppressed and exploited people."(3)

The foremost concern of President Ho was to insure that our party had a firm grasp of Marxist-Leninist theory, was absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism and creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country in order to set forth the correct revolutionary line for leading our people in winning victory for the cause of national liberation and the liberation of society.

He attached importance to teaching theory and revolutionary ethics to cadres and party members with a view toward insuring that the corps of our party consists of fighters who are absolutely loyal to the revolutionary undertaking of the party and the class, wholeheartedly serve the people, firmly adhere to the proletarian stand, acquire more knowledge and work skills with each passing day and are "worthy of being the leader and the truly loyal servant of the people."

He concerned himself with the training of cadres to insure that our party always has successors to undertake the weighty tasks of the revolution.

He gave his attention to building and strengthening the basic organizations of the party, to making them pure and strong, considering this to be an important measure in making the entire party pure and strong.

President Ho set for our party a bright example of a model party member. He always included himself within the organization, worked with the collective, respected the collective, maintained his sense of organization and discipline and fulfilled every task of a party member. He struggled tirelessly to maintain the solidarity and unity of the party. President Ho left us with very many valuable thoughts on party building and he himself exemplified the beautiful thoughts and qualities that he demanded in the party, in our corps of cadres and party members.

As the founder of our country's United National Front, President Ho always concerned himself with strengthening the solidarity of the various nationalities, considering this to be the source of inexhaustible strength, to be the policy of foremost importance in mobilizing and utilizing every force of the nation in the performance of the tasks of the revolution. President Ho was the personification of broad national solidarity. President Ho had love and kindness for all strata of our people, for compatriots from the lowlands as well as compatriots belonging to the various nationalities in the mountains, for democratic personalities as well as overseas Vietnamese and for religious compatriots. At the same time, he asserted that the foundation of the United National Front is the alliance of workers and farmers, which must be constantly strengthened, because "a house is only sturdy when its foundation is strong."

As the beloved father of our people's armed forces, President Ho taught the cadres and soldiers of our army to constantly heighten their revolutionary vigilance, heighten their will to fight, "be loyal to the party, filial to the people and ready to fight and die for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for socialism and complete every task, overcome every difficulty, triumph over every enemy." At the same time, he instructed our entire party, all our people and our entire army to attach importance to both the political struggle and the military struggle, to coordinate the political struggle of the masses with the armed struggle and, depending upon the specific situation and circumstances, to make appropriate use of revolutionary force in order to win victory over the enemy. He also instructed our army to actively participate in production in order to help build the economy, help build and strengthen the rear area.

As the person who brought our state into existence, President Ho pointed out at the very outset that our state is a state "of, by and for the people." The state is led by our party on the basis of the alliance of workers and farmers. President Ho frequently stressed: the laboring people are the masters of the state, every governmental agency of the state is a servant of the people. He said: "Our state is a democratic state and the people hold the highest position within it, because it is they who are the masters. Within the revolutionary apparatus, everyone from the domestic servant and cook to the president of the country is the servant of the people." (4)

President Ho was a person who symbolized noble revolutionary qualities.

His most outstanding quality was his tenacious, thorough spirit of fighting for the revolution. During his years of activities overseas in search of the line for national salvation, during his years of clandestine activities and during his years of imprisonment when he lived and fought under extremely difficult and arduous conditions, President Ho displayed a high spirit of fighting for the revolution in a selfless manner at all times and places. In particular, ever since he became enlightened by Marxism-Leninism, he always displayed the character and abilities of a tenacious communist fighter; throughout his life, he fought and made sacrifices for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for the happiness of the people, for the world revolution, for the lofty ideals of socialism and communism.

President Ho possessed a deep awareness of the role of the masses in the revolution. He had absolute confidence in the tremendous revolutionary capabilities and the creative talents of the masses, primarily the mass of workers and farmers, and had boundless love for the masses.

He instructed cadres and party members to truly respect and uphold the right of collective ownership of the masses when the party is in power.

Throughout his life, he wished and made every effort to fulfill his wish that "all of our compatriots be well fed, well clothed, that everyone receive an education." (5) He said: "Every day...my compatriots endure suffering is a day during which I do not eat well, do not sleep well." (6)

When he was about to leave us, President Ho expressed in his Testament "boundless love" for all our people, our entire party, all of us.

President Ho was the greatest Vietnamese patriot and also the Vietnamese with the greatest international spirit. In him, patriotic thinking and international thinking were closely, smoothly coordinated, were one and the same. His heart and mind were dedicated to the people of Vietnam, to the Vietnamese fatherland and also the working people and oppressed peoples of the world. During his active life overseas as well as at home, before the party was founded as well as after the founding of the party, when the party was still engaged in clandestine activities as well as when it seized political power, President Ho's patriotism combined with the proletarian international spirit were always pure, intense, unchanging and complete. President Ho was the personification of the brotherhood between the revolutionary movement of Vietnam and the countries of Laos and Kampuchea, the fraternal socialist countries and the working class and laboring people of the entire world. For this reason, the people of the world lived and respected President Ho and considered him to be their close friend.

President Ho was an unparalleled example of revolutionary ethics. Le Duan wrote: "In our country, President Ho is the purest and finest symbol of the revolutionary ethics of Lenin." (7)

The revolutionary ethics of President Ho united, in a remarkable manner, the great thinking of President Ho with his life of earth-shattering revolutionary activities and even with his extremely pure, simple and modest personal life.

When he returned to become the leader of the party and the president of the country after several decades of fighting for the revolution, decades filled with difficulties and danger, after travelling to many countries of the world and being shifted to one prison after another, President Ho maintained the simple, pure style of life that he had always led. The simple lifestyle of President Ho reflected the noble ethics of a great communist and was in harmony with the life of the masses.

President Ho constantly concerned himself with teaching revolutionary ethics to our cadres, party members and people. He advised: "Revolutionary ethics are not handed down from above. They develop and are strengthened as a result of steadfast struggle and forging on a day to day basis just as a pearl becomes shinier the more it is polished and gold becomes purer the more it is tempered." (8)

In the years since President Ho departed from us forever, our army and people, in keeping with his sacred Testament and under the leadership of the party, have overcome countless difficulties and sacrifices, won total victory over the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys, totally liberated the

South and reunified the country, thereby fulfilling President Ho's long held dream. Since the day the South was liberated, our people, under the leadership of the party, have recorded tremendous achievements, have built and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat government throughout the country and have begun to establish the right of collective ownership of the people, thereby making our forces stronger than they have ever been before; they have won victory in two wars of aggression unleashed by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists; they have won tremendous victories in the effort to heal the wounds of the war, in the work of restoring and beginning to develop production and in socialist transformation and socialist construction. Our people have also fulfilled their international obligations to the peoples of the two fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea, thereby strengthening the solidarity of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea. We have also strengthened the fraternal friendship, the militant solidarity and the comprehensive cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries; we have strengthened the unity between our party and the international communist and worker movement, thereby contributing to the three revolutionary currents of our times.

In commemorating the 90th anniversary of the birth of the great President Ho Chi Minh, our entire party, all our people and our entire country promise to make every effort to carry out his teachings very well, determined to complete the strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution. We must have a thorough understanding of the line set forth by the 4th Congress of the Party, rectify mistakes and shortcomings in the organization and management of the economy and the management of society, focus our efforts on accelerating production and stabilizing and maintaining the life of the people, strengthen the national defense and security systems, heighten our vigilance, be ready to fight aggression and firmly protect the socialist fatherland and be determined to struggle against negative phenomena in economic and social life.

In memory of President Ho, let us devote ourselves to continuing his work in a worthy manner.

FOOTNOTES

1. Le Duang: "Đuoi lá cờ vẻ vang của Đảng, vì độc lập tự do, vì chủ nghĩa xã hội, tiến lên giành những thắng lợi mới" [Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence, Freedom and Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 8.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Về xây dựng Đảng" [On Party Building], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 60.
3. Ibid., p 12.

4. Hồ Chí Minh: "Về công tác hậu cần quân đội" [On Army Rear Service Work], Quân Đội Nhân Dân Publishing House, 1970, p 46.
5. Hồ Chí Minh: "Về quan điểm quần chúng" [Concerning the Mass Viewpoint], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1974.
6. Hồ Chí Minh: "Tuyển tập" [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 244.
7. Lê Duẩn: "Học tập và vận dụng sáng tạo chủ nghĩa Lê-nin" [Studying and Creatively Applying Leninism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 28.
8. Hồ Chí Minh: "Về xây dựng Đảng," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 60.

7809

CSO: 4209

PROGRAM FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE 90TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF
PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [Communist Review] in Vietnamese No 5, May 1980
pp 10-25

[Unattributed article]

[Text] On 19 May 1980, with a feeling of profound gratitude, our entire party, all our people and our entire army will commemorate the 90th anniversary of the birth of the great President Ho Chi Minh.

President Ho Chi Minh was the most outstanding son of the Vietnamese people, the father of the Vietnamese revolution, the person who founded and forged the Vietnam Communist Party, an outstanding fighter of the international communist and worker movement, one of the outstanding revolutionary activists of our times and the close comrade in arms of the peoples of all nations in the world struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

His intense and full life of activities will forever be a brilliant example for all present and future generations of Vietnamese.

Part I: Biographical Sketch of President Ho Chi Minh

President Ho Chi Minh was born on 19 May 1890 to the family of a patriotic intellectual, a family of peasant origins in Nghe Tinh Province, a province that had the tradition of tenacious struggle against the tyrannical rule of the colonialists and feudalists. Social circumstances and the education provided by his family profoundly influenced President Ho when he was young.

Possessing ardent patriotism and political insight, he began to think about the reasons for the defeat of the various patriotic movements at that time and became determined to discover the correct course for saving the people, saving the country.

In June 1911, he went overseas. He travelled to France and many countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and North America. He mingled with workers and colonial subjects and worked as a laborer in order to earn his living while studying and researching various revolutionary theories. In 1917, the resounding victory of the Russian October Revolution led President Ho to Marxism-Leninism. After thoroughly researching Marxism-Leninism, he recognised that it was the only correct course for liberating the nation and liberating society.

During the same year, he founded the Association of Patriotic Vietnamese in order to rally overseas Vietnamese in France. In 1918, he joined the French Socialist Party and was active in the French worker movement. In 1919, he sent to the Versailles Conference in France "the petition of the Vietnamese," which demanded that the French government recognize the rights of freedom and equality of the Vietnamese.

In December 1920, at the 18th Congress of French Socialist Party, he voted to support the joining of the Communist International and participated in the founding of the French Communist Party. This event marked the turning point in his revolutionary life, marked the shift from patriotism to communism.

In 1921, he participated in the founding of the Inter-Colonial Union and, in 1922, he published the newspaper LE PARIA [THE OUTCAST] in France. In June 1923, he travelled from France to the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in the world, where he continued to study Marxism-Leninism and participated in the work of the Communist International. Also during that year, he was elected to the Presidium of the Peasant International. In 1924, he attended the 5th Congress of the Communist International and was elected as a member of the Eastern Bureau in charge of the Southern Department, from which position he guided and built the revolutionary movement and the communist movement in the countries of Southeast Asia. In 1925, he founded the Union of Oppressed Asian Peoples.

In June 1925, he organized the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, the nucleus of which was the Communist Group; at the same time, he published the newspaper THANH NIEN [YOUTH] and held training classes for hundreds of cadres who were sent home to conduct activities.

On 3 February 1930, he convened a conference at Kowloon (near Hong Kong) for the purpose of uniting the various communist groups to form the Vietnam Communist Party.

During the period from 1930 to 1940, he participated in the work of the Communist International overseas while closely observing the revolutionary movement at home and issuing valuable directives to our Party Central Committee.

In 1941, after 30 years of activity overseas, he returned home and convened the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee, which set forth the line of

fighting the French, driving off the Japanese, establishing a united national front called the Vietnam Independence League (Viet Minh), quickly building forces, accelerating the revolutionary struggle of the masses and preparing for a general uprising to seize political power throughout the country.

On 22 December 1944, he directed the establishment of the Propaganda Unit for the Liberation of Vietnam, which was one of the armed organizations that led to the present day Vietnamese People's Army, and the building of a revolutionary base.

In August 1945, amidst the intense revolutionary atmosphere that preceded the uprising, he and the Central Committee convened a national congress at Tan Trao. The congress elected him to serve as president of the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. He issued the order for a general uprising to seize political power throughout the country. On 2 September 1945, he read the Declaration of Independence to the people of the entire country and the entire world, thereby founding the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first worker-farmer state in Southeast Asia.

During the early days of the revolution, our country encountered many large difficulties and was surrounded on four sides. The famine caused by the Japanese-French fascists killed more than 2 million Vietnamese. In September 1945, in collaboration with the U.S. and British imperialists and the Chinese Koumintang reactionaries, the French colonialists committed aggression against our country once again and schemed to obliterate every achievement of the August Revolution.

President Ho Chi Minh and the Party Central Committee led all our people in retaliating against the French colonialist aggressors in the South and dealing with the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries in the North.

A preliminary treaty was signed on 6 March 1946 between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and France. The Chiang Kai-shek army withdrew from North Vietnam. The French army expanded its attacks and occupation of land in the South, marched on the North and gradually began to occupy land in the North, in a scheme to eventually abolish the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In December 1946, in the face of this situation, President Ho Chi Minh appealed to the entire nation to wage a war of resistance and, together with the Party Central Committee, led the nationwide, full-scale, protracted war of resistance against the French colonialists to the historic victory of Dien Bien Phu (1954).

In July 1954, the Geneva Accords were signed. North Vietnam was liberated. However, one-half of the country, South Vietnam, had been turned into a new style colony of the U.S. imperialists. President Ho and the Party Central Committee led the people of the entire country in simultaneously carrying out two strategic tasks: the socialist revolution in the North and the people's national democratic revolution in the South.

In September 1960, the 3rd Congress of the Party was held; the congress adopted a resolution on the two strategic tasks and elected Ho Chi Minh to serve as chairman of the Party Central Committee. Under the leadership of President Ho and the Party Central Committee, our people intensified socialist construction in the North and waged the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation in order to protect the North, liberate the South, reunify the country and advance the entire country to socialism.

On 3 September 1969, at 79 years of age, President Ho passed away.

The life of President Ho Chi Minh was a pure and noble life of a great communist, an outstanding national hero, a brilliant international fighter who devoted his entire life to and struggled tirelessly for the fatherland, the people, communist ideals, the independence and freedom of all nations, peace and justice in the world.

Part II: The Revolutionary Career of President Ho Chi Minh

1. At the end of the last century, the French colonialists invaded our country and turned our feudal country into a colonial and semi-feudal country.

Acting in their inherent tradition of tenacious, unyielding struggle against foreign aggression, our people staged an uprising against the French colonialists to win their independence and freedom. Resistance wars and uprisings broke out continuously throughout the country. When one generation failed, the next took up its cause. Many glorious examples were recorded in the brilliant history of our nation, from Truong Cong Dinh, and Nguyen Huu Huan to Phan Dinh Phung, Hoang Hoa Tham, from Luong Van Can and Nguyen Thien Thuat to Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chu Trinh, etc. However, all of these liberation movements led by patriots met with defeat.

At the time the country's situation seemed as dark as night and inescapable, Nguyen Ai Quoc (President Ho Chi Minh) went in search of the path of national salvation. He had great admiration for the genuine patriotism of his predecessors, but he did not support their viewpoints or methods.

He visited many places and, everywhere he went, he saw the barbarous, cruel ruling system of the imperialists and colonialists. He reached an important conclusion: everywhere in the world, there are but two kinds of persons: oppressed and exploited laborers who live in slavery and oppressors and exploiters who live extravagant, arrogant lives; wherever people have lost their country one finds people in suffering and cruel, inhuman colonialists. And, in the imperialist countries, such as France, there are also two kinds of people: the proletariat and other laborers and, on the other side, the bourgeoisie. The struggle for national independence cannot be separated from the struggle to liberate the proletariat and the laboring people.

The success of the Russian October Revolution (1917) ushered in a new age in the history of mankind. This first victorious proletarian revolution had a decisive influence upon the entire revolutionary life of President Ho. After reading Lenin's "first draft" of the "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," President Ho saw the correct path to be followed by the Vietnamese: "Only by liberating the proletariat is it possible to liberate the nation; these two liberations can only be the work of communism and the world revolution." (1) "The only path to follow to save the country and liberate the nation is the path of the proletarian revolution." (2)

The development of President Ho's thinking from patriotism to communism marked a decisive change in the history of the Vietnamese revolution. From that point onward, the Vietnamese revolution was within the orb of the world proletarian revolution. The path of national salvation discovered by President Ho ended the period of crisis concerning the line to be followed by the Vietnamese revolution. It laid the foundation for the line of brandishing the banner of national independence and socialism in the future development of our country's revolution.

The genius of President Ho can be seen in the following: even when Marxism-Leninism was searching foreign to many oppressed nations, he recognized the truth about how to bring the Vietnamese revolution into step with the revolutionary current of the times.

In the course of his activities, President Ho struggled steadfastly against incorrect viewpoints concerning the national question and developed the theory on the national liberation revolution. He compared imperialism to a leech with two suckers, one sucking the blood of the proletariat and laboring people in the mother country and one sucking the blood of the people in the colonies. To win victory, the proletarian revolution in the mother country and the national liberation revolution in the colonies had to be closely aligned. Unity and mutual help between the proletariat in the mother country and the peoples of the colonies are an essential requirement in the struggle against the common enemy, imperialism. As a result, President Ho struggled against the attempt to deny the close relationship between the national liberation revolution and the proletarian revolution, against underestimating the positive impact of the national liberation revolution upon the revolution in the imperialist countries and against racism and chauvinist thinking, all of which were obstacles impeding the effort to develop the strength of international solidarity between the proletariat in the mother country and the oppressed peoples in the colonies and semi-colonies. He considered the struggle for independence by the countries of the Far East to be "one of the flanks of the proletarian revolution." (3) "The national liberation revolution is an integral part of the proletarian revolution on a worldwide scale." (4)

President Ho pointed out that the national liberation revolution need not wait for the proletarian revolution in the mother country; these two

revolutions should be carried out simultaneously and support each other, but the oppressed nations are fully capable of taking the initiative and launching a struggle to liberate themselves and win victory before the proletariat in the mother country seizes political power. He also asserted that the liberation of the oppressed peoples "can only be achieved through their own efforts,"(5) and, "In order for people to help us, we must first help ourselves."(6)

The theories of President Ho concerning the path of national liberation became the beacons lighting the way for the Vietnamese revolution over the past 40 years and more. These theories, which have been proven totally correct by the realities of our country's revolution, are valuable contributions by him to the storehouse of Marxist-Leninist theory; at the same time, they have been important contributions to the world revolutionary movement, especially the revolutionary movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

2. In order for the national liberation movement to take place within the orb of the world proletarian revolution, it is necessary to establish, at the very outset, the leadership of the national liberation revolution by the working class. As a person close to the life and struggle of the working class, President Ho realized the historic mission of the world working class at an early date. He highly evaluated the first struggles by the small working class in our country, considering them to be a sign of the times, a sign that the working class had begun to become aware of its position, role and function. President Ho clearly saw that the ability of the working class to lead the revolution depended not upon its size, but primarily upon the revolutionary capabilities of this class. The Vietnamese working class was still young and small, but it was a class that had been born and grew up under the oppression and exploitation of foreign capitalism. Opposing imperialism in both the national struggle and the class struggle, combining both interests, the interests of the nation and the interests of the class, in the struggle against imperialism and severely oppressed and exploited by three strata, the imperialists, the feudalists and the domestic bourgeoisie, the Vietnamese working class symbolized the most progressive production force and possessed extremely large revolutionary energies. All that was necessary was for the Vietnamese working class to become aware of its historic mission and follow a correct political line in order for it to become the force leading the revolution, a role which no other class could fulfill. In 1921, President Ho wrote: "The Indochinese people are filled with something which is boiling and roaring, and when the time comes, it will break out with great violence. Those who stand in the vanguard must help this opportunity to materialize. The barbarity of capitalism has prepared the ground; the only thing socialism has to do is to sow the seeds of liberation."(7)

With deep confidence in the Vietnamese working class, President Ho actively worked in a planned and methodical manner to establish the vanguard party of the working class in our country.

Making every effort to spread Marxism-Leninism to Vietnam, he founded the newspaper Le PARIA, the newspaper VIETNAM NON [SOUL OF VIETNAM], wrote "French Colonialisation on Trial" and published numerous articles in L'HUMANITE, TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] and DOI SONG CONG NHAN [WORKERS' LIFE] in France, in many newspapers and journals in the USSR and in the International News Letter of the Communist International to expose the nature and crimes of colonialism and defend the viewpoints of Marxism-Leninism concerning the national and colonial questions. His works were secretly circulated at home and played a tremendous role in awakening our people and guiding the patriotic movement of our people along the correct course.

In order to more fully prepare for the founding of the party of the working class, he organized the Association of Revolutionary Youth, which included the Communist Group, which consisted of the first cadres of the association personally trained by him in Canton, China. His training lessons were compiled in the form of a book entitled "The Revolutionary Road." After their training, these cadres returned to Vietnam and practically all of them became professional cadres, infiltrating the masses and "proletarianizing" the masses in order to launch the revolution and spread Marxism-Leninism among our working class and people. They launched intense struggles throughout the country, struggles of an increasingly distinct mass nature. Together with the widespread development of the revolutionary movement, revolutionary organizations developed with each passing day. The first Vietnamese communist organizations came into existence in 1929 under a variety of names, but with the same purposes and objectives: the Indochinese Communist Party, the Annamese Communist Party and the Indochinese Communist Federation. On 3 February 1930, at the merger conference held in Kowloon (Hong Kong) under the leadership of President Ho, these three communist organizations were merged to form the Vietnam Communist Party, which was first called the Indochinese Communist Party.

Founded, forged and continuously led by President Ho from the time it was born until the time it matured, our party became a strong, solid Marxist-Leninist Party, a party with a correct revolutionary line, a united party with a large contingent of core cadres who have been firmly tempered and are highly experienced in struggle, a party that has the trust of all the people and the respect of friends throughout the world.

By making our party the strong, solid Marxist-Leninist party it is today, President Ho cultivated the principal factor of victory of our country's revolution.

3. After our party was founded, President Ho and our party led the Vietnamese in carrying out the national democratic revolution and advancing to the socialist revolution. There are many reasons for the victories that have been won by our people over the past 50 years; however, the underlying

basic reason was that President Ho and our party creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Vietnam in order to set forth a correct revolutionary line for our people and advance our people to victory after victory.

Immediately after the founding of the party (1930), President Ho, in documents drafted by him, such as the Outline Platform, the Outline Strategy and the Appeal, presented the correct revolutionary line. It was the line of carrying out a new style bourgeois, democratic revolution, later to be called the people's national democratic revolution, in order to topple the imperialists and their lackeys, the feudalists, win national independence and land for working farmers and then advance to the socialist revolution and socialist construction in Vietnam. These two revolutions were inseparable. This basic thinking was later developed upon in the platform of the party and became the consistent thinking guiding our party throughout the 50 years of revolutionary struggle.

In the people's national democratic revolution, President Ho defined the two principal antagonisms within Vietnamese society that had to be resolved as the antagonism between our nation and the ruling imperialists and the antagonism between our people, primarily the peasants, and the feudal landowner class; to win true independence for the nation, it was necessary to skilfully combine the national and the democratic tasks.

In the various periods of the revolution, on the basis of the political situation and the comparison of forces in the world and at home, President Ho and the Party Central Committee adopted correct strategies and tactics to achieve the basic objectives of the people's national democratic revolution.

The correctness and the creativity of President Ho were specifically manifested in his establishing the role of leading the revolution as belonging to the working class and the party of the working class; in confirming workers and farmers as the nucleus of the revolution; in his advocating the establishment of a broad national united front and the achievement of broad unity among the people within the Viet Minh Front; in the building of the people's armed forces and his wise policies concerning military affairs, armed uprising and the art of creating opportunities and seizing the extremely favorable opportunity that arose when the Soviet army defeated the fascists in World War II in order to win victory in the August Revolution (1945); and in his ingenious coordination of rigid revolutionary principles with flexible tactics and his clever use of the antagonisms within the ranks of the enemy to isolate and topple the main enemy.

The correctness and creativity of President Ho were also clearly evident in the line on waging a protracted, full-scale, national war of resistance on the basis of self-reliance coordinated with seeking international aid,

thereby bringing the sacred war of resistance of our people against the French colonialists to victory; in the line on coordinating the simultaneous performance of the two strategic tasks of the people's national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, thereby bringing the war of resistance against the United States for national salvation to total victory.

The dominant thought running throughout the entire life of revolutionary activities of President Ho was: "There is nothing more precious than independence and freedom." (8) This thinking deeply permeated the entire Declaration of Independence and was expressed in his immortal words: "We would rather sacrifice everything than suffer the loss of our country, than be enslaved" (9) and "as long as one aggressor remains in our country, we must continue to fight and drive them off." (10) This thinking crystallized our nation's several thousand year tradition of resisting foreign aggression and winning and maintaining independence and, at the same time, developed this tradition along the lines of the basic objectives of our times: peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. It was a source of strong motivation and inspiration to our people in the course of the long and difficult revolution over the past several decades and enabled our people to overcome every peril and ultimately win victory over the international gendarme, U.S. imperialism.

In President Ho, independence and freedom were closely linked to socialism. He said: "I have but one desire, one ultimate desire, that our country be totally independent, that our people be totally free, that all compatriots be well fed, well clothed and educated" (11) and "only socialism, communism can liberate the oppressed peoples and laborers of the world from the yoke of slavery." (12)

When the North was totally liberated, President Ho and our party adopted the policy of advancing the North to socialism. On the basis of the major characteristic of our country in the stage of transition, the North would "advance directly from a backward agricultural country to socialism without experiencing the stage of capitalist development." (13) The Party Central Committee, headed by President Ho, set forth the basic tasks and the line on the socialist revolution as: "Gradually advancing the North to socialism and developing a modern industry and agriculture, a progressive culture and science" (14) while constantly strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and carrying out the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution; transforming the old economy and building the new economy, with building the new economy being the key and long-range task; considering "industrialization to be the central task throughout the period of transition to socialism" and "our most important task to be building the material and technical bases of socialism" (15); and "adopting a very good plan for developing the economy and culture in order to constantly improve the life of the people." (16)

In socialist construction, President Ho especially emphasized the right of ownership of the laboring people. He said: "The socialist and communist system is a system of which the laboring people are the masters." (17) He taught cadres to respect and implement the right of ownership of the people, to rely upon the people because "without the support of the people, even the easiest job cannot be performed but, with the support of the people, the most difficult of jobs can be performed." (18)

President Ho attached very much importance to molding the new, socialist man, considering this to be an essential prerequisite to the success of socialist construction. He said: "To build socialism, it is first of all necessary to have socialists." (19) His viewpoint concerning molding the new man is of tremendous significance in the socialist revolution in our country, a revolution which demands that our people possess high self-awareness so that they can successfully carry out the long and difficult process of comprehensive revolutionary change and create a totally new society.

4. President Ho not only charted the course of the Vietnamese revolution for our people, but also left us with extremely valuable thoughts concerning party building, the alliance of workers and farmers, the United National Front, the building of the people's armed forces, the building of the state government, strengthening international solidarity and so forth, which are factors that have insured the victory of the Vietnamese revolution.

At an early date, President Ho pointed out that the revolution "must first have a party" (20) of the working class to lead it. The Vietnam Communist Party had to be the product of the combination of Marxism-Leninism with the worker movement and the patriotic movement of our people. The party had to have Marxism-Leninism "as its backbone." More than one-half century ago, he asserted: "There are many different theories and philosophies in existence now, but the only genuine, the surest and the most revolutionary of them is Leninism." (21)

In the appeal made on the occasion of the founding of the party (1930), he pointed out that the Vietnam Communist Party "is the party of the proletariat" (22) and represents the interests of the proletariat and the nation of Vietnam. A major concern of President Ho throughout his life was to make the party "a genuine revolutionary party of the working class...that knows how to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country." (23)

President Ho pointed out that, in order to build the party, it is first of all necessary to establish the correct political line. Building the party means building political, ideological and organizational solidarity and oneness of mind from the Party Central Committee to the basic level, means building party chapters that are strong and solid in every respect: "Only with good party chapters is every job performed well." (24) Building the party

also means molding party members and cadres who are absolutely loyal to the class and the nation and have the ability to apply the lines and policies of the party in every set of circumstances in order to organize the masses in performing the tasks assigned by the party. He taught cadres and party members to always "keep the solidarity and oneness of mind of the party as the apple of their eye"(25), to maintain the discipline of the party in a strict and self-imposed manner, to constantly struggle by means of self-criticism and criticism within the party and before the masses, to constantly study Marxist-Leninist theory, "the most revolutionary and scientific of the philosophies"(26), in order to "creatively apply it to the specific conditions of our country."(27)

President Ho considered the close relationship between the party and the masses to be the origin of the party's strength. When the party is in political power, it is necessary to closely link party building to the revolutionary movement of the masses, welcome and encourage the masses to participate in party building and, through the movements of the masses, accept new members into the party and "purge backward elements" in order to constantly increase the fighting strength of the party.

President Ho was the first Vietnamese to have a deep understanding of the role played by the masses in history and in the revolution in accordance with the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism. He taught that "the revolution is the undertaking of the masses."(28) He recognized at an early date the leadership role played by the working class: "In order to win victory, the revolution absolutely must be led by the working class. Because, it is the most progressive, the most enlightened, the most determined, the most disciplined and the most tightly organized class, with the command staff of the working class being the proletarian party."(29) He also pointed out the tremendous role played by and the large forces of farmers in the revolution, considering them to be "the primary and most reliable allies of the working class."(30) He also said: "In the present age, only the working class has the historic mission of leading the revolution to ultimate victory by aligning itself with farmers."(31)

During the days spent preparing for the founding of the party, he confirmed the basic position of the alliance of workers and farmers led by the working class: "Workers and farmers are the masters of the revolution."(32) Summarizing the factors insuring the victory of the revolution, President Ho wrote: "We must successfully establish the alliance of workers and farmers because it is the surest guarantee of victories for the revolution. Only with an alliance of workers and farmers led by the working class is it possible to resolutely and thoroughly topple the anti-revolutionary powers, seize political power for the laboring people, consolidate this power, complete the historic task of the national democratic revolution and advance to socialism."(33)

President Ho also taught: "In each stage of the revolution, under the leadership of the working class and on the basis of an increasingly strong alliance of workers and farmers, it is necessary to rally every revolutionary and progressive force within a broad front and achieve a unity of action under many different forms among these forces in order to fight the common enemy." (34) He asserted that the United National Front was a factor guaranteeing the victory of the revolution. President Ho frequently stressed the fundamental factor in strengthening the United National Front, namely, the need to establish broad unity and combat the trends of isolationism and narrowmindedness; unity must be true and permanent unity; at the same time, it is necessary to combat the tendency of unilateral unity, unity without waging an appropriate struggle within the front. He summarized the strategic significance of the unity of all the people in his famous words: "Unity, unity, broad unity! Success, success, sweeping success!" (35)

President Ho asserted: to win victory for the revolution, it is absolutely necessary to "use revolutionary force against counter-revolutionary force, to seize and maintain political power." (36) The revolutionary force advocated by President Ho consisted of the political forces of the masses and the people's armed forces. In the directive establishing the Propaganda Unit for the Liberation of Vietnam (1944), he set forth the guideline of this unit as relying upon the people and coordinating military activities with political activities, with "more importance attached to political activities than military activities." (37) He attached importance to "organizing the masses" and engaging them in the struggle. He said "when the people's spirit is strong, no army, no weapon can successfully oppose them." (38) At the same time, he also pointed out that it is necessary to build and develop all three elements of the people's armed forces (main force troops, local troops and militia-self-defense units) on the basis of the political forces of the masses so that they can serve as the nucleus of the political forces of all the people and of the national defense system. Summarizing the rich experiences gained from using revolutionary force under the specific conditions of our country over the past several decades, President Ho said: "Depending upon the specific situation, we must select suitable forms of revolutionary struggle and make correct and skillfully coordinated use of the various forms of armed struggle and political struggle in order to win victory for the revolution." (39)

Building the revolutionary government was one of the foremost concerns of President Ho. He pointed out that our state is, by nature, a dictatorship of the proletariat state. It is a state built by the people on the foundation of the alliance of workers and farmers led by the working class, a state that has the purpose of serving the interests of the people and suppressing every enemy of the people. He taught: "The agencies of the government, from national agencies to village agencies, are the servants of the people" (40); they must wholeheartedly care for the interests of the people and fully uphold their right of ownership. He harshly criticized

the ills that arise within agencies and among cadres, such as bureaucracy, arrogance, violations of the right of ownership of the people, misappropriation, bribery, waste, etc. He advocated making the people's democratic government pure and strong.

Loyal to Lenin's strategic slogan on international solidarity between the proletariat and the oppressed nations, President Ho, in every circumstance, always advocated "the close coordination of patriotism with proletarian internationalism." (41)

President Ho taught us that the Vietnamese revolution is a part of the world revolution; therefore, we must always, on the one hand, display a high spirit of independence and autonomy; at the same time, we must attach importance to the support and assistance of the people of the world, especially the assistance of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries for the revolutionary undertaking of our people; on the other hand, we must wholeheartedly fulfill our international obligations by making positive contributions to strengthening the solidarity of the international communist and worker movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, by struggling to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism, by combating opportunism of every shade, by strongly supporting and helping the struggle by the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

5. President Ho's viewpoint concerning revolutionary ethics is part of the valuable heritage in the ideological storehouse he left behind for us.

President Ho was a bright example of the virtues of modesty and simplicity, of total devotion to the people, to the revolution. He resolutely combated every manifestation of worship of an individual, combated the thinking of being a meritorious statesman, of being satisfied with one's achievements.

President Ho pointed out that revolutionary ethics involve "being determined to struggle throughout one's life for the party, for the revolution" (42); "placing the interests of the revolution, the party and the people above everything else" (43); "being loyal to the party and filial to the people" (44); practicing "diligence, thrift, honesty and selflessness" (45); practicing the noble *raison d'être* of Marxism-Leninism: "One for all, all for one" (46); constantly cultivating revolutionary zeal; and "diligently studying politics, economics, science and technology in order to improve one's abilities." (47)

President Ho taught that, when the party is in political power, revolutionary ethics also include a spirit of responsibility for the life of the masses. He said: "The party unites and leads our people in emulating to build socialism, build a happy and prosperous life and establish good customs and morals. As long as one Vietnamese remains exploited and poor, the party should feel sad and consider this to be a sign that it has not fulfilled

stances. Therefore, the party must concern itself with such important jobs as transforming the backward economy and culture of our country into a progressive economy and culture while constantly concerning itself with such minor details as the soybean sauce and salted fish needed for the daily lives of the people." (48) He also said: "If the people are hungry, the party and government are to blame; if the people are cold, the party and government are to blame; if the people are ignorant, the party and government are at fault; if the people are ill, the party and government are to blame." (49)

He demanded that cadres and party members maintain close ties with the masses, have confidence in the strength and creative capabilities of the masses, support and value every "good person and good job," every "small initiative" of the masses, make every effort to learn the experiences of the masses and set good examples for the masses. In summary, "every party member and cadre... must be worthy of being the leader and the truly faithful servant of the people." (50)

President Ho taught us that, in conjunction with practicing revolutionary ethics, we must combat individualism. He said: "Individualism gives birth to countless dangerous maladies: bureaucracy, authoritarianism, factionalism, complacency, corruption, waste..." (51); "individualism is a savage enemy of socialism" (52); and individualism "is a major obstacle to socialist construction" (53); therefore, "the victory of socialism cannot be separated from victory in the struggle to eradicate individualism." (54)

The revolutionary ethics of President Ho crystallized the most beautiful qualities of our working class and nation. In President Ho, revolutionary ethics were united and closely linked with his great revolutionary thinking and his noble life of revolutionary activity. His viewpoints concerning revolutionary ethics together with the bright examples set by him in his life have and will forever shine brightly and deeply permeate the heart of each and every Vietnamese.

Part III: Making Every Effort To Continue To Implement the Sacred Testament of President Ho Chi Minh and Completing Both Long-Range and Immediate Tasks

The revolutionary career of President Ho was extremely large.

The revolutionary thinking of President Ho was truly great.

The revolutionary ethics of President Ho were truly pure.

Before he departed from us, President Ho left his sacred Testament, a testament reflecting deep love and firm integrity, to our entire party, all our people and our entire army.

At the funeral ceremony for President Ho, Le Duan, general secretary of the Party Central Committee, took an oath of honor on behalf of the entire party, all the people and the entire army.

in keeping with the sacred testament of President Ho and this oath of honor, the entire party, all the people and the entire army advanced our country's revolution to new stages of development.

The general offensive and uprising in the spring of 1975, which concluded with the Ho Chi Minh campaign, marked a historic milestone: under the leadership of the party, our people totally defeated the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys, totally liberated the country, reunified the country and began advancing the country to socialism. In the face of the brilliant victory won by the nation, all our people were extremely happy that they had completely fulfilled the long held dream of President Ho. With that victory, the country was totally independent, the fatherland was reunified.

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam was established and the entire country entered the stage of building socialism for the sake of the "prosperity and happiness" of all the people, as taught by President Ho. During the past 5 years, in the face of extremely large difficulties, the people of our entire country, displaying the revolutionary-offensive spirit, have made every effort to implement the resolution of the 4th Party Congress and have recorded important achievements in the work of healing the wounds of the war, restoring and developing production, carrying out socialist transformation in the South, strengthening and improving the socialist production relations in the North, continuing to build the material and technical bases of socialism throughout the country, accelerating educational, cultural and public health activities, etc. Our victory was a fundamental victory. The achievements recorded in every area have been limited, partially because of difficulties beyond our control and partially because of shortcomings on our part in economic and social management. However, we can still take pride in the victories and achievements that have been recorded.

We must always uphold and enhance the pure international sentiments of President Ho, strengthen the fraternal friendship, the militant solidarity and the comprehensive cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union as well as the other fraternal socialist countries, strengthen the unity between our party and the international communist movement and make contributions to the three revolutionary currents of our times. In keeping with the teachings of President Ho, our party and people devoted their energies to fulfilling their international obligation to the peoples of the two fraternal countries of Laos and Kampuchea, thereby making the solidarity of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea even stronger.

We have strengthened the unity and oneness of mind within the party and strengthened the unity of all the people despite every stratagem and trick of deviousness and sabotage of the reactionaries within Chinese ruling circles and the various other enemies. This is unity based on a high degree of unanimity concerning the line on and the determination to build

socialism and protect the socialist fatherland against every scheme and act of aggression of the imperialists and the Chinese hegemonists.

In the face of the glorious victory of our nation and the correct line of our party of brandishing the banner of struggling for independence, freedom and socialism, for pure proletarian internationalism, the reactionary gang within Beijing ruling circles has expressed resentment and hatred, considering our country to be a major obstacle on the course of their expansionism and hegemony. They betrayed the Chinese revolution and the Chinese people, trampled upon the friendship between the Vietnamese and Chinese and brought political, economic and military pressure to bear upon our country. At a time when our country is encountering numerous difficulties, they have used the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique to wage a war on our southwestern border and launched a war of aggression against our country on the northern border.

Inspired with the teaching of President Ho that "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom," all our people and our entire army, under the leadership of the glorious party, once again triumphed over the new enemy aggressor, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists and their lackeys.

Although they have been heavily defeated, the reactionary gang within Beijing ruling circles are still plotting malicious schemes in a vain attempt to weaken and annex our country. They have aligned with the imperialists and other reactionary powers to oppose our country, oppose the three countries of Indochina and insanely carry out their scheme of hegemony in all of Southeast Asia.

Loyal to the objectives of the struggle for independence, freedom, socialism and the legitimate interests of our nation and the people of the world, our entire party, all our people and our entire army are determined to complete the strategic tasks of the Vietnamese revolution at this time: successfully building socialism (beginning with building the material and technical bases of socialism), resolutely safeguarding the independence and territorial integrity of the fatherland and fulfilling our international obligation to the fraternal peoples of Laos and Kampuchea.

At the same time, efforts must be focused on carrying out the three pressing tasks set forth by the 6th Plenum of the Party Central Committee:

"First, accelerating production and stabilizing and supporting the life of the people;

Secondly, strengthening the national defense and security systems and maintaining a readiness to fight aggression and protect the fatherland;

Thirdly, waging a determined struggle to overcome negative phenomena in economic and social life, especially pilfering, bribery and intimidation of the masses."

We must make every effort to successfully implement the Sino-Viet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation and the various treaties that have been signed with the other fraternal socialist countries, thereby strengthening the socialist community; we must strengthen the unity with the international communist and worker movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; we must strengthen our unity with the non-aligned countries and the peoples of the other countries; we must make positive contributions to the struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism; we must build unity and friendship on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence with other countries, especially with neighboring countries in Southeast Asia.

We are living in an exciting period in the history of our country and the history of the world. The three revolutionary currents of our times are displaying powerful strength and surpassing every sinister power.

We must make every effort to nurture the factors of victory of the Vietnamese revolution; in particular, we must concern ourselves with making our party truly strong and solid in keeping with the teaching of President Ho: "Ours is a party in power. Every party member and cadre must truly...be imbued with revolutionary ethics, truly be diligent, frugal, honest and selfless. We must keep our party truly pure and be worthy of being the leader and the truly faithful servant of the people."(55)

In commemoration of the 90th anniversary of the birth of the great President Ho Chi Minh, every Vietnamese promises to do his very best to continue the revolutionary work of President Ho.

May our entire party, all our people and our entire army strengthen our unity, heighten our vigilance and endeavor to successfully build a Vietnam of peace, independence, unity and socialism, thereby making a worthy contribution to the revolutionary undertaking of the people of the entire world.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Cuoc khang Phap" [The Anti-French Resistance], Vi chuc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi [For Independence, Freedom For Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 24.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Loi tua viet cho ban tieng Nga cuon 'Ho Chi Minh, nhung bai viet va noi chon loc'" [Preface to the Russian Version of "Ho Chi Minh, Selected Writings and Speeches"], Ve Le-nin va chu nghia Le-nin [On Lenin and Leninism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1977, p 63.

3. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "No le thuc tinh"-*"Ban an che do thuc dan Phap"* [The Enlightened Slave-French Colonialization on Trial], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, p 168.
4. Ho Chi Minh: "Cach mang thang Muoi vi dai mo ra con duong giai phong cho cac dan toc"-*Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi* [The Great October Revolution Opened the Way for the Liberation of All Nations-For Independence, Freedom, For Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 305.
5. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "No le thuc tinh"...[The Enlightened Slave...], p 174.
6. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Duong kach nenh"-*Van kien lich su Dang* [The Revolutionary Road-Party Historical Documents], the Central Nguyen Ai Quoc School, Volume I, p 40.
7. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Dong duong"-*Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi* [Indochina-For Independence, Freedom, For Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 20.
8. Ho Chi Minh: "Loi keu goi dong bao va chien si ca nuoc"-*Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi* [Appeal to the Compatriots and Soldiers of the Entire Country-For Independence, Freedom, For Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 284.
9. Ibid., p 69.
10. Ibid., p 321.
11. "Tra loi cac nha bao"-*Nhung loi keu goi cua Ho Chu tich* [Replies to Journalists-Appeals by President Ho], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1958, Volume I, p 72.
12. Ho Chi Minh: "Con duong dan toi den chu nghia Le-nin"-*Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi* [The Path That Led Me to Leninism-For Independence, Freedom, For Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 231.
13. Ho Chi Minh: "Ba muoi nam hoat dong cua Dang"-*Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi* [The 30 Years of Activity of the Party-For Independence, Freedom, For Socialism], p 217.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Ho Chi Minh: "Li chuc"-*Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi* [Testament-For Independence, Freedom, For Socialism], p 332.

17. Ho Chi Minh: "Dao đức cách mạng"-Vi độc lập tự do, vì chủ nghĩa xã hội [Revolutionary Ethics-For Independence, Freedom, For Socialism], p 189.
18. Ho Chi Minh: Bài nói chuyện tại lớp bồi dưỡng cán bộ lãnh đạo cấp huyện "Vi độc lập tự do, vì chủ nghĩa xã hội [Speech at the District Level Leadership Cadre Training Class-For Independence, Freedom, For Socialism], p 292.
19. Ho Chi Minh: "Bài nói chuyện ở Hội nghị bàn về cuộc chỉnh huấn mùa xuân 1961"-Về xây dựng Đảng [Speech at the Conference on the Rectification Program of the Spring of 1961-On Party Building], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 113.
20. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Đường cách mệnh"...., p 13.
21. Ibid., p 14.
22. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Lời kêu gọi nhân dịp thành lập Đảng cộng sản Việt-nam"-Vi độc lập tự do, vì chủ nghĩa xã hội [Appeal on the Occasion of the Founding of the Vietnam Communist Party-For Independence, Freedom, For Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 42.
23. Ho Chi Minh: "Cách mạng tháng Mười vĩ đại mở ra con đường giải phóng cho các dân tộc"...., pp 303-304.
24. Ho Chi Minh: "Bài nói chuyện tại lớp bồi dưỡng cán bộ lãnh đạo cấp huyện"...., p 290.
25. Ho Chi Minh: "Di chúc"...., p 331.
26. Ho Chi Minh: "Diễn văn khai mạc lớp chỉnh huấn đầu tiên của trung ương"-Về xây dựng Đảng [Speech Opening the First Rectification Class of the Central Committee-On Party Building], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 62.
27. Ho Chi Minh: "Cách mạng tháng Mười vĩ đại mở ra con đường giải phóng cho các dân tộc"...., p 304.
28. Ho Chi Minh: "Diễn văn khai mạc Đại hội đại biểu toàn quốc lần thứ ba của Đảng lao động Việt-nam"-Vi độc lập tự do, vì chủ nghĩa xã hội [Speech Opening the 3rd National Congress of Delegates of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party-For Independence, Freedom, For Socialism], p 235.
29. Ho Chi Minh: "Đạo đức cách mạng"...., p 180.
30. Ho Chi Minh: "Ba mươi năm hoạt động của Đảng"...., p 222.

31. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Tham luận tại phiên họp thứ 7, Đại hội lần thứ nhất Quốc tế nông dân (1923)" [Presentation in the Debate at the 7th Session of the First Congress of the Peasant International (1923)].
32. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Đường cách mệnh"..., p 12.
33. Ho Chi Minh: "Cách mạng tháng Mười vĩ đại mở ra con đường giải phóng cho các dân tộc"..., 304.
34. Ibid.
35. "Những lời kêu gọi của Hồ Chủ tịch,"..., p 202.
36. Ho Chi Minh: "Cách mạng tháng Mười vĩ đại mở ra con đường giải phóng cho các dân tộc"..., p 304.
37. Ho Chi Minh: "Chỉ thị thành lập Đội Việt-nam tuyên truyền giải phóng quân"-Vĩ độc lập tự do, vĩ chủ nghĩa xã hội [Directive Founding the Propaganda Unit for the Liberation of Vietnam-For Independence, Freedom, For Socialism], p 48.
38. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Đường cách mệnh"..., p 20.
39. Ho Chi Minh: "Cách mạng tháng Mười vĩ đại mở ra con đường giải phóng cho các dân tộc"...p 304.
40. Ho Chi Minh: "Gửi các ủy ban nhân dân, các bộ, tỉnh, huyện và làng"-Vĩ độc lập tự do, vĩ chủ nghĩa xã hội [To the People's Committees of the Various Regions, Provinces, Districts and Villages]- For Independence, Freedom, For Socialism], p 60.
41. Ho Chi Minh: "Cách mạng tháng Mười vĩ đại mở ra con đường giải phóng cho các dân tộc"..., p 305.
42. Ho Chi Minh: "Đạo đức cách mạng"..., p 182.
43. Ho Chi Minh: "Nâng cao đạo đức cách mạng, quét sạch chủ nghĩa cá nhân"-Vĩ độc lập tự do, vĩ chủ nghĩa xã hội [Cultivating Revolutionary Ethics and Sweeping Individualism Away-For Independence, Freedom, for Socialism] p 326.
44. Ho Chi Minh: "Lời phát biểu trong buổi chiêu đãi mừng quân đội ta 20 tuổi"-Vĩ độc lập tự do, vĩ chủ nghĩa xã hội [Speech During a Reception Celebrating the 20th Anniversary of Our Army-For Independence, Freedom, For Socialism], p 272.
45. Ho Chi Minh: "Bút tích của Hồ Chủ tịch ghi ở trang đầu quyển sổ vàng của Trường Nguyễn Ái Quốc trung ương"-Vĩ độc lập tự do, vĩ chủ nghĩa xã hội [Writings of President Ho Recorded on the First Page of the Golden Book of the Central Nguyễn Ái Quốc School-For Independence, Freedom, For Socialism], p 80 and 81.

46. Ho Chi Minh: "Bai noi chuyen o Hoi nghia ban ve quoc van dong chinh huan mua xuan 1961"...p 113.
47. Ho Chi Minh: "Bai noi chuyen tai lop boi duong can bo lanh dao cap huyen"...p 291.
48. Ho Chi Minh: "Loi khai mac le ky niem lan thu 30 Ngay thanh lap Dang"... pp 103-104.
49. Nhung loi kêu gọi của Ho Chu tich,...p 185.
50. Ho Chi Minh: "Di chuc"...p 331.
51. Ho Chi Minh: "Dao duc cach mang"...p 80.
52. Ibid., p 87.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Ho Chi Minh: "Di chuc"...p 331.

7809

CSO: 4209

PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH AND THE VIETNAM COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 5, May 1980
pp 26-32, 42

[Article by Ha Huy Giap]

[Text] The nation of Vietnam was formed at a very early date. Even before the birth of Christ, the Au Viet and Lac Viet tribes merged to form the country of Au Lac in order to combat the scheme of annexation of the Chinese feudalists. On the one hand, the strong vitality resulting from unity and, on the other hand, the fight against the constant threat of annexation from one century to the next by Chinese feudalists were the factors that forged a Vietnamese nation of intelligence, bravery, kindness, unity and love for one another in order to "triumph over cruelty by means of the great cause and use determination in place of ruthlessness." It was chiefly as a result of knowing how to develop upon its good attributes and learn the good attributes of others and as a result of having a highly developed, beautiful civilization that the Vietnamese nation existed and developed in a dignified manner and in harmony with other nations and was never destroyed by any act of aggression.

This ancient form of the nation of Vietnam was a type of "pre-capitalist nation" about which Marx spoke. Small-scale, agricultural production was closely coordinated with the cottage industry; in addition, the existence of an organizational system of hamlets and villages based on public ownership of cropland laid a firm foundation that helped our forefathers to protect the independence and sovereignty of the country, but this system kept our nation in the grips of feudal relations for many, many years.

At the end of the 19th Century and the start of the 20th Century, our country was invaded and occupied by the French colonialists. They collaborated with the weakened, reactionary feudalists to keep our nation in dependence upon the capitalism of the mother country. At that time in the world, imperialist capitalism had become the cruel oppressor of nations; the historic revolutionary role of the bourgeoisie had come to an end; the proletariat stepped into the political arena and assumed its historic mission of liberating mankind.

From the time the French colonialists invaded and occupied our country, wars of resistance and uprisings continuously broke out in all regions of the country. However, all of them met with defeat. Many patriots went to Japan, to China, to France and so forth in search of a way to save the nation, but they achieved no results whatsoever. The nation of Vietnam still suffered under slavery and, although uprisings continued to break out, they were submerged in a sea of blood. It was against the background of this dark and inescapable situation that Uncle Ho went to the West. With a heart filled with ardent patriotism and confidence in the indomitable power of the people, and after slightly less than 10 years of studying and conducting research, Uncle Ho, possessed of ardent patriotism and confidence in the indomitable strength of the people and as a result of his virtues of absolute justice and devotion, discovered the truth of our times when the Russian October Revolution broke out and the Communist International was established, especially after reading Lenin's Theses on the National and Colonial Questions." He asserted that, in the present age, patriotism must become the love of communism, must go hand in hand with communism because "only socialism, communism can liberate the oppressed nations and the laboring people of the world from the yoke of slavery." (1) And "the only path for saving the country and liberating the nation is the path of the proletarian revolution." (2)

The independence and freedom of the nation must be closely linked to socialism; genuine patriotism is inseparable from proletarian internationalism. The liberation of the nation must be closely tied to the world proletarian revolutionary movement. This spirit was manifested in the famous words "there is nothing more precious than independence and freedom" (3) and "I have but one desire, one ultimate desire, that our country be totally independent, our people be totally free and every compatriot be well fed, well clothed and educated." (4) This thinking of his was the crystallization of the nation's 4,000 year history of building and defending the country, it was coordinated with the truth of our times and it represented the fervent aspiration of our nation.

With a thorough understanding of Leninism, President Ho Chi Minh raised the matter of national independence on the basis of the stand of the working class and within the scope of the world proletarian revolution. To resist imperialism, which was intensifying the exploitation of the manual workers and laboring people at home and intensifying the invasion and occupation of colonies, the annexation and annihilation of nations while scheming to create a world philosophy based solely on the interests of several groups of monopolistic capitalists, it was to establish an international force of the proletariat, the only class capable of abolishing class and national oppression and exploitation, necessary to carry out a world proletarian revolution and draw every national liberation revolutionary movement within its orb. To achieve success, all revolutionary movements, even the national liberation revolution, must be brought within that orb and be based upon this international force. The national liberation revolution in our

country could only be successful under the leadership of the Vietnamese proletariat and its political party. Although the Vietnamese proletariat was newly established and small in size, it was the force representing the development of our times. As the product of colonialist, capitalist aggressors, the Vietnamese proletariat struggled for the interests of the class and, at the same time, for the interests of the nation because colonialist capitalism was both an exploiter of the proletariat as well as a country-robber and an oppressor of the nation. Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, with the assistance of the forces of the international worker movement and the national liberation revolutionary movement and knowing how to utilize and develop upon its own indomitable tradition and that of the nation, the Vietnamese proletariat could surely excellently complete its mission.

The proletariat and laboring farmers formed a strong alliance and, on this basis, established the United National Front with a view toward toppling the imperialists and the feudalists. This alliance was possible because Vietnamese farmers, the largest force of the nation, had a tradition of unyielding struggle against foreign aggression and against the feudalists within the country and no longer pinned any hopes whatsoever upon patriotic scholars of bourgeois tendencies nor upon the weak, late to develop national bourgeoisie, which had made compromises with the colonialist imperialists and the feudalists. Farmers themselves were becoming more impoverished with each passing day, and there seemed no escape from their plight. Only on the basis of the leadership of the proletariat could farmers topple the country-robbers, the land robbers and break the age-old chains of oppression and exploitation.

As regards farmers, once capitalism entered its final stage and became increasingly mired in a pervasive crisis, the only course for them to follow was to align themselves with the proletariat not only to regain their land, but also to advance to socialism. In 1895, in "The Peasant War in France and Germany," Engels said that the situation had changed and that farmers had joined workers not only for the purpose of advancing to democracy, but to socialism as well.

However, there were communists at that time who did not have confidence in the revolutionary capabilities of farmers, did not feel that farmers could advance to socialism. In 1921, Uncle Ho had to struggle against these lines of thinking.

Concerning Indochina, Uncle Ho wrote in issue number 14 of TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in April 1921: "The Indochinese people are filled with something which is boiling and roaring, and when the time comes, it will break out with great violence. Those who stand in the vanguard must help this opportunity to materialize. The barbarity of the colonial regime has prepared the ground; the only thing socialism has to do is to sow the seeds of liberation."(5)

Evaluating the capabilities of farmers within the national liberation revolution and the thinking that farmers could advance to socialism, President Ho always stressed the role played by farmers as the primary and most reliable ally of the working class, always stressed that workers and farmers were the masters of the revolution. However, he never absolutized the role played by farmers. To the contrary, he always emphasized that, in order to win victory, the revolution must definitely be led by the working class. Because, it is the most progressive and most tightly organized of the classes. And, the proletarian party is the command staff of the working class. Only with the alliance of workers and farmers led by the working class could it be possible to determinedly and thoroughly topple the counter-revolutionary powers, win political power for the laboring people, consolidate this power, complete the historic task of the national democratic revolution and advance to socialism.

President Ho stated: "By themselves, farmers can never throw off the heavy weight that is crushing them"(6) and "all opportunist movements that seek to ingratiate themselves with farmers, that consider farmers to be the principal force, the only moving force behind the revolution, the only revolutionary corps, will only lead to adventurism, extreme anarchy and to the betrayal of Leninism."(7)

As regards the close relationship between the national liberation revolution in the colonies and the proletarian revolution in the mother country, Uncle Ho wrote: "On the day that the hundreds of millions of mistreated, oppressed Asians awaken and sweep away the cruel exploitation by the insatiably greedy colonialists, they will become a huge force and, once they eliminate one of the prerequisites to the existence of capitalism, that is, imperialism, they can help their brothers in the West achieve total liberation."(8) He pointed out that the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the colonial and vassal countries "must be closely linked to the struggle in the countries that have invaded and occupied the colonies, because both sides must join together to defeat their common master."(9)

In order to educate and enlighten the peoples of the colonies concerning the reasons for their suffering, for the loss of their country and concerning the need to unite with the proletariat, to establish unity among the peoples in the colonies and with the proletariat in the countries that invaded and occupied the colonies in order to arise together and carry out the liberation revolution, Uncle Ho and a number of progressive personalities in the colonies of France, with the sympathy and support of the French Communist Party, organized the Inter-Colonial Union and published the newspaper LE PARIA (THE OUTCAST) in Paris in 1921 and 1922 to use as a weapon in the fight for the liberation of outcasts. Uncle Ho observed: the working class and laboring people of all countries are "the victims of international capitalism; although there are many different races, there have always been but two kinds of people in the world: exploiters and those who are exploited. And, there is only one kind of friendship: proletarian friendship."(10)

At the congress of the Peasant International (1923), Uncle Ho denounced the crimes of the colonialist imperialists, crimes that had pushed peasants to the brink of annihilation. They had arisen against them many times, but always met with defeat. "Our international will only become a true international if the peoples of the Far East, especially the peasants of the colonies, the persons who are exploited and oppressed the most, participate in it."(11)

When Lenin died, Uncle Ho wrote: "Lenin ushered in a new age, the age of true revolution in the colonies... To all oppressed and enslaved peoples, Lenin represented a turning point in the history of bitter suffering of their lives as slaves and symbolized a new and brilliant future."

In 1924, at the 5th Congress of the Communist International, Uncle Ho criticized the communist parties of the West for not truly concerning themselves with the revolution in the colonies even though "the destiny of the world proletariat depends, to a large degree, upon the colonies. The colonies are the places that supply food and soldiers to the imperialist powers..., so, we must first of all deprive them of the colonies."(12) "According to Lenin, in order for the revolution in western Europe to win victory, it must be closely linked to the liberation movement against the imperialists in the colonial and enslaved countries and, the national question, as Lenin taught, is a part of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat."(13)

He and a number of progressive personalities from the countries of eastern Asia established the League of Oppressed Nations in 1925, which was a form of the Anti-imperialist Front. He maintained ties with the revolutionary movements in the countries of eastern Asia and paid very much attention to the situation of the farmers in these countries while concerning himself with the interests of the other nations. He considered the national liberation struggle to be "an integral part of the proletarian revolution on a worldwide scale."(14) However, he pointed out that the national liberation revolution need not wait for the proletarian revolution in the mother country and that the oppressed peoples are fully capable of taking the initiative and waging a struggle to liberate themselves and win victory before the proletariat in the mother country seizes political power. He stated that the liberation of the oppressed peoples can only be achieved through their own effort. He said: "Applying the words of Marx, we want to tell them that they can only achieve liberation through their own efforts and struggle."(15)

President Ho pointed out the independent nature of the national liberation struggle within each country but always placed this movement within a relationship with the overall movement.

During the period in which fascism was born and began to pursue an aggressive policy, Uncle Ho and our party, upholding the spirit of the 7th Congress of the Communist International (August 1935), pointed out that the strategic

task of resisting the imperialists and resisting the feudalists had not changed. However, the primary and immediate task was to struggle against the reactionary colonial regime, win independence and democracy and achieve a comfortable life and peace. The main and most dangerous enemy of the Indochinese at that time was the colonial reactionaries and their lackey clique. To achieve the strategic goal of the revolution, our party advocated the establishment of a democratic front with a view toward assembling within it the various party factions, individuals and association chapters of the French Popular Front in Indochina, thereby assembling forces to resist the colonial reactionaries, the lackeys of the fascists in Indochina.

In a letter sent to the Communist International and to our country (which was lost), Uncle Ho clearly stated:

"-For the time being, the party cannot put forth too high a demand (national independence, parliament, etc.). To do so is to fall into the scheme of the Japanese fascists.

It should only demand democratic rights, freedom of organization, freedom of assembly, freedom of press and freedom of speech, general amnesty for all political detainees and struggle for the legalization of the party.

-To reach this goal, the party must strive to organize a broad democratic national front.

This front does not embrace only Indochinese, but also progressive French residing in Indochina, not only laboring people, but the national bourgeoisie as well.

There cannot be any alliance with or any concession to the Trotskyite group. We must do everything possible to expose them as the henchmen of the fascists and annihilate them politically.

To increase and consolidate its forces, widen its influence and work effectively, the Indochinese Democratic Front must keep close contact with the French Popular Front because the latter also struggles for freedom, democracy and can give us great help."(16)

The plenum of the Party Central Committee held in November 1939 analyzed the situation in Indochina and viewed the relationship among the classes as follows:

"On the one side, there are the French imperialists who control all economic and political power through corrupt local officials and running dogs that have betrayed the nation;

On the other side are all the local peoples that have been oppressed by the French imperialists like buffalo and cattle and exploited to the bone."...

"At this time, all classes and parties, with the exception of the feudalists, some reactionaries among landowners and capitalists and the running dogs that have betrayed the nation,...hate the imperialist enemy." "However, the terrible conditions caused by the imperialist war will cause the radicalization and the revolutionizing of the masses to occur very rapidly...indignation will boil, the revolution will break out."

The plenum viewed the national question from two points of view: "on the one hand, the nations of Indochina must unite, topple the French imperialists and demand total independence for Indochina and the right of self-determination for the nations of Indochina; on the other hand, the national liberation movement in Indochina must be very closely linked to the world revolution, must be a part of the world revolution..."

"In the age in which capitalism has entered its final stage of development, imperialism, and especially at a time when it has resorted to the use of fascist dictatorships, it is necessary, in order to evaluate a national movement, to thoroughly understand its contents. Any national movement that supports and assists the world revolution is a progressive and revolutionary movement while any national movement that is being used by the imperialists to divide the colonial market is against the world revolution (and, as a result, against the interests of the nation itself--author's note), that is, is reactionary."

The plenum pointed out: "The only course of survival open to the nations of Indochina is the course of toppling the French imperialists and resisting all forms of foreign aggression, be it by westerners or Orientals, in order to liberate the nation and achieve total independence for the nations of Indochina with the right of national self-determination..." "National interests are the supreme interests and every question of the revolution, even the land question, must be resolved with this objective in mind." Citing the antagonisms between the nations of Indochina and the imperialist aggressors as the main antagonisms, the plenum decided to temporarily drop the slogan of agrarian revolution and "only confiscate cropland from the French imperialists and the landowners who have betrayed the interests of the nation." The plenum decided to "establish a United Indochinese Anti-imperialist Front." "The main forces of the revolution are workers and farmers." "The front must be under the command of the proletariat." "Workers and farmers must brandish the banner of national independence."

"In the struggle against the people of Indochina, the French imperialists have, either directly or indirectly, brought in other imperialists as their allies to crush the revolutionary movement, consequently, communications and an alliance between the forces of the anti-imperialist liberation revolution in the world with the world proletariat, with the bulwark of the world revolution, the USSR, are absolutely necessary because the sympathy and support of the world revolution can, to a significant degree, determine the

process of the revolutionary movement within the region." In Indochina "no nation can achieve liberation separately because Indochina is under the exclusive political, economic and military control of the French imperialists. No one country can escape this ruling system without affecting the entire ruling system of the French imperialists. The Federation of Indochinese Nations absolutely does not compel the various nations to establish a single sovereign state because such nations as Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos originally had their independence. Every nation has the right to determine its own destiny in accordance with its own desires, but self-determination does not mean separating ourselves completely from one another."(17)

Against the background of the invasion and occupation of Indochina by the Japanese fascists and the surrender of the French colonialists to Japan, the 7th Plenum of the Party Central Committee (November 1940) pointed out the peril facing the nations of Indochina, which were caught between two forces, the French imperialists and the Japanese fascists, who were collaborating with each other. "The Indochinese proletariat is not only under the yoke of capitalist exploitation, but also under the yoke of national oppression, consequently, it is very revolutionary and presently wants to liberate itself; the Indochinese proletariat must liberate all nations from the chains of imperialism."(18) In order for the revolution to be a complete success, it had to be led by the proletariat of Indochina. The forces of the revolution had to achieve a unity of action in order to wage an armed struggle to topple the French-Japanese imperialists and the traitorous reactionary forces.

Under the chairmanship of Uncle Ho, the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee (May 1941) observed: "The nations of Indochina are presently being oppressed and exploited by both the French and the Japanese. This yoke of oppression is extremely heavy and cannot be endured by the nations of Indochina... The rights of all classes have been taken away and the destiny of the nations has never been in greater peril... If, at this time, we do not resolve the question of national liberation, do not demand independence and freedom for all nations, not only will all of the nations be forever held in slavery, but the rights of each nation, of the classes will not be won in 10,000 years."(19)

The national question involved the freedom and independence of each nation. "As regards the nation of Vietnam...after driving off the French and the Japanese, we will establish a new, democratic Vietnam..." "All of the nations of Indochina are under the ruling yoke of the French and Japanese; therefore, driving them off is not something that can be accomplished by only one nation or another, rather, the united forces of all nations of Indochina are required."

"At this time when national liberation is the supreme interest, our party must employ an extremely unified method of appeal in order to awaken the

long held national spirit among the people. Therefore, the front of our party at this time cannot be the same as the Indochinese Anti-Imperialist United National Front, rather, the name must be changed and the front must be of a greater national nature...the Vietnam Independence League, abbreviated as Viet Minh. Our party and the Viet Minh must do everything possible to help the nations of Kampuchea and Laos organize a Kampuchean Independence League, a Lao Independence League..."

As a result of adopting the correct line, correctly raising the question of national independence, providing flexible political guidance and adopting revolutionary methods consistent with the objective realities of the world and our country, Uncle Ho and our party led the revolution to the glorious victory of the 1945 August General Uprising, toppled the colonial regime of the French and the well established local feudalists and established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the first worker-farmer state in Southeast Asia, thereby bringing a brilliant and dignified life back to our nation, our people, our fatherland.

Since the August Revolution, our party, acting in the interests of our nation, our fatherland, in the revolutionary interests of the peoples of all nations of the world, has continued to brandish the banner of national independence and socialism, smoothly combined genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism, combated every manifestation of bourgeois nationalism, maintained an independent, autonomous stand and, at the same time, strengthened our unity with the forces of socialism, national independence and progress throughout the world. Under the leadership of the party, our people have written and are continuing to write brilliant pages in the history of the Vietnamese revolution, thereby helping to safeguard peace, national independence, democracy and socialism in the world and implement the immortal words of President Ho Chi Minh that all nations of the world have the right to freedom, equality and happiness.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi do lag ta do, vi chu nghĩa xã hội" [For Independence, Freedom, For Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, p 229.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap" [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 705.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve dan tranh vu trang va luc luong vu trang nhan dan" [The Armed Struggle and the People's Armed Forces], Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 371.
4. "Thung loi kêu gọi của Ho Chu tịch" [Appeals by President Ho], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1956, p 75.

2. "Những sự kiện lịch sử Đảng" [Events in the History of the Party], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 33.
6. "Tham luận tại phiên họp thu bảy của Đại hội lần thứ nhất Quốc tế nông dân ngày 13-10-1923" [Presentation at the 7th Session of the 1st Congress of the Peasant International, 13 October 1923].
7. Ibid.
8. TAP CHI CONG SAN (Phap) [COMMUNIST REVIEW (France)], No 15, May 1921.
9. "Những sự kiện lịch sử Đảng"...p 63.
10. Ibid., p 62.
11. Ibid., p 57.
12. Ibid., p 77.
13. Nguyen Ai Quoc: "Len an chu nghĩa thực dân" [Colonialization on Trial], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1999, p 109.
14. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyển tập"...p 650.
15. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi độc lập tự do, vi chủ nghĩa xã hội"...p 20.
16. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyển tập"...p 196.
17. "Văn kiện Đảng" [Party Proceedings], published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Party Central Committee, Hanoi, 1977, Volume III, p 60-61.
18. Ibid., p 157.
19. "Văn kiện quân sự của Đảng 1930-1945" [Military Documents of the Party, 1930-1945], Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1969, pp 184-185.

7809

CSO: 4209

REMEMBERING THE TEACHINGS OF UNCLE HO

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 5, May 1980
pp 33-42

[Article by Le Trong Tan]

[Text] The entire history of the growth, combat and victories of our armed forces has been closely linked to the name and achievements of the great Uncle Ho.

On the occasion of the 90th anniversary of his birth, rereading the letters filled with concern that he sent to the armed forces during the various campaigns, the appeals made by him at each historic turning point and his practical training directives, we feel that he is still beside us, still among us as he was several decades ago.

His simple, pure speeches and writings overflowing with love dealt with a broad range of subjects of contemporary significance, from very basic matters pertaining to the people's war and the buildup of the people's armed forces to specific, practical matters pertaining to each battle, each campaign, each phase of military training.

The writings and speeches of President Ho are pages of the "books on military science of Vietnam" in the new age; these writings and speeches are of a thoroughly revolutionary and profoundly scientific nature and are also uniquely Vietnamese. The teachings of Uncle Ho are truly extremely valuable.

In this article, I have presented a number of matters concerning which I have deep insight in the hope of contributing to the research of his military viewpoints.

Broad Vision, Thorough Analysis and the Concentration of Strength on the Most Dangerous Enemy

Who should we fight? What are our combat objectives? These are some of the questions of decisive importance in the victory of the revolution and

war. Uncle Ho reminded us: "We must be clear-sighted so that we can see everything, so that we correctly determine who our enemy is." (1) "Once we clearly know who the enemy is, victory can be won." (2) Therefore, we "must have broad vision, must engage in thorough analysis" (3) in order to quickly determine who the enemy is, determine each type of enemy, the main enemy, the enemy behind our immediate enemy, the dangerous enemy that is directly attacking us and the enemy that will, in the course of development, become our main enemy.

Correctly determining who the enemy is at an early date is very important in order to always take the initiative in the guidance of strategy and the formulation of plans for winning victory over the enemy in every situation in war. Our Party Central Committee, headed by Uncle Ho, always aimed directly at the enemy, determined our enemy at an early date and accurately evaluated the enemy in every stage of the revolution and through the various turning points of history.

In February 1930, when writing the "Outline Platform of the Party," Uncle Ho pointed out that the targets of our country's revolution were the imperialists and the feudalists, set forth the task of "toppling French imperialism and the feudalists" (4) and closely guided the effort to coordinate the two tasks of resisting the imperialists and resisting the feudalists in the various periods of the revolution. In the 1940's, when France met with defeat and our country became a colony of Japan, our party identified our main enemy as the Japanese fascists and took thorough advantage of the antagonism between the two enemies of our nation, the Japanese fascists and the French colonialists, in order to accelerate the national liberation revolution and implement the resolution of the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee held in May 1941, which was convened and chaired by Uncle Ho. "If, at this time, we do not resolve the question of national liberation, do not demand independence and freedom for all nations, not only will all of the nations be forever held in slavery, but the rights of each nation, of the classes will not be won in 10,000 years." (5)

Under the leadership of the party headed by President Ho, by means of the combined strength of the entire nation coordinated with the strength of our times and inspired by the brilliant victory of the Soviet Red Army in World War II, our people staged a victorious general uprising, seized political power from the Japanese fascists and established the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. At that time, we did not sit idly by and wait for the proletarian revolution in those countries that had strong revolutionary movements to win victory nor did we wait for "help" from our allies.

"Liberation can only be achieved through our own efforts and struggle." (6)

After the 1945 August Revolution, when the revolutionary government was still in its infancy, our nation had to simultaneously deal with the schemes of many imperialists and their lackeys and contend with many aggressor armies and armed reactionary forces. In the North, nearly 200,000 Kuomintang troops controlled behind the scenes by the U.S. imperialists, entered in the name of disarming the Japanese army; however, they were actually carrying

out a scheme to "annihilate our party, destroy the Viet Minh and help Vietnamese reactionaries topple the people's government in order to establish a reactionary government serving as their lackey."(?) In the South, the British imperialist army moved in and, also in the name of disarming the Japanese army, helped the French colonialists carry out their scheme to retake our country. There were still some 60,000 Japanese troops with their original weapons in the important cities. Less than 1 month after our country declared its independence, the French colonialists, with the British imperialists acting as their accomplices, opened fire on Nam Bo. Panic-stricken in the face of the power of our country's revolution, the British, the Americans and Chiang Kai-shek agreed to give France the authority to disarm the Japanese army, that is, to allow France to re-establish its rule in our country once again. Meanwhile, pro-American, pro-Chiang Kai-shek and pro-French Vietnamese traitors made every effort to sabotage the revolution.

With the fate of the country hanging on a thread, Uncle Ho and the Party Central Committee, by means of genius and unparalleled organizational ability, brought our people through every seemingly insurmountable difficulty. Against the background of having to simultaneously contend with many aggressive and crafty enemies, it was extremely important to take advantage of the antagonisms among the various enemies, highly divide them and determine which was our main enemy.

As a result of clearly understanding the nature of the imperialists and reactionaries and carefully observing their strategic schemes and intentions, when the Chiang Kai-shek army and the British army were about to march on our country but the French had not yet sent in their expeditionary army, Uncle Ho and the Party Central Committee predicted: "They will make concessions to one another and allow France to return to Indochina" and "sooner or later, we shall have to fight the French imperialists." Uncle Ho and the Party Central Committee, clearly aware that the main antagonism in our country at that time was the antagonism between our nation and the French colonialist aggressors who wanted to re-establish their rule over our country, observed: "The main enemy of our people is the French colonialist aggressors and we must direct the struggle against them."(8) In the Declaration of Independence, Uncle Ho wrote: "All Vietnamese, united as one from the upper echelon to the lower echelon, must determinedly resist the scheme of the French colonialists."(9)

While our people were fighting the French, Uncle Ho observed: "In recently concluded World War II, the United States became the leader of the imperialists, the leader of the international reactionaries. Great Britain and France are the right and left hands of the United States... Since the beginning of the war of resistance, Great Britain and the United States have helped the French colonialists... However, in 1950, the United States openly intervened in our country. Therefore, our main slogan at this time is:

annihilating the French colonialists and defeating the U.S. interventionists, winning reunification, total independence and protecting world peace."(10) He declared: "The more they intervene, the more united we must be, the more strongly we must fight.

If Vietnam closely unites with the fraternal nations of Kampuchea and Laos, we will have enough strength to rout the French colonialists and the U.S. interventionists."(11)

After the victory of Dien Bien Phu, Uncle Ho analyzed the new situation and pointed out to our people: "In Indochina, as regards our war of resistance, the United States and France seem to be united; however, the truth is that the United States wants to control the puppets in order to kick France out... The United States is the main enemy of world peace and we must concentrate our forces on resisting the U.S. imperialists... Since the Dien Bien Phu campaign, the scheme and plan of intervention of the United States have changed in order to prolong the war in Indochina, internationalize the war in Indochina, undermine the Geneva Conference, look for every possible way to kick the French out in order to occupy the three countries of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos, turn them into slaves of the United States and worsen tensions in the world.

"Thus, the United States is not only the enemy of the people of the world, but it is becoming the direct and primary enemy of the peoples of Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos."(12) "The spearhead of our struggle as well as the spearhead of the struggle of the world are directed toward the United States... Be we at peace or in a state of war, we must always take the initiative, must look ahead and prepare for the future."(13) Uncle Ho reminded us to combat the habit of "not seeing the forest for the trees; only noticing the withdrawal by the French but not realizing their scheme; only paying attention to the French, not the United States."(14)

The course of U.S. imperialist aggression against our country confirmed that the above mentioned predictions by Uncle Ho and the Party Central Committee were totally accurate. Under the talented leadership of Uncle Ho and the Party Central Committee, we, with the intense spirit of our army and people to resist the United States and with the strong sympathy and support of the world, forced the United States to gradually de-escalate the war and ultimately suffer bitter defeat.

In the process of guiding the revolution and the war, not only did Uncle Ho determine who the enemy was at an early date, but he also very clearly understood and very correctly evaluated the enemy; he left our people's armed forces with profound lessons in determining, analyzing and evaluating the enemy, understanding the nature, schemes, position and power of the enemy, understanding the enemy in their country, in the world and in our country, during each period and on each specific battlefield.

Before the nationwide war of resistance against the French colonialists broke out, in a directive entitled "The Urgent Tasks of the Moment" (5 November 1946), Uncle Ho predicted: "Even if the enemy is 99 percent defeated, they will still make every effort to hurt us. Because, if they are defeated in Vietnam, their entire imperialist empire will be destroyed. Therefore, they will send in very many expeditionary troops (no more than 100,000), aircraft and tanks. They will resort to very savage destruction and terror. Their purpose will be to strike panic in the hearts of our people and, as a result of this panic, surrender."

However, we must understand that the forces of the enemy have limits. We must be determined to persevere through this 'blitzkrieg' stage. Then, the enemy will collapse and we will win victory."(15)

This turned out to be a very correct prediction. Uncle Ho clearly saw that the French imperialists would be extremely obstinate because a defeat in Vietnam would affect the future of French imperialism.

As regards the U.S. imperialists, it was not only when we encountered them in the South that we saw that the strength of the United States also was "a limited strength," but, as early as when the United States intervened to help the French attack us, Uncle Ho analyzed: "The U.S. camp has many weaknesses: aside from the strength of the democratic camp, the U.S. camp is threatened by another force, economic crisis. The U.S. camp has many internal contradictions... The people, especially the various strata of workers in the countries being 'helped' by the United States, hate the United States because it has taken over their economies and infringed upon their countries' independence. The United States is very greedy and wants to establish bases throughout the world; the United States helps every reactionary group, every reactionary government. The U.S. front is very long and very broad and the defense forces of the United States must be spread thinly."(16)

In the undertaking of resisting the United States, liberating the South and protecting the North, Uncle Ho constantly showed our people, our army and world opinion the obstinate, reactionary nature of the U.S. imperialists as well as their strengths and weaknesses and taught the thinking of not fearing the United States, not fearing the modern weapons of the United States and being determined to fight and win victory over the U.S. pirate aggressors.

Our party and Uncle Ho always correctly evaluated the U.S. imperialists, were clearly aware of the fundamental nature and schemes, the strategic objectives and the strategic measures of the United States in each strategic stage of the war, correctly evaluated the comparison of forces between ourselves and the enemy and adopted accurate, effective and flexible strategies for winning victory over the enemy in each stage and eventually winning total victory.

Under the light of the teachings of Uncle Ho, we came to deeply realize that our country occupies an important strategic position, that our country's revolution always faces strong imperialist enemies and reactionary powers and that we must frequently deal with many enemies at the same time. Determining who is the main and immediate enemy is the first key to the success of the revolution and war, is necessary in order to direct our hatred and will to struggle against them, to assemble the strength of the nation in coordination with the strength of the world revolution, the strength of tradition with the strength of our times, thereby creating an invincible strength for winning victory over the enemy and winning independence and freedom.

All our people and our entire army must be extremely alert and vigilant, must closely watch and detect the schemes of aggression and annexation of the enemy, view the situation in a truly comprehensive and objective manner, predict every possible situation and make full preparations so that we can seize the initiative, fight the enemy and win victory in every situation.

We must correctly evaluate the enemy and "absolutely never underestimate the enemy." "If we underestimate the enemy, we will surely meet with defeat. If we know the enemy well, victory will be ours. If we allow the enemy to know us well, we will be defeated." (17) We absolutely must resist being complacent, being subjective, underestimating the enemy and losing our vigilance. These are extremely valuable teachings by Uncle Ho to our army and our people. They are also an objective requirement, a law in the nature of a law in winning victory in war.

Be Neither Arrogant in Victory nor Discouraged in Defeat, Overcome Every Difficulty, Win Victory Over Every Enemy

The realities of history as well as the present show that the enemies who commit aggression against our country are large imperialist countries and big country expansionist powers. As a result of their extremely reactionary, adventurous and malicious nature, they are constantly scheming to weaken our country in order to annex it and enslave our people. The enemy only accepts defeat after their will to aggress has continuously been dealt fatal blows; and, they only give up when they see that they are no longer able to continue the war and that their counter-revolutionary global strategy faces the danger of being defeated. Therefore, Uncle Ho and the Party Central Committee concern themselves with teaching all our people and our entire army determination to fight and win, determination to defeat every enemy, regardless of how rich, strong and large they might be.

Uncle Ho was an example of the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the working class, of our party, an example of our nation's tenacious, indomitable will. While waiting for the opportunity for the August General Uprising, Uncle Ho directed: even if we must "burn the entire Truong Son

Mountain Range, we must be determined to win our independence."(18) During the war of resistance against the French, Uncle Ho appealed: "We would rather sacrifice everything than suffer the loss of our country, than be enslaved"(19) and "regardless of how many sacrifices we might have to make and regardless of how long the war of resistance might be, we will fight until the end, fight until Vietnam is totally independent and reunified."(20) In the war of resistance against the United States, Uncle Ho taught our army and people: "As long as one aggressor remains in our country, we must continue to fight and drive them off."(21) Shortly before he passed away, Uncle Ho, still displaying this iron will, told us: "Regardless of how many difficulties and hardships they encounter, our people will surely win total victory. The U.S. imperialists will surely be forced to withdraw from our country."(22)

In war, Uncle Ho always taught the lessons of determination to troops:

"You must be determined to perform every job, regardless of how large or small, well and cause others to share in your determination.

You must be determined to not speak empty words, but must deeply believe what you say. When encountering favorable conditions, you must be determined to develop upon them; when encountering difficulties, you must be determined to overcome them.

Your determination must not be expressed at meeting halls or in words, rather, it must be expressed in work, in action. You must be determined to create a brave style of fighting. You must be determined to oppose all negative, wavering and selfish actions and all false reports.

You must be determined to fight, determined to endure hardships and difficulties, determined to overcome every difficulty, determined to comply with the policies of the Party Central Committee and government."(23)

He often taught troops: "In life, there is nothing difficult nor is there anything easy. For example, it is easy to bend the branch of a tree, but without determination, this cannot be done; it is difficult to carry out a revolution and wage a war of resistance, but, with determination, success can be achieved."(24)

Before our troops advanced on Dien Bien Phu, Uncle Ho directed them: "You must fight more bravely, must endure greater hardships, must maintain your determination in every set of circumstances:

Be determined to annihilate the enemy,

Be determined to comply with policies,

Be determined to win many victories."(25)

The banner of determination to fight and win which Uncle Ho held at Dien Bien Phu was also the banner of determination to fight and win victory over

the U.S. pirate aggressors that led to the attack by our great army on Saigon in the historic Ho Chi Minh campaign during the spring of 1975.

Since the revolution entered the new period, our cadres and soldiers, remembering the lessons in determination taught by Uncle Ho, have continued to display high revolutionary-offensive spirit, a heroic character and determination to fight, have overcome every new difficulty and challenge, have built powerful forces and have been ready to defeat every enemy aggressor.

In the long, difficult and violent war against every enemy of the class and nation to win independence and freedom, Uncle Ho taught our cadres and soldiers: do not be arrogant when you record an achievement or win a victory because "arrogance is the first step toward defeat"(26); when you encounter difficulties, even temporary setbacks, do not be pessimistic, do not waver, do not be dispirited, but persevere until the final objective is achieved; "absolutely never underestimate the enemy"; "if you underestimate the enemy, you will surely be defeated"(27); any victory, regardless of how large it might be, is only the first step, always be vigilant against the enemy, reactionary powers and new obstacles in the path of the revolution. "We must clearly teach this to all cadres, troops and people so that they are not arrogant in victory, are not discouraged in defeat, always make an effort and try to overcome every difficulty and hardship and eventually win final victory."(28) Uncle Ho advised: "We will encounter many difficulties between now and the time total victory is won and we might also experience numerous defeats. It is normal in war to win victories and suffer some defeats. Of utmost importance is that we win final victory."(29) When encountering difficulties, we must make every effort to overcome them and not become dispirited, lose our will, become panic-stricken or waver because of these difficulties: "By enduring the long, cold winter, we will see spring."(30)

With the teachings of Uncle Ho deeply ingrained within us, we do not consider victory to be something easily achieved. In the revolutionary struggle as well as in war, easy victories are very few in number. The attitude of being satisfied with immediate victories only leads to the relaxation of vigilance and a decline in the will to fight. "Do not be dispirited in the face of difficulties nor arrogant in victory." The revolutionary soldier does not have the right to stop at feeling joy over victory, but must move forward to more complicated tasks and win larger victories; he must not be pessimistic or waver in the face of temporary defeats and difficulties; he must be brave and courageous in overcoming difficulties and challenges; he must be filled with confidence in ultimate victory and must move steadily forward.

Unity Between the Army and the People, Unity Between Cadres and Soldiers,
International Unity

Uncle Ho considered unity between the army and people to be the road to victory. He said: "The people are the foundation, the parents of the

army. Political officers must gain the trust, support and love of the people for troops... To accomplish this, troops must do everything possible to help the people, must enthusiastically fight the enemy."(31) "You must fight the enemy for the sake of the people. However, you must not consider yourself to be the 'savior' of the people, rather, it is your responsibility to obey the people. All military personnel must gain the trust, support and love of the people. You must behave in such a way that before you arrive, the people eagerly await you; when you arrive, the people help you; and when you go somewhere else, the people miss you. To accomplish this, troops must help the people, must love the people."(32) As regards guerrillas, he taught: "You must always remember: guerrillas are the fish, the people are the sea. To kill the enemy and win victory in battle, you must have the help of your compatriots in every way possible. In order for your compatriots to willingly help you, you must help them, must respect them. This is the road to victory."(33)

In keeping with the teachings of Uncle Ho, our army considers closeness to the people, considers establishing a single will on the part of the army and the people to be the source of the extremely strong morale of our armed forces. This close relationship between the army and the people became the material strength that inspired and organized our army and people in recording imposing feats of arms in the August Revolution, in the wars of resistance against France and the United States and in the war to protect the fatherland against the Beijing expansionists.

At present, although they are still encountering many difficulties in their everyday lives, our people always wholeheartedly care for the armed forces, endure deprivations so that troops are well fed and can win victory and stand ready to contribute manpower and materiel to the cause of protecting the fatherland.

The people are the sacred object of the support of our army, the decisive force in the buildup and combat of our army and the source of our army's invincible strength.

Remembering the teachings of Uncle Ho, we must devote our efforts to maintaining the unity between the army and the people and must work with the people to build the system of socialist collective ownership, maintain combat readiness, accelerate production, make the people prosperous and the country strong.

In conjunction with always concerning himself with strengthening the blood ties between the people and the army, Uncle Ho was very concerned with establishing a new style relationship between the cadres and soldiers of the revolutionary army.

In 1950, during the conference to review the border campaign, he directed: "Cadres must love the members of their units. They must care for and inquire

about members of their units who are ill or disabled. The unit commander and political officer must be the brother or sister, the friend of the members of the unit. If they do not do this, they have not fulfilled their task. Only when cadres are as close to the members of their units as though they are their own hands and feet do the members of the unit become as close to cadres as they are to their own relatives. Only in this way are the directives, orders and plans of the upper echelon implemented in a positive and thorough manner by the members of the unit. It is necessary to praise soldiers who record achievements and promote cadres and unit members who are progressive, especially persons who have been in the army for many years."(34)

Uncle Ho pointed out that the command cadres and leadership cadres within the army must consider themselves to be the servants of the people; their duty and responsibility are to implement the will of all the people. In the revolutionary army, there is never any class opposition; therefore, cadres must "be as close to the members of their units as though they are their own hands and feet in order for the members of the unit to be as close to cadres as they are to their own relatives." No cadre, regardless of how outstanding his talents might be, regardless of how experienced he might be, can separate himself from the development of social life, from politics, from the nature of war or from the conditions needed to carry out the war. Deifying the personal talents and role played by the commander is incorrect and is harmful to the fighting strength of the army.

In history, we have often seen that deifying the role of the leader has caused the masses to lose complete confidence in their own strength, caused the masses to become the obedient tool of the commander. In September 1951, at the National Supply Conference, Uncle Ho advised: "Ours is a democratic country and the highest position within it is occupied by the people, because the people are its master. In the revolutionary apparatus, everyone from the domestic servant and cook to the president has the task of being the servant of the people. This is the highest honor. If an achievement is recorded, both the president and the cook must share equally in the honor."

Uncle Ho taught us a correct viewpoint concerning the role of the masses, the persons who create history; however, he did not diminish the role played by the commander. In 1951, at the Middle Level Political School of the Army, he said: "You, even those of you who are the commanders of large groups...are only the persons who formulate plans and command battles. When in battle, the emplacement of mines and the destruction of bunkers are carried out by the members of your unit. If their thinking is firm, their politics is firm, their technical proficiency is high and their physical conditioning and health are good, victory will surely be won. On the other hand, if they are firm politically but lacking in military skills or if they are above average both politically and militarily but not in good physical shape, victory cannot be won.

Therefore, cadres must love and care for the members of their units. Cadres must insure that the members of their units are well fed and well clothed. Only when cadres consider the members of their units to be their hands and feet do the members of their units consider cadres to be their head and mind."(35) "In addition, it is also necessary to teach members of the unit how to proselyte the people. Everything must come from the people. Without the people, there are no troops. Cadres must teach the members of their units to respect the people, love the people, help the people, must make the members of their units into persons who propagandize the masses by means of actual work. They must do what they tell others to do, must, depending upon the circumstances, organize and truly help the people and must not merely proselyte the people by means of empty theory. To accomplish this, cadres must set the example."(36)

In the relationship between cadres and soldiers, Uncle Ho pointed out the role played by the commander in closely uniting with the armed forces. In a revolutionary army, the commander must be obeyed and respected by the lower echelon not because he is the commander, but primarily because the work performed by him in the education, training and commanding of soldiers has been entrusted to him by the party and state in the interests of the people and the fatherland.

The work of protecting and building the fatherland at this time is facing cadres with new problems regarding military science and art. The equipment, weapons and technical means of the army are gradually being modernized. The cadre must not only have a firm grasp of the various modes of warfare, but must also deeply understand the laws of development of society and the objective laws of war so that he can guide troops in acting in accordance with these laws. Army cadres must make every effort to forge and improve their skills and cultivate good virtues so that they can complete their task and set a good example for soldiers.

International solidarity is part of the nature of our army and one of the very important factors in guaranteeing the victory of our country's revolution.

As an outstanding international communist fighter, Uncle Ho constantly gave his attention to teaching our army the proletarian international spirit. In a letter to units of ours that were helping a friendly army (3 April 1953), Uncle Ho wrote: "This is the first time you have had such an important and glorious task, the task of helping the troops and people of a friendly country. Helping a friendly country is the same as helping ourselves.

In order to fulfill your combat mission, all of you, from the upper echelon to the lower echelon, must:

Overcome every difficulty, emulate to kill the enemy and fight bravely there as well as in our country;

Display the international spirit, respect the sovereignty, the customs and habits, the people of that country;

Absolutely maintain the discipline and the good name of the Vietnam People's Army;

All of you must be very highly determined, very steadfast in your efforts and win many victories."(37)

In keeping with the teaching of Uncle Ho, our army and people stood shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea to fight the common enemy. The model, pure and consistent combat alliance among the peoples and the armies of the three countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism is a guarantee that each nation will win total victory in the work of building and protecting their fatherland.

In the past as well as the present, our people and our army have always had the valuable and effective sympathy, support and assistance of the people and the army of the Soviet Union. In the new stage, our people and army are continuing to receive especially large and effective assistance from the Soviet Union in keeping with the spirit of the Vietnam-USSR Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.

In keeping with the teachings of Uncle Ho, our people and army are determined to dedicate their efforts to building and strengthening the friendship and solidarity with the peoples and armies of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries.

Our army has invincible strength because the party, Uncle Ho and the people worked and have worked very hard to build, teach and support it.

Much glory has come to the cadres and soldiers of the army as a result of fighting under Uncle Ho's banner of Determination To Win. Remembering the teachings of Uncle Ho, we promise to be forever worthy of the title "Troops of Uncle Ho" and always uphold the tradition of being "loyal to the country, filial to the people and ready to fight and die for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, for socialism and to complete every task, overcome every difficulty, win victory over every enemy."

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: "Voi cac luc luong vu trang nhan dan" [With the People's Armed Forces], Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, p 90.
2. Ibid., p 92.
3. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve dau tranh vu trang va luc luong vu trang nhan dan" [The Armed Struggle and the People's Armed Forces], Quan Doi Nhan Dan Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 41.

4. Ibid., p 129.
5. "Van kien Dang 1939-1945" [Party Documents, 1939-1945], published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1977, p 196.
6. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi" [For Independence, Freedom, For Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, p 20.
7. Ibid., p 103.
8. "Nhưng sự kiện lịch sử Đảng" [Events in the History of the Party], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1979, Volume 2, p 40.
9. Ho Chi Minh: "Về vấn đề quân sự" [On Military Affairs], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, p 47.
10. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi"...., pp 111-113.
11. "Lời kêu gọi của Hồ Chủ tịch" [Appeals by President Ho], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, Volume 2, p 25.
12. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi"...., pp 158-160.
13. Ibid., pp 162-163.
14. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi"...., p 164.
15. "Van kien Dang 1945-1954" [Party Documents, 1945-1954], published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1978, pp 102-103.
16. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi"...., p 112.
17. Ho Chi Minh: "Voi cac luc luong vu trang nhan dan"...., p 92.
18. "Nhân dân ta rất anh hùng" [Our People Are Very Heroic], Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 96.
19. Ho Chi Minh: "Voi cac luc luong vu trang nhan dan"...., p 24.
20. Ho Chi Minh: "Vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi"...., p 70.
21. Ibid., p 318.
22. "Di chúc của Chủ tịch Hồ Chí Minh" [The Testament of President Ho Chi Minh].

23. Ho Chi Minh: "Voi cac luc luong vu trang nhan dan"..., pp 219-220.
24. Ibid., p 220.
25. Ibid., p 247.
26. Ho Chi Minh: "Ve van de can bo" [On the Cadre Question], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1975, p 45.
27. Ho Chi Minh: "Voi cac luc luong vu trang nhan dan"..., p 92.
28. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap" [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 344.
29. Ibid., p 343-344
30. "Van kien quan su cua Dang 1945-1950" [Military Documents of the Party, 1945-1950], p 63.
31. Ho Chi Minh: "Voi cac luc luong vu trang nhan dan"..., p 60.
32. Ibid., p 156.
33. Ibid., p 68.
34. Ibid., p 139.
35. Ibid., p 184.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid., p 229.

7809

CSO: 4209

OUR PARTY, A CREATIVE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 5, May 1980
pp 53-62, 67

[Article by Nguyen Duc Binh]

[Text] Under the leadership of our party, which was founded and forged by the revered President Ho, our country's revolution has won extremely large victories over the past 50 years.

The revolutionary undertaking of our people will continue to be long and filled with difficulties. However, the history of our nation over the past half century confirms beyond a doubt that our party and our people have been and are on the correct course, the course charted by Marx, Engels and Lenin. The 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party pointed out: "Our party has been able to lead the people in carrying out such great undertakings primarily because it firmly adheres to Marxism-Leninism, is absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism." The congress also pointed out: "The party practices Marxism-Leninism, not in terms of the words of Marxism-Leninism, but in terms of its inherent revolutionary and scientific nature, two basic characteristics which combine as one within Marxism-Leninism." In other words, our party is a creative Marxist-Leninist party. Our party is creative because it is absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism; this loyalty itself encompasses and demands creativity.

In a reply to a foreign journalist on the occasion of the commemoration of the birth of Lenin and after repeating Lenin's appeal to the revolutionaries of the Far East, President Ho Chi Minh said: "As for ourselves, it is precisely because we have made an effort to apply the teachings of Lenin, apply them in a creative manner consistent with the realities of Vietnam, that we have, as you know, fought and won tremendous victories. We have won these victories as a result of many factors, but it must be emphasized that... they have primarily been the result of our use of an irreplaceable weapon, Marxism-Leninism."

Confirming that Marxism-Leninism is an "irreplaceable weapon," our party has rejected every viewpoint that considers Marxism-Leninism to be outmoded,

rejected every attempt to put Lenin into opposition with Marx and rejected every scheme to "replace" Marxism-Leninism with another doctrine, such as the ideology of Mao Zedong, for example. The victory of the Vietnamese revolution has helped to verify the immortal vitality of the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism, principles that were drawn not from a special set of circumstances or the realities of a part, but from the entirety of the history of mankind, especially the entirety of the international worker movement. For this reason, so called "national Marxism" and "regional Marxism" do not exist. As an entity that cannot be cut into pieces, Marxism-Leninism is the compass guiding the revolutionary actions of all communist and worker parties of the world. Therefore, it is necessary to know how to use this compass in order to see the truth and correctly resolve problems in every set of circumstances of the revolution.

The Vietnamese revolution has taken place under extremely complicated conditions. To complete the liberation of the nation, our people, under the leadership of the party, had to wage an arduous and fierce fight for 45 continuous years (1930-1975); they had to use practically every form, from the lowest to the highest, of the class struggle and the national struggle. The Vietnamese revolution had to contend with many powerful enemies and sometimes had to deal with very many enemies at the same time. None of this is surprising. It is impossible to explain the long, arduous and complex nature of our country's revolution only in terms of such factors as geographical location, the attraction of our natural resources, etc. Deeper reasons must be sought in the relationship between the nature and the objectives of the Vietnamese revolution and the class struggle taking place throughout the world in the present age. The basic objectives of the Vietnamese revolution-national independence, democracy and socialism-are identical to the basic objectives of the three revolutionary currents of our times. The victory of the Vietnamese revolution has not only affected the partial and temporary interests of the imperialists and the reactionary powers, but also their basic and long-range interests. This victory has overturned their large-scale strategic calculations and thwarted the extremely ambitious plans of the imperialists and the expansionists-hegemonists. Vietnam, therefore, has become the target of insane counter-attacks by the imperialists cliques and imperialist reactionaries, become one of the focal points of the major, historic conflicts between revolutionary powers, on one side, and the most reactionary powers in the world, on the other side.

Our party began leading the national liberation revolution and the socialist revolution under the conditions of a colonial, semi-feudal, backward agricultural country whose working class was still small. Under these conditions, it was not at all easy to resolve a host of basic problems, such as the nature, objective and course of the revolution, the right to lead the revolution, the moving force behind and method of the revolution and

so forth in the late 1920's, even though many of these points have become very clear in the intervening years. There were no ready answers to these questions. Our party had to resolve these questions by fully grasping the substance of Marxism-Leninism and applying Marxist-Leninist theory as the only scientific method for analyzing a complex social entity, analysing economic, social and political conditions at home and abroad and finding the special course to be followed by our country's revolution.

On this basis, the first political platform adopted by our party in 1930 established a correct strategic line and correctly resolved the important, pressing questions raised by history. The platform established the nature of the Vietnamese revolution as "a bourgeois, democratic revolution...that will bypass the capitalist stage of development and endeavor to advance directly to socialism." (1) On the basis of analyzing the two fundamental antagonisms of Vietnamese society, the platform pointed out that the two strategic tasks of resisting the imperialists and resisting the feudalists were closely linked together in the national democratic revolution. The platform especially stressed the following: "The proletariat and farmers are the two main moving forces; however, the revolution will only win victory when it is led by the proletariat." (2) This was the most important of the various questions which our party correctly resolved from the very outset. Moreover, it is on the basis of this most important issue that we see how truly Marxist-Leninist, clear-sighted and extremely accurate were the words spoken by Nguyen Ai Quoc, the great leader of our party, in 1923 at the rostrum of the Peasant International. He said: "In the present age, the working class is the only class that has the historic mission of leading the revolution to final victory...by aligning itself with farmers.... All opportunist movements that seek to ingratiate themselves with farmers, that consider farmers to be the principal force, the only moving force behind the revolution, the only revolutionary corps, will only lead to adventurism, extreme anarchy and to the betrayal of Leninism." Thus, we see that even during that early period, President Ho, who possessed special political insight, was signalling to the entire world that a major peril was in its embryonic stage, that peril being the ideology of Mao Zedong.

The basic matters regarding the line set forth in the 1930 Political Platform of the party correctly reflected the laws of development of the Vietnamese revolution, and the history of the party over the past 50 years has been consistent with that line. The fact that our party resolved these questions at an early date proves that our party, from the very outset, has been a scientific and revolutionary party, a party that is absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism and has the ability to creatively apply Marxism-Leninism in order to chart the correct course.

The most basic factor in the strategic line of the party is the coordination of national independence with socialism. The 4th National Congress of Delegates of the Party pointed out: "Brandishing the banner of national

independence and socialism, this is the Red thread running throughout the entire history of the Vietnamese revolution since the founding of the party, is the ever-victorious banner of the Vietnamese revolution." This line had its foundation in the famous national salvation line of the revered Uncle Ho: "The only path for saving the country and liberating the nation is the path of the proletarian revolution." The line of correctly coordinating national interests with the interests of the working class correctly reflected the realities of Vietnam in the trend of development of our times. Therefore, it permitted the widest mobilization of every patriotic force within the nation, enabled us to acquire the highest possible sympathy and support of all revolutionary and progressive movements in the world and enabled us to lay a firm foundation for utilizing every revolutionary method, every form of struggle and form a tremendous combined strength for advancing the revolution. As a result of adopting the correct revolutionary line at the very outset, the party defeated the various bourgeois, reformist, nationalist trends as well as petty bourgeois nationalist adventurism, thereby making the newly established platform extremely interesting to the laboring masses, especially workers and farmers, and rapidly advancing the Vietnamese revolution to the 1930-1931 movement.

The correctness of this initial fundamental line together with the scale and depth of the 1930-1931 movement caused scientific socialism to rapidly take root in Vietnam and, it can be said, to determine the inevitably victorious trend of development in all subsequent periods of history. This explains why, even though it was savagely terrorized, the revolutionary movement was very quickly restored (in 1933 and 1934) and a new movement arose in the years from 1936 to 1939. It can be said that every communist party in the world has experienced a period of "immaturity"; however, there are not very many parties that grew out of that period as quickly as our party did. History shows that by the period from 1936 to 1939, the party was very mature politically, experienced in strategy and could be the master of every method of struggle, including legal struggle and parliamentary struggle, forms of struggle that seemingly could not be used in a colony. When World War II broke out, the party promptly reoriented its activities and, in actuality, began to prepare for a new revolutionary movement that led to the 1945 August Revolution, a revolution considered to be one of the creative models of the science and art of general uprisings.

Thus, in only 15 years after it was established, our party had seized political power. This was also a rarity in history. The newly established people's democratic government immediately met with extremely serious challenges. In the face of numerous domestic and foreign enemies and with the fate of the revolutionary government hanging on a thread, our party, headed by President Ho, led the country through countless difficulties by means of an extremely wise political line that reflected rigid adherence to principles and strategic flexibility. At one time, we established detente with Chiang Kai-shek so that our hands could be free to deal with the

French; at another time, we established temporary detente with France so that we could drive off the Chiang Kai-shek army, wipe out the lackey reactionaries of Chiang, win time to strengthen our forces and prepare for a nationwide war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors, which the party knew could not be avoided. "These extremely clear-sighted measures have been recorded in the history of our country's revolution as an unparalleled model of the Leninist tactic of making use of the antagonisms within the ranks of the enemy and making concessions based on principles." (3)

The realities of guiding the revolutionary war in the two wars of resistance against France and the United States, especially in the war of resistance against the United States, further developed the political skills and the art of leading the revolution of our party as well as its ability to adhere to Marxism-Leninism in terms of its revolutionary and creative substance.

In the face of enemies many times more powerful, we have still been able to see and create the conditions needed to implement an offensive strategy; although our strategy was offensive in nature, we knew how to cause the enemy to gradually de-escalate so that we could gradually win victory over them; we were determined to accelerate the revolution while still making positive contributions to the maintenance of world peace; we fought the enemy with the strength of the entire country but we also knew how to limit and win victory over the enemy in the South, thereby insuring relative peace in the North so that we could carry out the socialist revolution; we coordinated the "three offensive thrusts," the "three strategic areas," coordinated offensives and uprisings, uprisings and offensives; we "did not budge one inch," determined to become the masters in order to annihilate the enemy and annihilate the enemy in order to win and maintain the right of mastery, etc. A host of strategic guidelines (political, military and diplomatic) together with such methods and forms of fighting the enemy, what does all of this indicate? In short, the consistent nature of this line and these guidelines and methods is: the Marxist-Leninist dialectic, the dialectic of revolutionary creativity.

In addition, it must be said: whereas our people's war of resistance against the United States for national salvation was carried out with the wholehearted, extremely large and valuable support and assistance of the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries, of the people of China, of the international communist and worker movement and of progressive mankind, the traitorous clique within Chinese ruling circles, pursuing big country chauvinistic considerations and sinister schemes of expansionism and hegemony, placed countless problems, complications and obstacles in our way which, in the interests of the survival of the nation, we could not reveal at that time. Now, together with clearly seeing the true face of Maoism, every person of integrity and conscience in the world understands why our party was able to firmly steer the ship of the Vietnamese revolution through that treacherous and perilous situation to the shore of victory.

The key lies in the following: ours is a party that possesses a firm Marxist-Leninist stand, a truly revolutionary party that fights to the end for the supreme interests of the nation, of the working class and, at the same time, for the international interests of the world revolutionary movement; this stand in the nature of a principle combined with political astuteness and vast experience imbued our party with wisdom, breadth of vision and the ability to flexibly respond to and effectively overcome every obstacle in order to win victory for the revolution.

Following the tasks of the national democratic revolution with all of their severity, arduousness and complexity, our party and our people had to deal with the difficulties and challenges of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

These difficulties primarily originate in the very nature of the socialist revolution itself, which is the most thorough of revolutions, is a great undertaking of construction and creativity unprecedented in the history of man. Lenin himself said this countless times. The realities of the more than 60 years of world socialism have also proven this very clearly. Socialist construction in our country has been even more difficult because we are starting from an agriculturally backward country and bypassing the stage of capitalist development. According to Lenin, if the revolution begins with relative ease, the more slowly a country is developing, the more difficulties it will encounter in advancing the revolution to its objective.

In fact, in the countries that have experienced developed capitalism and, as a result, already have a heavy machine industry, the process of socialist construction has basic advantages in its favor (this is, of course, viewing the matter in a relative sense). Whereas in countries that have achieved an average level of development, such as Russia in 1917, for example, the matter in question is not a simple one, in the backward countries the socialist revolution and socialist construction encounter innumerable difficulties! As regards our country, a country that not only lacks a heavy machine industry, but is also suffering the aftereffects of colonialism, both old and new, and 30 years of war and even today is in a situation in which peace exists but war could break out at any moment, these difficulties are truly unimaginable.

How are we to advance to socialism in such a situation! How can we carry out the task of creating a system of large-scale, mechanized production, a task which, in historical terms, is the task of capitalism and which it took capitalism hundreds of years to carry out? How can we carry out this task in accordance with the principles and methods of socialism and carry it out in a very short amount of time compared to capitalism?

Actually, as Marx said, "Mankind always establishes tasks for itself that it can perform; because, when we examine it more carefully, we always see that the need for this task only arises when the material conditions needed to carry it out exist or, at the very least, are in the process of being formed."(4) Here, it is first of all necessary to mention an objective premise created by the times, the lack of which makes it basically impossible to advance to socialism without experiencing the capitalist stage of development. This premise is the existence and the assistance of the Soviet Union and the world socialist system. This assistance not only takes the form of economic cooperation and mutual aid, but primarily involves political support and, when necessary, even military assistance to resist armed intervention and every scheme of imperialism to export counter-revolution. Socialist construction that bypasses the stage of capitalist development but is not closely linked to the Soviet Union and the world socialist system can be called any kind of "socialism" that one wants to call it, but it is absolutely cannot be called scientific socialism. It is impossible to have scientific socialism that is in opposition with and hostile toward the socialism that exists in reality.

The viewpoint and line of our party have always been the same: the party considers comprehensive close ties based on fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and the world socialist system to be one of the basic guarantees that our country will advance directly to socialism without experiencing the capitalist stage of development.

The line of our party is totally contrary to the position of pure and isolated self-reliance of a petty bourgeois, nationalist nature. At the same time, our party has always taught our cadres, party members and people to clearly realize that strengthening international cooperative relations is totally foreign to the thinking of relying upon others, waiting for others and depending upon the outside, even if they are our brothers. Socialist construction first requires a high degree of effort in the spirit of self-reliance on the part of the people of each country building socialism. Only on the basis of developing each potential of the people and the country as highly as possible is it possible to make the most effective use of international cooperation and assistance and, as a result, successfully build socialism.

The line of our party on the socialist revolution insures such development. Our party adopted this line on the basis of firmly adhering to the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and the specific characteristics and conditions of our country; at the same time, the party gave its attention to studying the experiences of the fraternal countries.

Our party maintains that the socialist revolution and socialist construction are governed by universal laws that apply to every country, regardless of its specific characteristics and level of development, laws that cannot be ignored in advancing to socialism.

On the other hand, our party also maintains that socialism is, in terms of its principal laws, international in nature; however, it is built and established within individual countries and each country, in addition to the general characteristics possessed by all countries, also possesses many special characteristics closely linked to its specific historic conditions and its traditions; therefore, if these specific characteristics and conditions are not taken into consideration, it is ultimately impossible to successfully build socialism and the only result is that socialism itself is harmed.

The Vietnam Communist Party rejects the viewpoint of citing special national characteristics as a reason for rejecting universal laws; rather, when applying these universal laws, it has given full attention to national characteristics. Our party has acted on the basis of the following famous argument of Lenin: "All nations will advance to socialism, this is inevitable; however, not all nations will advance to socialism exactly the same way; each nation will incorporate its special characteristics in one form or another of the democratic system, in one type or another of the dictatorship of the proletariat and in one rate or another of the socialist transformation of the various aspects of social life. There could be nothing more impoverished in terms of theory nor anything more absurd in practice than to envision, for the sake of historical materialism, a future in which everything is the same dull gray in color." (5) This thinking of Lenin is an important basis of our party's line on the socialist revolution. In the socialist revolution as well as in the national democratic revolution, our party has maintained: "The victory of the revolution, creativity within the revolution are always the result of properly combining the universal with the special in applying the various objective laws." (6)

The line on the socialist revolution set forth by the 4th National Congress of Delegates vividly reflects this viewpoint. Clearly, there is not one universal and basic principle of scientific socialism that has not been taken into consideration here; at the same time, these principles are more than merely abstract principles, rather, they are manifested in the form of a thorough understanding of the inherent, basic characteristics of our country, manifested as specific responses to the questions raised by the realities of Vietnam.

Another significant aspect of the general line--which results from the fact that it is a line on carrying out a socialist revolution beginning from virtually no material-technical base whatsoever--is that it reflects a process of "building socialism from bottom to top," "building both new production forces and new production relations," "building both a new economic base and a new superstructure" and "building a new material life as well as a new spiritual life." In transformation and construction, attention has simultaneously been given to all basic areas (none has been given light attention) of the social economy; this, too, is a characteristic

of the general line and is closely linked to the characteristic mentioned above. The objectives that have been set, a new system, a new economy, a new culture and a new man, are essential and organic factors of the socialist socio-economic structure in our country, and, lacking any one of these factors, we cannot advance to socialism. Moreover, these factors create the conditions for one another's existence, without one, another cannot exist; they also have a reciprocal impact upon one another and, within this relationship, each factor is a cause and effect of another. These objectives are to be achieved by firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat, upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people and simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions: the production relations revolution, the scientific-technological revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution. These three revolutions cannot be carried out separately, rather, they must be closely linked, must have a reciprocal impact upon one another and stimulate one another's development. Advancing by means of a combined strength, this can be said to be a special characteristic of the line on the development of the Vietnamese revolution, be it the national democratic revolution or the socialist revolution.

However, while attaching importance to all of the different aspects of social life, the line of the party places special emphasis upon the most basic factor, the economy. This reflects a thorough understanding of the monistic viewpoint of historical materialism. On this basis, building the system of large-scale socialist production is, in the final analysis, considered to be the task of most decisive importance; "socialist industrialization is the central task," "the scientific-technological revolution occupies the key position"... In fact, without creating an economy based on large-scale production, all talk about socialism is nothing more than empty talk. Life has fully revealed this truth to us. The realities of building the new society have shown us that despite the positive impact of the different factors upon the superstructure, the economic factor still plays the decisive role in every aspect of social life. In the process of developing their theory, K. Marx and F. Engels pointed out at an early date: communist construction is, in essence, work of an economic nature. The founders of scientific communism stressed that a high level of development of production forces "is an absolutely necessary, practical premise (in successfully building communism-N.D.B.) because, without it, poverty becomes universal and, in conjunction with this deprivation, the struggle for necessary goods reoccurs and people will find it impossible to avoid falling into the old trash heap."(?)

The line of our party is not only fundamentally opposed to every sort of utopian philosophy, to idealism and determinism, but also fundamentally opposed to "economic materialism" and metaphysical, mechanical materialism, philosophies which absolutize the role played by the economy, which consider the economy to be everything. On the basis of the viewpoint that

the new economy does not automatically or spontaneously give birth to a new culture, new man and new ideology, our party has pointed out: "The circumstances of our country both demand and permit that we begin to gradually mold the new man at an early date and not wait until we have achieved a high level of development of large-scale socialist production." (8) Moreover, the new economy does not come into being by itself. It can only be the result of the work of building and creating this economy over many decades, work that is filled with hardships and difficulties and demands that the masses possess a high sense of awareness, the spirit of sacrifice, the spirit of bravery, determination, perseverance and heroism "on a daily basis" (Lenin); it demands proficiency, an increasingly high cultural level and increasingly deep knowledge of modern science and technology. The production of 1 ton of paddy, the construction of a canal, a factory, a section of road and so forth are the result of much sweat and socialist zeal, much knowledge and detailed thinking. Subjective factors play an extremely important role in every socialist revolution; they are of even more special importance under the harsh conditions that exist in the initial stage of our country's advance to socialism. Therefore, on the premise of affirming the decisive role of objective factors (the economy, material conditions, objective laws), our party has attached full importance to developing the positive role played by subjective factors.

In this spirit, the resolution of the 4th National Congress of Delegates pointed out: "The conditions that are of most decisive importance in advancing the socialist revolution to total victory are establishing and constantly strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and implementing and constantly upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people." Experience has shown that wherever and whenever we create and firmly maintain these "conditions of foremost importance," every job is accelerated, very large achievements are recorded and all complex and difficult situations, even natural disasters and enemy attacks, are overcome. To the contrary, wherever and whenever these "conditions of foremost importance" are neglected or violated, all work, not only economic construction, but cultural and ideological work as well, encounters difficulties and this, in turn, causes countless complex problems. World experience has provided us with many such examples.

Therefore, our party considers firmly maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat and upholding the right of collective ownership of the laboring people to be matters of foremost importance. In essence, this involves building a structure of the system of socialist collective ownership of the laboring people under the leadership of the working class, a structure which is "1 million times more democratic than any system of bourgeois democracy," a structure which insures that the party leads, the laboring people exercise ownership and the state manages. This structure is a basic guarantee, a primary moving force in successfully carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction.

without large-scale production there basically can be no socialism; without the new culture and new persons, there can be no socialism; without the system of collective ownership of the laboring people under the leadership of the working class, it is even more impossible to achieve socialism. Socialism must be built in every aspect of life, must reflect its historically superior nature compared to capitalism not only in the economic field, but also in the cultural and spiritual fields, in the entire style of life, in the entire richness of social relations and personal relations. This is the essence of the objectives and the course for achieving the objectives set forth in the general line of the 4th National Congress of Delegates of our party.

Fifty years is but a short period of time in the 4,000 year history of our nation. However, no other period in the history of our nation has been as rich in great events as have the past 50 years! In no other period have we taken the remarkable historical strides forward that we have over the past half century! The changes brought about by the revolution in the life of our nation over the past 50 years have truly been tremendous.

Once ruled and partitioned, Vietnam became an independent, unified and socialist country.

Once held in slavery, once oppressed and exploited, our people stood up and became the masters of society, the masters of their life and their destiny.

Its name once erased from the world map, our nation entered the ranks of the vanguard nations of our times.

Truly, life has changed. In scientific terms, our nation has taken the great leap forward from pre-history to genuine history.

These revolutionary changes cannot be reversed. They are accomplished facts and have been recorded in history as perpetual achievements. Of course, even with regard to these achievements, more than a few problems still exist. But, those things that the revolution has won are irrevocable.

We face many large and important tasks that have not been completed, many difficulties that must be overcome and many shortcomings and weaknesses that must be corrected. However, this is no reason not to take pride in the tremendous achievements recorded by the revolution! This is no reason to give attention to those who have no liking whatsoever for revolutionary changes and spout arguments distorting and discrediting them! Nor is this any reason for us to lack vigilance in the face of the imperialist enemy and the Beijing reactionaries who, along with their lackeys, are scheming to strangle, annex and, at the very least, weaken our country through various plans, even the most malicious psychological warfare tricks, in a vain attempt to cause us to doubt, to waver, to lose all pride and confidence in the revolution.

The revolution is moving forward. Our objective as well as subjective difficulties are in the nature of difficulties encountered in the process of growing. The words spoken by Lenin to Russian communists in 1920 are of contemporary value to us today: "In such a brand new undertaking with such difficulties and such greatness, it is impossible to avoid shortcomings, mistakes and weaknesses. He who fears the difficulties in socialist construction, he who allows these difficulties to strike fear in his heart, he who falls into despair or a state of shameful confusion is not a socialist."(9)

The basic situation facing us is: the position and power of the revolution have never been as strong as they are today. They are strong within our own country; they are strong in the close alliance, which has never been closer, between the Vietnamese revolution and the revolutions of Laos and Kampuchea; they are strong in the constantly growing potential of the great socialist community, the pillar of which is the Soviet Union; they are strong in the surging advance by the three revolutionary currents in the world despite the insane counter-attacks by imperialism and the international reactionaries.

We should not forget the achievements that have been recorded because of the difficulties and shortcomings we face. However, "the entire key to the problem lies in determinedly, clearly and correctly distinguishing among achievements of our Russian revolution that are of significance to the history of the entire world, that which we are doing and working very hard to complete, that which has not yet been accomplished and that which must be done over many times."(10)

This is the only correct, the truly revolutionary viewpoint. Only this viewpoint is consistent with the dialectic of objective development and only this viewpoint correctly reflects the spirit of self-criticism and criticism that is an inherent, special quality of the communist party, a truly revolutionary party that fights wholeheartedly for the progress of society and the happiness of the people.

On the basis of this viewpoint, our party has taken a long and hard look at the difficulties we face, bravely pointed out the shortcomings and weaknesses that must be rapidly corrected and set forth pressing tasks that must be performed in socialist construction as well as the protection of the fatherland with a view toward successfully implementing the general line set forth by the party's 4th National Congress of Delegates in a manner consistent with the special characteristics of our country's situation during this period. This is precisely the basic spirit emanating from the resolutions of the 5th and 6th Party Plenums. Achieving the full, correct and effective implementation of these important resolutions is the center of attention of our entire party, all our people and our entire army at this time.

"Living, creative socialism is the undertaking of the masses themselves."(11)
As a creative Marxist-Leninist party, our party is always loyal to Marxism-Leninism. It creatively applies the principles of Marxism-Leninism and always considers the realities of the revolution to be the basis for formulating, developing and constantly improving and concretizing its revolutionary line. These are also the fundamental conditions insuring that the line of the party is always effective in life.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Van kien Dang 1930-1945" [Party Documents, 1930-1945], published by the Department of Research on Party History of the Central Committee, Hanoi, 1978, pp 67-68.
2. Ibid., p 68.
3. Le Duan: "Duoi la co ve vang cua Dang, vi doc lap tu do, vi chu nghia xa hoi, tien len gianh nhung thang loi moi" [Advancing Under the Glorious Banner of the Party To Win New Victories for Independence, Freedom and Socialism], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, p 33.
4. K. Marx and F. Engels: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1970, Volume I, p 440.
5. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume 23, p 87.
6. Le Duan: "Duoi la co ve vang cua Dang...", ; 119.
7. K. Marx: "The German Ideology," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 30.
8. The Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the 4th National Congress of Delegates, p 64.
9. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book II, Part 2, p 313.
10. Ibid., p 622.
11. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1963, Volume 26, p 327.

PRESIDENT HO AND THE ETHNIC MINORITIES

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 5, May 1980
pp 63-67

[Article by Le Van Hae]

[Text] Over the past several decades, the life and the destiny of the more than 50 ethnic minorities in our country have been bound through flesh and blood to the name and the revolutionary career of President Ho.

As the most outstanding son of the great family of Vietnam, President Ho symbolized the essence of all nationalities. Every nationality, be it the ethnic majority or an ethnic minority, be it a nationality that lives in the mountains or the lowlands, sees the most beautiful and best aspects of its nationality in the personage of President Ho.

Uncle Ho was the deeply revered father, the source of unshakeable confidence and the source of boundless hope of the various nationalities. The meritorious deeds of Uncle Ho are deeply ingrained in everyone and have spread to the most remote areas of the countryside.

As regards the ethnic minorities, President Ho always adhered to the same clear viewpoint: "Ours is a united country consisting of many nationalities. All nationalities living in Vietnam are equal in rights and obligations.

The fraternal nationalities within our country are closely linked by blood, share a common territory and have experienced a long history of working and struggling together to build a beautiful fatherland."(1)

He appealed: "Ethnic Vietnamese and Tho, Mung and Man, Jarai and Ede, Sedang and Bahnar and the other ethnic minorities are children of Vietnam, are blood brothers. We live and die together, share joy and sorrow, help one another in times of plenty and in times of hunger... The rivers might run dry and the mountains might crumble, but our solidarity will never weaken."(2)

He was very concerned with developing the economy and culture in order to improve the lives of the compatriots in the mountains; in particular, he reminded cadres, troops and compatriots "to make every effort to help our compatriots in the highlands in every job we perform." (3) The thinking of unity of the various nationalities on the basis of the principles of equality and mutual help in order to achieve independence, freedom and happiness for all became the foundation of every nationalities policy of the party. Through the correct nationalities policy, Uncle Ho and our party ushered in a new era in the relations among the various nationalities in our country. The fraternal nationalities have joined together to enhance the tradition of unity in struggle, created a remarkable strength, overcome every difficulty and won brilliant victories for our fatherland.

With the correct line and policy, Uncle Ho and our party became close to the various nationalities and, conversely, the nationalities grew close to the party and Uncle Ho. This fraternal closeness has not only been manifested in the line and policy of the party, but was also manifested in the actions of President Ho. Every nationality and every area visited by Uncle Ho has warm memories of him.

In his life of revolutionary activities filled with trials and tribulations, after wandering for several decades across all continents in search of the path of national salvation and after living the life of a great international soldier, the first place Uncle Ho stepped foot in when he returned to the fatherland to guide the revolutionary movement at home was an ethnic minority area. And, from the very first moment they met, a feeling of loyalty bound President Ho closely to the ethnic minorities and vice versa. In his many years of living in hiding and establishing bases to guide and participate in the revolution in many ethnic minority areas of the North, where he "dressed and ate" the same as every mountain compatriot, Uncle Ho developed a feeling of great sympathy and love for the compatriots of the ethnic minorities. After the day the North was totally liberated, having returned to Hanoi to live and work, Uncle Ho spent many years visiting all of the mountain provinces and revisiting the villages in which he once lived with compatriots of the various nationalities. And, until the final days of his life, whenever he heard that a delegation of the people or a delegation of cadres from the ethnic minorities was visiting the capital, he received them warmly and had a commemorative photograph of the occasion taken. He then instructed that a copy of the photograph be sent to each member of the delegation. He often took the members of these delegations to visit his living quarters and work office.

Like a good and kind mother, he attentively watched the progress of children; he always had the ethnic minorities in his heart, especially the compatriots in the remote, wilderness highlands and the compatriots who still had to live under the boots of the aggressors. "When he was alive, Uncle Ho always closely observed each step forward of the revolution in the South. He

thought about the compatriots of the South and the Central Highlands day and night. Even when old age had weakened him, he still suggested that a visit by him to the South be organized, even while the war of resistance was still in progress."(4)

A deeply revered leader, President Ho was also the beloved and close father of the ethnic minorities. Every nationality had a name by which they called him, a name reflecting both deep respect and love. He was Paac(*) Ho to the Tay and the Thai, Cong(**) Ho to the Nung, Pe(*) Ho to the Dao, Chi Lao(8) Ho to the Hmong(Meo), Avoc(*) Ho to the Bru Van Kieu, Awa(*) Ho to the Jarai and Ede, Bok(*) Ho to the Bahnar and Sedang, On(*) Ho to the Khmer and so forth. The several dozen different nationalities had several dozen different names for him but every name had one point in common, that is, every nationality considered him to be the wisest, most beloved of their compatriots and every name reflected respect for Uncle Ho.

In our people's 4,000 year history of building and defending the country there have been national heroes who have brandished the banner of resistance against foreign aggression, have rallied the masses around themselves, both the ethnic majority and the ethnic minorities from the lowlands to the mountainous jungles, and have molded them into a unified bloc fighting the common enemy, as a result of which imposing feats of arms have been recorded and aggressors have been driven from all corners of our country. However, this alliance usually did not last very long because, once an independent, sovereign country had been established and these heroes became emperors, they immediately isolated themselves and the laboring people of the various nationalities were subjected to many strata of oppression and exploitation. Uncle Ho, however, was totally different. During the years of his life, when he was "the old Nung with the blue shirt and bamboo walking stick"(Mr. K.) and "Uncle Thu" or "mountain man" in the mountainous jungles of Viet Bac as well as when he was president of the country in the capital Hanoi, the relationship between President Ho and the ethnic minorities was always close. It was a special, rare relationship, a relationship of utmost respect and love, a very natural and open relationship, a relationship that was totally foreign to blind worship. It can be said that Uncle Ho was devoted to the ethnic minorities, consequently, they were devoted to him. In Truong Ho Village, Ha Quang District, Cao Bang Province, where Pac Bo cave is located, on hearing the news that President Ho had died, all Tay and Nhung compatriots, every household automatically organized a funeral ceremony for him, the exact kind of ceremony held for the father or an elder of their family. In the memories and the sacred feelings of each person, Uncle Ho is held with boundless love and extreme closeness.

In the thinking of the compatriots of the ethnic minorities, Uncle Ho and the party were one, Uncle Ho was the party, the party was Uncle Ho. Their trust in and love for Uncle Ho caused them to actively implement every position and policy of the party and government. Although they did not know

such about theory, every one of them was deeply touched by the words of President Ho: "I have but one desire, one ultimate desire, that our country be totally independent, our people be totally free and every compatriot be well fed, well clothed and educated,"(5) When he set forth the three tasks of killing the enemy hunger, killing the enemy ignorance and killing the enemy aggressors, he reflected the deepest thoughts and aspirations, the long held dreams of the various nationalities, he became one with the various nationalities and nothing stood between Uncle Ho and them. This was the foundation of the confidence that the various nationalities had in President Ho.

Because they trusted and loved Uncle Ho, because they respected Uncle Ho, the compatriots of the various ethnic minorities trusted, loved and respected everything related to Uncle Ho, to the party. There was no greater honor than to be called "troops of Uncle Ho" or "cadres of Uncle Ho." These titles were the passports that enabled us to permeate the masses of the various nationalities, light the flame of struggle and gain the participation of these compatriots in revolutionary activities.

Because they trusted and loved Uncle Ho, trust and love the party, the various nationalities have accepted every challenge and hardship, made sacrifices and been determined to fight under the banner of Uncle Ho. The compatriots of the Central Highlands still sing:

"Uncle Ho, Uncle Ho!

When they lack food, the people dig tubers,
When they lack salt, they burn thatch and bamboo,
When they lack clothing, they wear the bark of trees,
But what shall they do without you!"

The source of unshakeable confidence, Uncle Ho was also the source of boundless hope of every person, every family. "The gloom of the enemy aggressors is everywhere. In Viet Bac, however, there is the bright light of Uncle Ho."(6) During the darkest months and years of the struggle in the South, the countless bombings and shellings, the incalculable suffering and tragedies inflicted by the Americans and the puppets upon the various villages and nationalities could not extinguish this confidence and hope. Many families concealed a picture of Uncle Ho in a magazine or book and occasionally looked at it to strengthen their confidence and maintain their spirit of struggle, to give themselves hope because President Ho was the symbol of the party, the revolution, the fatherland, independence and freedom. Many persons endured prison and torturing but still would not give their picture of Uncle Ho to the enemy. Many persons were killed because they would not allow the enemy to offend the name and image of President Ho. When the enemy arrested and tortured him, the slain hero Vuu, a member of the Bahnar ethnic minority in Gia Lai-Kontum Province, bared his chest to the enemy, told the enemy to fire and, pointing to his heart, exclaimed: "Uncle Ho lives in my heart!"

Under the old regimes, the various ethnic minorities shared the common fate of slaves who had lost their country, were victims of the oppression and exploitation of the imperialists and feudalists and were also the victims of countless poisons of divisiveness and hatred among the nationalities. At some places, widespread prejudice, suspicion and hatred led to acts of revenge and the repayment of blood debts, which were sometimes non-ending in nature, among the hamlets of the same village, among sectors of the same nationality, between one nationality and another and within the same area. However, with the arrival of the party and Uncle Ho, the nationalities policy of the party and Uncle Ho deeply permeated the people of the various nationalities, washed away the poisons of divisiveness and national hatred that had existed for generations and built a relationship of increasingly close fraternal solidarity among the various nationalities.

Under the diligent care of Uncle Ho, the tree of broad unity among the various nationalities bore fruit; the ethnic majority, the ethnic minorities, the persons in the lowlands as well as the persons living in the highlands within the great family of nationalities in Vietnam became truly united and began to love and help one another as blood brothers, thereby creating an invincible strength. The long held dream of the various nationalities to be independent, free, well fed, well clothed and educated became reality in every area of our country. Compared to the period of time preceeding the August Revolution, this represents an unprecedented change in life; even though the material lives of the various nationalities are not without difficulties, everything else is exactly the way they want it to be. Uncle Ho understood what they wanted very clearly; therefore, before he departed from us, he advised: "Our laboring people in the lowlands as well as the mountains have endured hardships for generations, have been oppressed and exploited by the feudal and colonial regimes, have experienced many years of war... The party must adopt a very good plan for developing the economy and the culture in order to constantly improve the life of the people." (?) This truly conformed with reason and sentiment!

It is not surprising that everything which the revolution has brought to the compatriots of the ethnic minorities is seen by them as part of the tremendous service performed by the party and Uncle Ho. Sitting with a full bowl of rice, a member of the Khmer nationality said: "My mother gave birth to me, but this bowl of rice came from Uncle Ho." Due to their extreme poverty, the compatriots in the Central Highlands once had nothing but loincloths to wear; when they received cloth and clothing from the party and government, they said: "This is the clothing, this is the cloth Uncle Ho has given us." The compatriots in the highlands, who once lacked salt for years, shed tears when they received "Uncle Ho's salt." Compatriots of the Dao and a number of other nationalities, who once faced the danger of extinction but now have a large younger generation, are very grateful to President Ho and the revolution for ending the problem of orphaned children. Having learned the Hmong language (Meo), which, according to legend, their forefathers had abandoned, the Hmong were very happy that the party gave them

the "language of Uncle Ho." The name Uncle or Uncle Ho has become synonymous with every success in the struggle and with every vital right won for them by the party and the revolution. Every nationality has its own way of expressing its gratitude and its own way of evaluating what has been accomplished. Khmer compatriots compare the meritorious deeds of Uncle Ho to be as great as the sea and the sky. The compatriots of the Central Highlands, where row after row of mountainous jungles lie, compare the meritorious deeds of Uncle Ho to being as numerous as trees in the jungle. Every river, no matter how long it might be, eventually meets with the sea and every mountain, regardless of how high it might be, can be climbed by man, but the meritorious deeds of Uncle Ho can never be surpassed; therefore, the compatriots of the various nationalities in Tay Bac say: "The meritorious deeds of Uncle Ho are higher than all the mountains placed one on top of another and longer than all the rivers linked end to end." To commemorate the meritorious deeds of Uncle Ho and pass them down to succeeding generations, the compatriots of the Van Kieu nationality, who formerly used no last name, have, on their own, adopted the family name of Ho to serve as the common family name of their entire nationality.

The meritorious deeds of Uncle Ho have left a particularly deep imprint upon the compatriots of the ethnic minorities as well as upon each of us. The years and months will pass but the feeling of deep devotion and duty of the compatriots of the various nationalities to Uncle Ho and the party will last forever.

Remembering the tremendous service performed by the party and Uncle Ho, the compatriots of the ethnic minorities have tightened their ranks around the Party Central Committee and promised to carry out very well the teachings taught by Uncle Ho throughout his life: unity, unity, broad unity; make every effort to develop the economy and culture and work together to become the masters in order to build and protect the socialist Vietnamese fatherland--the fatherland and the great family of all the nationalities of our country.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ho Chi Minh: Tuyen tap, "[Selected Works]", Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p 752.
 2. "Nhưng lời kêu gọi của Ho Chu tịch" [Appeals by President Ho], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1956, Volume I, pp 91-92.
 3. "Nhưng lời kêu gọi của Ho Chu tịch"..., 1960, Volume V, p 228.
 4. Speech by Le Duan in Gia Lai-Kontum Province on 14 April 1978, NHAN DAN Newspaper, 24 April 1978.
- (*) The words Paac, Pe, Avooc, Boc, Awa, Om and Chi Lao all mean uncle.
- (**) Cong: uncle.
5. "Nhưng lời kêu gọi của Ho Chu tịch"..., 1956, Volume I, p 75.

6. To Huu: "Viet Bac" [Viet Bac], Van Hoc Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962,
p 100.

7. The Testament of President Ho.

7809

CSO: 4209

HO CHI MINH, THE PERSONIFICATION OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 5, May 1980
pp 68-76 and 85

[Article by Hong Phuc and Thanh Le]

[Text] "Throughout the world, they are of one family,
The proletariat of the world are brothers."

Ho Chi Minh

Ho Chi Minh left us with an extremely rich spiritual heritage, a heritage in which the deep tradition of proletarian internationalism is one of the most valuable assets. When revolutionaries of the world express deep admiration for Uncle Ho it is not only because he symbolized the tenacious struggle of Vietnam, but also because he was the symbol of the pure international proletarianism of the revolutionary forces of the modern world. When he passed away more than 10 years ago, we were very deeply moved by the words filled with praise for his work of international importance! Allow us to present several typical passages:

"The name of Ho Chi Minh will forever be closely associated with the most noble actions and the most precious dreams of mankind to establish a truly fraternal community of the peoples of all countries, a community living in equality with all of its material and spiritual needs met, to achieve a world without war, without tyranny, poverty and discrimination.

He was the father of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the founder and leader of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party...and, at the same time, an international revolutionary activist who possessed the purest and noblest of souls."(1)

Throughout his life, Ho Chi Minh was always the personification of the noblest and purest proletarian internationalism.

Part I

In the preface to the book "Ho Chi Minh--Selected Writings and Speeches" published in Russian in 1959, President Ho set forth a truth which he himself verified in the course of his arduous and courageous struggle: "The only path for saving the country and liberating the nation is the path of the proletarian revolution." (2) There have been many articles written in our country on his perfect combination of proletarian internationalism and genuine patriotism. This combination was not merely the linking of these two elements, rather, in him, these two elements combined as one, so much so that it was difficult to discern one from the other. This combination of proletarian internationalism and genuine patriotism within Ho Chi Minh had a single, unified basis: the stand of the proletariat.

When he left his beloved country, which was engulfed in the darkness of slavery, he took with himself a burning ambition: to find the path of national salvation. At that time, more than a few persons held this ambition. However, whereas they went in search of external strength with which to align themselves (as was the case of Phan Boi Chau, Phan Chu Trinh and so forth) while maintaining a skeletal frame of "pure" patriots, President Ho took a different direction. Rather than seeking strength with which to "align" he went in search of a correct course. And, it was his new social position, the position of a common worker, a position in which he voluntarily placed himself as soon as he left his fatherland, that led him to a truly important decision: to join the corps of the proletariat, a class of an international nature. At the outset, the patriot identified himself with the worker. The very elementary but also very fundamental truth he discovered was that wherever capitalism exists, there are also cruelty and inhumanity and the proletariat and the other strata of laboring people are being equally oppressed and exploited by capitalism (be they in the mother country or the colonies). This truth was personally learned by him through his life as a common laborer in many different capitalist countries and through his direct experiences. It was patriotism combined with this realization that led him to deeply committing himself to Marxism-Leninism several years later when the Russian October Revolution broke out and "shook the planet."

His active participation in the French Social Party (the only party of the French working class at that time) showed the correctness of the course of struggle he had selected. And, when the French Social Party split in two, with the majority being loyal to the class interests of the proletariat and supporting the thoroughly revolutionary line of the Communist International, he immediately took the side of the majority in founding a new style party of the French proletariat: the French Communist Party. This was the first time in the history of the world revolution that a colonial subject had become one of the founders of a political party of the proletariat in the "mother country." French communists had a very high evaluation of this event.

When Ho Chi Minh took the side of the 3rd International and supported the majority at the Congress of Tours in 1920, he said: "It was patriotism, not communism, that led me to believe in Lenin, to believe in the 3rd International." (3) However, this was a new brand of patriotism, a patriotism based on the viewpoint of the working class, a patriotism that was closely linked to or, more correctly stated, merged as one with proletarian internationalism. Because, this patriotism found the line for liberating the fatherland within the line on liberating the working class, liberating mankind, that is, within the line on the proletarian revolution.

When he read Lenin's "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," his "joy knew no bounds." He recalled: "Sitting alone in my room, I talked in a loud voice as though I were addressing the masses; martyrs and suffering compatriots! This is what we need, this is the path of our liberation!" (4) A number of western researchers used this as the basis for stating that the communism of Ho Chi Minh was a "national communism." This is totally wrong! Lenin's "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" was the stand for resolving the national and colonial questions in accordance with the principles of the proletariat and the international revolution, which the 3rd International represented. In these theses, Lenin clearly stated: "The policy of the Communist International concerning the national and colonial questions must bring the proletariat and the laboring masses of all nations and all countries close together for the purpose of waging a common revolutionary struggle to overthrow landowners and the capitalist class. Because, only this closeness can insure victory over capitalism, without which we cannot abolish the oppression of nations and inequality." (5) This is how to resolve the national and colonial questions on the basis of proletarian internationalism. When he accepted these theses, Ho Chi Minh irrevocably selected the course of the proletarian revolution, selected proletarian internationalism. This was a major change in his stand compared to the eight demands he presented to the Versailles Peace Conference in 1919, for example. Those demands were "very moderate in form and content, being directed only toward immediate reforms and minimum rights of freedom." (6) Later, he himself said: "After spending time in observation and research, we came to see that 'Wilsonism' (that is, the 14-point program presented by U.S. President Wilson at the Versailles Conference--HP and TL) was nothing more than a big piece of deception. Only by liberating the proletariat is it possible to liberate the nation; these two liberations can only be the work of communism and of the world revolution." (7)

Thus, in the viewpoint of Ho Chi Minh, which was consistent with the viewpoint set forth in the theses of Lenin, the national question was an integral part of the world proletarian revolution. His combination of proletarian internationalism and genuine patriotism was established on the basis of the stand of the proletariat; and, as a result, this was no longer a simple form of combination, rather, the two merged as one to the point where they were inseparable. Thus, every argument about the label "nationalist communist," which has been pinned on President Ho by some, is either groundless or prompted by sinister motives.

Part II

Information on the political biography of Ho Chi Minh shows that immediately after he joined the ranks of the French Communist Party and the Communist International, he was assigned to work in the revolutionary movement of the French colonies. At the first congress of the French Communist Party, he requested that the congress formulate a colonial policy correctly based on the communist thinking of the party. In 1922, at his suggestion, the Colonial Research Department of the French Bureau of the Communist International was established. He worked tirelessly for the liberation of the colonial peoples, not only among them, but also among the revolutionary proletariat in the mother country. And, even here, his stand was very clear: it was the stand of an international communist. He struggled against the indifference on the part of the proletariat in the mother country regarding the colonies and struggled to overcome the lack of understanding of politics on the part of the natives in the colonies ("Several Thoughts on the Colonial Question," L'HUMANITE Newspaper, France, 25 May 1922). He demanded that the communist party members and the revolutionary workers in France be concerned with the colonial question. "It is regrettable that a large number of soldiers still think that a colony is nothing more than a region of sky, sand, a few green trees and persons with different color skins." Meanwhile, in "all of the colonies, in the old and rotten colony of Indochina as well as the brand new colony of Dahomey, people do not understand what class struggle is, what the forces of the proletariat are... In the eyes of the natives in the colonies, Bolshevism--a term that is frequently used by the bourgeoisie and, as a result, has meaning--means: either the destruction of everything or liberation from the yoke of foreign domination. The first meaning given to this term causes the uneducated and timid masses to be indifferent toward us; the second meaning leads them to nationalism."(8)

This internationalist stand of President Ho was most clearly evident in the pages of the newspaper LE PARIA (THE OUTCAST) of the Colonial League, of which he was one of the founders and the soul. In LE PARIA as well as in other publications of French revolutionary leftists and, later, of the Communist International press, he wrote scores of articles expressing a very far-reaching political philosophy, one reflecting very deep and accurate insight. Practically every country was discussed by him in articles rich in militant spirit, articles that sometimes reflected a sharp satirical style. However, his most significant writings were still the articles on the policy of oppression and exploitation of the colonies of the imperialist countries. He attentively followed the steps forward, although very small, by the revolutionary movement in the colonial and vassal countries. And, instead of only recording these steps forward, he also looked for every way, within the scope of his responsibility, to help advance the movement to a higher level of development. He offered heartfelt words of advice and encouragement concerning the pressing questions that had to be answered by the revolutionary movements of these countries. Take, for example, the

issue of the peasants of China. In January 1934, in an article entitled "The Plight of the Peasants of China" (printed in the newspaper WORKERS' LIFE), after analyzing the dropland and peasant situations of this country, he concluded: "Our Chinese comrades must wage a strong and urgent campaign to educate the masses, to show the masses their true strength, their rights and show them that they are fully capable of implementing the slogan 'all land to the tiller.'"(9)

At early important form, Ho Chi Minh very clearly presented the question of the revolution in the colonies and vassal countries. On the basis of Lenin's argument concerning the alliance between the proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries and the national liberation revolution in the colonial and vassal countries, he frequently emphasized the concrete and effective activities of communists as regards the national liberation movement. He always viewed the revolution in the colonies from the position of a communist and with a very high sense of responsibility. While participating in the debate at the 5th Congress (1924) of the Communist International, he said: "None of the work that has been performed by our parties (the communist parties in western Europe-HF and TL) in this area has truly permeated the masses. /As for myself, as a person who was born and grew up in a country that is now a colony of France and as a member of the French Communist Party, I regret very much that I must say that our French Communist Party has done very little for the colonies."(10)

Today, we still know very little about the activities of Ho Chi Minh in this field. To be sure, they were rich activities and yielded important results, especially during the time he was active in the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International. What must be stressed here is that he possessed a very clear sense with regard to teaching the working class and the laboring masses in the mother country and the colonies the spirit of genuine internationalism, as he himself showed in his participation in the debate at the congress mentioned above.

In the 1920's, an actual alliance between the revolutionary movement in the mother countries and the national liberation movement in the colonies was gradually taking shape. A number of political activists of the national bourgeoisie in the Far East also saw the strength they needed in this alliance; however, with their class stand, they could not reach a thorough understanding of this alliance. Ho Chi Minh conceived of this alliance as "a part of the overall question of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat" (participation in the discussion at the 5th Congress of the Communist International), that is, he viewed it on the basis of the internationalist stand of communists.

Of course, this concept of internationalism was not the least bit abstract. It encompassed concrete actions designed to accelerate the liberation movement of each colony and vassal state. And, as a result, it also encompassed the internalization of the struggle for liberation within his

and fatherland, Vietnam. Therefore, it is not at all surprising to see that the strong international activities of Ho Chi Minh in the 1920's coincided with his intense activities to lay the first foundations of the revolutionary movement in Vietnam. This was not only based on patriotism, but also on the internationalism of the proletariat, and, in actuality, these two factors were one and the same within Ho Chi Minh. To him, activities being conducted for the sake of national solidarity were always closely linked to activities for international solidarity. He said: "The Mid-East and the Far East, from Syria to Korea--we are only talking about the colonies and semi-colonies--measure more than 15 million kilometers and have a population in excess of 1.2 billion persons. All of these vast areas are under the domination of capitalist imperialism. And, even though their numbers should give them strength, these oppressed nations still have not truly risen to liberate themselves because they do not understand the value of national unity and international unity. They do not have international alliances as the nations of Europe and North America do. They possess a tremendous strength and know nothing about it." (11) All of his activities during and after the 1920's had the purpose of developing the strength of the oppressed nations on the basis of national unity and international unity, on the basis of this international alliance.

Part III

Proletarian internationalism in the present age, which began with the great October Revolution, cannot be separated from flesh and blood closeness with the Soviet Union, the first socialist country in the world, and with the entire world socialist system. Even in the "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," Lenin considered this to be "the central point." He said: "As a result, we cannot simply recognize or declare that the working people of the various nations must be close to one another, rather, it is necessary to pursue a policy of establishing the closest possible alliance of all national and colonial liberation movements with Soviet Russia"... "In the present international situation, the dependent and small nations have no other course of salvation open to them than the course of aligning with the Soviet republics." (12)

It is difficult to describe the full depth of the warm and close feeling that Ho Chi Minh had for the October Revolution and the USSR. He compared this revolution to "a ray of sunlight from the East shattering the darkness of the night" and "a new ray of light in the history of man." As regards Vietnam, he said: "The thunder of that revolution caused Vietnamese patriots to face the Soviet Union, accept the great theory of Marxist-Leninism and actually participate in the revolutionary struggle." (13) He saw in that revolution a great international assemblage of the revolutionary forces of the times. By means of the Russian Revolution, as he wrote in the mid-1920's, "for the first time in history, the proletariat in the western countries that have invaded and occupied other countries and the proletariat in the countries in the East that have been invaded and occupied joined hands

and looked everywhere for a way to effectively struggle against capitalism, their common enemy." () Even during the first years of the Soviet government, he saw in that revolution an immeasurable strength that could help him: "Even though it is encountering difficulties at home and abroad, revolutionary Russia has never once wavered in its assistance to the oppressed nations that it rendered by means of its brave and victorious revolution." (15)

In the course of his activities, Ho Chi Minh lived in the Soviet Union three times: 1923-1924, 1928-1929 and 1934-1938. His 6 years of working at the Communist International and studying at the Far Eastern Communist College and the University of Lenin left an indelible imprint upon the Soviet people concerning this close friend of theirs. Kobelev, the author of "Pages in His Life" (the Soviet Union, No 3, 1 February 1979), wrote very moving lines about the years and months he spent in the Soviet Union with very interesting details on the period from 1934 to 1938. He had arrived there after spending several years in prison and in hiding in Hong Kong and Macao. "The Far Eastern Branch of the Communist International welcomed Nguyen Ai Quoc as a hero... Now, in Moscow, he was a living witness from the Far East of the strength of international solidarity."

During those years and months, he lived in the Soviet Union as a true Soviet. He lived in Moscow "sharing the interests, the enthusiasm and the hopes of the Soviet people... It was truly surprising how, with an enthusiasm normally found in youths, comrade Linov (Linov was the alias used by him while in Moscow), although he was many years older than the other Vietnamese, actively participated in the Saturdays of communist labor, expressed joy over the achievements in labor of the Soviet people and was moved by the tragic events in Spain."

Even here, in Moscow, Ho Chi Minh lived and worked entirely as an internationalist: he lived not as a guest, but as a person who truly participated in the very difficult work of socialist construction.

And, throughout the subsequent stages of his activities, Ho Chi Minh was always closely linked to the Soviet Union by the same warm and full feeling of internationalism he felt when he first arrived in that country. He always closely linked the brilliant prospects of the Vietnamese revolution to the increasingly large achievements of the Soviet Union in the course of communist construction.

Part IV

Ho Chi Minh was a great proletarian international soldier when he was a person who had lost his country as well as when he was the leader of a state, of a party in political power. The history of the world revolution has shown that there are persons who only support "proletarian internationalism" when they are not in power in their country; however, when they do seize power, they turn their backs on it and fall into the quagmire

of the most harmful kinds of nationalism. To these persons, proletarian internationalism is nothing more than a means for them to achieve a narrow objective, and once this objective has been achieved, they cast proletarian internationalism aside without regret and reveal themselves to be disciples of bourgeois or petty bourgeois nationalism. For nearly one-quarter century, from the time of the victory of the August Revolution and the founding of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh constantly taught proletarian internationalism to our entire party and all our people. The purpose in doing so was not at all to "acquire" favorable external conditions for our national liberation struggle, rather, it was consistent with the viewpoint that Vietnam is a part of the world revolution.

More than anyone else, Ho Chi Minh clearly recognized that without the support and assistance of the forces of the world revolution, primarily the world socialist system, the international worker movement and the international liberation movement, it is impossible to win victory over enemies that are many times stronger than us in terms of materiel and weapons. At the same time, he placed heavy emphasis upon the international obligation of our party and people of winning victory over the enemy in our fatherland and, as a result, helping to stimulate the common revolutionary struggle of the people of the world for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

He always stressed the relationship between our people's resistance against the French colonialists and resistance against the United States for national salvation and the anti-war movements as well as the democratic movements of the people of France and the people of the United States. By means of his words and actions, he stimulated the formation of a tight alliance between our people and the peoples of the countries whose rulers were waging a war of aggression against our country. As soon as the French colonialists opened fire in a vain attempt to occupy our country once again, he wrote the following moving words to the people of France: "We do not hate or feel any hostility whatsoever toward the French people. To the contrary, we admire this great nation for being the first to widely preach the thinking of liberty, equality and fraternity and for making very many contributions to culture, science and civilization." (16) And, in the same spirit, he frequently told the American people the entire truth about the fight being waged by our people, about our attitude toward a country that had given birth to great men in the history of the world, a country that wrote the immortal Declaration of Independence of 1776, excerpts from which were used by Ho Chi Minh himself in our country's Declaration of Independence: "All men are created equal. They are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among them being life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Some foreign scholars cite the above as examples of the strategic genius of Ho Chi Minh, considering them to be clever tricks of his designed to divide the ranks of the enemy. This is nothing more than shallow deduction. To a great internationalist such as Ho Chi Minh, this was

not a strategy, not a trick. It was a manifestation of the thorough proletarian international stand of the working class, a stand which considers the peoples of the countries committing aggression and the people of our country to be standing shoulder to shoulder on a common anti-imperialist front. And, for this reason, he considered the victories of the two wars of resistance against France and the United States to not only be victories of our people, but also victories of the people of France, the people of the United States and the people of the world. Through these victories, the imperialists would not only be driven from their colonies, but their stronghold, the "mother countries," would also be strongly shaken.

Under the special conditions created by history, Ho Chi Minh attached full importance to the flesh and blood relationship of the people of Vietnam with the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea. In the modern history of the world revolution, it is indeed rare to see the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of several countries occurring in such a close relationship that they are united as one, as has been the case with the peoples of the three countries of Indochina. Here, it is impossible to talk about the national sovereignty of one country if the national sovereignty of the other two countries is not guaranteed. This is absolutely not because of a desire to establish an "Indochinese federation" under the control of Vietnam, as our enemies falsely accuse us of wanting to do. This is the inevitable requirement of a special set of historic circumstances that has closely linked the destinies of the three countries of Indochina together. However, this does not mean that the Vietnamese have carried out the revolution on behalf of the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea. None other than Ho Chi Minh and our party appropriately stressed the independent nature of the revolutionary movement of each country within the common alliance of the three countries. He considered helping the Lao and Kampuchean revolutions to be the immediate international obligation of our people. In the Political Report at the 2nd Congress of the Party, he said: "We are waging a war of resistance as are our friends in Kampuchea and Laos. The French colonialists and the U.S. interventionists are our enemy and the enemy of the people's of Kampuchea and Laos. Therefore, we must make every effort to help war brothers in Laos and Kampuchea, to assist the Lao and Kampuchean wars of resistance." (17) Aid to the Lao and Kampuchean revolutions reflected the unity between our people's national task and their international obligation. It also expressed the pure feeling of friendship of our people for the peoples of these two countries. This obligation and feeling are expressed in the words spoken from the bottom of our people's hearts: "Split even the last kernel of rice into three pieces." And, because it is no longer a secret, we can state that, for the sake of this feeling and obligation, many beloved sons of our people gave their lives for the victory Lao and Kampuchean revolutions, for the common victory of the revolutions of the three countries.

Part V

The great lesson in proletarian internationalism is one of the most valuable lessons taught to us by Ho Chi Minh. We are proud of him: in his 60 years of revolutionary activities, he immersed himself in the great revolutionary currents of our times.

Today, when talking about the strength of our times, we frequently talk about the three revolutionary currents. It is these three revolutionary currents, the center of which is the world socialist system, that are gradually defeating the sinister reactionary powers in the world.

As a person who had lost his country, as a person who struggled throughout his life for the liberation of his people and all other colonial peoples, Ho Chi Minh was one of the representative soldiers of the national liberation movement in our times. Houari Boumediene, the former president of the Algerian Revolutionary Council, considered him to be "the person who started the struggle of the peoples of the countries of the third world to liberate themselves from the yoke of oppression of colonialism and imperialism."

He fully represented the alliance between the national liberation movement and the revolution in the capitalist countries, in which he himself was once a soldier. He was a communist soldier fighting in the ranks of a large, strong communist party in western Europe and undertook tasks for the Communist International at other centers of the international worker movement. The Italian Communist Party evaluated his activities in this regard as follows: "From his younger years in Europe, where he participated in the birth of the revolutionary movement of the European working class to the years during which he led the two remarkable wars of national liberation and became the leader of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh set for us the example of a communist leader, of a great revolutionary..."

He was also a fighter who represented world socialism through his extremely close relationship with the USSR, the first socialist country in the world, and the other fraternal countries within the world socialist system and through his activities of decisive importance in the birth and growth of socialist Vietnam in Southeast Asia.

Clearly, Ho Chi Minh was one of the representative fighters of the three revolutionary currents, from the time these three currents first began to form until they became the forces determining the development of the modern world. And, this was only because he was a great proletarian international soldier.

Throughout his life of activities, Ho Chi Minh was always loyal to the proletarian international thinking of Marxism-Leninism. Nearly one-quarter

century ago, in an article entitled "Strengthening and Developing the Unity of Marxist-Leninist Parties" (August 1956), he wrote: "In the present international situation, national characteristics and the special conditions in each country are increasingly becoming an important factor in the formulation of the policy of each communist party and each worker party. At the same time, Marxism-Leninism continues to be the unshakeable foundation of the common struggle of all these parties and exchanging experiences concerning this struggle continues to have the same significance because the questions facing one party or another absolutely are not the 'private work' of each party, but are closely related to the entire international proletariat.

The Vietnamese, for example, must adopt their own methods and measures in the struggle against the schemes of the U.S. imperialists and the government in South Vietnam to perpetually divide our country and even in the struggle to make a gradual transition to socialism, and the need for this is perfectly clear; at the same time, however, our party must also understand that we cannot limit our present or future activities to the framework of our nation alone, that these activities are linked to the common struggle of the world for progress, that the true solidarity of the socialist camp and of the peace and justice-loving nations of the world with us must not be less than it was before as the Vietnamese carry out the war of resistance for national salvation." (18)

These words retain their original ideological and practical value in the circumstances surrounding our revolutionary struggle at this time.

FOOTNOTES

1. Excerpt from cablegram to our Party Central Committee from the National Committee of the U.S. Communist Party on 5 September 1969.
2. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap" [Selected Works], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1962, p 705.
3. Ibid., p 794.
4. Ibid., p 794.
5. Lenin: "Selected Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book II, Part II, p 428.
6. "Nhưng sự kiện lịch sử Đảng" [Events in the History of the Party], Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1976, Volume I, p 21.
7. Ibid., p 22.
8. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap"..., p 12.

9. Ibid., p 32.
10. Ibid., p 49.
11. Ibid., p 181.
12. Lenin: "Complete Works," Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1959, Book II, Part II, pp 428 and 432.
13. Ho Chi Minh: "Tuyen tap"..., p 705.
14. Ibid., p 179.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., p 217.
17. Ibid., p 368.
18. Ibid., p 595.

7809

CSO: 4209

RESEARCH: THE NAMES USED BY PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH AND HIS GREAT JOURNEY

Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 5, May 1980
pp 77-85

[Article by The Tap and Thanh Nam]

[Text] In the course of his revolutionary activities, President Ho Chi Minh used many different names and many different pen names. Nguyen Tat Thanh, Nguyen Ai Quoc, Ho Chi Minh and so forth, these names have become symbols of genuine patriotism combined with noble proletarian internationalism; they have become closely associated with the international communist and worker movement and the national liberation movement; and they mark stages in the history of the Vietnamese revolution. His names and his revolutionary undertaking shall live forever and are deeply ingrained in the hearts of our people and the people of the world.

We have yet to fully research all the names used by President Ho Chi Minh and the great journey he took in the course of his revolutionary activities. This work must be continued for a long time to come. In the course of our research, we have gathered some of the pen names and names(1) which President Ho used in his life of extremely intense and rich revolutionary activities and something about the great journey he took through the various stages of history.

President Ho Chi Minh was born on 19 May 1890 in Hoang Tru Hamlet (the birthplace of his maternal grandfather), Kim Lien Village, Nam Dan District, Nghe Tinh Province. His father's birthplace was Kim Lien Hamlet, which is also in Kim Lien Village.

When he was born, his father and mother gave him the name Nguyen Sinh Cung. In the local language, he was called Nguyen Sinh Coong.

In 1901, he assumed the name Nguyen Tat Thanh.

In early 1911, he left his studies in Hue and went to Phan Thiet to teach and study at the Duc Thanh School. Shortly thereafter, he left and went to

Saigon. There, he earned his living as a corvée laborer and prepared to go in search of the path of national salvation.

On the afternoon of 2 June 1911, he went to the Nha Rong pier in Saigon and boarded the ship Admiral Latouche Treville of the United French Transport Company, asking for work. The captain agreed to hire him.

On 3 June 1911, using the name Ba (because he was the third child born to the family), he began working on the ship. The salary roster carried his name as Van Ba.

Sometime on the 4th or 5th of June 1911, the ship weighed anchor. That day, Saigon bid farewell to him as he left in search of the course of national salvation.

On 8 June 1911, the ship took him to Singapore; on 14 June, to Colombo; on 30 June, to Port Said.

Throughout his journey at sea, he had to work at countless menial jobs, such as boiler attendant, kitchen helper and so forth.

On 6 July, the ship docked at the Darang pier in the port of Marseilles (France); on 15 July, the ship took him to Le Havre (France). There, the ship had to stop for repairs. Going ashore, he walked to Saint Andress, a town near the port of Le Havre, where he worked as gardener for the family of the captain of the Admiral Latouche Treville.

In late 1912, he returned to work on a freighter of the Five Star Company on a trip around Africa. In Africa, he passed through the countries of Algeria, Tunisia, Senegal, Guinea and Dahomey(now called Benin). On 12 September 1969, COMBAT Newspaper of the Congo, which is published in French, reported that in early 1913, he visited many places in the Congo, including Pointe Noire in the central Congo, which later became the Congo Republic (Brazzaville). He travelled from the Mediterranean through the Suez Canal and Red Sea to the Indian Ocean and then the Atlantic Ocean.

In late 1913, he crossed the Atlantic Ocean to the United States. There, he stopped for awhile in New York and worked for hire in Brooklyn and Boston. During a reception for an American peace delegation visiting Vietnam in 1961, he told Mr. Robert William, a representative of American blacks, and his wife Mabel, that while in New York, he once visited Harlem and attended a meeting of blacks. On 4 September 1969, the newspaper PARIS DAILY reported that he also visited the southern United States, stopping in San Francisco, a port city of California.

After his journey to the United States, he returned to France.

In early 1914, he left France for Great Britain and remained there until late 1917. While in Great Britain, he continued to use the name Nguyen Tat

Thanh and once used the name Van Ba. However, in a number of letters sent by him to Phan Chu Trinh, he signed them Cuong Diet Tat Thanh (Cuong Diet means "your loving nephew"). During the days he lived in Great Britain he was a manual worker in Liverpool, a seaport in northern Great Britain, shoveled snow for a school, removed mud from the subways and tended a furnace and worked in a hotel in London. He joined the Overseas Workers Union and supported the patriotic struggle of the people of Ireland.

On 3 February 1917, he left Great Britain and returned to France with the intention of becoming directly active in the overseas Vietnamese movement and the French worker movement. In France, he eeked out a living at a variety of trades: touching up and enlarging photographs, painting doors, drawing posters, painting for a "Chinese art objects" shop and so forth.

In 1918, he joined the French Social Party and reorganized the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in order to propagandize and awaken overseas Vietnamese in France.

In 1919, on behalf of Vietnamese patriots in France, he, taking the name Nguyen Ai Quoc, sent to the Versailles Conference in France the "Petition of the Vietnamese," which consisted of 8 points demanding that the French government recognize the rights of freedom, democracy and equality of the Vietnamese. Nguyen Ai Quoc, a name that reflected his ardent and genuine patriotism, had appeared for the first time.

He read Lenin's "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" with great interest. He believed in Lenin and supported the Russian October Revolution; he enthusiastically participated in the debate at the 18th Congress of the French Social Party held in Tours (December 1920), voted to join the 3rd International and became one of the founders of the French Communist Party. He helped to found the Colonial League (1921) and published the newspaper LE PARIA (THE OUTCAST) in 1922. He wrote numerous articles for this newspaper, for L'HUMANITE, the central organ of the French Communist Party, for WORKERS LIFE, the central organ of the French Federation of Labor Unions and so forth and wrote the famous book "French Colonialization on Trial." This work and practically all of his writings during this period of time bore the signature Nguyen Ai Quoc.

In May 1923, he left France and went to Germany.

On 30 June 1923, bearing a passport under the name Tran Vuong (Chan Wang), he travelled from Berlin, Germany to the Soviet Union for the purpose of gaining an understanding of the birthplace of the October Revolution and meeting Lenin. With the help of French and German workers, he made his way through the encirclement by the imperialist countries to Petrograd (now Leningrad) in July 1923. This was the first time he visited the homeland of the October Revolution. It was one of the most memorable days in his life of revolutionary activities. After spending about 1 month in

Petrograd, he travelled to Moscow, the capital of the first socialist country in the world. In Moscow, he was very disappointed that he was unable to meet Lenin, because Lenin was seriously ill at the time.

While waiting for the 5th Congress of the Communist International, he studied the Soviet system and the party building experiences of the Soviet Communist Party(b). Taking the name Nguyen Ai Quoc, he participated in the 1st Congress of the Peasant International held from 12 to 15 October 1923 and was elected by the congress to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Peasant International. One document reports that, at this congress, in addition to Nguyen Ai Quoc, he also used the name Song Man Tcho.

On 21 January 1924, Lenin passed away. With the utmost respect and love and feeling deeply saddened over the loss of Lenin, he paid his final respects to Lenin and wrote many articles on the thinking and career of Lenin in PRAVDA (27 January 1924), LE PARIA (27 July 1924), RED JOURNAL (February 1925), BAKINSKI WORKER (Number 16, 1925), THE WHISTLE (21 January 1926), etc. All of these articles were signed Nguyen Ai Quoc.

From 17 June to 8 July 1924, Nguyen Ai Quoc participated in the 5th Congress of the Communist International in Moscow. He was elected as a member of the Standing Committee of the Far Eastern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist International. Following the 5th Congress of the Communist International, he participated in the following international conferences: the Red Peasant International, the Women's International, the Youth International and the International Red Aid.

In late 1924, he went to Canton, China.

When he arrived in Canton, he had to sell newspapers and cigarettes to earn a living and support his revolutionary activities. There, he often used the name Ly Thuy; Vuong... (One document states that, in 1924, he also used the alias Nguyen Hai Khach). As a correspondent for the Rosta News Agency of the USSR, which was stationed in Canton at the time, he sometimes wrote reports for the Central Committee of the Peasant International, giving his name and address as: "Lou, Rosta or Lee, Rosta." In articles written for the CANTON Journal, he used the pen names: Vuong Son Nhi, Truong Nhuoc Trung... On 9 April 1925, in reply to a letter and harsh criticism of the so called "revolution" by Nguyen Thuong Huyen, he signed his name L.T.

A book written by an Englishman states that during his stay in Canton, he also used the alias Vuong Dat Nhan (Wang Ta Gien) in his activities and communications with foreigners.

In his activities in Canton, Nguyen Ai Quoc built the revolutionary movement in the countries of Southeast Asia in keeping with his assignment from the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International and organized and led the peasant movement in many Asian countries, including China, in keeping with the

task entrusted to him by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Peasant International on 31 July 1925.

He also participated in the founding of the League of Oppressed Asian Nations and regularly maintained contact with the Secretariat of the Pan-Pacific Workers' Union, the Anti-Imperialist Federation for Independence and Freedom, etc.

As regards the Vietnamese revolution, he opened a political training school to train cadres for the Vietnamese revolution, founded the Association of Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth, wrote the book "The Revolutionary Road," organized the publishing of the weekly newspaper YOUTH and so forth in order to accelerate the preparations for the founding of a political party of the working class in Vietnam.

Practically all of the reports, letters and documents sent by him to the Central Committee of the Communist International and the Central Committee of the Peasant International on his responsibilities and work were signed Nguyen Ai Quoc. However, there were some reports that were signed Nilobsky or Nilobsky (N.A.K.); some reports were signed Nguyen Ai Quoc, address: Nilobsky...Canton. In addition, one report on the worker and peasant conference in China dated 2 May 1925, Canton, was signed Howang T.S.

In April 1927, after the betrayal by Chiang Kai-shek in Canton and considering it impossible to continue to conduct activities there, he and Borodin travelled to Hankow, then to Hong Kong and finally to Shanghai. In May 1927, he left China for the Soviet Union. This was the second time he visited the Soviet Union.

After working for awhile in Moscow and in keeping with a decision by the Communist International, he went to Berlin, Germany to assist in the founding of the Anti-Imperialist League in Germany and, on that occasion, he studied the German language some more.

In a letter to the Central Committee of the Peasant International on material that had been written concerning the Chinese peasant movement, which was dated Berlin, 3 February 1928, he used the address: "Louis...Berlin." Later, he travelled from Berlin with Num-dun-be [Vietnamese phonetics] of the German Communist Party to Brussels, Belgium to attend the International Anti-Imperialist Congress at Et-mong [Vietnamese phonetics] Palace. Near the palace was the Ve-gie-ta-rieng [Vietnamese phonetics], the place where he lived an arduous life during his days in Belgium and the place where he wrote a volume of books denouncing colonialism in the Congo, books that were read by many Belgians.

Shortly after the Anti-Imperialist International Congress closed, he left Belgium and travelled to Switzerland, Italy and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and then secretly returned to France.

In the autumn of 1928, he boarded a ship travelling from France to Siam, (now Thailand). During the days he lived in Thailand, he frequently used the name Chin. Our overseas Vietnamese in Thailand respectfully called him Thau Chin (Old Chin). However, in addition to the name Thau Chin, he adopted other aliases whenever he conducted activities in the various localities: Nguyen Lai, Tho, Nam Son, Tinh, Tran, Chinn, Tong and so forth. He performed many jobs in Thailand, including helping overseas Vietnamese open schools for their children. He and the overseas Vietnamese carried bricks, lime and mortar to build the schools. To build the spirit of overseas Vietnamese, he wrote the epic of Tran Hung Dao, which contains the words: "As long as one Vietnamese remains, the Vietnamese fatherland lives..."

In late autumn 1929, he left Thailand and returned to Hong Kong where he convened the conference of delegates of the communist organizations at home in order to unify their organization and establish the Vietnam Communist Party. The letter inviting the delegates of the three communist organizations at home to Kowloon for the conference was signed Vuong. Under the chairmanship of Ho Chi Minh, the representative of the Communist International, the party-founding conference was held from 2 to 7 February 1930 in a small room of a worker in Kowloon, outside Hong Kong.

On 25 February 1930, he wrote a letter to his comrades in the Soviet Union suggesting that they supply to him a number of materials so that he could write a book introducing the heroic Soviet Union. At the end of this letter, he instructed his comrades in the Soviet Union to send their reply to the address of one Victor Le Bon. Later, on the basis of the materials he received, he wrote "Diary of a Sinking Ship" in late 1930. Through this work, he introduced to the Vietnamese the beautiful socialist system in the USSR while guiding our people along the course of the great October Revolution.

On 27 February 1930, he wrote a letter to the Communist International (German Language Office) suggesting that it issue to him a journalist's card so that he could work as a correspondent for DIE WELT (THE WORLD) under the name L.M. Wang.

On 28 February 1930, he wrote a letter to the Anti-Imperialist League suggesting that it send materials to him at the following address: Mr. O. Lee-Hong Kong; he also wrote a letter to the Office of the Communist International suggesting that it maintain communications with him and forward press materials to him at the following address: Paul-Hong Kong.

After founding the Vietnam Communist Party, he moved from China to Thailand in March and to Malaysia in late April 1930 to perform his international task. On 1 May 1930, he passed through Singapore and returned to Hong Kong to observe the unification of the communist organizations in Vietnam and guide the revolution at home. In October 1930, he chaired the 1st Plenum of the Party Central Committee, which was held in Hong Kong.

In February 1931, while active in Hong Kong, using the alias Y., he sent to the Central Committee of the Communist International a report entitled "The New China," which analyzed the brave struggle waged by the workers and peasants in China in the 1920-1931 revolutionary movement.

While in Hong Kong he lived in Hong Kong, he used the aliases Tsing Yau Ho, Tsing Tsing Y., Tsing Y., Tsing Tsing Y., Y., K.Y., Y., Y., Y. and by 1931 in his activities and reports. As a result of being closely watched by the imperialists, he was arrested on 5 June 1931 while staying in at number 188 Tsing Tsing Street in Kowloon, China. However, thanks to unsolicited assistance from a lawyer named Looch, he was freed from the clutches of the British imperialists in the spring of 1933. After leaving prison, he left Hong Kong and travelled through Hanoi to Shanghai.

In the spring of 1933, he left Shanghai for Vladivostok (the USSR) and then took a train to Moscow. This was the third time he visited the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union, on 1 October 1933, having been introduced by the Central Committee of the Communist International and using the name Linov, he enrolled in Lenin University, a high level party school specializing in the training of leadership cadres for the communist and worker parties of the world.

While studying at the university, he wrote a letter dated 10 January 1934 and signed Lin to the Far Eastern Bureau of the Communist International, suggesting that it organize the study of Marxist-Leninist theory by cadres and party members in the colonies.

The VII Congress of the Communist International was held from 25 July to 27 August 1935 in Moscow. At that time, he was conducting activities and studying in the Soviet Union under the name Lin with the aspiration of becoming a loyal disciple of Lenin. He participated in the congress as a member of the Far Eastern Bureau.

In the winter of 1936, he left the Soviet Union and returned to China in order to find a way back into his country. In late 1936, using the name Ye Quang, he travelled to Tay An and then to Dien An and Que Lan.

In 1939, he sent nine articles from China that were printed in the newspaper NGUON TINH (OUR VOICE), the public organ of the party. These articles were signed P.C. Lin.

In early 1940, he travelled to Don Nien to establish liaison with our Party Central Committee and prepare the conditions for returning home to conduct activities. During this period of time, he used the aliases Ye Quang, Comrade Tsing, Comrade Tsing, Lin and T.O. Lin.

On 5 February 1941, following 30 years of activity overseas, he arrived in Tay An (Tay An), where, using the name Gia Thuc and Thuc Son, he joined the

Party Central Committee is directly leading the national liberation campaign and the August Revolution.

In August 1941 (3), using the name Ho Dai Ninh, he went to China to establish communications with the revolutionary forces of the Vietnamese people. However, as soon as he crossed the border, he was arrested by the local government of Chiang Kai-shek and spent more than 1 year in approximately 30 jails in 13 districts of China. It was during this imprisonment that he wrote his famous "Prison Diary."

In September 1943, he was released from prison when the Chiang Kai-shek regime failed to provide the evidence needed to detain him any longer. In July 1944, he arrived in Cao Bang (Cao Bang).

In May 1945, using the alias Mr. A., he travelled from Cao Bang to Tan Trun (Tan Trun District, Tuyen Quang Province).

On 21 August 1945, he travelled from Tuyen Quang Province to Hanoi.

In May 1946, he wrote a long article which was printed in many consecutive editions of the newspaper CUU QUOC on the justification for using military forces of a foreign general. This article was signed Q. Th.

On 11 May 1946, he left for a visit to France as a guest of the French government.

On the morning of 18 September 1946, he left France for home.

Between 23 October 1946 and 13 December 1946, he wrote six articles on military affairs. These articles were signed Q.T.-(printed in CUU QUOC Newspaper).

At this time, the ambition of the French colonialists to commit aggression against our country was becoming increasingly clear. A war of resistance broke out throughout the country. In early 1947, he and the Party Central Committee and government left Hanoi for Viet Bac in order to lead a nationwide war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors.

Although he was very busy leading the war of resistance, he still gave regular attention to building the new society and molding the new man. On 30 March 1947, using the pen name Tan Sinh, he wrote the book "The New Life."

In June 1947, using the pen name A.S., he wrote the article "Good Cadres and Ordinary Cadres"(printed in SU THAT Newspaper).

In October 1947, using the pen name A.T.Z., he wrote "Changing Work Methods." Also under this pen name, he wrote "Eliminating the Habit of Bragging" in December 1947 and, in 1950, he wrote "Bitter Medicine is Good Medicine" and five other newspaper articles.

On 17 March 1949, using the pen name G., he wrote an article entitled "The Melody of Silence" (printed in QUU PHAT Newspaper).

From 31 May 1949 to 2 June 1949, using the pen name Le Quyet Thang, he wrote four articles entitled: "What is Diligence?", "What is Frugality?", "What is Industry?", "What is Righteousness?" (printed in QUU QUOC Newspaper).

On 14 June 1941, using the pen name G.B., he wrote an article entitled "The Great Soviet Union" (printed in NHAN DAN Newspaper). His article presented the extremely brave examples set by the people of the Soviet Union in their great war against fascism to protect the socialist fatherland. From March 1941 to March 1947, he wrote very many articles under the pen name G.B. in the "Noi Ma Nghe" column in NHAN DAN Newspaper.

In 1941, using the pen name Nguyen Du Kich, he translated the work "The Claudentine Provincial Party Committee" by Fedorov. This was an interesting novel on the guerrilla war experiences in the Soviet Union.

In 1941, using the pen name D.I., he wrote an article entitled "Which Camp is Strong, Which is Weak?", which was printed in QUU QUOC Newspaper. In this article, he asserted that the socialist camp would win victory and that the imperialist camp would be defeated. Under this pen name, he also wrote many articles that were printed in QUU QUOC and several other newspaper.

In October 1943, using the pen name G.B., he wrote an article entitled "The Hydrogen Bomb" (printed in NHAN DAN Newspaper).

In November 1943, using the pen name D.I., he wrote an article entitled "The Japanese People Resist the United States." This article presented the spirit of struggle of the Japanese against the U.S. imperialists who had sent troops to occupy the territory of Japan.

After 4 years of the war of resistance and with the total liberation of North Vietnam on 11 October 1946, he returned to Hanoi from Viet Bac.

On 29 June 1945, under the pen name H.B., he wrote an article entitled "The Democratic Freedom of Ngo Dinh Diem" (printed in NHAN DAN Newspaper). This article of his revealed the true nature of the fraudulent democratic freedoms of Ngo Dinh Diem, the lackey of the U.S. imperialists who was suppressing the people of South Vietnam.

In June and July 1955, he led a delegation from our party and state on a visit to the Soviet Union, China and Mongolia.

In 1957, he led a similar delegation on a visit to the countries of Korea, Bulgaria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Romania, Albania and other countries.

In 30 December 1957, using the pen name L.T., he wrote an article in HUAN DAN Newspaper entitled "The Anti-Communist Alliance", an organization designed to divide and suppress the people of South Vietnam.

Also in 1958 HUAN DAN Newspaper, using the pen name L.T., he wrote an article on 15 May 1958 entitled "The Economic Situation of the South," which exposed the false prosperity of the southern economy under the American-Dien regime.

In October 1958, using the pen name T.L., he wrote the article "The U.S. Imperialists Have Been Defeated Once Again." This article confirmed that imperialism, in general, and the U.S. Imperialists, in particular, together with their lackeys, were in a descending position. They could not avoid total defeat.

In 1958, using the pen name Tran Luc, he wrote the book "Revolutionary Ethics." In addition to this work, he also wrote many other books and articles under the pen name Tran Luc.

In February 1959, he led a delegation of our government on a visit to Indonesia.

In November 1957 and November 1960, he led a delegation of our party to attend the International Conference of The Communist and Worker Parties of the World, which was held in Moscow.

In September 1959, under the pen name Ph.K.A., he wrote "The 23,000 Kilometer Summer Vacation" (printed in HUAN DAN Newspaper). This was a long, outstanding piece of journalism describing the country and the people of the heroic Soviet Union as he experienced them first hand during his summer vacation in the Soviet Union in 1959.

On 27 April 1960, using the pen name Tuyet Lan, he translated the article "Three Bottles of Cinnamon Wine" by Gene Fort, a member of the French Communist Party, which dealt with the activities of Nguyen Ai Quoc in Paris in 1930 and 1931.

In 1961, under the pen name T. Lan, he wrote the book "A Conversation During a Stroll."

On 5 August 1961, he wrote in HUAN DAN Newspaper an article entitled "Inquiries of the International Supervision and Control Commission." This article was written under the name Attorney Th. Lan.

On 4 February 1963, using the pen name Le Thanh Long, he wrote an article entitled "On the Commemoration of the 33rd Anniversary of Our Party" (printed in HUAN DAN).

On 11 June 1963, under the pen name Thanh Lan, he wrote an article entitled "The International Women's Congress" (printed in NHAN DAN Newspaper).

In September 1963, under the pen name Chien Di, he wrote an article entitled "The Americans and Dien will be Defeated, the People will win Victory" (printed in NHAN DAN Newspaper). He wrote many other articles under this pen name between 15 June 1963 and 22 June 1968.

In January 1964, using the pen name Dan Viet, he wrote "An Open Letter to Foreign Minister Anh Cat Lot" (printed in NHAN DAN Newspaper).

On 2 June 1964, under the pen name Le Nong, he wrote an article on agricultural production experiences. In addition, between 15 September 1964 and 21 June 1965, Le Nong wrote five other articles that were published. Practically all of the articles written by him under the pen name Le Nong dealt with agricultural production.

On 30 April 1966, using the pen name Le Pa, he wrote an article entitled "Reply to Mr. Mansfield, U.S. Senator" (printed in NHAN DAN).

On 10 August 1966, he wrote an article entitled "President Johnson Has Committed Fawring Crimes." This article was signed Le Lap (printed in NHAN DAN Newspaper).

On 14 January 1967, he wrote an article entitled "The Trapped Giant." This article was signed H.C. (printed in NHAN DAN Newspaper).

The names and the career of Ho Chi Minh brought glory to our nation, our people and our fatherland. Our people and the people of the world, with boundless respect for him, called him a very endearing name: Uncle Ho. The origin of the name our people called him, Uncle Ho, was clearly stated by Hoang Quoc Viet in his Journal "Our People are Very Heroic." In this work, he recalls meeting Ho Chi Minh at the 8th Plenum of the Party Central Committee held in 1941: "...At first, we all called him comrade, then we called him sir; after seeing that Truong Chinh and Tho used the term uncle when referring to him and seeing that this name was consistent with the feelings we held for him, we began to call him by the affectionate name that we all call him now." (6)

FOOTNOTES

1. In this article, we have only recorded a number of the names and pen names of President Ho Chi Minh. There are other names and pen names that have not been presented because we are still verifying them (T.T.-T.N.).
2. This company was also called the Five Star Company.
3. One document states that, in 1940, he carried a number of papers in the name of Ho Chi Minh (T.2-T.N.).

9. "East Asian People Are Very Serious," Revolutionary Herald, Van Nuys Publishing House, Los Angeles, 1968, p. 177.

Page

100: 4209

A NEW ACHIEVEMENT OF THE DOCUMENTARY FILM SECTOR IN PRESENTING THE IMAGE OF UNCLE HO

Harold TAY CHI CONG SAN [COMMUNIST REVIEW] in Vietnamese No 5, May 1980
pp 64-68

[Article by Dinh San]

[Text] Successfully presenting the image of Uncle Ho on the screen has long been the deep desire and ardent aspiration of each writer and artist in our country's cinematography sector. At a time when the feature films sector is making an effort to create worthy films that depict the rich and great life of Uncle Ho, the documentary films sector has urgently produced films reflecting each area and stage of the revolutionary activities of Uncle Ho with a view toward promptly satisfying the legitimate aspirations of our people.

Several years ago, a documentary film entitled "Nguyen Ai Quoc-Ho Chi Minh" was produced which generalized the history of Uncle Ho's search for the path of national salvation; this year, we have another film on Uncle Ho: "Nguyen Ai Quoc Finds Lenin" (writer: Hong Ha; producer Bui Dinh Hac; cameraman: Do Duy Hung). This new film, which was completed at a time when the people of our entire country are joyously commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Vietnam Communist Party, is a spring flower offered in tribute by the cinematography sector to its glorious party.

As indicated by its richly symbolic title, the film "Nguyen Ai Quoc Finds Lenin" deals with an important stage in history, with a turning point of decisive significance in the political life of Uncle Ho: from Paris, the capital of France, where he discovered the course to be followed by the nation of Vietnam, by all oppressed nations through Lenin's "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," he went directly to Russia, the birthplace of that truth. There, in the homeland of the October Revolution, Uncle Ho absorbed the revolutionary thinking of the brilliant leader, the great father of the world proletariat, V.I. Lenin, and personally witnessed the profound changes that occurred in Russia after the revolution. Also in Russia, he aligned himself with the intense revolutionary currents of the international communist movement which, at that time, were developing strongly.

All of these realities were brand new and extremely interesting to him as he intensely searched for the course of national liberation, the course for liberating the people. These realities further clarified his knowledge of theory as well as his long held thoughts and dreams concerning the course of the nation's revolution and the model of our country's future society. More than anyone who preceded him, our Uncle Ho now clearly realized that the task of liberating each nation could not be separated from the task of the international communist movement.

In the space of 1 hour, the producers of the film try to recreate a stage of history and take the viewer back to the unforgettable years and months nearly 60 years ago (1923-1924) in Russia, where our Uncle Ho lived and conducted his activities. Along with the main theme on which the producers have focused their efforts, namely, presenting Uncle Ho within a rather broad political and social framework, the theme of Lenin the leader also occupies an important position. In the film, Lenin is presented as a "personality" who has a close relationship with our Uncle Ho ideologically and politically, in his activities and emotionally. This relationship is presented as a cause and effect relationship, as a relationship in the nature of a law, as a very dialectical relationship. Through it, the viewer gains additional understanding of the origin and development of the thinking of Uncle Ho and sees the "starting point" of a leader of our party, of an outstanding international activist, Comrade Ho Chi Minh.

The viewer also sees the richness in both the scale and the forms of international activities in which our Uncle Ho participated. In addition to the Communist International, he also made positive contributions to the activities of such revolutionary mass organizations as the Peasant International and was one of the leaders of the International Labor Union, the Youth International, the Women's International, the Red Aid International and so forth. In addition to presenting the historic background behind the activities and growth of Uncle Ho, these images also serve as an independent theme reflecting the very close relationship Uncle Ho had with the various international revolutionary organizations at that time.

In an historical documentary or historical portrait, materials consisting of films, pictures, writings and objects play an extremely important role. The ones presented to us in this film are brand new. Many images emerge on the screen that enlighten and deeply move the viewer. This occurs in the following scenes: when Nguyen Ai Quoc first steps foot in the Soviet Union; when he participates in the Congress of the Peasant International; when he participates in the 5th Congress of the Communist International (his entering the hall and delivering his speech to the congress); his attending a festival with the people of Moscow on Lenin Hill... It is truly interesting when we see the scene in the film when Uncle Ho is cheered by the Soviet people in a display of respect and warm welcome for a delegate from a far away eastern country. Of the valuable photographs shown in the film, we see photographs taken of Uncle Ho with delegations from Czechoslovakia, Germany and Hungary and with comrades with whom he collaborated closely, many of whom

had to conceal their faces before bidding farewell because they had to continue to carry out clandestine activities.

We sincerely thank the film makers and photographers of the Soviet Union who recorded so many valuable memories of Uncle Ho for us. We thank the documents agencies of the state and communist party of the Soviet Union for carefully maintaining and preserving the films, photographs, objects, reports...in short, all the historical materials related to Uncle Ho. We also thank the collective of persons who made this film on Uncle Ho for the hard work they put into collecting and finding valuable materials with which to create this new work on Uncle Ho.

While emphasizing the role played by materials, we cannot give light attention to the tremendous work performed by the film writers. Materials are nothing more than materials without the art, without the research and creativity of film makers. It is not easy or simple work to research and organize materials, to convert materials into factors of art in order to create a complete work of cinematography, one that gives these materials a "soul" and "strength to soar."

In the film "Nguyen Ai Quoc Finds Lenin," the authors made many efforts to find ways to utilize the materials they had to support the ideological theme of the film. They also made an effort to present the image of Uncle Ho as a patriotic fighter, as an international revolutionary activist, while developing upon and reflecting the relationship between Uncle Ho and Lenin, Uncle Ho and the international communist movement, Uncle Ho and the Soviet people, Uncle Ho and the Vietnamese and the oppressed nations of the world...

To achieve the results mentioned above, in addition to making good use of available materials, the writers had to use many artistic techniques and the various types of documentary film language. Along with pieces of historical films, there are also sections of color films taken of Uncle Ho at scenic sites, hotels, living quarters, offices and meeting halls as well as a number of other sites that he had the chance to visit or pass through. In addition, the film also contains scenes (with sound) of historic "personalities" who worked with Uncle Ho or knew him. These newly taken scenes constitute a rather large percentage of the film and give it a different intensity and style. By means of skillful editing, the film makers have brought the various segments of film of many different circumstances and periods of time close together so that they support one another. The newly taken scenes together with the narration and music used in the film that bring the documentary footage back to life are combined as one within a complete framework, thereby creating a new quality and competently supporting the ideological contents of the film. The efforts made by the film makers in practicing their art have not only created a uniformity of content, persuasive documentation and historical accuracy of images and events, but also have a strong impact upon the viewer as a result of the poetic and romantic nature of the film.

"Nguyen Ai Quoc Finds Lenin," a new achievement of the documentary films sector of Vietnam on Uncle Ho, will surely provide our cadres, party members and people with much that is useful and interesting. We await better and deeper films on the revered Uncle Ho.

7809

CSO: 4209

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

August 21 1980