

Our President Ho Chi Minh
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President Ho Chi Minh, Symbol of our Nation, Conscience of our time

‘In 1949, while we were stepping up our war of resistance, an international event of paramount importance occurred: the victory of the Chinese Revolution and the foundation of the People’s Republic of China struck a deadly blow at imperialism, tipped the world balance of power in favour of the revolutionary forces and gave strong encouragement to the peoples of the world. For Viet Nam, the success of the Chinese Revolution put an end to the imperialist blockade and linked our revolution with the socialist camp.’ p20

‘In the North [after the defeat of the French] our people immediately switched to the socialist revolution..... socialist transformation and socialist construction have recorded big successes.’ p22

‘That contribution [the defeat of US imperialism] also consists of the correct line on world affairs of our Party, based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.’ p25

‘..... that contribution consists in showing them the revolutionary path leading from the people’s national democratic revolution to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, the path of staunch, indomitable, persistent and protracted struggle, the path which for all its twists and bends will certainly lead to victory, the path of struggle for the independence of the nation and the freedom of the people, the path of resistance to imperialism and colonialism old and new, with a view to building socialism, the ideal of mankind.’ pp25-26

‘President Ho Chi Minh and our Party have ingenuously led our people to carry out two revolutions: the people’s national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, and between these two there is no boundary either in time or space.’ p27

‘The strategy of the US imperialists is a global strategy which has become outdated and is going bankrupt. Our strategy stems from the militant solidarity of our people with the proletariat and all the oppressed peoples of the world in resisting the common enemy.’ p30

‘That genius [the strategy of Ho Chi Minh and the Party] also lies in the fact that along with a consistent strategy, we know how to apply suitable tactics, exploit the contradictions and all the weak points of the enemy, so as to drive him into a position of failure, weakness and serious isolation, hence to defeat him.’ p31

‘President Ho Chi Minh and our Party have always applied Lenin’s words in a creative way: “Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement.” Our successes in the theoretical domain as well as the victories of our people in the revolutionary struggle are the successes and victories of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the truth of our era and the peak of the human intellect.’ p32

‘.... a people’s democratic State performing the historic task of the dictatorship of the proletariat.’ p33

‘Lenin said that socialist revolution does not end with the overthrow of the rule of the oppressing and exploiting classes. The overthrow of that rule, which leads to the formation of the people’s democratic power assuming the historic task of proletarian dictatorship, is only the first step in socialist transformation and socialist construction.’ p34

‘The socialist regime of North Viet Nam has recorded very great successes which everyone of us has the right to be proud of.’ p34

‘At present, everybody has enough food and clothing, everybody can study and make continuous progress.’ p35

‘..... in many developed capitalist countries, many people are still illiterate and many children cannot go to school. Thanks to socialist achievements, our people’s health has improved remarkably compared with the past.’ p35

‘In order to build socialism, good management is indispensable.’ p36

‘..... in the management of the national economy and the people’s life, we must make fundamental and all-round calculations, which must have great and long-term strategic significance and at the same time be detailed and practical. This requires a lot of intelligence and wisdom, a lot of experience which we must acquire.’ p36

‘For the first time in human history, socialism has created for man the possibility of disposing the labour force and technical potential in the closest and most adequate relationship with the productive forces on a nation-wide scale, hence to achieve ever higher labour productivity and growing economic efficiency.’ p37

‘Leading a struggle for the realization of a plan requires both organizational and managerial abilities, which are very necessary to all of us, first of all to the responsible comrades in State organs at all levels.’ p37

‘The realization of State plans is a revolutionary struggle aimed at overcoming many difficulties and hardships. It requires energy and tenacity, a spirit of revolutionary offensive, a sense of organization and discipline, and creative talents in many fields.’ p38

‘.... in the development of the economy and of culture, and in the building of socialism, man is the decisive factor, and the revolution is the work of the masses.’ p38

‘He [Ho Chi Minh] said:

“A question of decisive importance is for our cadres and Party members to understand clearly that the new requirement of the revolution is to develop production, that to raise labour productivity is the greatest source of material wealth..... Today, the Party requires from every cadre and Party member not only good political judgement but also professional ability. They cannot exercise leadership in a general way. Only so can we build socialism successfully.”
pp38-39

‘.... one must have firm will, ardour, determination and courage. This breeds intelligence, wisdom, ingenuity and resourcefulness. Conversely, intelligence and ingenuity enhance one’s determination to fight and win.’ p40

‘Only when individualism is overcome can one unite one’s comrades and countrymen and acquire a collective spirit and a sense of organization and discipline.’ p40

‘He [Ho Chi Minh] used to quote what the people of Quang Binh and Vinh Linh said in the grimmest days of the fight against the US aggressors: “Without the people, even the easiest work cannot be done. With the people, even the hardest job can be achieved.”’ p45

‘We heard him say quite often, and we also read in his Testament, that we must be worthy of our role as the leader and the very loyal servant of the people..... This is a proletarian revolutionary view, a point of fundamental and profound significance on the relationship between the Party and State leadership and the revolutionary cause of the masses. This view must be fully grasped in the revolution in production relations, so that solutions may be found for very important problems, both immediate and long range.’ pp46-47

‘.... to build socialism there must be socialist people. He greatly valued man because man is the most valuable capital.’ p47

‘..... a victory [over the US imperialists] of man, who, first of all, must be a revolutionary fighter, firm, undaunted, thorough-going and armed with invincible Marxism-Leninism, and who must always seek to heighten his qualities and virtues.’ p47

‘Ethics must become a branch of social sciences which responsible people must study very carefully. It must be made an indispensable subject in the curricula of both higher and general education. Propaganda and education organs should thoroughly grasp this in their work. The aim and content of the ideological revolution start and end there.’ pp47-48

‘Note 1. Stalin described Lenin as the “eagle of the mountains”.’ p48

‘To live up to these five oaths means to step up and accomplish the two revolutions - the people’s national democratic revolution, and the socialist revolution - charted by him for our people in the very first days of our struggle.’ p49

‘Our people’s extremely valiant fight is aimed at winning independence, freedom, and the right to be masters of their country, building a life of plenty and happiness for themselves and realizing their noblest ideal - socialism and communism.’ p53

‘President Ho said: “Socialist revolution is aimed at abolishing the regime of exploitation of man by man in our country and bringing a life of plenty to our entire people. This is the greatest and most glorious revolution in human history, but also the hardest, most complex and difficult one.” In our country, to advance direct to socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development means to set up socialist relations of production, develop the economy and the productive forces, culture, science and technique, educate the working masses, the collective peasantry, and the socialist intelligentsia, and train a generation of young people both “red” and “expert”. All this must be done in the shortest period of time, with the most judicious, rational and effective revolutionary line and methods. In short, the following three revolutions must be carried out simultaneously; revolution in relations of production, technical revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution, the keystone being the technical revolution.

This is for us a new trail to blaze, new lands to open in all spheres. We should grasp and know how to apply the rules of development of socialism in the conditions of our country.’ pp53-54

‘..... socialist construction in our country will certainly achieve brilliant success..... proving that in our times, with a correct revolutionary line, the oppressed peoples are able not only to defeat the US imperialists aggressors and achieve independence and freedom, but also directly proceed to build the best social system of mankind - socialism.’ p54

‘Let Party members and cadres at all levels in the State machinery strengthen their revolutionary fighting will, heighten their revolutionary virtues, improve their organizational and managerial abilities, respect and develop the people’s collective masterhood, and strive to become worthy of their role as leader and very loyal servant of the people.’ p56

Our President Ho Chi Minh

‘.... [he] illuminated the path of the Vietnamese revolution with the light of Marxism-Leninism.’ p61

‘[He] personifies the perfect combination of the ideal of independence and freedom with that of communism.’ p61

‘His noble virtues are loyalty to the Party, devotion to the people, industry, thrift, integrity, uprightness, total devotion to the public interest and complete selflessness, sincerity, modesty and simplicity.’ p62

The Young Patriot (1890-1911)

‘.... who gave his daughter in marriage.’ p64

Finding out the Correct revolutionary Path and Working for the Founding of the Party of the Vietnamese Working Class (1911-1930)

‘Hence he clearly realized that *our friends were the working class and the labouring people in all countries, and our enemy was imperialism wherever it may be.*’ p71

‘..... the imperialists’ declarations about freedom and democracy were but honeyed words aimed at deceiving the oppressed peoples.’ p74

‘As early as 1920, he realized that the national liberation revolution, in order to win victory, must follow the road of proletarian revolution; that national liberation is bound up with class liberation; that national independence is inseparable from socialism and communism. This is the road of complete and radical emancipation for the working class and people of the colonial countries. He said: “*Only by liberating the working class can one liberate the nation; both these liberations can only be the work of communism and world revolution.*” p86

‘Imbued with the viewpoint on uninterrupted revolution of Marxism-Leninism, he held that in a colonial country - agricultural and backward - after winning back national independence, the working class, closely allied to the peasantry, must and is fully able to advance direct to socialism, without passing through the stage of capitalist development.’ p87

‘.... in 1923, he arrived at this important assessment: “In the colonial countries, the working class begins to realize what class struggle is. Black and yellow-skinned workers should also be made to understand that their sole enemy is to be found precisely in the system which has led to

enslavement, only it has grown more sophisticated, more ponderous and less human than before.” p88

‘..... the working class in the colonial countries must have its vanguard. i.e., must be led by a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party.’ p89

‘To make revolution successfully, a cadre should not only possess revolutionary virtues but also *understand Marxist-Leninist theory and follow the right revolutionary line and methods.*’ p96

‘But the revolutionaries must be fully aware that *the workers and the peasants are the essential forces of the revolution.*’ p99

‘Once Marxism-Leninism, the most sharpened ideological weapon of our time, had conquered the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese revolutionaries, no barbarous enemy force could check it.’ p102

‘.... the Programme and Strategy of the Party reaffirmed that the Vietnamese revolution was to be a new-type bourgeois-democratic revolution (now called a people’s national democratic revolution) advancing to a socialist revolution without passing through the stage of capitalist development.’ p104

‘.... they [the results of the founding congress] were due to the judicious leadership of President Ho Chi Minh, and to the guidance and help of the Communist International.’ p105

From Abroad, President Ho Chi Minh led the Revolution in Viet Nam (1930-1940)

‘To heighten the class character of the Party and raise the theoretical standard of Party members, on the one hand, he suggested that the Party’s Central Committee should set up a committee in charge of propaganda and for the education of Party members, and for the production of a Party paper.’ p109

‘.... Party members..... should work in the workers’ movement and pay attention to recruiting members among the proletariat.’ p109

‘Rich peasants should be resolutely excluded [from the Party] from the start.’ p111

‘President Ho also proposed to the far Eastern Bureau [of the Communist International] that concerted action should be arranged between our Party and the Chinese Communist Party in border provinces of strategic importance - concerted action in propaganda work among workers and enemy troops.’ p113

‘After re-establishing contact with the Chinese Communist Party, President Ho went to the Soviet Union. He entered Lenin University, the higher Party school for leading cadres of Communist parties in the world. After finishing his studies, he worked at the Comintern’s Institute of Research on national and Colonial Problems.’ p115

‘During his stay in Kwelin (Kwangsi) he worked in a unit of the Chinese 8th Route Army while trying to get into contact with his comrades at home.’ p116

‘.... the courage of the fighting men of the Chinese Red Army, the anti-Trotskyite struggle, etc.’ p117

“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.....

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 Party members.”

Ho Chi Minh: *Selected Writings*, Foreign languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, pp42-43

Preparation for General Insurrection (1940-1945)

‘He also translated the *History of the Communist (B) Party of the Soviet Union*.’ p122

‘.... [he] wrote a number of important documents on guerrilla tactics: *Guerrilla Fighting, Experience of Chinese Guerrilla*. Besides, he also translated *Sun Tzu’s Military Art* and a book on training military commanders by Chuko Liang, to which he gave a new title: *How to Train Military Cadres*.’ p126

“The name of the *Propaganda Brigade for Liberation* means that the political side is more important than the military.”

[Instructions to Giap, December 22, 1944] p130

‘Immediately after that [the merging of the armed forces into the *Liberation Army* on June 4, 1945], he laid down ten policies for the *Liberated Area*: drive out the Japanese fascists and the traitor clique; confiscate the properties of the invaders and traitors and distribute them to the poor; proclaim universal suffrage and democratic freedoms; arm the masses and urge them to support the guerrillas and join the Liberation Army; organize land reclamation, encourage production, achieve a self-supporting economy in the liberated area; implement social insurance and give relief to victims; redistribute communal lands, reduce land rents and debt interests, and order a moratorium of debts; abolish taxes and corvees; fight illiteracy and give military and political training to the people; ensure equality among various nationalities, and between men and women.’ pp133-134

‘[He said]; “It [the success of the August Revolution] was a great victory of the Vietnamese people, and also the first victory of Marxism-Leninism in a colonial country.”

Ho Chi Minh: *Selected Writings*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973. p235

The First Resistance (1945-1954)

‘..... [he] urged them [the people] to display industry, thrift, integrity and uprightness, and to get rid of backward ideas and customs left over by the colonial and feudal system.’ pp144-145

‘He applied very wise and flexible tactics: while holding firm to the principle of national sovereignty and independence, *he made a temporary compromise with the Chiang troops* so as to maintain power and have a free hand to deal with French troops in the South. On the one hand, we conceded to the Chiang troops some political and economic advantages; on the other hand, we made use of the strength of the national united front to frustrate all their dark schemes and punish their agents.... who had unmasked themselves as counterrevolutionaries.’ pp145-146

‘To avoid engaging several enemies in the whole country without proper preparations, President Ho shifted to a policy of *temporary compromise with the French* by signing the *Preliminary*

Agreement of March 6, 1946. Thanks to this, we were able to oust the Chiang troops from the North and wipe out their agents, at the same time frustrating the US imperialist's schemes.'
p146

'Rely on the strength of national unity, hold firm to the strategic direction, show both firmness in principle and flexibility in tactics, cleverly turn to account the contradictions within the ranks of the enemy so as to divide them, thoroughly isolate the most dangerous foes, create conditions for maintaining and consolidating revolutionary power, muster forces for the long war of resistance against the French colonialist aggressors.' p147

'.... they should maintain close relations with the masses and implement the mass line.' p151

'Revolutionaries must have good moral qualities, without which they would not be able to lead the people, however talented they may be. He pointed out that revolutionary morality is a new kind of morality, a great kind of morality, which does not care for personal honours but concerns itself only with the common interests of the Party, the nation and humanity.' p152

'..... the armed forces should fight the enemy both with military force and by political and economic means.' p152

'The army stems from the people and fights for the people; "army and people are like fish and water", so the army should defend the people's lives and property, it should not take anything, even a needle or a length of thread, from the people; wherever it is stationed, it should help the local people increase farm production.' p153

'Together with the victories of our people and army in the military field, the people's power assuming the historic task of the dictatorship of the workers and peasants was further consolidated, displaying strong vitality.' p154

'.... gain the sympathy and support of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries.'
p155

'.... oppose passive reliance on outside assistance.' p155

'The members of the Viet Nam Workers' Party "can neither be seduced by wealth, shaken by poverty, nor subdued by force."

President Ho Chi Minh's speech delivered on March 3, 1951.' p158

'.... in 1952 President Ho and the Party Central Committee decided to start a rectification campaign in the Party, the Army and in work among the masses, with a view to heightening the political and ideological standards of cadres and Party members, of the army and mass organizations, giving them a correct understanding of the line of people's national democratic revolution.' pp160-161

'President Ho gave much attention to the rectification classes. he gave talks and wrote letters reminding everyone to study hard and be determined to remould himself in order to be worthy of the confidence of the Party and the people and be able to take the resistance to victory and national construction to success.' p161

'For the first time in history, a small and weak colonized country defeated a mighty colonial power, helping to accelerate the process of the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism. It

was a glorious victory of our people, and concurrently a victory of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism in the world.’ p165

The Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for the Reunification of the Country (1954-1965)

‘After its complete liberation, North Viet Nam must of necessity carry out socialist revolution and build up socialism. This is the necessary law of development of the revolution in the North.’ p167

‘When the North had completed the people’s national democratic revolution, and passed to the stage of socialist revolution, President Ho Chi Minh said: “The outstanding feature of the transitional period in Viet Nam is for our economically backward agrarian country to advance direct to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development.”’

Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Writings*, Foreign languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, p237’ p168

‘.... our people’s most important task was *to build the material and technical base of socialism*, gradually take the North to socialism, with modern industry and agriculture and advanced culture and science. In the course of the socialist revolution, we must transform the old economy and build a new, socialist one.’ p168

‘With the determination of our entire Party and our entire people, land reform in the North was fundamentally completed by the end of 1957.’ p169

‘During the period of socialist construction in the North and of struggle for the reunification of the country, President Ho Chi Minh and the Party’s Central Committee emphasized the necessity of unceasingly consolidating the working class’s leading role in the people’s democratic State, of strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, the foundation of the State, and of relying on the masses, especially the worker-peasant masses, to build socialism.....to strengthen and consolidate the *dictatorship of people’s democracy and invested with the historic task of the dictatorship of the proletariat*, with a view to achieving the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, capitalist industry and commerce, and small trade, building socialism, and forming the new, socialist man.’ p171

‘It [the 1958 Constitution] was a *socialist Constitution*.’ p171

‘For the socialist transformation of agriculture, President Ho Chi Minh insistently recommended that the cadres should proceed diligently but with the utmost caution and care, ensure good quality to their work, strictly respect the principle of voluntariness, and help the co-operatives in organization and management.’ p172

‘By the end of 1960, the transformation of agriculture through the organization of lower-level co-operatives was complete in the main. The campaign for the socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and trade and handicrafts has also brought good results. With these successes, socialist relations of production had been established throughout the North of our country.’ p172

‘In the two International Conferences of Communist and Workers’ Parties held in Moscow (November, 1957, and November 1960), our Party delegation headed by President Ho Chi Minh made positive contributions to a summing-up of the strategic and tactical questions of world revolution and to defining the universal laws of socialist revolution and of socialist construction. Feeling great concern about the dissensions in the international communist and workers

movement, President Ho Chi Minh did his best to contribute to the preservation of unity among the brother parties and countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.’ pp173-174

‘.... to struggle perseveringly to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism, oppose modern revisionism, the main threat, and at the same time oppose dogmatism and sectarianism.’ p174

‘.... [he] stressed the necessity of exalting *the leading role of the Party*, strengthening it ideologically and perfecting it organizationally.’ p175

‘He frequently urged cadres and Party members to study Marxism-Leninism.’ p175

‘He pressed us to get rid of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois thoughts, of individualism, heighten our revolutionary virtues, develop our collective spirit, our sense of organization and discipline.’ p176

‘.... attach great importance to increasing the number of members of proletarian origin.’ p176

‘President Ho Chi Minh stressed that to ensure victory for the revolutionary cause, the class character and vanguard character of the Party must be further enhanced, ideological education work in the Party must be intensified, and great efforts must be made to learn from the experience gained by the brother parties and apply it in a creative manner.’ p178

‘.... the people in the North, their enthusiasm and confidence still further enhanced, pushed forward socialist revolution and socialist construction, striving to carry out the triple revolution: *revolution in the relations of production, technical revolution, ideological and cultural revolution.*’ pp178-179

‘President Ho Chi Minh paid special attention to the ideological and cultural revolution aimed at educating and transforming the labouring masses and turning out men with socialist virtues, productive skills and a high scientific and technical standard. He said: “*In order to build socialism communism, it is necessary to produce socialist, communist men.*” He taught us that we must heighten revolutionary virtues, resolutely struggle against individualism, cultivate the spirit of collective masterhood, display industry and practice thrift to build the country, maintain close contact with the masses, and wholeheartedly serve the supreme interests of the revolution, of the Fatherland.’ p179

‘He also reminded the women that they should struggle to maintain equal rights with men, get rid of their inferiority complex and the tendency to rely on men, that they should develop a spirit of independence, of self-confidence, and assume their duties of mistresses of the country.’ p180

‘While the people of the North were steadily building for themselves a comfortable and happy life.’ p180

‘..... the heroic struggle of the labouring people of the North to build up the country in the past ten years, which showed the excellence of the socialist regime.’ p180

The National Resistance to American Aggression (1965-1969)

‘..... so that the North might be powerful enough to meet the needs of its own defence while assisting the revolution in the South and at the same time continuing to build the material and technical basis for socialism.’ p188

“Once victory is won, our people will rebuild their country and make it even more prosperous and beautiful.”

Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Writings*, Foreign languages Publishing House, 1973, p308

‘.... the essential factor for the victory of the people’s war is man, the political and moral factor, the Party’s line of waging people’s war and building people’s armed forces.’ p189

‘Overcoming war-time difficulties, socialist construction in the North continued to make firm steps forward. Our economic potential was strengthened our national defence forces were developed to an unprecedented level. The socialist system had brought new possibilities, immense sources of power to the people’s war. Among the working people, political and moral unity was increasingly consolidated.’ p190

‘Early in 1969, he wrote an important article entitled: “*Enhance revolutionary virtues, wipe out individualism.*” He instructed our entire Party, army and people to couple study with a re-examination of their thoughts and actions during the past years, develop their good points and their achievements, overcome the shortcomings in their thinking, morality and style of work, and strive to achieve still greater victories for the revolution.’ p191

‘President Ho Chi Minh attached great importance to consolidating and perfecting socialist relations of production in the countryside. In April 1969, the national Assembly passed and ordered the carrying into effect of the *Rules for high-level agricultural cooperatives*. This important document embodied the line, policies and fundamental principles of our Party and State in ensuring the collective masterhood of the cooperative peasantry. While these Rules were being worked out, President Ho Chi Minh had instructed the responsible organs to ensure democratic discussions, to listen to the peasants’ opinion, and make them feel that these Rules were of their own making.’ p192

‘The Party must build the *worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the working class.*’ p193

‘..... *we must pit revolutionary violence against counter-revolutionary violence, seize power and maintain it, combine armed struggle with political struggle, wage a long, arduous and valiant people’s war to defeat the aggressors.* After seizing power, the foremost task of the working class is to unceasingly *strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat* to fulfil the historical tasks of the revolution.’ p193

“In the present conditions which are favourable to the revolutionary movement, any nation, even a small one, which is closely united and resolutely fighting according to correct political and military line, and is furthermore enjoying active support and assistance from the socialist camp and revolutionary peoples in the world, such a nation will certainly be able to defeat any imperialist aggressor, including the ring-leader, US imperialism”

Ho Chi Minh, *Selected Writings*, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1973, p335
p199

Uncle Ho will live for ever in our hearts

‘For the first time in Viet Nam’s history, the people in the northern half of our country have liquidated all forms of oppression and exploitation and are building socialism.’ p204

‘2. To go on devoting all our strength to the realization of the lofty ideal of socialism and communism that he set for our working class and people, so as to achieve prosperity for our land and happiness for our countrymen.

Last Tribute of the Party Central Committee.’ p212

‘Though having departed from this world, he left us the factors ensuring complete victory for the Vietnamese revolution. He left us a body of leaders he formed and fostered, his close comrades-in-arms and able disciples. He left us a most valuable theoretical and ideological treasure, works that sum up the rich experience of the Vietnamese revolution in the past half-century.’ p213

‘..... to boost socialist building in the North and contribute to the revolutionary work of the world’s working class and people.

Directive of the Political Bureau of the Party’s Central Committee, September 29, 1969.’ p214

‘.... increasing their labour productivity and work efficiency, defending and building socialism in the North, in the first place successfully fulfilling the 1969-1970 State plan.’ p215