

Ho Chi Minh Thought will light out path forever, The Gioi, Hanoa, 2001

Foreword

‘The Vietnamese revolution has entered a new stage.’ p 1

Pham Van Dong (1906-2000)

PM of the Democratic republic of Vietnam 1955-1996.

[Excerpt from *Our fatherland, our people, Our cause and the Artist* written in 1948]

‘President Ho is a Vietnamese, more Vietnamese than any other Vietnamese.’ p 4

‘This [democratic] movement is an invincible force.’ p 15

‘On the celebration of the 1,000th day of resistance, the headquarters of War Zone V extolled the gallant feat of hero Ngo May in these terms: “Ngo may, 27 years old, was a member of the “determined-to-die-for-nation” troops of regiment 120.’ pp 17-18

‘To learn to unite all the people also consists in prevailing over individualism and sectarianism advocating that “what pertains to me is the best, and prevailing over the attitude that in my position, my locality, my work, my branch of activity, and what is good is mine, what is bad belongs to others.’ p 22

‘Industriousness, thriftiness, integrity and righteousness are the characteristics of a prosperous society.’ p 26

‘Therefore, to be industrious, thrifty, honest, and righteous consist in eradicating wastefulness, bribery, embezzlement, gambling, and speculation, hoarding, black marketing, and smuggle. All that is bad and obsolete should be eliminated, and at the same time all that is useful and profitable to the people and the State should be encouraged.’ p 27

‘The simple common man understands President Ho more easily than others.’ p 28

Truong Chinh (1907-1988)

General Secretary of the CPV 1941-1956 and July-December 1986

[Excerpt from the report *On the Vietnamese Revolution* to the 2nd Party Congress held in February 1951]

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

He has taught us to work in such a way that our Party, when working out slogans and policies, should base itself not on rigid formulas learnt by heart, but on the specific condition of the Vietnamese revolution together with the actual situation at home and abroad. he underscored the importance of studying the experiences of our country and at the same time learning selectively from the experiences of other countries.

He has taught us that whenever the situation has changed, new conditions for the revolutionary movement have appeared, and shifts have occurred in the ranks of the enemies as well as our allies, we should reconsider at once our revolutionary policies and slogans, basing our assessments on the new situation to work out revised directions, strategies and tactics, instead of sticking to outdated guidelines.’ p 31

‘..... always uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism, to complete the liberation of our nation, develop people’s democracy, and advance toward socialism.’ p 32

Le Duan (1907-1986)

First Secretary of the Central Committee then General Secretary of the CPV 1960-1986

[Read at the memorial ceremony for President Ho Chi Minh on 9th September 1969]

“Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom.” “We would rather endure and sacrifice than lose independence and be slaves.” [quoting from Ho Chi Minh] p 34

“The North must advance to socialism.” [quoting from Ho Chi Minh] p 35

‘Parting from him, we vow:

To go on devoting all our strength to the realization of the lofty ideal of socialism and communism that he set for our working class and people, so as to achieve prosperity for our land and happiness for our countrymen.’ pp 35-36

‘Parting from him, we vow:

..... to contribute to the restoration and development of solidarity and unity in the socialist camp and among the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.’ p 37

Le Duan

[Excerpt from *Under the Glorious Banner of the Party, Let us Strive for Independence, Freedom, Socialism and Advance to New Victories, 1970*]

“To save the country and to liberate the people, there is no other way than the proletarian revolution.” [quoting from Ho Chi Minh]

‘Under the leadership of our Party headed by great president Ho Chi Minh, the entire Vietnamese people have written the finest pages of our national history and brought our country into the era of independence, freedom and socialism.’ p 42

‘Every step forward of the Vietnamese revolution and our people is a success of Marxism-Leninism, the invincible revolutionary doctrine and the radiant truth of the present era.’ p 43

Le Duan

[Excerpt of the opening speech at the grand meeting to celebrate the 90th anniversary of president Ho Chi Minh's birthday in May 1980]

'The reason of President Ho Chi Minh's success is that he built our Party into a new type of Party of the working class, absolutely faithful to the ideal of national and social liberation, always associating the vanguards of the working class with the popular masses, the real makers of history who have extraordinary strength and unlimited capability. he did his utmost to educate, to organize, and to mobilize all strata of people to stand up for national salvation and construction.' pp 45-46

'..... the absolute faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism.' p 46

'We will strive to practice his sacred teaching that "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom", resolutely to overcome all difficulties and obstacles for firmly defending socialist Vietnam and successfully building socialism.' p 47

'..... strengthen the solidarity and all-sided cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.' p 47

Truong Chinh

[Excerpt from speech at the celebration of the 95th anniversary of President Ho Chi Minh's birthday on 18th May 1985]

'President Ho Chi Minh was *the first Vietnamese who clearly saw the importance of the Theses of V. I. Lenin* and early understood their importance for the Vietnamese revolution, the Indochinese revolution, and the colonial revolution in general.' p 50

'In reality, it is clear that the way to save the country and the people found by president Ho Chi Minh was not only aimed at eliminating colonialism and imperialism but also *at building a new society, a socialist and then communist society.*' p 52

'He affirmed: "... For the Vietnamese revolution, Marxism-Leninism is not only a "marvelous manual", a compass, it is also the sun lighting our way to complete victory, to socialism and communism." [quoting from Ho Chi Minh] p 52

‘President Ho Chi Minh’s thoughts regarding colonial revolution clearly proved that national liberation revolution could not be pushed forward if the road-opening role and the encouraging example of the October Revolution were denied, that the colonial system of imperialism could not be erased if the guiding principles, the invaluable and universal lessons of the October Revolution were denied.’ p 55

‘..... national liberation revolutions in the colonies and proletarian revolutions in the mother countries must be closely coordinated, encourage and assist each other in achieving the common objective of smashing the common enemy, imperialism.’ p 55

‘The people of colonial countries cannot wait for the success of the proletarian revolution in the mother country to liberate them; they must take the initiative to start revolution, and the success of the colonial revolution will stimulate and effectively help the proletarian revolution in the mother country.’ p 56

‘... the liberation of the nation must be associated with that of society, of the proletarian class, and the working people; national independence cannot be separated from socialism. In this view, in a colonial country, the proletarian class, for the purpose of self-liberation, must liberate all of its people from any oppression and exploitation.’ p 57

‘..... our people have carried out two revolutions: the people’s national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. These two revolutions are the two phases of the same process. The people’s national democratic revolution is the preparation, the premise of the socialist revolution. The socialist revolution is the necessary development of the people’s national democratic revolution.

The people’s national democratic revolution is carried out first, after success, it should proceed to the socialist revolution, it cannot call a halt..... After the great triumph of Spring 1975, South Vietnam was completely liberated, the country was unified, and our Party at once stood for ushering all Vietnam to the period of transition to socialism.

6. To achieve the two aforesaid revolutions, President Ho Chi Minh stressed on *the leading role of the working class*, that was considered the decisive condition for success. He said: “In the present era, the working class is the only class having the historical mission of leading the revolution to final victory.”

From the beginning, he pointed out that the working class of colonial countries should grasp the national liberation banner and should not let it fall into the hand of any other class. Although he clearly saw the role and the great strength of the peasant class in colonial countries, he energetically criticized the erroneous viewpoints that the peasants were to be founded and flattered and that the colonial question might be solved on the strength of the peasantry.’ pp 57-58

‘This was the line [creatively applied Marxism-Leninism] of *carrying out the people’s national democratic revolution then shifting at once to the socialist revolution* in an agricultural country, a former colony.’ pp 59-60

‘President Ho Chi Minh paid attention *to the preservation of the cohesion and the one-mindedness of the Party, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the correct line of the Party.*’ p 60

‘*The ruling Party* was a question of President Ho Chi Minh’s concern. he early saw the danger of bureaucratism when the Party held power, particularly in an agricultural, backward country with a still underdeveloped economy, many remaining features of feudalism, and many evils and bad habits of small producers. This danger alienates the Party from the people, and from the assets that make the strength of the Party. Party members and cadres are frequently reminded that they must oppose arrogance, commandism, must not be “revolutionary mandarins”, and must avoid all other manifestations of bureaucratism, an evil alien to our Party.’ p 61

‘He [Ho Chi Minh] said that only with the alliance of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the working class can we resolutely and completely prevail over the reactionary forces, seize and consolidate the people’s revolutionary administration, and fulfil

the historical task of the people's national democratic revolution and advance to socialism.' p 61

'In socialist revolution, he pointed out fundamental principles for the consolidation and strengthening of the State of the proletarian dictatorship in all respects.' p 63

'He advocated unity with all forces possible, winning over forces possible to win over; those forces which are impossible to win over but possible to neutralize are to be neutralized. That is, the lesser foes and the more friends the better.' p 64

"For the independence and freedom of our country, for the benefit of the socialist camp, of the oppressed peoples and progressive mankind, we are fighting and winning victory over the most cruel adversary in the world." [quoting Ho Chi Minh] p 65

'His utmost aspiration was to make our country completely independent, our people completely free and to ensure that all our compatriots had enough food and clothes and the possibility to go to school.' P 66

"Riches cannot seduce him, poverty cannot make him waver, military power cannot dominate him".

His working style was to "match words with deeds". He advocated that "Party members should go first and the people will follow". He set himself an example of industriousness, thriftiness, righteousness, and disinterestedness"; he listened to the views of the masses, sought to find out the truth. His behaviour was popular, standing for the collective, the democratic and the scientific.' p 66

Pham Van Dong

[Excerpt from *Ho Chi Minh – A Man, a Nation, an Age, and a Cause*, 1990]

'Ho Chi Minh was the founder of the new Vietnam, in which national independence was closely linked to socialist ideals and then to socialism itself.' p 68

‘.... and then to build socialism and pass beyond the stage of capitalist development.’ p 69

(We usually say: “....passing beyond the stage of capitalist development”. I think we should say: “.... passing beyond the stage of development of capitalism”. PVD)

“Only in socialism and communism can we find the way for our liberation.” [quoting Ho Chi Minh, writing in the early 20s] p 69

‘... Availing themselves [the CPV] of a rare opportunity to seize power.’ p 71

‘In the particularly difficult circumstances of war, the Vietnamese people gradually consolidated people’s power, carried out land reforms, organized the peasants into co-operatives, built up the economic infrastructure, developed education, culture and health services, and gradually made socialist thinking into the leading influence in the people’s spiritual life, thus creating good relationships between men. On the basis of a low-level economy and low living standards, there already appeared a wholesome society with a strong fighting force and many humanist values, leaving a deep impression upon foreigners visiting Vietnam during the wars of resistance.’ p 73

‘Broadly viewed, one can see that the new regime in Vietnam gloriously overcame the trials of war, showing that it could mobilize the whole people and avail itself of the forces of our time, conquer the aggressors, and that no brutal force could prevail against it.’ p 74

‘Throughout his life from the founding of the Party, Ho Chi Minh considered Party building his principal task. He trained Party cadres and members to firmly grasp and apply Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of the country. He taught them to uphold the radically revolutionary stand of the working class, to be imbued with industriousness thrift, integrity, righteousness, and public-spiritedness, and to abide by collectivism and reject individualism. He said emphatically that the Party must enforce broad democracy, self-criticism and continual serious criticism. He

often reminded us to keep close contact between the Party and the masses, respect the people's role of master, show vigilance and struggle against bureaucracy, a danger which can make a ruling party stand aloof from the masses, alienate itself and degenerate.' p 75

'Marxism-Leninism's theoretical system explained by Ho Chi Minh in easy-to-understand and penetrating words revealing its innermost meaning was received by a nation whose history had prepared it for a meeting with this truth of our epoch.' p 75

'For the Vietnamese nation to adopt Marxism-Leninism was to remould its old thinking to adopt a new outlook on life and the world, to assert its choice of socialism, and thus take a firm political stand regarding the problems of the nation and the world.' p 76

'In the country of Ho Chi Minh, revolution is the rising up of the whole nation and of each man to overcome difficult trials and perils through fierce struggles. At the same time, revolution is the joy, freedom, and enthusiasm of a man knowing that he is contributing to a great cause. Revolution is an extraordinary endeavor and also a festival of the masses. Revolution is the solidarity of the whole people, the whole nation and each man growing up in an altruistic and humanist cause to write new pages of history, epic and lyrical.' pp 77-78

'In concluding this chapter [4], I think I should make it clear that in the light of the present renovation, when looking back to the past, we can realize the shortcomings and mistakes in social and economic construction, which were due to the limits of their historical experience.' p 81

'Being true to Ho Chi Minh's legacy is the basis for uniting the whole people, mobilizing all potentialities of the country, and carrying out renovation in a creative and effective way.

Being true to Ho Chi Minh's legacy is to preserve along the path of national independence and socialism, of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, and to overcome waverings and hesitations and resist deviations.' p 84

Nguyen Van Linh (1915-1998)

General Secretary of the CPV 1986-1991

[Excerpt from speech at the celebration of the 100th birthday anniversary of President Ho Chi Minh, Hanoi, May 18, 1990]

‘President Ho Chi Minh was the courageous and creative revolutionary innovator. He appeared in the history of the Vietnamese people’s revolutionary struggle as a person who constantly stood for renovation. On the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, he applied appropriate strategies and tactics for each stage of the Vietnamese revolution..... Even today in the comprehensive social renovation initiated by the 6th Congress, the following words of his still keep their guiding value: “We must have a creative spirit, find out the new, practice the new....” He considered “renovation a combat against what was obsolete and wrong to create new, better things.... It is a gigantic struggle requiring the mobilisation of the entire people, their organization and education, the reliance on their great strength.” pp 87-88

‘..... he [Ho] contributed to the further development and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist theory regarding the revolution in colonial countries..... the economic and cultural building in an agricultural and backward country advancing to socialism without passing the stage of capitalist development, etc.’ p 88

‘It [6th Congress of CPV] drew four great lessons, which are actually the lessons for fully grasping Uncle Ho’s thoughts:

- The lesson to ‘take the people s foundation’ in national construction and defence; that everything belongs to the people, everything is decided by the people and done for the people’s sake.
- The lesson to start from reality, to act in accordance with objective laws, i.e., Uncle Ho’s lesson regarding the unity between theory and practice, between revolution and science.
- The lesson regarding the combination of national strength and epochal strength, or the combination of patriotism and internationalism, national independence and socialism.

- The lesson regarding the building of the Party, considered as important as the new historical task, which was within the focus of attention [sic] of Uncle Ho all his life.’ p 92

‘Our renovation is comprehensive, radical and harmoniously coordinated, but it should have appropriate objectives and steps; it is mainly aimed at economic renovation, at the same time, at the renovation of the political system by solid steps.’ p 93

‘State-run economic units..... should endeavour to play a leading role in the national economy.’ p 93

‘Besides the lack of democracy, have appeared manifestations of extremist democracy, abusing democracy to carry out such wrong actions as attacking the Party, the State, and the socialist regime, denying the achievements of the revolution, rejecting the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Democracy cannot be alienated from discipline and law, from correct centralism. We broaden democracy with regard to the people, but we will never loosen dictatorship with regard to the minority of reactionaries, who are undermining the people’s revolutionary achievement.’ p 95

‘..... we should continue *to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism*, a decisive factor for the success of renovation. Marxism-Leninism is the quintessence of human intelligence, the compass of communist and workers’ parties in the world. For the Vietnamese revolution, it is not a simple borrowing or imposition from outside.’ p 95

‘..... we should differentiate the failures caused by miscomprehension of Marxism-Leninism or misdoings from the revolutionary, scientific, and creative nature of Marxism-Leninism. There has been so far no more revolutionary and scientific doctrine than Marxism-Leninism.’ p 96

‘..... we should take timely and severe actions against the corrupted, degenerated cadres and Party members who extort money from the people, abuse their power, and oppress the people. They are cancers capable of causing gangrene on the Party body and they must be removed.’ p 97

‘..... a new type of man, the socialist man, who is absolutely loyal to the country, devoted to the people, leads a honest and simple life, is hard-working, thrifty, righteous and disinterested. We should severely condemn and energetically oppose and action or way of living in luxury, bureaucratism, wastefulness, show-off formalism, self-interestedness of a number of degenerated Party cadres and members. We should continuously combat negative manifestations with appropriate focuses and steps. Above all we should fight corruption and unjustified privileges.’ pp 97-98

‘It also results from the solidarity and the great, timely, and effective assistance of the Soviet people, the Chinese people and others [sic] socialist countries, as well as from the support of the communist and workers’ movements, the national independence, democracy, and peace movement in the world.’ p 98

‘Many socialist countries are now in a comprehensive and serious crisis never seen before. This crisis is negatively affecting the world revolutionary movement. The imperialist and reactionary forces are making full use of the socialist countries’ difficulties to increase their interference and sabotage activity aimed at realizing the peaceful evolution and the eradication of the socialist countries.’ p 99

‘Imperialism has lost its hegemonic position in the world; it can no longer rule the roost and decide the destiny of peoples. Socialism has actually come into being, and under its positive impact, hundreds of peoples have stood up to seize independence, to become the masters of their fate, and to exert a positive influence on the developments of world history.’ p 100

Vo Nguyen Giap (born 1911)

Minister of National Defense, the first to have been promoted to the rank of General by President Ho Chi Minh in 1948

[Excerpt from speech at the International Conference “Ho Chi Minh – Vietnam – World Peace” held in Calcutta on 14th January 1991]

‘Everywhere capitalism and imperialism are cruel and ruthless; everywhere the working people are exploited, tortured and have no right to life.’ p 101

‘Today, the thought that “Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom” still retains its vitality. Having gained political independence, developing countries still have to struggle against all neo-colonial forces which are making use of their financial, technical, and technological power to plunder them and to keep them in a state of backwardness and dependence; in other words, they are, carrying out “re-colonization”.’ p 106

‘One can call this socialism *a socialism that “makes the people rich and the country strong,”* a kind of socialism consistent with the country’s peculiarities and the essential trend of mankind.’ p 107

‘President Ho Chi Minh highlighted *the main content of the new society:*

- In the economy: to gradually build up the material and technical foundation of socialism, to provide everybody with employment; to institute democratic management and a system of distribution according to labour; to unceasingly increase labour productivity and raise people’s material and intellectual living standards; to work toward the liquidation of the regime of exploitation of men by men.
- In politics: to set up an order where the working people are masters.....
- In cultural and social fields: where men are friends and brothers to one another, a society endowed with fine traditions and practices, where traditional values are given prominence in combination with a selective acceptance of the cultural essence of mankind; Conditions are provided for the new-type man to gradually come into shape and develop his creativeness.’ p 108

‘..... other nations, while refusing the tormenting road of capitalism, may study and find in Ho Chi Minh’s thoughts on socialism, an orientation fitting their choice.’ p 109

‘At this juncture, the fast growth of the technological revolution is accompanied with the widening gap between developed and developing countries. With their deliberate ruses, developed countries make use of their technological, commercial and financial strength and the most powerful mass media to control the political situation, infiltrate into poor countries by economic, cultural and ideological means with a view to creating an ever-widening inequality in the North-South relationship, putting on the shoulders of developing countries the enormous debt, preventing the creation of a new world order with equality that India, together with other nations have proposed since long.’ p 112

Do Muoi (born in 1917)

General Secretary of the CPV 1991-1998

[Excerpt from the speech at the celebration of the 105th anniversary of President Ho Chi Minh’s birthday on 19th May 1995]

‘..... to win victory over the wars of aggression waged by cruel and powerful colonialists and imperialists.’ p 116

‘The world has now greatly changed. The way to socialism of our country contains many new factors, including points quite different from what we thought a few decades ago. In such circumstances, our Party has pursued a policy of renovation, standing for the development of a multi-sectoral commodity economy, operating under the socialist-orientated market mechanism and the management of the State. At each phase of development, economic growth must always be related to social progress and justice. Carrying out renovation in this direction, we have recorded very important achievements, but many theoretical and practical questions have arisen and call for solutions to keep on the strong and steady advance of the revolutionary cause.’ p 117

‘Deeply confident in our intelligence and strength, we should cleverly and creatively apply Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh thought to fulfil the Party’s and the entire peoples’ strategic determination to eradicate poverty and backwardness and to turn our country within a few coming decades into a developed country

in the region with a prosperous economy, an advanced culture, a just society.’ pp 119-120

‘National renovation, industrialization, and modernization can be successfully achieved when all the nation is united and one-minded as one man and devotes all of its talent and energy to the benefit of the country, to the brilliant future of the present generation and their descendants.’ p 120

‘..... our State is distinguished by the nature of the working class and by its popular and national character.’ p 121

‘What is worth attention now is that in a number of places internal disunity is serious and lasting. Individualism, provincialism, sectionalism, thirst for power, vying merit for oneself and shifting fault on others are the main cause of division.’ p 121

‘However, we should frankly admit the painful fact that no small number of Party cadres and members are abusing their power and being degenerated; they cannot overcome their ambitious and ordinary seductions. Their negative actions and corrupted way of life are causing painful concern to society. A number of them, who control the finance or property of the State, have committed embezzlement to illegally enrich themselves. A number of others, who are elected representatives of the people, have stretched their power and committed innumerable immoral and uncultured actions, even blatant violations of law that indignate [sic] the people.’
p 125

‘To preserve the prestige of the Party and the State, to consolidate the confidence of the people, we must dismiss at once these parasites of society, irrespective of their positions and functions. With regard to persons who call themselves Party members but who betray their ideals, do harm to the country and the people, we must without pity exclude them from the Party, State organs, and mass organizations. If they violate laws, they must be severely judged and punished.’ pp 125-126

Le Kha Phieu (born in 1931)

General Secretary of the CPV 1998-2001

[Excerpt from the speech at the celebration of the 110th anniversary of President Ho Chi Minh's birthday on 19 May 2000]

'He [Ho] stressed that the characteristics of the socialist revolution in our country are that we directly advance to socialism from a small production and backward economy without passing by the phase of capitalist development. Therefore, the construction of socialism will take a long time and develop gradually; it cannot be done hastily. He said in practical, concrete terms, easy to understand: "Socialism is above all aimed at freeing the working people from poverty, creating jobs for everybody, ensuring an abundant and happy life to everybody." "Independence has no meaning if the people are not happy and free." "Socialism consists in making the people have enough food and clothes and a happier and happier life, ensuring that everybody can go to school, receive medical care when sick, that the elderly who are no longer able to work may rest, that bad customs and habits can be gradually eliminated." "Socialism is aimed at bettering the material and cultural life of the people; this betterment is done by the people themselves." In a word, "Socialism is to make the people rich, the country strong." pp 134-135

"Our most important task is *to build the material and technical base of socialism....* Having modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science." [quoting from Ho Chi Minh]

'He spoke about economic sectors, about the development of the State-run economic sector as foundation, about economic management, about how to encourage the peasantry to enrich themselves, the poor to improve their living conditions, those who have improved their lots to get rich, the rich to get richer, etc.' p 135

'After national reunification, all Vietnam now advances to socialism, on the basis of President Ho's fundamental and correct viewpoints, experience obtained during the years of socialist construction in the North, and the country's realities. Our Party has put forward the renovation policy resulting in significant achievements in the socialist construction in Vietnam.' p 136

‘The working class in a colonial country is small, but it is the only class having the mission of leading the revolution.’ p 136

‘In his *Testament*, he foresaw the phenomena to be remedied in the Party after the victory of the resistance war, but it is regrettable that we have not fully abided by his recommendations, that we have left individualism appear and develop with worrying manifestations.’ p 137

‘..... development from the national democratic revolution to socialism without passing by the phase of capitalist development; national independence associated with socialism.’ p 140

‘... All the country has begun the transitional period to socialism for one fourth of a century.

During the 15 years of renovation and national construction, our people have recorded important achievements. Our country has gone out of the socio-economic crisis and continued its socialist-orientated development.’ p 141

‘..... a globalisation trend has appeared, pushing the whole planet into a hurricane controlled by a small number of developed countries and transitional economic corporations. While the lessening of tension and peaceful cooperation reflecting the aspiration of mankind are developing, the struggle between classes and ethnic groups is becoming violent and complicated.’ pp 141-142

‘To maintain the steady and correctly-orientated development of renovation, national construction and defence, to catch up with the countries having a middle-level economy, then the developed countries in the region and the world, we should continue the thorough study of Ho Chi Minh thought, on the basis of grasping Marxist-Leninist theory and method, to fully understand and to diffuse it more widely, and to apply it to the renovation cause in a creative way.’ p 142

‘We should preserve our economic self-reliance, We should realize international cooperation on the basis of equality, mutual interest, and mutual respect.’ p 143

‘..... we should deeply analyse the salient contradiction of our society today, that is the contradiction between the low level of the production forces and the very high requirement of modern production, of socialism, and of the ever-raising material and cultural life of the people. That is why our primary task at present is to strive to develop the production forces and abundantly produce riches in order to overcome poverty and backwardness, to bring a plentiful, free, and happy life to the people.’ pp 143-144

‘To develop production forces, we should step up industrialization and modernization, chiefly the modernization of agriculture and rural areas with a new content appropriate to the developmental trend of modern science and technology, for the purpose of building the material and technical basis of socialism. However, the production forces can only develop in suitable production relations. That is why the State should control the crucial economic sectors; the State-owned economy should obtain high socio-economic effects and play a leading role in the national economy. At the same time, we should study and develop various forms of economic organization, from lower to higher levels: State economy, cooperative economy, individual economy, small proprietors, private capitalism, joint enterprises with foreign countries, mixing different forms of ownership, etc., so as to push forward the socialization of production in the socialist orientation.’ p 144

‘Any discrimination with regard to economic sectors should be eliminated. Goods producers and managers, private or State-owned enterprises, that operate with high efficiency, quality and effectiveness, those who get rich legally and help the poor or have public utilities at heart, all are highly appreciated by society.’
p 144

‘..... there should be a strong change, a revolution in education and training, an improvement of popular education..... That is also the premise or primordial condition for activity pursuing the open-door strategy and for integrating with the region and the world to develop quickly and sustainable.’ p 145

‘..... cases of corruption have been criticized, supervised, and inspected by the people; a number of cases have been examined and brought to court.’ p 146

‘They should live a wholesome, simple, and thrifty life. They themselves and their families should not indulge in corruption and cover manifestations of bureaucratism and corruption.’ p 147

‘The image of the communist must remain forever the fine and noble image of a life-long servant of the country and people.’ p 147

‘... “to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, rich and strong Vietnam and to contribute a worthy part to the world revolutionary cause.” [quoting Ho Chi Minh] p 148