

Truong-Chinh, Selected Writings, The Gioi, Hamoi, 1994

The August Revolution - September 29, 1946

‘..... there are people who have not lost a drop of sweat for the revolution, or who have acted and are acting as traitors, who try to deny the importance of the August Revolution.’ p13

‘.... the Marxist-Leninist methods of mobilizing the masses, adapted to the situation in Vietnam.’ p14

‘The Party realized clearly that the spirit of sacrifice is necessary but not enough to ensure the success of the revolution; meticulous material preparation is also needed.’ p34

‘The more democratic the power, the more dictatorial it must be – that is, it must exercise the dictatorship of the masses of the people against the very small reactionary minority which is ready to grab back its domination or hinder the march of the revolution.’ p44

‘Revolutionary power may pardon the guilty who repent but it must be firm with traitors.

For a new-born revolutionary power to be lenient towards counterrevolutionaries is tantamount to suicide.’ p45

‘..... was it not the French colonialists, abetted and assisted by the British imperialists, who counterattacked the Vietnamese Revolution in the hope of regaining their position and interests in Indochina?’ p52

‘.... this explains clearly why the British imperialists have done their best to help the French colonialists repress the Vietnamese Revolution in southern Viet Nam and why the international reactionaries have made concessions to one another in allowing the French to relieve the troops of Chiang Kai-shek in northern Viet Nam.’ p53

‘.... the British troops, who were only commissioned by the Allies to disarm and repatriate the Japanese soldiers, instead of performing this task of repatriation, used many of these soldiers to help the French colonialists to counterattack the Vietnamese Revolution and repress the Vietnamese people’s struggle for liberation.’ p54

‘The Vietnamese Revolution must progress constantly, sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly, sometimes by leaps and bounds, sometimes stopping for a time to catch its breath, or move a step backwards to jump

over a deep ditch, sometimes dodging to avoid and [sic] obstacle so as to reach its goal rapidly.

During the course of its development, the Vietnamese Revolution must not only fulfil its anti-imperialist task, but also complete its anti-feudal task, the agrarian task. As long as these tasks are not realized, Viet Nam will not get rid of its dependence upon others, of poverty and backwardness, and the Vietnamese people will not be completely independent and free and have enough to eat and to wear. Indeed, to become prosperous and happy, Viet Nam must change from an agricultural country, as it is now, into an industrial one.’ pp57-58

‘.... the Vietnamese Revolution has not yet thoroughly abolished all imperialist privileges in our country but has only restricted them.’ p58

‘..... the Vietnamese Revolution can fulfil its anti-imperialist task and at the same time perform the agrarian task. The two tasks of the national democratic revolution in Viet Nam are closely bound together. This revolution will necessarily progress towards socialist revolution. In Viet Nam socialist revolution may get under way even before the existence of all necessary economic and social conditions (for instance: heavy industry is not yet developed; all forms of pre-capitalist exploitation are not yet abolished, etc.), if the leadership of the proletariat has been consolidated on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance and if the cause of socialist revolution in our country benefits from the help of socialist and people’s democratic countries.’ p61

‘But no matter how favourable conditions are, the Revolution might fail if our people, and especially our revolutionary fighters, failed to go about it in the right way.’ p62

‘We must reorganize the administrative services, eliminate traitorous and corrupt elements from the public services, and wipe out arrogance and bureaucratism.’ p64

‘It is time to work out an overall economic and cultural plan for the whole country, to ensure essential living conditions for the people.’ p67

‘..... each communist militant, each citizen should realize that while seeking to transform society, they should try to remould themselves. Social transformation includes individual remoulding, which in turn contributes to the remaking of society.’ p73

‘At the present time the question of cadres contains a contradiction. The great majority of national salvation cadres, schooled by the revolutionary

struggle, are loyal, eager and skilful elements with a good background, but most of them have a poor educational level. The fault is not theirs, for the majority come from the labouring masses, and have remained illiterate or have not been able to complete their schooling. On the other hand, the technicians, specialists and intellectuals who have graduated from French universities have a certain cultural level but know little about politics. We cannot reproach them with this either, for throughout our eighty years of slavery, did the imperialists ever let the Vietnamese people study politics and engage in political activities? Their sole concern was the formation of a class of young Vietnamese intellectuals who would serve them as their tools only.’ p75

The Resistance Will Win - September 19, 1947

‘President Ho Chi Minh has said: “There are French businessmen who want to carry on their business activities in Viet Nam. They know that to conduct business and make profits, they must cooperate in good faith with the Vietnamese people.”’ p84

‘The Vietnamese people do not want the French people and the democratic world to misunderstand, to think that Viet Nam wishes to leave the French Union in order to join some reactionary bloc hostile to the forces of peace and democracy.’ p96

‘They [previous independence leaders] do not believe in the ability of the masses.’ p104

‘The people are the water and our army the fish.’ p107

‘.... our country is an agricultural country, and that even if we lose all the cities and suffer enemy blockade, we will still be able to ensure our self-supply.’ p117

‘Except in special cases, soldiers, students and office employees should take part in production to a certain extent.’ p117

‘In our present conditions, we cannot have a completely planned economy, but branches of production and distribution must at any rate be readjusted and put under unified guidance, although individual initiative is free to develop. Enterprises managed by the State and all cooperatives can produce according to plan.’ p117

‘We should initiate a movement of patriotic competition in increasing production, arouse the people’s eagerness in labour, and mobilize all our manpower, all our material and financial resources.’ p118

‘..... we should severely punish those who steal public property, speculators, smugglers and saboteurs; and confiscate the property of national traitors and use such property to improve the people’s life.’ p119

‘The Government must ensure the supply of staple commodities.... keeping prices down.’ p119

‘.... we must fight against wrong ideas concerning economy, and against the tendency to demagoguery advocating the abolition of all taxes. This error was committed in many places after the August uprising. We must also struggle against the tendency towards extorting excessively heavy money contributions from the people; against plan lessness, working in a happy-go-lucky manner, scratching where it itches, paying attention to the pipe only where it is leaking, or making grandiose plans and extensive programmes without being able to achieve them. We should fight the tendency to passivity, as it exists among those who do not think about developing the economy and further exploiting our rich resources, but only about practising extreme stinginess. We must oppose waste, disorder, corruption and fraud, fighting against the “leftist” deviation in economic affairs of those who can think only of “agricultural collectivisation” and the “building of heavy industry”, while neglecting agriculture and handicrafts, and who thus waste considerable time and effort in elaborating illusory plans which can in no way be carried out in the present conditions.’ pp119-120

‘... there are still some to be found among us who believe that the enemy has good intentions.’ p122

‘Our cultural workers must make frequent use of the simplest forms, capable of winning a ready response from the masses, for instance: newspapers (particularly wall newspapers), leaflets, posters, sketches, pictures, talks, songs, dances, etc.’ p124

‘We should have a critical spirit, assimilate what is good in these cultures, and reject what is bad.’ p126

‘Our people know very well that when the last reactionary colonialist is driven out of Viet Nam, with our rich resources, the creative spirit of the toiling people, and with the skilful organization and leadership of the democratic Government, fine buildings and cities of new design will gradually appear on the soil of independent Viet Nam.’ p132

‘But “young shoots replace the old bamboo”. From generation to generation, our people have fought unrelentingly for independence. Men of

talent have passed the torch on from one to the other. And our sacred resistance of today is forging a whole nation of heroes! If the enemy murders one of our gifted sons, many others will be ready to replace him.’ p146

‘.... the British and American imperialists may back them to a certain extent, in weapons, finances, etc., but this is merely a drop in the ocean compared with their [France’s] huge expenditures.’ p152

‘.... push France into the arms of the US and Britain in the hope of winning help from those powers to restore the French economy and to prolong the colonial war.’ p156

‘Sometimes it is better to fight a more or less losing battle than to retreat with unimpaired forces and leave behind a very bad impression. Sometimes we mus[t] use forces smaller than those of the enemy to defend a very important position at the peril of our lives, while we await the arrival of our main forces, which will be able to annihilate the whole initially superior enemy force.’ p166

‘e) launch lightning, surprise attacks *availing ourselves of moments when the enemy is off his guard*, when he is eating or sleeping, or when it is drizzling or dark, to attack vigorously for a rapid annihilation of the enemy.

f) After a position has been taken in an attack, if we do not feel strong enough to hold it, retreat immediately in order to preserve our forces for new battles. Otherwise the enemy may assemble stringer forces to launch a counter-offensive, seize back the position and destroy our forces. But, providing conditions are favourable to us, we should profit from our victory to mop up the front and complete the destruction of enemy forces before retreating.’ pp170-171

‘When facing more powerful enemy forces, if the guerrilla forces want to keep the initiative while fighting, they must follow the four rules drawn up by Comrade Mao Tse-tung:

- a) When the enemy advances, we retreat;
- b) When the enemy halts, we harass him;
- c) When the enemy is worn out, we attack him;
- d) When the enemy runs away, we pursue him.

One could add more:

- When the enemy concentrates, we disperse;
- We may lure the enemy deep into our positions, etc.’ p173

‘Though our territory is small it is not so small that it is impossible to set up bases in it.’ p174

‘As has been said before, our war is a *people’s war*. The people’s war must be waged by the people themselves.’ p177

‘Generally speaking, cadres of our army must originate from the grassroots strata and follow Marxism-Leninism.

Political work in the army is of decisive importance both in the building of our forces and in actual combat. Its aim is to imbue the soldiers with fervent patriotism and genuine proletarian internationalism’. p183

‘Cadres in general and army cadres in particular must study the military works of the classical Marxist-Leninist authors. Comrade Mao Tse-tung’s book *On Protracted War*, as well as military documents left by our forefathers (For instance: *Essentials of Military Art and Message to Generals and Soldiers* by Tran Hung Dao; “*Proclamation of Victory over the Ngo* and *Writings Composed While in the Army* by Nguyen Trai).’ p184

‘Traitors to the nation, reactionaries, and enemies of the resistance must be eliminated immediately. We should punish even those in the ranks of the resistance who have advocated wrong measures or committed harmful deeds. We should wipe out corruption, backwardness, sectarianism, bureaucracy, arbitrariness and militarism, and apply a progressive policy, in the people’s interests. At the same time, we must develop propaganda work in a methodical manner. We should strive to raise the people’s political consciousness, increase their patriotism and vigilance, and foster their fighting spirit. We should use diverse forms – newspapers, books, music, dances, operettas, plays, photographs, exhibitions, emulation, etc. – to enable the people to grasp why we must fight, for what purpose we are fighting, how we will win victory and to help them to see that although the war of resistance is hard, it will certainly be victorious.’ p197

‘With our far-sighted President Ho Chi Minh at the helm, the ship of Viet Nam, with its heroic crew, will certainly negotiate all reefs and weather every storm, to reach its splendid harbour.’ p202

Marxism and Vietnamese Culture - Report delivered at the Second National Cultural Conference, July 1948

‘Those who argue that “it does not really matter whether we have democracy or monarchy provided the country is independent and

unified”, will sooner or later fall prey to the trap of the imperialists and accept being mere slaves to them!’ p218

‘Men of genius will shine for ever like bright stars in the Vietnamese firmament and bring glory to our race: Ngo Quyen in military strategy; Tran Hung Dao in military strategy; Han Thuyen in linguistics; Le Loi in politics and military strategy; Nguyen Trai in military strategy, politics and literature; Luong The Vinh in mathematics; Nguyen Binh Khiem in philosophy; Lan Ong in medicine; Le Quy Don in literature and science; Quang Trung in military strategy and politics; Ngo Thoi Nhiem in politics, military strategy and literature; Nguyen Du in literature; Phan Huy Chu in history; Cao Ba Quat in literature and politics; Nguyen Dinh Chieu in literature and politics, and many more.’ p223

‘In addition to abusing reform, the French contrived to distract young people in every way and lead them into lives of debauchery. Chatel, the Resident Superior of Tonkin, was particularly keen on organizing beauty contests and amusement fairs.’ p242

‘.... what is good is insignificant whereas what is bad is quite a burden; the good only scratches at the surface but the bad has penetrated to the bones.’ p245

‘The new-life movement inspired by President Ho’s slogan “*can, kiem, liem, chinh*” (industry, thrift, integrity, uprightness) has struck deep root. Gambling, drinking and theft have diminished in villages and districts, and completely disappeared in some. Obsolete customs are dying out in the countryside, especially those attached to marriages, funerals, festivities, “wining and dining” on the occasion of village affairs, and “paying back one’s eating and drinking”.’ p247

‘They have reverted to their old trick of spreading deceptive rumours, beating the propaganda drum for hedonism, romanticism, pessimism, defeatism and scepticism, and indoctrinating our people with mystic and fatalistic theories. They have also opened innumerable opium-dens and tea-houses where prostitution and lasciviousness lead the young people living under their rule to brutishness and debauchery. At the same time, they start schools and institute examinations to lure our studious youth into their grip. We are however far from being misled: the education their schools provide is nothing but brain-cramming that aims at turning those who attend them into a class of people who serve the enemy like machines, completely loyal to them and treacherous to their fatherland. Fundamentally, the culture that is dominant in the occupied areas is the obscurantist and reactionary culture of the old times of the “protectorate”.’ pp248-249

On the Vietnamese Revolution - Report to the Second National Congress of the Party, February 1951

‘.... the world market of capitalism which has shrunk by one-sixth following the First World War has now become even smaller, especially after the founding of the People’s Republic of China.’ p284

‘..... allegedly to “aid” them, while in fact bullying and subjugating the “Marshallized” countries to seize more outlets for its merchandise and shift the burden of crisis onto the peoples of those countries.’ p285

‘.... Viet Nam, Korea and China are on the frontline of the fight against the imperialist aggressors.’ p287

‘The camp of peace, democracy and socialism has become stronger than the war-seeking imperialist camp and is growing ever more powerful. The two systems, capitalist and socialist, are still capable of co-existing on an equal footing and in peaceful competition.’ pp288-289

‘Proletarian dictatorship is one step more advanced than people’s democratic dictatorship.’ p293

‘People’s democracy is a transitional step toward socialism. Whether the advance to socialism is rapid or slow depends on different conditions in each people’s democratic country. Whether the level of economic development is high or low, and the leading role of the working class and of the communist party is powerful or weak are basic conditions having a direct bearing upon the rate of advance to socialism in each of these countries.’ p294

‘.... [our country is] very suitable for the cultivation of rice We have plenty of forest products and mineral deposits favourable to the development of a prosperous economy.’ p304

‘..... they [the French] poisoned our people with opium and alcohol, depraved our youth with dancing halls, brothels, and gambling dens, and by various measures restricted the study of the mother tongue by our people. They used reactionary missionaries to enslave the spirit of the masses. They published reactionary and decadent books and newspapers, and developed and obscurantist culture.’ p313

‘As a consequence of this [the hoarding of rice to feed Japanese troops], in late 1944 and early 1945, over two million of our countrymen died of starvation within the space of six or seven months, hundreds of thousands

of peasants went bankrupt, and more land fell into the hands of the landlords.’ p315

‘The interventionist policy of US imperialism only puts more shackles on the Vietnamese people and further aggravates the colonial character that remains of Vietnamese society. Those who dream of an American lifestyle and crave American technology are nibbling at the American bait. Those who praise “American aid” are lackeys of US imperialism.’ p320

‘The peasantry is a great motive force of the Vietnamese revolution. Without the participation of the peasantry the Vietnamese revolution certainly cannot succeed.’ p328

‘Only under the leadership of the working class and the party, of the working class can the Vietnamese revolution win success. The history of the Vietnamese revolution over the past 25 years has incontestably proved that truth.’ p332

‘It [the people’s democratic revolution] opposes imperialism to the end and does not establish the rule of the bourgeoisie but the rule of the entire people under the leadership of the working class.

Is this revolution a socialist revolution? No, it is not that either, because it does not yet establish the dictatorship of the proletariat nor entirely abolish the system of capitalist exploitation..... our revolution will certainly develop into a socialist revolution.’ pp334-335

‘Viet Nam will not go through a period of capitalist development but will evolve in the process of struggle between these two factors. Because we have people’s administration led by the working class, the socialist factor will prevail [sic] over the capitalist factor. The people’s national democratic revolution will evolve into a socialist revolution and Viet Nam will become a socialist country. In short, our country’s road to socialism will be tortuous and long.’ p347

‘Comrade Stalin said:

“One can do so because it is a revolution from above, because radical changes have taken place on the initiative of the existing administration, with the support of the grassroots masses of the peasantry”. – On Marxism and Linguistics (1950)’ p349

‘While discussing the advance to socialism, we must mention the changes of the people’s democratic regime both in content and in form during the

process of the development of the Vietnamese revolution from now until socialism has been achieved.

The form of the Vietnamese State at present is the democratic republic, and its content is people's democratic dictatorship. People's democratic dictatorship is democracy toward the people and dictatorship toward the enemies of the people.

We oppose the viewpoint that the people's administration in our country is not a dictatorship, but only a democracy. That concept springs from ignorance of the class struggle character of the State and the revolutionary effect of the people's administration. It leads to the administration reacting weakly in face of the enemies, the puppets and other reactionary elements.' pp349-350

'Our people's democratic dictatorship is fulfilling the historical task of the worker-peasant dictatorship..... but it does not yet "touch the basis of capitalism" (Lenin, *Two Tactics*) in the country; it develops the national economy, strengthens the leadership of the working class, consolidates the worker-peasant alliance.' p350

'We oppose the view that the present people's democratic dictatorship is proletarian dictatorship. That concept is "leftist" at present and later will be rightist, because at this moment it prompts us to undertake extremist policies and actions, and afterward, when the revolution has advanced to fulfil new strategic tasks, it will tend to limit us to inadequate policies and actions.' p351

'.... proletarian dictatorship is one of the indispensable principles compulsory for all countries wishing to attain socialism.

Lenin said: "In the period of transition from capitalism to communism, it is naturally impossible not to have many different political forms, but the essence of these forms must be proletarian dictatorship." (*The State and Revolution 1917*)

A dictatorship implies ruthless class struggle. The advance from people's democracy to socialism is a road of ruthless struggle: struggle against foreign invaders and domestic enemies; struggle in the political, administrative, economic, cultural and educational fields; struggle which is bloody, bloodless, violent, and peaceful by turns. But the revolutionary struggle in each stage must aim straight at the central task of that stage.' pp351-352

‘..... strengthen and develop the State sector of the economy so as to enable it to take the lead in the national economy.’ p352

‘.... at a certain stage of its development, the people’s national democratic revolution will turn into a socialist revolution.’ p353

‘The road that passes through proletarian dictatorship is the road of Marxism-Leninism.....We must do away with the idea that [we] can follow another separate road from that of the Soviet Union, an “independent”, “brand new” road, the road of “smooth evolution” toward socialism; without going through proletarian dictatorship.’ p353

‘At the same time, however, national capitalism is also bound to develop. In the end, the struggle between the two factors, socialism and capitalism, will certainly end with the victory of the socialist factor and will take Viet Nam to socialism, the first stage towards communism.’ p354

‘..... the basic factor deciding victory remains the human factor.’ p359

‘.... every effort must be made to avoid exhausting the people.’ p360

‘Our enemy are well aware that our strong point is the people.’ p360

‘The recent liberation of areas along our northern border has given rise to a tendency to develop a reliance on fraternal countries and to indulge in ill-founded optimism.’ p362

‘To defeat the aggressors, we must first defeat erroneous thoughts among our people.’ p362

‘.... we can seek foreign aid, but *self-reliance must be the main thing.*’ p362

‘To industrialize the country step by step, beginning with the development of small industry and handicrafts, proceeding to building light industry and a number of branches of heavy industry, and to build and develop the national defence industry. To give attention to improving techniques and increasing labour productivity.’ p373

‘.... we must restrict capitalism, prohibit private monopolies and guide the capitalist toward State capitalism.’ p373

‘It opposes the backward culture which is a legacy of feudalism, opposes superstition, disseminates and develops science and technology with the

aim of serving the economy, the people's warfare [?] and national defence.' p375

'.... urge the people to adopt a new life-style, according to the slogan "industry, thrift, integrity and uprightness" advocated by President Ho Chi Minh; instil into our people and develop a sense of the new democratic ethics which consists of the following main points: to understand the duties and rights of citizens, to serve the people and fulfil our responsibility to the people, to understand what to love and what to hate: to love our country and our people, to hate the imperialists and the reactionaries, to love work and science, to hate parasitism and exploitation, to encourage a spirit of proletarian internationalism, etc.'

p376

'We recognize the right of relatively large ethnic minorities living together in certain areas to autonomy. At this moment, however, that right to autonomy cannot yet be put into practice. Firstly, the right conditions do not yet exist; neither the majority of the people nor the ethnic minorities are prepared ideologically; our ethnic minorities still do not have enough cadres of their own, the ethnic minorities have not yet carried out democratic reforms, the reactionaries in many areas inhabited by ethnic minorities have not yet been neutralized, etc. Secondly, if autonomy is achieved now, this may bring a negative result, that is, division [sic] within the resistance and national construction forces, which may eventually turn each nationality into a prey for the imperialist aggressors, and create conditions for the enemy to divide, deceive, and oppress these peoples.'

p388

'Being communists, we do not adhere to any religion. But we are fully aware that religion is a social phenomenon, a concern of the masses. So long as the masses are unhappy but unable to find the causes of their unhappiness, and are not able to enjoy a satisfying material and cultural life, nor to understand the causes of and remedies for natural phenomena harmful to human life, they continue putting their faith in one religion or another.'

p391

'Puppet soldiers taken prisoner by our forces should not be humiliated or maltreated. However, it is necessary to distinguish between those who have been forcibly drafted into the puppet army and gangsters and bandits. With regard to the former, appeals, propaganda and persuasion are necessary. For the latter, punishment must be considered.'

p395

'Our policy toward people coming from socialist and people's democratic countries differs from that toward nationals of capitalist countries.'

p398

‘With regard to foreign revolutionaries taking refuge in Viet Nam, we recognize their right to seek political asylum and to enjoy all such advantages as do other foreign residents, and to receive protection and assistance.

On the other hand, any foreign resident who is opposed to our people’s administration, collaborates with the enemy or interferes with the Vietnamese people’s lives and property, or disturbs public order and security, shall be severely punished under the laws of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.’ pp399-400

‘We are ready to establish diplomatic relations with all countries on the basis of equality, mutual respect for each other’s sovereignty, and non-interference in each other’s internal affairs.’ p401

‘Foreign residents in Viet Nam, particularly those who have been hunted by the reactionary governments in their own countries and on account of their struggle for peace, independence, democracy and socialism have been forced to take temporary refuge in Viet Nam, must be protected.’ p401

‘To heighten our revolutionary vigilance in diplomatic work and to avoid falling into the ways of formalist bourgeois diplomacy.’ p403

‘Others argue that the name of “Dang Lao Dong” [Viet Nam Worker’s Party] is akin to “Labour Party”, which is not liked by the masses in Britain, so why should we adopt a similar name?’ p409

‘In this context, our Party does not need to take the name of “Communist party”, but can take other names, provided that it follows Marxism-Leninism, and communism as its ultimate goal.’ pp410-411

‘President Ho Chi Minh said: “The Viet Nam Worker’s Party must be the clearsighted, resolute and loyal leader of the working class and other labouring people of Viet Nam, of the Vietnamese nation”.

He also said: “Concerning its membership, the Viet Nam Worker’s Party will admit workers, peasants and brain workers who have a really fine revolutionary ardour and awareness.

“Concerning its ideology, the Viet Nam Worker’s Party follows Marxism-Leninism.

“Concerning its organization the Viet Nam Worker’s Party follows democratic centralism.

“With regard to discipline, the Viet Nam Worker’s Party must have an iron discipline which is at the same time a self-imposed discipline. “With regard to the law of its development, the Viet Nam Worker’s Party applies the method of criticism and self-criticism”. (*Political Report, 1951*)’ pp411-412

‘Although our Party is still young, it has experienced many stages of struggle: illegal struggle from the day of its founding in 1930 until 1936; semi-legal struggle in the period of the Indochinese Democratic Front (1936-1939); illegal struggle during the Second World War (1939-1945); legal struggle after the successful August Revolution of 1945; semi-legal struggle in the free zones after the Party “declared itself dissolved”; and illegal struggle struggle [sic] in the present enemy-held areas.

Through these different stages of activity, our Party has acquired rich experience in mass struggle, struggle within the councils of people’s representatives, military and non-military struggle, and in struggle in the political, economic and cultural fields. Our Party has gathered particularly rich experience since it took over power and began to lead our patriotic war.

Our Party has quickly matured politically and has accumulated much practical experience, but it still has shortcomings: its line and major policies are, in general, correct, but some of its practical policies are still inadequate. We have accumulated much experience, but we have not yet applied ourselves enough to drawing conclusions from them. We still devote most of our time to practical day-to-day affairs and do not give adequate attention to theoretical and ideological work. The tasks assigned to our Party cadres and members grow ever heavier, yet their theoretical and professional standard is generally speaking still too low.’ pp414-415

‘Many opportunist elements who, eager to gain important positions for themselves, have joined the Party, have taken advantage of their Party membership to work for personal ends. The number of petty-bourgeois elements in the Party has increased. The Party has grown in numbers but the quality of its members is not up to the mark. Such evils as individualism, bureaucracy, authoritarian attitudes, corruption, and loose morals, have developed.’ p415

‘The political line of the Party is correct, but in practice its policies are still fraught with shortcomings;

The responsibilities of the Party are heavy, but the theoretical and professional standard of our cadres and Party members is still very limited;

The number of Party members has increased rapidly but the quality of many of them is still below standard;

The requirements of our political responsibilities are high, but the organizational level of our Party is not yet up to standard;

The volume of work to be done is increasing daily, yet the training of cadres does not keep pace with it.’ pp416-417

‘Theory must be combined with practice in training work, in order to help learners to know how to apply the Marxist-Leninist theory and the Party’s line and policies to their own situation.’ p417

‘We can right away select a number of Party members from among workers, peasants and soldiers who have been tested in the patriotic movement, and train them into cadres.’ p417

‘Our guideline for Party-building is to attach more importance to the quality of Party members than to their number.’ p419

‘The line and policies of our Party are not copied out of Marxist-Leninist classics or out of resolutions and directives of fraternal parties. Our Party must creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country and work out its own line and policies. That is why our Party members must become imbued with Marxism-Leninism while at the same time inquiring into and studying the objective situation in our country in every respect. Our Party’s line and policies cannot be considered to have been worked out and laid down once and for all. Of course they are always subject to shortcomings in one respect or another. It is in the process of implementing them, however, that we can find out these shortcomings.’ p421

‘He [Ho Chi Minh] has personally trained cadres and Party members. He has set a bright example of industry, thrift, integrity, and uprightness, total dedication to the public interest and selflessness, of determination to struggle and absolute loyalty to the Party, the working class and the nation; of energy, perseverance, simplicity and modesty.’ p423

‘His most precious teaching is always to associate theory with practice, and creatively apply Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country.

Deeply imbued with Marxism-Leninism, he has judiciously applied it to every eventuality; he has always combined strictness of principle with flexibility of tactics and never let himself be deflected from revolutionary objectives by any immediate advantage.’ p424

‘All these successes stem from the fact that he has always firmly held our compass: Marxism-Leninism.

We must do our best to learn from President Ho Chi Minh, the great teacher of the Vietnamese revolution, unite single-mindedly around him, always uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism, complete the liberation of our nation, develop people’s democracy, and advance towards socialism.’ p425

THE PARTY’S POLICY CONCERNING THE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT -Speech delivered at the Congress of the National United Front, March 3, 1951

‘The most important factor is *the vanguard Party and its correct political line.*’ p429

‘The Vietnamese working class leads the revolution through its party, the Viet Nam Worker’s Party.’ p430

IMPLEMENTING THE LAND REFORM - Report delivered at the First National Conference of the Viet Nam Worker’s Party, November 14-23, 1953

‘Land reform is the immediate and major method of accelerating the development of the national economy.’ p440

‘At the end of 1944 and early 1945, two million of our peasants died of starvation not only due to savage exploitation by the feudal landlord class, but also because the Japanese fascists and the French imperialists brutally robbed them of their resources.’ p445

‘Feudal exploitation has also meant that the landlord class has so far “sat in the cool shade and eaten out of golden bowels”, feeling no need to improve farming techniques. They have even objected to technical improvements and arrested the development of productive forces.’ p445

‘In the second mass mobilization for land rent reduction recently, the reaction of the landlords was fairly strong. Some of them murdered cadres, burned peasants’ homes, poisoned wells, called for help from the imperialists and the puppet administration, helped enemy planes locate

and strafe the offices of peasant associations, etc. For their part, the French colonialists made armed thrusts into the free zones in an attempt to sabotage our mass mobilization in the 3rd and 4th Interzones.’ p453

‘Our main mistake in implementing the agrarian policy lay in not clearly realizing that the implementation of the agrarian policy of the Party and the Government was bound to be a difficult and ruthless class struggle; we did not fully realize that in order to carry out the agrarian policy, we must achieve broad mobilization of the masses, and follow the mass line.’ p456

‘Our Party, being a Marxist-Leninist Party, uses the methods of criticism and self-criticism to make progress. We frankly admit our mistakes and shortcomings and are resolved to correct them. We will succeed in this too.’ p459

‘.... in order to carry out a land reform we must rely on the poor and landless peasants, have confidence in their spirit of revolutionary struggle, develop their role as the core of the struggle, and satisfy their demands. At the same time, we must educate them, so that they will not simply chase after their immediate interests and forget the long-term interests of the revolution.’ p460

‘The imperialists and colonialists have invaded our country. They have no right to own land in our country.’ p465

‘Land used to finance seminaries, convents, orphanages, etc. are also requisitioned, but the Government will make sure that the activities of these organizations can be maintained.’ p486

‘With regard to foreign residents.

Foreign residents who have no means of earning their living, but who can work and who apply for land, shall receive shares of land, but they have no right to give away, pawn or sell the land distributed to them.’ p488

‘We cannot carry out the land reform in a peaceful manner either. Implementation of the land reform requires that we make propaganda, educate and rouse the masses, to voluntarily throw themselves into struggle, and compel the landlord class to return land to the peasants it has been oppressing and exploiting for thousands of years now.’ p493

‘Timely measures must be taken to repress the actions of those landlords [the collaborators and reactionaries], and they must be tried by special people’s tribunals and given due punishment. But it is *absolutely*

forbidden to arrest or kill them unwarrantedly, to beat them, to torture them or use other forms of physical violence against them.’ p498

‘We should not forget that an important aim of the land reform is to develop agricultural production.’ p509

‘There are some places where our cadres have forced peasants to join mutual-aid organizations, or joint-labour teams, or cooperative farms, causing peasants in many places to have doubts about the policy of the Party and the Government.’ p509

‘.... we will gradually mobilize the peasants to organize *agricultural production cooperatives*.’ p511

‘To perfect the rural Party cells with the aim of meeting the above requirement [make the cadres the leaders in the movement for land reform] is *an important political task of the Party in the land reform*. Because this is the most effective way to ensure the leadership of the working class over the peasantry, because this is the most important condition for continuing to guide the peasants forward, and because this is *one of the valuable results the Party must obtain in the land reform*.’ p513

‘After the distribution of land to the peasants, *the small production economy* of the latter is good breeding-grounds for capitalist development. If the Party does not give the peasants strict leadership after land reform, then the latter may take the road to capitalism.’ p513

‘The work of mobilizing the masses for land reform provides *a very good opportunity for our cadres to strengthen their stand, remould themselves ideologically and improve their style of work*. That is why the various executive levels and cadres of branches under the executive levels, from the centre down to the districts, should take turns participating in the mass mobilization campaign. For both leading cadres and specialist cadres, taking part in the mass mobilization after attending a rectification course is attending another rectification course: one at the school of the revolutionary struggle of the masses. This will further strengthen their class stand and their mass viewpoint, correct their erroneous ideas, cause them to show more concern for the interests of the masses, and further heighten their sense of whole-hearted service to the people and the Party. During this last period, many of our cadres have got “stuck” in their offices or have been working in a bureaucratic manner, without making investigations or doing research, without going deep into matters to inquire about the situation and therefore have not understood the realities in the countryside. Their participation in the mass mobilization is a good

opportunity for them to correct their bureaucratism, their superficiality, and their distance from reality, to clearly understand the demands of the masses and increase their confidence in the strength of the masses, clearly understand the capabilities of and difficulties confronting the movement at the lower levels. As a result, they will indulge less in wishful thinking and onesidedness, and their style of work will be less bureaucratic and authoritarian.

With such great interests at stake, executives at all levels should avoid relying entirely on land reform teams, but should take part in these teams personally to assume close leadership and learn from realities, and at the same time to prepare for the future by acquiring the necessary experience to lead the mass mobilization in their own areas.

To lead the land reform and other tasks successfully, the Central Committee as well [sic] as the regional authorities should follow the movement closely and keep the situation firmly under control. We must give *specific guidance* with a view to studying realities and researching the land reform problem in depth. We will steel ourselves and try out our policies, check the correctness of the slogans, sum up experiences and enhance our leadership in the fire of the struggle of the masses.

Through the mass mobilization for land reform we will step up other tasks. At the same time, in the course of the mass agitation we will appraise the cadres, promote good ones, and deal appropriately with bad ones.' pp515-517

'The lack of confidence in the peasant masses, the tendency to tail after the masses. This is due on the one hand to the failure to see that when educated and imbued with the land reform policy, and when well-organized and well led, the peasant masses will have an extraordinary strength. They will be capable of earth-shaking feats and will certainly implement the land reform in keeping with the line, policies and plans of the Party and the Government.' p519

'.... we must mobilize the masses to carry out the land reform well, rapidly, steadily and neatly.' p522

'Simultaneous implementation of the land reform and fighting against aggression is difficult; but the masses of our people have great revolutionary ardour, and with the leadership of the Party and President Ho Chi Minh, and the precious experiences of the revolution in other countries we have learned, we are sure to win resounding success.' p528

**FORWARD ALONG THE PATH CHARTED BY KARL MARX -
Speech at a cadres' conference to mark the 150th birthday of Karl
Marx, May 5th? 1968**

‘Marx’s dialectical materialism provided the proletariat and mankind with a wonderful tool of thought.’ p538

‘What is the main decisive factor which moulds the conditions of the material life of society? The mode of production.’ p538

‘Note 1. Do Asian relations of production belong to a different category from that of the Western ones? And what are in fact those “Asian modes of production” mentioned by Marx? These are questions to be carefully considered before serious answers can be found.’ p539

‘Marx’s historical materialism demonstrates that under capitalism the growth of the productive forces reaches such a level as renders capitalist relations of production no longer suitable and their breaking up by proletarian revolution inevitable. This proposition leads us directly to socialism and arms the proletariat with a most incisive weapon which is not only capable of *interpreting the world*, but what is more important, of *changing it*.’ p540

“Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.” Marx and Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*.’ p543

‘Therefore, *the road to communism must necessarily pass through the dictatorship of the proletariat*. Marx also highlighted the objective inescapability of the two stages of communism: the lower one which is socialist society, and the higher one which is communist society. In the former, the main means of production fall under socialist ownership of two kinds: ownership of the whole people, and collective ownership; the principle determining the distribution of goods is: “From each according to his ability, to each according to his work”.’ pp544-545

‘We always highly value revolutionary theory, and have no doubt that it is perfectly capable of changing society if the following three prerequisites exist: 1. It must reflect the objective laws of society; 2. It must be the exponent of the thinking, and champion the rights, of the vanguard class of society; 3. It must penetrate deep into the masses of people, and make it possible to mobilize, organize and lead them into action.’ pp546-547

‘Lenin said: “The Marxist doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is complete and harmonious and provides men with an integral world conception which is irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction or defence of bourgeois oppression...” *On Marx, Engels and Marxism.*’ p547

‘..... its [the proletariat] most complex long-term duty is to transform the millions of small producers and thereby to prevent the resurgence of capitalism.’ p549

‘Stalin, the disciple and continuator of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, held high the revolutionary standard of the proletariat. He fought implacably rightist and “leftist” opportunism and preserved the purity of Marxism-Leninism, while making an inventive use of it in the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, and impelling forward world revolution. True to Marxism-Leninism, Stalin did everything in his power to strengthen the Party ideologically and organizationally, to maintain and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to carry out socialist industrialization, agricultural collectivisation and cultural revolution, to enforce equal rights for all fraternal nationalities of the country, and at the same time to give all-out support to the revolution in various countries of the world.....

In the Second World War, the Soviet Communist Party (Bolshevik) headed by Stalin led the exceptionally heroic fight of the Soviet Army and people to a glorious victory over fascism.’ pp549-550

‘The greatest historical event after the October Revolution was the Chinese Revolution.’ p550

‘The colonial structure of imperialism is swiftly sliding towards disintegration with a momentum that no reactionary force can halt.’ p551

“Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determines the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society”. *Declaration of the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers’ Parties, Moscow, 1960.*’ p553

‘That is why in the first stage of the people’s national democratic revolution, the spearhead of the revolution must be directed essentially against the imperialist aggressors and all forces should be concentrated in order to overthrow them.’ p557

‘The working class must provide firm leadership to the people’s national democratic revolution and cannot share it with any other class, least of all let it fall into the hands of the national bourgeoisie.’ p559

‘[Following 1954] Our Party’s policy was to shift the North onto the stage of socialist revolution.’ pp560-561

‘At that time two great problems were posed to our Party: Should we wait for the reunification of the country to be achieved before engaging in socialist revolution? Should the North go through the stage of capitalist development before advancing to socialism? To both questions, our Party’s answer was: No.’ p561

“... Following the restoration of peace, the North of our country switched over from the people’s national democratic revolution to the *socialist revolution*.” *Ho Chi Minh Speech at the opening meeting of the Eighth Session of the First National Assembly, April 1958.*’ p561

‘The North is fully capable of bypassing the stage of capitalist development and advancing directly to socialism for the following reasons:

1. The entire revolutionary cause of the people in the North is under the direct leadership of the Viet Nam Worker’s party, a genuine Marxist-Leninist party, on the basis of a strong worker-peasant alliance;
2. The completion of the people’s national democratic revolution in the North has created the basis for the shift to the socialist revolution;
3. Following the victory of the resistance against the French colonialists and the liberation of the North, the people’s democratic dictatorship in the North is fully capable of fulfilling the historic task of the dictatorship of the proletariat;
4. The people in the North are highly patriotic and industrious; they know how to rely on their own means and are determined to build a new life for themselves in accordance with the Party’s line;
5. Socialist construction in our country benefits from the wholehearted assistance of the fraternal socialist countries in all fields.’ p562

“To reach this goal, we must make use of the people’s democratic state power to fulfil the historic tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to carry out socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts, small trade and private capitalist industry and commerce; to develop the state economic sector; to carry out socialist industrialization by giving priority

to the rational development of heavy industry, while striving to develop agriculture and light industry; to push ahead the socialist revolution in ideology, culture and technique, with a view to transforming our country into a socialist country with modern industry, modern agriculture and advanced culture and science”. *Resolution of the Third National Congress of the Viet Nam Worker’s Party on the task and line of the Party in the new period, 1960.*’ p563

‘..... our Party advocates the carrying out of the following three revolutions: *revolution in relations of production, technological revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution.*’ p563

‘In socialist transformation, we regard agricultural co-operation as the central link.’ p563

‘Socialist ownership takes on two forms: ownership by the entire people, and ownership by the collective. At present, socialist relations of production have won absolute supremacy in the national economy and have become a factor urging forward socialist construction in the North of our country.

The revolution in relations of production should not be confined to transforming the ownership of means of production but should also include the system of management and distribution. The aim of the transformation of relations of production is to establish the collective ownership of the labouring people over essential means of production as well as production and distribution, thereby developing socialist democracy, and promoting the labouring masses’ spirit of initiative and creativeness in production work.’ p564

‘In the field of *ideology* we must foster and strengthen proletarian ideology, fight all forms of bourgeois ideology, criticize petty-bourgeois ideology and continue to do away with all vestiges of feudal and other erroneous ideologies.’ p565

‘- To pursue the remoulding of former intellectuals and train a new generation of intellectuals sprung from workers and peasants absolutely dedicated to socialism.

At present, in the North of our country the struggle between the socialist path and the capitalist path is still going on until a definite answer can be given to the question, “Which will win?”. This will be a protracted, difficult and complex struggle.....

..... our Party keeps full grasp of the universal laws of the “process of socialist revolution and the construction of socialism” set forth in the Moscow Declaration of 1957.

- To achieve and consolidate the leadership over the labouring people of the working class whose nucleus is the Marxist-Leninist Party.
- To carry out the proletarian revolution in one form or another.
- To set up the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another.
- To bring about and consolidate the alliance between the working class and the fundamental masses of peasantry and the other labouring strata.
- To abolish the system of capitalist ownership and set up a system of collective ownership of the basic means of production.
- To carry out a gradual socialist transformation of agriculture.
- To achieve socialist industrialization.
- To develop the national economy in a planned fashion, aimed at building socialism and communism and raising the living standards of the labouring people.
- To carry out socialist revolution in the ideological and cultural fields and train an intelligentsia which will be large in number and faithful to the working class, the toiling people and the cause of socialism.’ pp566-568

‘One fundamental criterion which helps distinguish between Marxist-Leninists and opportunists of all hues is *whether or not they stand for the use of mass revolutionary violence to smash the state machine of the exploiting classes (the bourgeoisie and the landowner class) and to set up a proletarian dictatorship state.*’ p569

‘....it [our Party] stresses that at present in many capitalist countries, state-monopoly capitalists have embarked on the path of militarization and fascitization in varying degrees and are openly using violence to repress the working class and the labouring people. “That is why we must assert that the use of revolutionary violence to smash the state machinery of the bourgeoisie and set up a proletarian dictatorship state is a universal law with regard to the revolutionary struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries in the present conditions.” *Resolution of the 9th Plenum of the Viet Nam Worker’s Party Central Committee, 1963.*’ pp569-570

‘3. Revolution in any country is essentially the doing of the people of that country. Nobody can accomplish it in their place. Revolutionary armed

struggle in any country is first and foremost the doing of the broad masses in that country under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party. The assistance extended by the revolutions in other countries is very precious, very important but it cannot replace the revolutionary struggle waged by the people in their own country. Such assistance can have influence only through that struggle.’ p577

‘Marxism teaches that after seizing power, the working class must build a state of its own, the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat.’ p577

‘It [the working class] must seek to break up the resistance of the exploiting classes, and to liquidate every attempt on their part to restore the power of capital.’ p577

‘After our victory over the French colonialists, the North of our country, which had been completely liberated, entered the stage of socialist revolution; consequently since then our people’s democratic dictatorship has assumed a new role: it fulfils the historical task of the dictatorship of the proletariat and, in essence, is a dictatorship of the proletariat.’ pp581-582

‘Ours is a declared dictatorship, one that aims at gradually abolishing classes to advance toward a classless society, a communist society, in which the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat will wither away.’ p584

‘.... we must oppose every manifestation of bourgeois nationalism, the enemy of proletarian internationalism, which isolates our country and pushes it into the arms of world imperialism.’ p584

‘Lenin said: “The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle – bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative – against the forces and traditions of the old society”. *Left Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder.*’ pp586-587

‘We hold that *in the socialist camp, whenever and wherever there exists a vague understanding of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a loose grasp of it, or a weakening of it in one way or another, a belittling or renunciation of the leadership of the party of the proletariat, the counter-revolution aries [sic] will not fail to raise their heads and socialism will degenerate.*’ p587

‘Lenin said: “The transition from capitalism to communism certainly cannot but yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms,

but the essence will inevitably be the same: the dictatorship of the proletariat.” The State and Revolution.’ p587

‘By taking part in the [National United] Front, the Marxist-Leninist party aims at uniting all forces among the people to realize the Front’s programme (minimum programme) at each stage of the revolution. However, the Party must always preserve its independence and poses a programme of its own (maximum programme) so as to ensure its leadership over the revolution on the basis of the worker-peasant alliance. It cannot share this leadership with any party and must absolutely guard against letting the direction of the National United Front fall into the hands of the national bourgeoisie, otherwise the Party would inevitably become an appendage of the latter and the national democratic revolution would be doomed to failure.’ p596

‘As a sizable number of Party members are of peasant and petty-bourgeois stock, and in order to strengthen the class character of the Party, we have attached importance to inculcating the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism upon cadres and party members, to raising their class consciousness and to imbuing them with the revolutionary qualities and virtues of the working class. At the same time we unceasingly combat unproletarian ideologies. During the years 1930 and 1931, our Party sent a number of cadres and Party members to factories, mining areas and plantations where they lived and toiled with the workers in order to carry on propaganda, lead the struggle there, and foster their own proletarian feelings. On the other hand, it paid attention to admitting outstanding workers into its ranks and appointing cadres and Party members of worker stock to its leading bodies.’ p604

‘3. It is necessary to combine the mobilization of the masses with Party building and to stimulate the masses to take part in Party building. For instance, we should provide them with the opportunity to criticize cadres and Party members and introduce meritorious people whom we shall educate and admit into the Party, etc. In this way we make the masses love and safeguard the Party.’ p608

‘.... a fairly deep political consciousness, and benefit from a closeknit organization and unrelaxing leadership.’ p612

‘In economic construction, we shall *go on laying the material and technical basis of socialism* with a view to the strengthening of the new relations of production, the vigorous development of production, the satisfaction of the people’s material and cultural needs and the reinforcement of the defence potential.... and in conformity with the long-term orientation of socialist industrialization, we have made a timely

shift in economic construction and cultural development. We shall build and develop the economy in each important strategic area accordingly and eventually enable it to be partly self-sufficient in food, clothing, housing, education, health preservation, and in serving production, construction and combat.’ p621

‘In *agriculture*, we shall strive to develop production, boost intensive cultivation to obtain higher yields.’ p621

In *industry*, we [sic] shall continue to give good protection to its central branches, restore, maintain, and expand their production, while stimulating the building and development of local industry and handicrafts, in order to serve satisfactorily industrial and agricultural production, communications and transport.’ pp621-622

‘.... distribution must be done in strict observance of the principle “to each according to his work”, in a just, rational and democratic way, so as to prevent speculation, embezzlement and abuse, and to contribute to the fostering of the resistance force and socialist construction.’ p622

‘Parallel to the laying of the material and technical foundations of socialism, due attention must be paid to the *completion of socialist transformation and the pursuit of the struggle between the two paths*. Socialist construction and socialist transformation are closely connected: the former strengthens, develops and perfects the new relations of production brought about by the latter which, in return, provides the former with favourable conditions to forge ahead.

The resolution of our Party’s Third Congress clearly pointed out:

“In view of the concrete situation in the North, in the first period of socialist revolution, we take socialist transformation as the central task, while taking the first steps in socialist construction. When socialist transformation has secured a victory of a decisive character, we must switch over to socialist construction as the central task, undertaking socialist industrialization and simultaneously completing socialist transformation”.’ p623

‘As early as 1919, Lenin said:

“It (Soviet power – T.C.) sets itself the task not only of definitely wiping out the landlords and the capitalists – a task that we have nearly accomplished – but also of building a society in which there would be no place for the landlords or the capitalists. It happened more than once in history of revolutions that these elements were wiped out, but that in a

fairly short time from among the kulaks, the wealthy peasants and the speculators emerged new capitalists who oppressed the workers even more than the former landlords and capitalists. Therefore, the problem we must solve is not only to wipe out the former capitalists but also to prevent the emergence of new ones so that the power of the toilers, of those who live on their labour, could be fully, thoroughly and perfectly consolidated". *Collected Works, Vol. 38.*' p624

'..... economic management and control of the market have been somewhat relaxed and this state of things has made possible the small producers' spontaneous growth. In co-operative farms, the members have not been fully able to exercise their rights as masters of the organization, and embezzlement and lack of democracy, rather widespread in production and distribution, has damped the zeal of peasants.' p625

'A few members of the former exploiting classes and profiteers.... have relapsed into exploitation of labour in altered forms. On the other hand, hooligans and speculators joining hands with a few degenerates from state offices or factories have been stealing raw materials, materials and goods from State warehouses and selling them on the free market at exorbitant prices, causing disturbances to some extent. The struggle between the two paths is going on in new and rather complex forms. Consequently, we must attach due importance to consolidating the socialist economic sector (State-run and collective economies), strengthening economic and financial management, bringing into full play the economic impact of State enterprises in production and distribution, and combating corruption, waste and bureaucracy. We must improve the distribution of goods in a fair, more rational and more democratic way, with due regard to both the work done and the basic needs of the people, and with a view to better serving production, the fighting and the people's living.' pp625-626

'In the countryside, it is necessary to stimulate and guide the co-operatives in the democratic elaboration of their statutes, internal regulations and various regimes and the expansion of the work for further democratisation of the co-operatives so as to assert their members' right as collective masters, and to ensure respect for their political, economic and social rights; to combat embezzlement, waste and bureaucracy; to check all attempts to appropriate collective land and property; to correct the mistakes committed in the application of the "three fixed norms" policy.' p626

'The small producers' negative practices in the spontaneous expansion of their businesses must be ended, and a new orientation in line with the

Party's and Government's policies must be given to these co-operatives' operations.' 627

'Concurrently with fascist repressive and terroristic measures, they [imperialists] stage the "people's capitalism" farce designed to create in workers illusions about "class co-operation" and "common enjoyment of profit" and to tie them to the capitalist way of life.' p629

'Along with so-called "people's capitalism" and innovations of neo-colonialism, the state-monopoly capitalists also aid, abet and utilize modern revisionism and reformist socialism to drive a wedge into the international communist and workers' movements, sow the seeds of reformism and compromise, weaken the revolutionary struggle of the working class, the labouring people and the oppressed nations.' pp629-630

'In today's historical conditions, a people, even a small one, if closely united and firmly resolved to liberate themselves by following a sound political and military line, are perfectly in a position to defeat the imperialist aggressors, even such wealthy and well-armed ones as the United States imperialists.' p631

'We stand for the restoration and reinforcement of solidarity in the socialist camp and in the international communist and worker's movement *on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.*' p633

'To grasp it [Marxism-Leninism] means to *understand its substance and essence, to link theory to practice, to apply its doctrine creatively to the concrete situation of our country in the search for sound solutions to problems of our revolution* at each stage of its development and in the differing contexts of class struggle and national struggle.' p634

'The lessons drawn from the fraternal parties experience must be learned selectively, and critically, and neither automatic copying nor servile imitation is the right course of action.' p634

'It is also necessary to generalize them and reach theoretical conclusions, so as to prove that Marxist-Leninist principles remain valid while contributing to the development of Marxism-Leninism with new propositions.' p636

'Though the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the revolutionary principles of the 1960 Moscow Statement have recapitulated the experiences gained by the international working class in its revolutionary struggle after the

Second World War into valuable propositions, these are undoubtedly inadequate to the needs of the rapidly-rising revolutionary tide of the world working class and people.’ p636

‘Our Party must *play its part in the fight to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism* against revisionism which is at present the main threat, and dogmatism and sectarianism as well [sic]. It must make a clear-cut distinction between the imaginative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of a given country and the world on the one hand, and the trick of modern revisionism of different complexions seeking to garble Marxism-Leninism, wreck its principles and weaken the revolutionary struggle of the world working class and people, on the other.’ p637

‘Regrettably, for one reason or another, there have been many shortcomings in our ideological and theoretical work. Unquestionably, a strenuous effort is required to set them right.’ p638

‘b) To step up the Party’s theoretical work, direct it to important subjects relating to the Vietnamese revolution and the international communist and worker’s movement. To develop *independent thinking* in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, to guard against the influence of revisionism and dogmatism in theoretical work.’ p639

FOR THE CENTENARY OF LENIN’S BIRTH - Speech at the ceremony making [sic] the centenary of Lenin’s birth. Original title: The Great Lenin Will Live For Ever in Our Cause, April 22? 1970

“...With the aid of the proletariat of the advanced countries, backward countries can go over to the Soviet system and, through certain stages of development, to communism, without having to pass through the capitalist stage”. *Selected Works, Vol. III, p459, 1967.*’ p651

‘According to Leninism, the dictatorship of the proletariat will last throughout the transitional period from capitalism to classless communism. It does not put an end to the class struggle waged by the working class against the bourgeoisie overthrown but not yet crushed, but carries on that struggle under new conditions, in new forms, with new methods and for new concrete objectives. Therefore [sic], once power is won, the working class must strive to keep it and strengthen it. Hence, it must ceaselessly reinforce and consolidate its revolutionary dictatorship in order on the one hand to repress all sabotage acts by the counter-revolutionaries and all attempts at restoration by the bourgeoisie, and on the other hand to establish socialist democracy (a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois democratic regime) with

a view to uniting, organizing, educating and galvanizing the labouring masses so as to successfully build socialism and communism. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class has not only to turn the exploiters into toilers, but also to remould millions of small producers along the line of socialism, and to transform itself by getting rid of libertarian and anarchist habits as well as of other “petty-bourgeois influence”. In the socialist conversion of the labouring masses, that of the peasants proves to be the most complicated and delicate one. The dictatorship of the proletariat must bring a life of plenty and happiness to the working class and the toiling people. Only when the working class has built a socialist economy with an organization of social labour of higher productivity than under capitalism, can socialism win firm success. “In the last analysis”, said Lenin, “productivity of labour is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social order”. *Selected Works, Vol. III, p219. 1967.*’ pp652-653

‘After Lenin’s death, under the leadership of the Soviet Communist party with Comrade Stalin at its head, Soviet people holding aloft Lenin’s invincible banner, engaged in selfless labour, successfully built socialism in a relatively short time.’ p653

‘The triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries proves that it is entirely possible to realize it in one country or in a number of countries even in conditions of encirclement by world capitalism.’ p654

‘He [Lenin] anticipated that with the help of the proletariat of the advanced countries the backward peoples could advance to socialism and communism through various stages of development, bypassing the stage of capitalist development.’ p658

‘President Ho Chi Minh said: “Capitalism is a leech with one sucker on the proletariat in the metropolitan country and another on the proletariat in the colonies. If it is to be killed, both suckers must be cut off at once. If only one is cut off the other will continue to suck the blood of the proletariat: the leech will live on and the cut-off sucker will grow again”. *Nguyen Ai Quoc, French Colonization on Trial, Selected Works, Vol. I, p130, 1961.*’ p659

‘.... our Party asserted that the Vietnamese revolution was closely related to the revolution in the metropolitan country but was not subordinate to it. Moreover, owing to the concrete conditions of Viet Nam and the world in the era of imperialism, it was possible for socialist revolution to triumph in Viet Nam before it would in many a developed capitalist country.’ p662

‘Concerning the countries in the socialist camp and the international communist and workers’ movement, our Party advocates the restoration and strengthening of unity “on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in a way which conforms to both reason and sentiment”. *President Ho Chi Minh Testament.*’ p665

‘..... our people in the North must exert all-out efforts to overcome the sequels of the war of destruction and gradually re-adapt our economic activities to the new situation: impel the revolution in the relations of production, the scientific and technical revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, carry on the building of the material and technical bases of socialism, step by step improve the people’s living conditions, strengthen our country’s economic and military potential, consolidate our rear base, heighten our revolutionary vigilance, stand ready to smash all new schemes and acts of the US imperialists against the North and continue to fulfil our duty toward the heroic “great front”.’ pp674-675

‘In the countryside, in correlation with the study and application of the Rules for Agricultural Co-operatives and with the continued rectification of errors in the implementation of the “three contractual targets” [This practice consists in assigning to each production brigade in a cooperative a task with three contractual targets in keeping with the acreage at its disposal: yield per hectare, number of work-days, production costs. This applies either to a production campaign or a whole year.] and in the management of collective lands, we must *promote democracy, enhance the collective mastery of the co-op membership as a whole, fire their revolutionary ardour and raise their productivity* in order to extend the sector in which the three goals set for agriculture are attained, improve the people’s living conditions and meet the considerable requirements of the struggle against US aggression and those of socialist construction. Parallel with the mobilization of labour force, we must *improve organization*, streamline the Party and State apparatus and make it more efficient; at the same time, we must strengthen and *renovate economic management*, work out strict regulations in order to mobilize and fully use all our existing equipment and materials according to set norms and with practical economic efficiency. We must display diligence and thrift in building socialism, struggle against embezzlement, waste and bureaucracy.’ pp676-677

‘.... we must perform *ideological work* so that everybody can understand the situation and the task in hand, realize the favourable conditions, which constitute the key-note, and also the difficulties to be resolutely overcome, enhance his revolutionary ardour, carry out production and work with enthusiasm, high productivity and high efficiency.’ p677

**ON THE WORK OF THE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT AT
PRESENT [sic] - Speech at the Third Congress of the Viet Nam
Fatherland Front, held in Hanoi in December 1971**

‘.... the US makes big investments to exploit the labouring people, applies a policy of competition, restriction and domination and provides economic [sic], scientific and technical aid to draw them into its orbit.’ p684

‘.... it [the US] tried to fully exploit the divergence of line within the socialist camp and in the international communist and workers’ movement, especially between the Soviet Union and China.’ p686

‘..... it [the US] is “ready to negotiate” with a number of countries, especially the Soviet Union and China, with a view to “detering” and “containing” these two biggest socialist countries, makes the fullest use of the contradictions between these two countries and sows discord among the socialist countries in general in a bid to create favourable conditions for the US, strives for “détente” among the big powers and continues to bully smaller nations.’ p688

‘1. US imperialism is the biggest international exploiter, the most bellicose imperialist, the international gendarme, the enemy number one and the common enemy of our people and of mankind as a whole. The spearhead of the world revolution therefore should be directed at US imperialism, and nowhere else.’ p689

‘The working class has become the central figure in the new era. It is the most representative class of the national and democratic interests, the only class able to lead the national democratic revolution to complete victory. Thus, only the working class can lead the National United Front against the imperialist and their stooges.’ p702

‘Over the past ten years, our North Viet Nam society has undergone very deep changes. What are the most typical features of these changes? *They are the new economy, the new political regime and the new man that are being built and fostered step by step.* This is the combined result of three revolutions simultaneously carried out under the people’s democratic dictatorship which assumes the task of proletarian dictatorship: the revolution in production relations, the technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, with the technical revolution as the kingpin.’ pp704-705

‘.... we have the same worker-peasant alliance, but it is the alliance between a mature and strong working class which is leading the socialist state and a collective peasantry organized in agricultural co-operatives.’ p705

‘.... the *Viet Nam Fatherland Front* has, in essence, become a *front of manual and brain workers*.’ p706

‘Since North Viet Nam entered the period of transition to socialism, our National United Front has become a *patriotic and socialist-oriented front* (embracing the socialist production relations, socialist democracy, socialist labour and morality...).’ p706

‘..... building the Homeland into a socialist country with modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science, on the basis of the collective ownership of the main production means and the socialist production relations which preclude the exploitation of man by man.’ pp706-707

‘.... the Front’s line is reflected not only in the policies regarding the people’s democratic power which assumes the historical task of proletarian dictatorship..... but also in the transformation of the production relations, the technical revolution, the ideological and cultural revolution, the training and fostering of the new, socialist man.’ p707

‘*The further socialism advances, the broader and stronger the Front becomes*. Because the more brilliant achievements are recorded by socialism – the best regime so far in human history – the greater its impact on the heart and mind of man and the greater its appeal, and it will win over the minds and hearts of millions of people and make more and more people adhere to socialism.’ p709

‘Our Party is deeply imbued with Lenin’s teaching about the danger of a ruling party becoming, through lack of self-schooling, bureaucratic, divorced from the masses, autocratic, domineering, indulging in wishful thinking and self-complacency, thus running counter to the masses interests.’ p709

‘In the society of North Viet Nam at present, the exploiter classes have been abolished but there still remain different classes and labouring strata, the working class, the collective peasantry and the socialist intellectuals. There are still divergences between the working class and the collective peasantry, as well as between manual workers and brain workers. It will be a long time before our society becomes a classless, communist society. The socialist transformation of agriculture, handicraft

and private capitalist industry and trade have recorded decisive success, but it takes time to help those in the former exploiter classes become genuine socialist labourers or small producers become collective labourers with a high sense of discipline and technical knowhow.’ p710

‘The struggle between the two paths – socialist and capitalist – to definitely solve the question of “who will win” is going on.’ pp710-711

‘3. To mobilize and educate the people to actively participate in building and consolidating the people’s power, promote socialist democracy and strengthen people’s democratic dictatorship.

4. To actively [sic] take part in building a new culture and a new type of man.’ p713

‘If we do not fight and defeat the US aggressors, they will not leave us alone to successfully build socialism.’ p715

‘Socialist revolution is the most radical and the most thorough revolution in the history of human society. It not only builds socialist production relations which are completely new ones, but on the basis of these new production relations it carries out the scientific and technical revolution to develop production forces and achieve such a labour productivity as was never before seen in history, and carries out the cultural and ideological revolution to build a new type of man who loves his country and socialism, works with energy, a sense of organization and discipline, technical skill and high zeal in the protection of public property. To this end, it is necessary to strengthen people’s democratic dictatorship, institute socialist legislation to defend socialism, prevent and punish counter-revolutionary acts and at the same time promote the people’s right as collective masters, and stimulate their spirit of creative labour.’ pp716-717

‘.... to transform millions of unorganised and scattered small-producers into collective socialist labourers; to transform intellectuals of the old society into a new intelligentsia imbued with Marxism-Leninism and maintaining close ties with the worker and peasant masses, and at the same time train a new contingent of intellectuals of worker and peasant stock absolutely loyal to socialism. In short, it is necessary to help the non-proletarian strata remould themselves according to the socialist ideology of the proletariat. Of course, *in this process of transformation the proletariat also has to transform itself* to give up bad habits it has long inherited from the old society of private ownership and exploitation.’ p717

‘But the revolution can succeed only when it is carried out by the masses consciously, voluntarily and enthusiastically.’ p720

‘.... a number of cadres must “proletarize themselves” by working in industrial enterprises in order to mobilize the proletarian masses.’ p721

“To respect and promote the people’s right to be collective masters in State management, economic management, life management according to set policies and regulations, to satisfactorily mobilize the masses; to help them exercise regular control of democracy; to struggle against practices of bureaucratism, authoritarianism, arrogance, abuse of power or violation of State laws and the people’s right to be masters.” *Resolution of the Political Bureau on the campaign to enhance the quality of Party members and admit new members of the Ho Chi Minh drive (March 6, 1970).* pp723-724

SPEECH ON THE 85TH ANNIVERSARY OF PRESIDENT HO CHI MINH’S BIRTH – 19 May 1975

‘President Ho Chi Minh was a communist fighter imbued with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the vanguard theory of the working class, the class which stands in the centre of the era, and which has clearly realized that in order to liberate itself, it must liberate the whole of human society from all fetters of capitalism.’ p736

‘Agriculture has recorded substantial progress in intensive cultivation, increasing crop output, thus opening bright prospects for the advance to large-scale socialist production.’ p738

‘In spite of the fact that the living standards of our people are still low, we are proud that everyone has adequate food and clothing, can afford schooling, and a bright future for children is assured.’ p738

‘In the process of leading the development of the new, socialist, man, our Party has paid much attention to the fostering of the revolutionary generations of the future..... Under the socialist regime, these qualities have been developed in labour, fighting and study.’ p740

‘..... to push ahead socialist industrialization and accordingly to step up the building of the material and technical foundations of socialism, thus fulfilling our duty of contributing to the restoration and development of the economy in the South. The principal measures to achieve this purpose are to organize social labour to engage in production and construction with stirring enthusiasm, turn ardour and heroism in fighting into ardour and heroism in peaceful construction, and boost the movement for labour

and production to build socialism with industry and thrift. We must arouse a revolutionary movement of the masses in all fields of production, organization of life, ensure public security and order and strive to work and study.’ p741

**POLITICAL REPORT AT THE POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE
CONFERENCE ON NATIONAL REUNIFICATION - Held in Ho
Chi Minh City, November 14 to 21 1975**

‘In the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation, our people always enjoyed the wholehearted material and moral support from the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries.’ p759

‘.... the strategic task of our revolution is to complete national reunification and to take the whole of our country rapidly, vigorously and steadily to socialism.’ p759

‘.... today in the context of the North having been liberated many years ago and having embarked on socialist construction, the cause of national reunification rests on national independence and socialism, which is a higher basis representing a new step forward in that very cause.’ pp760-761

‘Why must national reunification be based on socialism?’

Because socialism means freedom and happiness for the people. The socialist order is one which knows no exploitation of man by man; from each according to his ability, to each according to his work. A socialist society is a society with a prosperous economy, developed culture, science and with a prosperous economy, developed culture, science [sic] and technology, a society in which national defence is consolidated, the people’s right to mastery, equality among nationalities and between men and women and freedom of belief are ensured. It meets the aspirations and supreme interests of the working people both manual and intellectual, and of all progressives. It represents the inevitable trend of human society.

However, the building of socialism is no easy job. It requires industriousness and creativeness, a high level of technology, discipline and productivity, persistent efforts, readiness to cope with all difficulties, and endure all hardships at the beginning for the sake of eventual prosperity and happiness in the end, which is an attitude all the more necessary as our country is originally poor and backward and badly devastated by the war.

Socialist revolution includes socialist transformation and socialist construction. The central task of socialist construction is socialist

industrialization. These tasks are very new and complicated for us. But if we try hard to learn while working and are resolved to overcome all difficulties and persist in our efforts, our success is certain.’ pp761-762

‘At present, the North is building socialism. Only when both North and South have embarked on the road of socialism can our national reunification have a practical and solid foundation. Naturally [sic] to successfully carry out the socialist revolution and build socialism in the South, we must take into consideration its specific situation.’ p762

‘In the present historical conditions, after having regained independence, our country is at the crossroads: either take the path of transition to socialism or the path of capitalist development which is likely to be soaked with the blood and tears of millions of toiling people, the path of ruthless oppression and exploitation, characterized by the most abominable social evils [sic] one can see every day in the United States or in any other capitalist country and right in south Viet Nam in the past. Decidedly we will not follow this painful and dark path. The bright one can be none other than the path to socialism, the only path that will lead our land to prosperity and our entire people to happiness while securing eternal national independence and unity. Moreover, only socialism can eliminate all forms of oppression and exploitation and all sources of class differences. Only socialism can bring about perfect unity in the political, economic, cultural and social life of our country, and firm political and moral unity among our people.’ p763

‘The great Spring victory has put a victorious end to that phase of the people’s national democratic revolution in south Viet Nam and opened up for the south Vietnamese a new phase of revolution with a new strategic task, that of socialist revolution.’ p764

‘After the collapse of the US neo-colonialist regime, the south Vietnamese must not make a halt but immediately strike into the path of socialist revolution, more concretely, begin the step-by-step socialist transformation of the national economy and the building of the first foundations of socialism.’ p764

‘Following our total triumph over US aggression the two zones will switch over from their two strategic tasks – the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the north and the people’s national democratic revolution in the south – to only one common strategic task – the socialist revolution and socialist construction.’ p765

‘.... socialist construction in the north has scored remarkable successes.’ p765

‘The north which is ahead of the south on the road of transition to socialism has now to do its best to help the south catch up with it.’ p766

‘Economically speaking, at present the north has two main economic sectors: the state-owned economy and the collective economy (the remaining individual economy is negligible), while the south has five economic sectors: state-owned economy, collective economy, joint state-private economy, private capitalist economy, and individual economy. In the north, the socialist right of ownership in two forms – social ownership and collective ownership – of the main means of production and the socialist relations of production enjoy absolute predominance. In the south the socialist ownership of the means of production and the socialist relations of production have been established only recently. The economy of the north is planned while in the south economic planning has just begun and on a very small scale. The wage system, the tax system, the price and monetary policies of the two zones are not yet unified. Concerning the social classes, in the north the classes of exploiters (capitalist and landlords) have been reformed. In north Viet Nam’s present society there are the working class, the class of collective peasants and various segments of socialist intellectuals.

In the south, there are now the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, the comprador capitalist class and remnants of the feudal landlord class. The individual peasants and petty bourgeois form the bulk of south Viet Nam’s society.’ p767

‘The north has a socialist constitution and legislation, while the south has no socialist constitution and legislation.’ p768

‘Ideologically and culturally, in the north, Marxism-Leninism – the apex of human thought – is playing the leading role in society and the socialist culture imbued with a national and popular character is expanding. New-type, socialist men imbued with patriotism and proletarian internationalism and with socialist virtues (love for productive work, respect of public property, class love and the spirit of socialist co-operation, etc.) are in the making.

In the south, the ideology of President Ho Chi Minh and the party has prevailed completely, thus generating a great fighting spirit among the cadres and people. Yet, on the other hand, in ideology and culture, evil US neo-colonialist influences and negative influences of the feudal ideology are still quite strong.’ p768

‘.... the south must gear its private and capitalist economy to advancing the national interests: gradually transform the private capitalist industry and commerce, agriculture, handicrafts and small trade along the socialist line and set up the economic sectors under the state and collective management or under joint state-private management.’ p771

‘.... this is aimed at bringing into full play the existing strong points and dealing with all the evils of US neo-colonialist ideology and culture, against all social evils left behind by neo-colonialism and the remnants of the feudal ideology, at eliminating illiteracy, instituting supplementary [sic] education and developing general education. Impelling the movement of preventative medicine and a new mode of life, developing culture, science and technology, and building a national, popular and socialist culture as well as socialist-minded men and women in all the country.’ p772

‘...we propose that....

- The national Assembly hear a report on the draft constitution of reunified Viet Nam and elect the Constitution Drafting Committee of the National Assembly. At the same time, it shall decide when the national Assembly will discuss and vote the new Constitution.’ p776