

Ho Chi Minh – Selected Writings, The Gioi, Hanoi, 1994 (Selected quotes)

The Party's line in the period of the Democratic Front (1936-1939)

4. With regard to the Trotskyites there can be no compromise, no concession. We must do everything possible to unmask them as agents of fascism and annihilate them politically. pp42-43

7. In order to carry out this task the Party must uncompromisingly fight sectarianism and organize the systematic study of Marxism-Leninism in order to raise the cultural and political level of the Party members. It must help the non-Party cadres raise their standard. It must maintain close contact with the French Communist Party. p43

Appeal to the people to fight famine – 1945

The ways to light famine are manifold: like banning the distillation of spirits from rice or maize; the making of pastry of all kinds, etc., in order to save cereals; channelling food from one region to another, the former thus acting as a 'patron' to the latter; boosting the cultivation of tubers and vegetables, etc. In a word. we must do everything that helps alleviate the peoples hunger at present and prevent famine for the coming season. pp62-63

Appeal to fight illiteracy – October 1945

Let the illiterates study hard. The husband will teach his wile. the cider brother his junior, the children their parents, the master his servants; the rich will open classes for illiterates in their own houses.

The women should study even harder for up to now many obstacles have stood in their way. It is high time now for them to catch up with the men and be worthy of their status of citizens with full electoral rights. p65

To our fellow-countrymen in Nam Bo before going to France for negotiations – May 31st, 1946

I advise you to unite closely and broadly. The live fingers are of unequal length hut they are united in the hand. p66

To the meeting of the Central Committee of the Viet Minh – April 20, 1948

However, the Viet Minh has one shortcoming: its rapid development has not allowed it to give proper training to its cadres everywhere; that is why in many places cadres have not correctly applied the general policy. Some elements have even I become corrupt. p83

To the 6th Congress of Party Cadres – January 18, 1949

When you call on people to practise thrift, you yourself must do it. Our comrades must acquire the four revolutionary virtues: industry, thrift, integrity and uprightness.

To make the revolution, one must first and foremost remould oneself. p89

To the Trade Union Congress – February 23, 1950

Our working class must be the leader in the war of resistance, in national construction, and in the building of a new democracy. Therefore, all workers, men and women, must strive to learn and progress and set good examples in every field so as to fulfil the glorious task of their class. p93

Political report at the Second National Congress of the Viet Nam Workers' Party – February 1951

VI. From the August Revolution up to now

Comrades,

Not only our own toiling classes and people but also the toiling classes and oppressed peoples of other countries can be proud of this fact: for the first time in the revolutionary history of colonial and semi-colonial peoples, a party barely fifteen years old has led the revolution to success and seized power throughout the country.

For our part, we must bear in mind that our success was due to the great victory of the Soviet Red Army over the Japanese fascists, to the friendly assistance of international solidarity, to the close unity of our entire people and to the heroic sacrifices of our revolutionary predecessors. pp108-109

VII. The difficulties encountered by the Party and the Government

Lenin said that one should make a compromise even with bandits if it was advantageous to the revolution. p112

IX. Correction of shortcomings and mistakes

The Central Committee is partly responsible for that disease and others which affect Party members, because it has not paid adequate attention to *control work*. Ideological training has not been given to all, nor in sufficient amount. Inner Party democracy has not been broadly practised. Criticism and self-criticism have not yet become a regular habit. p119

X. New situation and new tasks

Economic field There must be an equitable and rational tax system. A balance must be achieved in receipts and expenditures in order to ensure supplies for the army and the people.

- *Cultural work* must be speeded up to form the new man and train new cadres for the Resistance and for national construction. All vestiges of colonialism and the enslaving influence of imperialist culture must be systematically rooted out. Simultaneously, we must develop the fine traditions of our national culture and assimilate the new in the world progressive culture in order to build a Vietnamese culture with a national, scientific and popular character. p126

As regards its *composition*, the Viet Nam Workers' Party will admit the most enthusiastic and most enlightened workers, peasants, and intellectuals.

As regards its *doctrine*, it adheres to Marxism-Leninism.

As regards its *organization*, it adopts the system of democratic centralism.

As regards *discipline*, it has an iron discipline which is at the same time a self-imposed one.

As regards its law of *development*, it makes use of criticism and self-criticism to educate its members and the masses.

As regards its *immediate goal*, the Viet Nam Workers' Party unites and leads the entire people to wage the war of resistance, take it to complete victory and win back national unity and complete

independence; it leads the entire people to realize new democracy and create conditions for the advance to socialism. p127

To the artists on the occasion of the 1951 painting Exhibition – December 10, 1951

With regard to your *creative work*; you must understand, get in close touch with and go deeply into the people's life. Only by so doing will you be able to depict the heroism and determination of our soldiers and people and to contribute to the development and heightening of these qualities. Our Resistance has made great progress: our soldiers and people have made vigorous and continuous strides forward; so must you, artists by means of criticism and self-criticism.

Some of you may think: President Ho is trying to link art to politics.

That is right. Culture and art, like all other activities, cannot stand aloof from economics and politics, but must be included in them. pp133-134

To practise thrift and oppose embezzlement, waste and bureaucracy – 1952

Embezzlement and waste stem from bureaucracy, from the fact that leading individuals and organs at all levels fail to get down to brass tacks, to supervise and educate the cadres, and to get in close touch with the masses. They pay undue attention to matter of form and fail to tackle their jobs in detail and in depth. They only like to convene meetings, write instructions and read reports, but *control nothing thoroughly*. p141

Democracy means to rely on the masses, correctly to follow the mass line. Hence, to be successful, the movement against embezzlement, waste and bureaucracy must *rely on the masses*.

By the masses we mean all armymen, all workers in the factories, all civil servants in the public services etc., and the entire people. As in any other work. only by *mobilizing the masses, implementing democracy*, making the masses understand and enthusiastically participate in this movement, can we be certain of success. The greater the participation of the masses, the more complete and rapid the achievements. p144

Instructions given at a Conference on Guerrilla Warfare – July 1952

This long and hard war of resistance coils for self-reliance, this is especially true when operating in the enemy's rear. The assistance of friendly countries is of course important, but we should not be dependent on it and stay idle. A nation which does not rely on its own strength but merely looks for help from other peoples does not deserve to be independent. pp146-147

2. *The regular, regional and guerilla forces should not content themselves with fighting the enemy*. To fight the enemy is a good thing; but to *confine oneself to fighting him* without paying due attention to politics, economics, propaganda and education of the people is to know only one aspect of things, for fighting cannot be dissociated from politics and economics. If we only think of fighting without caring for economics, we won't be able to fight when we run short of rice. So, let us fight of course, but fighting alone will not do, other things must also be thought of. p148

Report to the Third Session of the First national Assembly – December 1st, 1953

Land Reform

In those localities where mass mobilization has not yet been launched for radical land rent reduction, the latter must be completed before land reform is undertaken. This is in order to organize the peasants, raise their political consciousness, build up their political supremacy in the

villages and at the same time to train cadres, adjust organization and prepare the political conditions for land reform.

No locality is allowed to start mass mobilization for land reform without authorization by the Government.

Land reform is a peasant revolution, a class struggle in the countryside; it is a large-scale, hard and complex struggle, which requires careful preparations, clearly mapped-out plans, close leadership, judicious choice of places, strict timetable and correct implementation. These are conditions for success. p167

In *the cultural and social field*, the large majority of the people, now having enough food and clothing, will study even harder, in accordance with the saying: 'One must have enough to eat before one could practise the good doctrine'. Good customs and habits will develop. The experience drawn from localities where mass mobilization has been launched shows that our compatriots are very fond of study and that there are good opportunities for the intellectuals to serve the people. p168

The Government and the Party call on all cadres and Party members to abide by the policies of the Government and the Party, keep discipline, side entirely with the peasants, lead them in struggle. Whenever their own private interests or those of their families run counter to the interests of the resistance and those of the peasant masses, they must sacrifice the former to the latter. p169

Report to the 6th Plenum of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee – July 15, 1954

Of the above ten tasks, ideological leadership is the most important. For both members and non-members of the Party, only a clear grasp of the new situation and the new tasks can bring about unity of mind, which will lead to unity of action. If all of us, both inside and outside the Party and at all levels, are at one in thought and action, we will successfully carry out our tasks, however difficult and complex. p182

Closing Address at the Congress of the National United Front – September 10, 1955

It [the Front] is a *firm* one because the Front is based on the workers and the peasants. who make up the overwhelming majority or our people. and al the same lime pays attention lo all strata or our society, without exception. p189

On Revolutionary Morality – 1958

Therefore, *individualism* goes counter to *collectivism*: collectivism and socialism will certainly prevail while individualism will surely disappear. p195

To succeed, the revolution must be *led by the working class* - the most advanced. conscious. Resolute, disciplined and best organized class - with the proletarian party as its staff. This has been incontestably borne out by the revolution in the Soviet Union and in the other socialist countries. p196

Born and brought up in the old society, we all carry within ourselves, to varying extent, traces of that society in our thinking and habits. The worst and most dangerous vestige of the old society is individualism. Individualism runs counter to revolutionary morality. This last remaining trace of it will develop at the first opportunity, smother revolutionary virtues and prevent us from wholeheartedly struggling for the revolutionary cause.

Individualism is something very deceitful and perfidious; it skilfully induces one to back slide. And

everybody knows that it is easier to backslide than to progress. That is why it is very dangerous.

To shake off the bad vestiges of the old society and to cultivate revolutionary virtues, we must study hard and educate and reform ourselves in order to progress continuously. Otherwise, we shall retrogress and lag behind and shall eventually be rejected by the forward-moving society. p197

Our Party pursues no other interests than those of the working class and the toiling people. Therefore, its immediate objective is to struggle for the gradual building of socialism in the North and the reunification of the country. p199

However, our industry is still backward. Thanks to the devoted help of the fraternal countries, first of all the Soviet Union and China, it is developing. For our effort to succeed, our workers must emulate one another and strive to produce ever more, faster, better and more economically, observe labour discipline and actively participate in the management of their enterprises: we must oppose waste and embezzlement, and our cadres must be truly industrious, thrifty, honest and upright, and join the workers in labour.

Land has been allotted to our peasants, whose life has been partially improved. But the mode of production is still scattered and backward; hence the yields have not yet increased much and living conditions have improved but slightly. The movement for setting up work-exchange teams and co-operatives in our countryside must be extensively and firmly pushed forward in order to bring about a firm increase in production; only then can our peasants escape poverty and see their condition improved. p200

To advance to socialism, we must wage a long and hard struggle. We must have revolutionaries for there still exist *enemies*, who oppose the revolution.

There are three kinds of enemies:

Capitalism and imperialism are very dangerous ones.

Backward habits and traditions are also big enemies: they insidiously hinder the progress of the revolution. However, we cannot repress them, but must seek to correct them with caution, perseverance and over a long period of time.

The third enemy is *individualism*, the petty-bourgeois mentality which still lurks in each of us. It is waiting for an opportunity - either failure or success - to rear its head. It is the ally of the two above-mentioned categories. p201

The Party members' words and deeds have a great hearing on the revolution for they exert great influence on the masses. For instance: the present policy of our Party and Government is broadly and closely to organize *work-exchange teams and co-operatives*, to carry out agricultural co-operation. But a number of Party and Working Youth Union members do not join them, or, having joined them, do not actively contribute to their building and consolidation. It is *individualism* which has led those comrades to do as they please and to go counter to the Party's organization and discipline. Wittingly or unwittingly, their actions impair the prestige of the Party, hinder its work and impede the advance of the revolution. p202

Our Party has a mass character, and hundreds of thousands of members. Owing to the situation in our country the bulk of Party members spring from the petty bourgeoisie. There is nothing surprising in it. In the beginning, under the influence of bourgeois ideology the stand of some Party members may lack firmness, their outlook may be confused and their thinking not quite correct, but owing to the fact that they have been tempered in the revolution and the war of resistance, our Party members are, by and large, good militants, faithful to the Party and the revolution. p203

The North of our country is advancing to socialism. This is the urgent aspiration of millions of labouring people. This is the collective undertaking of the toiling masses under our Party's leadership. Individualism is a big obstacle to the building of socialism. Therefore, *the success of socialism cannot be separated from that of the struggle for the elimination of individualism.* pp205-206

The interests of the individual are closely tied to those of the collective. If there is any contradiction between them, revolutionary morality demands that the former yield to the later.

The revolution unceasingly progresses. So does the Party. And so must the revolutionary.

The revolutionary movement involves hundreds of millions of people. Revolutionary work involves thousands of extremely complex and difficult tasks. In order to be able to assess all complex situations, clearly see the contradictions, and correctly solve the various problems, we must *strive to study Marxism-Leninism.*

Only by so doing can we consolidate our revolutionary morality, firmly maintain our stand, raise our theoretical and political level, and fulfil the tasks entrusted to us by the Party.

To study Marxism-Leninism is to learn the spirit in which one should deal with things, with other people and with oneself. It means to study the universal Marxist-Leninist truths in order to apply them creatively to the practical conditions of our country. We must study with a view to action. Theory must go hand in hand with practice. pp206-207

Report on the Draft Amended Constitution – December 18, 1959

These discussions lasted four consecutive months. Everywhere, in government offices, factories, schools and other people's organizations, in both town and countryside, the study and discussion of the draft Constitution preceded in an enthusiastic atmosphere and became a broad mass movement with the participation of all sections of the people. In the press, the discussions were also lively and fruitful. p209

For the first time in history, an oppressed nation defeated the aggression of a mighty imperialist power, won back national independence, brought land to the tillers and genuine democratic rights to the people. p213

The victory of the August Revolution and the Great War of Resistance prove that even a small and weak nation can most certainly defeat the imperialist aggressors, if it is closely united under the leadership of the working class and its Party and correctly follows the Marxist-Leninist line. p214

In the economic and cultural fields, we have achieved great progress. For instance:

From 1955 to 1959, in agriculture, paddy output increased from 3.6 million tons to 5.2 million tons. In industry, starting with only 17 factories in 1955, we have 107 State factories in 1959.

Agricultural co-operatives of the lower level now embrace 43.9 per cent of peasant households and most of the rest have jointed work-exchange teams.

53 per cent of craftsmen have joined co-operative organizations.

In culture, we have basically eliminated illiteracy. Compared with 1955, the number of students has increased twofold in general-education schools, sixfold in secondary vocational schools, and sevenfold in colleges and universities. The number of medical doctors has increased by 80 per cent,

etc.

We are advancing to a socialist economy. Along with these successes, class relations in North Vietnam have changed. The feudal landlord class has been overthrown. The working class is growing day by day and is strengthening its leadership over the State. The peasantry has taken the co-operative path. The worker-peasant alliance has been further strengthened. The revolutionary intellectuals are contributing an active part to national construction. The national bourgeoisie, generally speaking, accept socialist transformation. The various sections of our people are united ever more closely within the National United Front. Compared with 1946, when the first Constitution of our country was adopted, the situation in present-day North Vietnam has undergone very important and favourable changes. p215

At present they are enthusiastically joining the agricultural co-operation movement. This is due to their own active revolutionary spirit and the patient and ceaseless education by the Party and the working class. p217

At present we have the conditions to transform them along socialist lines. In the northern part of our country, the socialist economic forces have grown definitely superior to the capitalist economic forces. We have the people's power. The revolutionary struggle of the working masses is becoming ever more powerful. The national bourgeoisie are ready to accept transformation to contribute to national construction and the building of socialism. p218

For nearly a century, Vietnam was a colonial and semi-feudal country. The economy was very backward and heterogeneous; production was little developed and the people's material and cultural living standards were low. To get out of this situation of poverty, North Vietnam must advance to socialism. p219

The aim of our regime is to eliminate the forms of non-Socialist ownership, to turn the present heterogeneous economy into a homogeneous one based on the system of ownership by the entire people and collective ownership. p220

- Agricultural co-operation is the prime mover of socialist transformation in the North. Past experiences have shown that agricultural co-operation in our country must pass through the forms of work-exchange teams and agricultural producers' cooperatives. This is very necessary. If we steadily develop step by step the work-exchange teams and the co-operatives, agricultural co-operation will certainly be successful. p220

Under article 10 of the draft amended Constitution, the State leads the economic activities according to a unified plan. It uses State organs and relies on trade-unions, co-operatives and other organizations of the working people to map out and execute its economic plan. p221

The three-year plan aims particularly at promoting the socialist transformation of the individual economy of the peasants, craftsmen and other individual working people and the private capitalist sector; at the same time, it enlarges and reinforces the State economic sector and stimulates economic development along socialist lines. p221

The people have the right to dismiss deputies to the National Assembly and to the People's Councils, should the latter show themselves unworthy of their trust. This principle guarantees the people's right of control over their representatives. p223

Our economic and social system aims at fully realizing the democratic rights of the people on the basis of the increasing development of the socialist economy, the gradual elimination of capitalist exploitation, and the improvement of the material and cultural standards of the people. Thus, all conditions are gathered for our people to take effective part in the management of the State. p224

Only in a socialist system are the interests of the individual, the State and the collective at one. That is why only a socialist Constitution can encourage the citizens to fulfil enthusiastically their duties to the society and the Fatherland. p226

3. Many people hold the view that it must be clearly specified that our State is based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class, because this is a great historical reality which has brought our people tremendous revolutionary victories and guarantees the fulfilment of their revolutionary duties in the new stage. pp227-228

In the process of these discussions, they have clearly assessed the difficulties overcome and have found great inspiration in the successes achieved: the North of our country has been completely liberated, our people hold effective power, the socialist economy is developing at a rapid rate. Our people's material and cultural standards have been improved. Revolutionary morality among our people has been gradually elevated; solidarity among them has been strengthened day by day. The practice of democracy has been developed to a high degree; the people are really the masters of the country. p229

Thirty Years of Activity of the Party – 1960

Alone, the working class, the most courageous and revolutionary class, kept up the struggle against the colonialist imperialists. Equipped with advanced revolutionary theory and the experience of the international proletarian movement, it proved to be the most able and trustworthy leader of the Vietnamese people. p233

North Viet Nam is bound to advance to socialism. The outstanding feature of the transitional period in Vietnam is for our economically backward agrarian country to advance *direct* to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development. pp237-238

This period also witnessed radical changes in the relations of production. New relations of production gradually replaced the old ones. The agrarian reform abolished the system of feudal landownership and released the productive forces in the countryside. The cherished dream of ten-odd million peasants came true: land was distributed to them. The economic monopoly of the imperialists was liquidated. Our State took control of the economic levers, built a State-run economy of a socialist character, and gave leadership to the whole national economy. pp238-239

After the completion of rehabilitation work, the Party led the people for the fulfilment of the three-year plan (1958- 1960). This plan aims at the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, and private capitalist industry and trade, the main link being the transformation and development of agriculture, which will create conditions for the industrialization of the country. Industry and foreign trade can expand only on the basis of a prospering socialist agriculture. In the three-year plan, socialist transformation is the key problem. When completed as a result of our concentrated efforts, it will create favourable conditions for the rapid building of socialism. The Party's policy for the socialist transformation of agriculture is gradually to take the individual peasants from the work-exchange teams (an embryonic form of socialism) to agricultural co-operatives of the lower (semi-socialist) type and, eventually to co-operatives of the higher (socialist) type. pp239-240

The consolidation of socialist relations of production will undoubtedly ensure the advance of agriculture and this, in turn, will further industrial development without which the countryside cannot get the means it needs for water conservation, fertilizers, improved fanning implements, agricultural machinery and electric power. p240

Our achievements in the sphere of education are appreciable. Whereas over 95 per cent of our population was illiterate under French rule, illiteracy has now in the main been wiped out in North

Vietnam. p241

In simple terms, the aim of socialism is to free the working people from poverty, provide them with employment, make them happy and prosperous. It is the duty of the Party and the people to increase production and practise thrift, to exert every effort to produce more, faster, better and more economically. Then State plans will surely be fulfilled, and the people's life will certainly be ceaselessly improved. p242

We are sincerely grateful to the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China, which have helped us to mould ourselves into a new-type party of the working class. We shall always remember the generous support given to our Party and people in their revolutionary struggle by the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union, China and France. p244

All Party members should strive to *study Marxism-Leninism*, strengthen their proletarian class stand, grasp the laws of development of the Vietnamese revolution, *elevate their revolutionary morality, vigorously combat individualism, foster proletarian collectivism*, be industrious and thrifty in the work for national construction, build close contacts with the labouring masses, and struggle whole-heartedly for the interests of the revolution and the Fatherland. p246

The Trade-unions should be a true school of State administration, economic management and cultural guidance for the working class. p246

Under the leadership of the Party the agricultural cooperatives should become powerful armies grouping more than ten million peasants and fighting to increase production, raise living standards, elevate socialist consciousness and build a prosperous countryside. p247

Talk at the first meeting of cultural activists – February 11, 1960

Let me commend you on this. Culture must be closely bound to work and production. Divorced from life and labour it becomes sterile. A cultural cadre must use culture to promote diligence and thrift in building the country, building socialism in the North, and struggling for national reunification. For example, among members of farming co-operatives, cultural work must seek to enhance diligence and thrift in building the co-ops, and attachment to them as to one's home; it must oppose any tendency towards an individual economy and other backward thoughts harmful to the consolidation and development of the co-operatives. In the enterprises, cultural work must seek to imbue the workers with the sense of being collective masters of their factories, impel the emulation movement to fulfil the State plan, promote diligence and thrift in building the country's industry, oppose embezzlement and waste ...

In brief, to serve socialist revolution, culture must be socialist in content and national in form. pp148-249

Opening speech at the Third National Congress of the Vietnam Workers' Party – September 5, 1960

We have successfully rehabilitated our economy and are now victoriously fulfilling the Five-Year Plan for the development of our economy and culture. In the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and private capitalist industry and commerce, we have won successes of a decisive character. We have recorded many achievements on the agricultural and industrial production fronts and in cultural and educational work and have brought about initial improvements in the people's living standards. p256

The history of the thirty-year-long struggle of our Party has taught us this lesson:

The best guarantee of victory for the revolution lies in a thorough grasp of Marxism-Leninism. absolute loyalty to the interests of the proletariat and the nation, the preservation of solidarity and oneness of mind within the Party, among all Communist Parties and among all countries of the great socialist family. p257

The Second Party Congress was the Congress of Resistance. The present Party Congress is the Congress of Socialist Construction in the North and of Struggle for Peaceful National Reunification. p258

- If we do well in agriculture and industry, we shall do well in building socialism in the North, which provides a solid and strong foundation for the struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country

We are all agreed that the co-operation movement is proceeding well in the main. At the same time, we have found that it has shortcomings which should be overcome. These are shortcomings arising from the process of development. It is like the case of an overgrown child, whose clothes seem to shrink every month. The most widespread shortcoming is the weakness of many management committees, for the cadres' standards do not advance at the same rate as the progress of the co-operatives, and they are like squad leaders who have to command companies or battalions. We must help them to become level with their tasks. pp266-267

- We must strive to strengthen Party cells in the rural areas. Only with a good Party cell can one have a good management committee. With a good management committee, co-op members will unite and be eager to work, and the co-op will be well consolidated and developed. p267

On behalf of the Central Committee, I take this opportunity to praise the Dai Phong co-operative and the movement to emulate Dai Phong. and to remind co-op cadres and members that they should not grow complacent. but should endeavour to make ever greater progress. p268

Address to the Seventh Plenum of the Party Central Committee – April 1962

At present, land belongs to the peasants, over 85 per cent of whom have joined co-operatives. Over 35 per cent of the co-ops cover whole villages. Soon practically all peasants will be co-op members. Well-organized, the ten-odd million peasants will be a tremendous force which can remove mountains and fill up seas. Thus, the *human conditions* are very favourable too.

At present, the most important thing for agricultural development is to *improve the quality of co-op management committees*, if these committees are good, the co-ops will be good. And if the co-ops are good, agriculture is sure to develop well. p270

In socialist construction, we certainly meet with difficulties. To transform an old society into a new one is not an easy task. But those are difficulties arising from growth. If the whole Party and the entire people are of one mind and join forces, any difficulty can be overcome. p272

Address to the Sixth Session of the Second National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam – May 8, 1963

- In 1954, as a member of the US Congress, you [President Kennedy] criticized President Eisenhower in these words:

'To pour money, weapons and men into the Indochinese jungle without a remote hope of victory might be a dangerous and useless thing, an act of suicide. I am frankly of the belief that no amount of American military assistance in Indochina can conquer an enemy that seems to be everywhere and at the same time nowhere, an enemy ... which has the sympathy and covert support of the

people ... '

So why has President Kennedy committed a blind act of suicide, against which Senator Kennedy had clear sightedly warned? p273

Report to the Special Political Conference – March 27, 1964

completed the land reform, distributing land and cattle to over 10 million working peasants. Thus, our peasants have really become the masters of the countryside, masters of their own destiny.

During the subsequent three years, we scored another great victory, this time in socialist transformation. Eleven million working peasants voluntarily joined the farm co-ops, advancing steadily on the path of collective farming. Nearly all craftsmen were reorganized.

The whole sector of capitalist industry and trade has been peacefully transformed. The state-run socialist sector has been growing ever stronger, holding absolute superiority in the national economy.

The system of exploitation of man by man has been basically abolished. Socialist relations of production have been established, and all working people are brothers, united in a tremendous force for national construction. p280

Our villages were places where people toiled and moiled all the year round and yet never got enough to eat. Our villages are now busy in all seasons with collective work. Everywhere one can see schools, kindergartens, maternity homes, clubhouses, co-op yards and stores, and new dwelling houses for co-op members. The people's material life is steadily improving while their spiritual life is getting ever richer.

At present, the campaign for *streamlining co-op management and improving techniques* is involving millions of peasants, who eagerly discuss production orientation and plans, as well as technical improvements. This has brought about a turning-point in agriculture and a new spirit in the rural areas. p283

Chinese residents have actively joined our people in building socialism in the North, thus helping to strengthen the friendship between Vietnam and China.

In all fields of activity in the North, the patriotic emulation movement is inspiring our people with ever greater revolutionary enthusiasm and creative working power in building up thousands of socialist-labour teams and brigades, recording outstanding achievements in every field, and striving to fulfil the 1964 State Plan and the first Five-Year Plan successfully. pp284-285

But with the efforts of the whole Party and the entire people, who evince a strong sense of criticism and self-criticism as well as close unity and oneness of mind, and are advancing enthusiastically, we are sure to overcome all difficulties and win still greater successes. p285

Basing ourselves on the resolution of the 9th Plenum of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee, we pledge ourselves to persist in our efforts, along with the other fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties, to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the two Moscow Declarations. We fully believe that the differences in the international communist movement will be resolved. Marxism-Leninism will certainly be victorious; the socialist camp and the international communist movement will grow ever more united and powerful. By giving a strong impetus to the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the world's people they will win ever greater victories for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. p292

3. Let us strengthen people's power unceasingly and strictly observe this principle: democracy for the people, dictatorship toward the enemy. Let us strictly obey all State regulations and laws. Let us make a success of the forthcoming elections to the Third National Assembly. p293

Appeal to compatriots and fighters throughout the country – July 17, 1966

Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom. Once victory is won, our people will rebuild their country and make it even more prosperous and beautiful.

Talk to District Cadres attending a training class – January 18, 1967

And how many women? ('Sixteen, Uncle'.)

The women are too few and this is a shortcoming. The comrades in charge of this course have not paid enough attention to the training of women cadres. This is also a common shortcoming in our Party. Many still underestimate the women's abilities, because of their prejudices and narrow-mindedness. This is utterly wrong. At present, many women are holding responsible posts at basis level. Many are doing a very good job. There are women managers of large farming co-ops who are not only zealous but also efficient. Women co-op members generally have many good qualities: they are less liable to commit embezzlement and waste, indulge in revelry and display domineering behaviour than some of their male counterparts. Am I right? If what I say is not true, please correct me. p311

At present, each district committee is made up of 15 to 20 members. You must divide the job among yourselves, each watching one commune or two. You must be fully informed not only about the co-ops, but also about the individual families, their living conditions, housing, education and health problems, etc. If you fail to do so, how can you correctly apply the Party's lines and policies and the provincial directives to your districts? p314

All cadres and members of the Party must zealously work for the Party and the people. They must painstakingly study politics, economics, science and technique so as to improve their abilities and help develop the economy, win victories in fighting and better the people's life. p315

In Quang Binh and Vinh Linh, it is thanks to the mass line that thousands of kilometres of trenches and tens of thousands of shelters have been dug. It follows that with the participation of the masses, the most difficult tasks become easier and can be successfully undertaken. The comrades in Quang Binh have aptly put it this way:

Even an easy task cannot be done without the people. While the most difficult ones can be fulfilled with their help.

In Thai Binh, Quang Binh and some other places, a campaign is being conducted on 'reporting and rating one's services'. Thanks to this campaign, everyone knows what is being well done, not done or poorly done. This is real democracy, a very good form of criticism and self-criticism. By so doing, the masses educate themselves and also help educate the cadres, for while there are good cadres who work hard and match their words with deeds, there are others who only like to give orders. So, the campaign is also a good way of selecting people, educating them, bringing them into the Party and making cadres of them. In this way we shall never lack cadres. This is a very good way of building the Party. pp316-317

Buffaloes and oxen should be well tended with a view to production work, not feasts and revelry! The New Year is drawing near, so economy should be emphasized. p318

I can give you ample evidence of this. Let me read this passage from the Hai Phong newspaper: 'As

the cadres fail to set good examples, illegal slaughter of pigs still often occurs in My Phuc commune. Two pigs were killed to inaugurate the pumping-station. Four pigs were killed to greet the annual assembly of the co-op. Then the collective feast of a production team entailed the slaughter of one more'. And so on, and so forth....

... This has happened because of the lack of democracy. The Party's rank-and-file dare not speak out, the people dare not speak out. How can the co-op members not feel irritated? How can the co-op progress in such conditions? While the people workday and night a few seize upon the least occasion to eat and drink, and believe me, they don't do things by halves. pp318-319

The Great October Revolution opened the road to Liberation to all peoples – October 1967

After the Russian October Revolution, the success of the Chinese Revolution also assumed tremendous international significance. It was another great victory of Marxism-Leninism in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country with a population of 700 million, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. Within less than twenty years, China, formerly a backward agricultural country heavily oppressed and exploited by foreign imperialists and internal bureaucratic bourgeoisie and feudal landlords, has risen up, wrested back and strengthened national independence, built socialism and become a great power with modern industry, developed agriculture, advanced science and technology. p327

- It is essential to have the leadership of a *genuine revolutionary party of the working class, wholeheartedly devoted to the service of the people*. Only the leadership of a party which knows how to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively to the specific conditions of its country can take the national liberation revolution to victory and the socialist revolution to success. p329

- *Proletarian dictatorship should be constantly strengthened and consolidated*. After seizing power, the working class has the primary task of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to fulfil the historical tasks of the revolution, thoroughly abolish the system of exploitation of man by man, build socialist relations of production, build socialism and advance toward communism.

- In the life-and-death struggle between the working class, the toiling people and oppressed peoples on one side and the imperialists and their henchmen, the feudal landlords and reactionary bourgeois on the other, the people must display a radically revolutionary spirit and constantly hold high the banner of revolutionary heroism. They should be fearless of hardships and sacrifices and determined to fight to the bitter end for national independence and socialism. p330

The Vietnamese people always bear in mind that their victories are inseparable from the considerable assistance of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other brother Socialist countries, inseparable from the active support of progressive people all over the world. p336

Elevate Revolutionary Ethics, make a clean sweep of Individualism – February 3, 1969

Because of their individualism, they flinch from hardships and difficulties and sink into corruption, depravation, waste and luxury. They crave for fame and profits, positions and power. They are proud and conceited, look down on the collective, hold the masses in contempt, act arbitrarily and tyrannically. They are cut off from the masses and from realities and are affected by bureaucratism and commandism. They make no efforts to improve themselves and don't seek to improve their ability through study. p353