

**On the Socialist Revolution in Vietnam, Vol. 3, Le Duan,
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FOR A RADICAL CHANGE IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK

(Speech delivered at the meeting of propaganda and education cadres in April 1962.)

In our Party's life no branch of activity is so old as propaganda and education, which has been carried out ever since our Party came into being.... the propaganda and educational branch is the most experienced of all. pp 7-8

With political power in our hands, we do command more facilities for agitation and ideological work, but then there also appear negative factors besides positive ones. Then, as it occurs, our revolutionary consciousness and our efforts to mingle with the masses and win them over slacken and give way to commandism and bureaucracy, thus neutralizing the revolutionary effect of our Party's propaganda and educational work.
p 8

.... we must start a cultural and ideological revolution to make our people's thinking fit with our new relations and mode of production, and simultaneously raise their cultural level, so that they may master new techniques. p 12

When we carried out socialist transformation, we did not have a comprehensive view of the problem and did not adequately take into account the specific conditions of our country. p 13

Socialist transformation is class struggle to abolish the exploiting classes and at the same time a revolution to shift a small production to a big one. In Viet Nam it did consist of these two aspects, the latter being predominant. Since the urban bourgeoisie and the rich peasants did not make up a sizable and potent force as in other countries, it was not necessary at all to put up a bitter class struggle. On the other hand, as our economy was mainly based on a small and individual production of the peasants and handicraftsmen, our key task in socialist transformation was to turn that production into a big, socialist one. p 14

He who brands a middle peasant who builds a cistern as a would-be capitalist displays an inconsiderate attitude, proves incapable of grasping the object of socialist transformation and only prejudices the peasants' zeal in production and hampers their productivity. p 15

I do not mean thereby that socialist transformation does not involve class struggle or is just a simple problem. Of course, it is intended to bar the way to spontaneous capitalist development in order to preserve the bulk of working peasants and handicraftsmen from exploitation and impoverishment. But this, too, does not mean to hinder the working peasants from attaining a life of plenty. On the contrary, while checking spontaneous capitalist development, socialist transformation aims at taking the people to abundance and happiness. p 16

In some places, however, there still prevail sabotage activities by a number of landlords or former imperialists' valets who have not been reeducated. We must, naturally, heighten our vigilance to deal with them in time. p 16

We set up co-operatives to achieve higher labour productivity and not because individual undertaking is blameworthy. We have to understand that capitalism does not stem from every individual undertaking and in whatever condition. We should not exaggeratedly and groundlessly fear capitalism. We call upon our peasants to join co-operatives for the sole reason that individual farming is not profitable. p 18

So long as production depends on manual labour, there is ground for individual undertaking. p 18

....in the transformation of the bourgeoisie in the North, we must reckon with our Southern compatriots' revolutionary struggle and act in such a way as will best rally the bourgeoisie within the National Front for Liberation against the American imperialists in South Viet Nam. Hence, we have used moderate measures: repurchasing of the property owned by the bourgeoisie, and uniting with it in view of common progress..... Bourgeois ideology is to be found not only among the bourgeoisie itself, but also among individual producers.... In Viet Nam in general, and in the North in particular, the bourgeoisie is weak, but bourgeois ideology among intellectuals is not so weak. p 20

.... ideological remoulding, entails intricate class struggle, hence the importance of raising our class consciousness. p 21

.... a wrong interpretation of our class line — poor peasants allegedly enjoy more political rights than middle peasants — makes the latter afraid of being deprived of political rights, and the former of becoming middle peasants. We must combat spontaneous capitalist development, but what

is capitalist must be clearly stated and speaking inconsiderately must not be allowed, so as to avoid a fall in productivity. p 22

.... we must have a correct policy to bring into being the worker-peasant alliance. This policy must be reflected in our price policy which, in turn, gives a concrete expression to the toilers' labour. p 23

After five to ten years, we will buy not only the machines we now see, but most up-to-date ones from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, we will import the latest technique on automation, chemistry, etc. Thus, the under-developed countries have the advantage of enjoying the most modern technique. p 26

.... we enjoy the help and co-operation of our socialist camp. This is a particular condition that the capitalist countries did not benefit from when they embarked on industrialization. p 27

...it is to be noted that 80 per cent of the raw materials required by light industry is produced by agriculture, and that the development of light industry will create conditions for heavy industry to progress. p 32

If explanatory work clearly shows what industrialization practically implies the peasants will understand that crops must be multiplied and production boosted to meet the requirements of industry, that agricultural products have to be exported in exchange for machines we needed in industry and why in the events of crop failure the peasants should reduce their ration. Then, let them consume 15 kilos of rice per month instead of 20, so that the workers may have also 15 kilos. Ideological work must make the peasantry realize that industrialization is also their own business so that they support it and feel elated with it. This inter-relation is not easy to grasp indeed. We have to expound it convincingly, very patiently. pp 33-34

.... the spirit of sacrifice must be highlighted, with the difference, however, that importance should be attached to the interests of all, that is, distribution should be equitable and rational, the fairest distribution now being based on the work done. p 34

A family with two skilled workers can earn about two hundred *dongs*, or as much as a minister. The lowest wage of a worker is 27 *dongs*, that is roughly one fifth of the highest wage. This is a feature particular to our country. But the income of a peasant seems low in comparison to that of a worker. The per capita income of peasants being only about 10 *dongs* a

month, a family with five members earns about 55 *dongs* a month, so they wonder whether they are making sacrifices to build their future or to let others enjoy higher wages. This is a complicated problem. During the Resistance War, as everyone got nearly the same wage, our ideological work was easy. Now our explanations to the effect that everyone should accept sacrifices is a very hard job. We have to go deeper into the masses to explain still more clearly to make everybody understand that those things are not irrational as they think. We must show the peasants that if a worker earns 100 or 27 *dongs* a month, he is paid according to the value of his work, and so is he who among them earns 10 *dongs*. And that is just and rational. It must be recalled that for a worker who has to feed his whole family with a monthly salary of 27 *dongs*. the living standard is much lower than that of a peasant with an average income of 10 *dongs*. Our cadres do not see all that this aspect of the problem involves so as to make their explanations more comprehensible to the peasants. We must say unequivocally that there are high and low wages, otherwise socialism could not be built. If a man who works harder than another and whose technical ability is higher, is not better paid, then we cannot encourage him to study and raise his technical level, thus hindering technological revolution. A distribution equal for all is unjust and irrational. Moreover, we have to stress that at present there must be mutual assistance and support and sharing of hardships to speed up the advance of our country. pp 34-36

There is no question of using violence or administrative measures; one has to rely on the people's consciousness and free will. The same principles govern ideological revolution and criticism and self-criticism. The problem is to determine what to destroy and what to build, both of these aspects having to be closely connected. We build the new and destroy the outdated. The question of what to destroy and what to build is a very delicate and complex one. p 38

To get rid of the spirit of being individual masters does not mean to reject all that belongs to the individual. Socialism and communism never advocate the rejection of personal interests but see to it that personal and common interests tally with each other. p 39

What we want to destroy is individualism, which cares only for personal interests to the detriment of common interests, and induces man to get rich by means of exploitation. p 40

.... ideological work demands both theoretical knowledge and its connection with feelings, that is why among other things literature and art assume paramount importance. p 40

We cannot allow ourselves to reject all that belongs to the individual;...we have to say to everyone: you should take part in the common business, serve the common business because it serves your own. We should not fail to say so to the peasants in particular and show them where lie their interests. p 42

We Cultivate the spirit of collective master and oppose the spirit of individual masters. It is right to eliminate what is to be eliminated, but we should do so tactfully so that everyone strives to progress consciously and light-heartedly. Avoid that way of doing ideological work which makes people feel as if they have grown coarser and meaner. p 44

Under socialism the harder you work the more you earn. The whole problem is essentially one of justice. That is why from the ideological point of view we should make clear the principle of material interests, distribution according to the work done and, at the same time, that these stem from justice. However, undue emphasis on material interests would lead to their being looked upon as in a capitalist society, to a rush for securing them with all the complexities that it would entail, and to a situation in which the enjoyment of material privileges would constitute the *raison d'etre* of man's life. This would bring about gravest results. pp 45-46

Good ideological work requires good organizational work and good cadres. It aims first and foremost at the masses of the people and then at cadres—especially Party members—which, consequently, demands that it go deep into the masses and rank-and-file Party members. Not few comrades complain that for the time being it does not reach the masses while others hold that such a situation arises from the lack of an effective organization, of means and cadres to tackle the job properly. I think those comrades are right to a certain extent, but they fail to visualize how our ideological workers should be organized, and how he who leads them should accomplish his duty, so that ideological work penetrates the masses. One of the most striking features of the masses in our country lies in that they look at everything through the Party. They have gone through the process of thirty years of revolutionary struggle, and particularly through nine years of a resistance war, under the Party's leadership. They, therefore, trust the Party and regard its opinion in everything as the best. p 47

To make the latter correctly understand and implement the Party's line and policies Party members, first of all, must grasp them. Propaganda and educational work should enlist the service of the Party primary branches and Party members at the grass-root level, because Party branches are now the bases from which the Party's line and policies radiate in the masses, because Party members are in closest contact with the masses and because both constitute the most important and the most basic force to do ideological work. Of course, it is necessary to set up a propaganda, and educational apparatus but the main thing is to bring Party branches and members into action. p 48

Our Party's rules have clearly stated that every Party member must do propaganda work, for while educating others he educates himself. In view of this one has not only to read but also to wage ideological struggle. Any Party member who fails to do propaganda work cannot really educate himself. Only by maintaining close links with the masses can we keep abreast with the revolution. Revolutionary feelings are latent among the masses, inherent in the realities of production, and it is in the struggle for production that revolutionary ideas are born. Consequently, any Party member who stands aloft from the masses and does not make propaganda among them, cuts off his ties with the bases of the revolution. Hence, to turn Party members into good propagandists and ideological workers the question is to make them work among the masses in order to raise the latter's level, thereby elevating their own knowledge, too. At present, most of our Party primary branches, those in government offices included, fail to do so. p 49

Formerly, when we waged armed struggle the ideological work of the political commissar was aimed at enabling armymen to master combat technique and fight well. Now in production it is aimed at making the producers get production knowhow and do it as best they can. p 50

WE MUST FOSTER NEW THOUGHTS TO BUILD UP SOCIALISM
(Speech delivered at the meeting to brief propaganda and educational cadres on the political remoulding drive, convened on March 10, 1961 by the Secretariat of the Vietnam Workers' Party Central Committee.)

Ideology is an abstract thing not easy to grasp. It reflects a given social existence or the material basis of a given society. To be effective ideological work must start from this social existence or material basis, that is, from objective reality. pp 52-53

Some people think of political remoulding as of something which has been created just a few years ago. In reality, *it is nothing else than propaganda and educational work, criticism and self-criticism* that our Party has been carrying out ever since its founding. We have propagandized and educated the people, made criticism and self-criticism to overcome shortcomings and errors. Without intensive propaganda work and, consequently, without the people's correct thinking, our revolution could not be brought to success. pp 53-54

As all the toilers are masters, the function of the State is chiefly to educate and organize them for the building of a new society, and at the same time, for the repressing of anti-socialist forces. With the labouring people, our main problem is propaganda, education, criticism and self - criticism, in order to acquaint them with the work to be done, develop their fortes and overcome their foibles, so that society can progress. Therefore, criticism and self-criticism is one of the fundamental laws of a socialist society. We all have gone through ideological remoulding which we now undertake with a better understanding. This time we set out not only to remould the thoughts of us Party members, but also to help the people as a whole grasp new ideological weapons to go forward. pp 54-55

In 1947, comrade Jdanov said that criticism and self-criticism is a necessity driving the socialist society forward. p 55

...each country has its own way of doing things, and all of them can obtain far-reaching results. Here, the problem is to form a new man, a real man, in the course of history, not an abstract man, one with his national traditions and his way of living compatible with his own nation. p 56

..... we have learnt much from China, now as in the past, but that we do not model ourselves on the Chinese. In other words, we have to learn from others, but only what suits us. pp 56-57

...*the guiding principle of this remoulding drive which is to build up and consolidate* new thoughts. p 57

To transform small production is not to abolish the small producers' ownership but to help them acquire a right of ownership larger in scope and higher in form, whereas to transform the capitalist economy is to suppress the bourgeoisie's right of ownership which we regard as unjust.

As for the peasants' ownership, we do not liquidate but turn it into a large collective one. p 60

.....the transformation of small production includes the *establishment of new relations of production*. p 60

Recently, we have abolished individual relations of production and established new collective ones according to which distribution is based on the work done, free from exploitation. These relations rely on collective labour and will help accelerate production to its full development.....Ideological remoulding includes both construction and destruction, but *construction constitutes its principal object*. p 61

To the peasant, we must say that if he continues indulging in individual production he is exposed to impoverishment and exploitation. We must advise him to take the path of collective production. A peasant toiling alone produces little, but one hundred working together will greatly increase per capita production and as a result, their income. This change in quantity leads to a change in quality. It is the same with means of production; if we gather them and carry out a new distribution of work among their owners, we shall generate a qualitative change. However, quantity must be increased to a given point so as to create a new quality. p 62

In ideological education, we cannot speak of ideology in a general way and treat it apart from the objective reality. For we would fall into idealism and thus -commit errors in this as in any other work. We must rely upon dialectical materialism to do ideological work. Propaganda work must be based on objective conditions; it cannot be done as one pleases. p 63

...by *proletarian dictatorship* we mean that our line and policies must stem from the proletarian standpoint. To the toiling masses, *proletarian dictatorship guarantees the right of being masters, the power to repress internal exploiters and to oppose external enemies*:.. we stand for peaceful transformation of the bourgeoisie. This differs from what was done in the Soviet Union, where proletarian dictatorship had to resort to ruthless repression to smash the bourgeoisie as a class. *The most important task of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Viet Nam is to make the toiling people masters of their country*. Here it is worth noting that dictatorship must be ensured by the proletariat, while the State belongs to both the workers and the peasants and not to proletariat alone.

We say: proletarian dictatorship but the State of the workers and peasants. By this we mean that ours is the line of the proletariat and that the *workers, peasants and toiling people are the masters of the State.*

p 65

Viet Nam does not go through capitalist development and advances straight to socialism, owing to the fact that the proletariat has led the national-democratic revolution and the peasantry has followed it, and that we benefit by the help of the socialist camp. In this revolution the peasantry accepted the leadership of the proletariat not only out of its hatred for imperialism and feudalism, but also because it supported the abolition of the landlords' land ownership advocated by the proletariat. It followed the proletariat and not the bourgeoisie for it realized that the former was the most patriotic class. Moreover, it recognized the leadership of the proletariat with its political meaning and also with its economic content.... Though this power is based on class alliance it is in essence held by the proletariat. *To speak of power is fundamentally to speak of violence.* Who uses violence? The proletariat — which does not share power with any other class. With the possibility of using violence it detains what is essential in power. And as power is held by the proletariat, we can shift to the proletarian revolution after the triumph of the national-democratic revolution. Power means violence, without which our Party, no matter what it wields, has no authority and strength. We can thus clearly see that the problem of being masters of the society is first of all that of leadership of the proletariat. pp 69-70

Our line and policies come from the Party of the proletariat, but our real force originate from the peasantry.... proletarian dictatorship means leadership of the proletariat which must be based on the worker-peasant alliance. Of course, our line and policies must come from the proletariat, our ideology must be the ideology of the proletariat, the proletariat must take the leadership. However, unless there exists a close worker - peasant alliance, the proletariat cannot be master of the society. pp 70-71

Under the leadership of the proletariat we seized power in the countryside first, then relying upon the peasantry we strengthened and brought it to towns. p 71

..... we build socialism, under which the peasants and workers are equal in rights and duties..... The sole difference lies in their ideological consciousness. The working class has never been, and will never be, disloyal to its ally, it does not hold such a sectarian view. p 72

Our middle peasants are different. They made up 45 to 50 per cent of our Party membership, which was an objective reality, not a fortuitous case.
p 73

The passage from individual production to collective production constitutes an extremely important step made by the middle peasants.
p 74

A number of Party members still imbued with the petty-bourgeois ideology rely on the authority of the proletariat to take arbitrary decisions.
p 77

We must be aware that the role of light industry is not to accumulate vast funds — which falls on a developed light industry turning out goods for export to draw profit from abroad — but to satisfy the people's needs in consumer goods. To increase accumulation we must raise labour productivity, that is, to equip the workers with new technique, manufacture more means of production, develop heavy industry. Heavy industry ensures enlarged reproduction, which creates possibilities for ever larger accumulation. p 78

...when I say that the labouring people are masters I mean that they are *collective masters*. p 81

But it is different with the cadres who are communists. We, Party members, live and work for the Party's cause and ideal, not solely for our material interests. We realize that beyond ours there are the material interests of the society. Our ideal is to bring welfare to the people, and to this end we may have to sacrifice our personal interests. On this score, unless we 'accept sacrifices and set an example to others, we will blur the dividing line between Party members and the masses, thereby stripping the Party of its responsibility towards the people. We must remember that we joined the Party because we have espoused its ideal and the aim it pursues, and that we did so to help the Party fulfil its task and attain its objective— to build a happy life for the people. As Party members we bear a good name that strenuous efforts should be exerted to deserve. We should be the first of all to endure hardships and sacrifices. We must show sacrificing spirit, more progressive thinking and wider knowledge to fulfil our task. This is precisely the *raison d'être* of our Party and of us, Party members. Upon our admittance into the Party we have pledged ourselves to make sacrifice for the Party's ideal. We must constantly grasp the Party's ideal and objectives. Whenever you go counter to its ideology you will stand aloft from it, you will no longer belong to it. It is

thus necessary to distinguish Party members from the masses.....Those comrades who, for duty's service, and according to our distribution system, live in comfortable houses and ride in motor-cars, must never lose sight of this ideal, make further efforts or they will be spoiled. p 84

.... because of our country's low production, material incentives are needed and differences in income still exist. These differences are aimed at a fair and rational distribution in a given situation. We must clearly realize and make people understand that this is an objective necessity, advantageous to the society, instead of letting the difference in remuneration overshadow our sense of being masters of our society. p 85

..... *the transformation and development of production in our country bears no resemblance to what is to be done in a developed capitalist country.....* We do not gather together for the sake of collective work, but for the promotion of production. If collective farming does not yield more than individual farming it would not be worthwhile to go in for collective production. p 86

Co-operativization on the basis of utilizing old implements and manual labour does increase production but not beyond a certain limit. If a co-operative — in which naturally work is done collectively — entirely relies on hand-tools for its normal functioning, these cannot fit, or, if at all, not for a long period. In the long run, they will inevitably make room for others. Without replacing them by machines, we would not be in a position to satisfy the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the labouring people. pp 87-88

..... after economic transformation, the problem facing us is to carry out socialist industrialization. *What is industrialization? It is to mechanize all our economic branches, replace manual labour by mechanized labour.* p 88

..... when the new relations of production have been established, we must shift emphasis on production to consolidate the relations of production. Unless we carry out socialist industrialization we cannot strengthen these relations of production.....the need for new production forces as a basis on which to consolidate and maintain the new relations of production and impel production. These new production forces reside in the means of production, and the tools supplied by industry. p 90

We do need help from the socialist countries: however, we must mainly advance from our agrarian economy, bring agriculture to collectivization, step up production and, on this basis, develop light industry, accumulate more fund than we do now to build up heavy industry which will constitute the foundation of our whole economy. pp 92-93

.... if we consume all that we produce we shall not be in a position to develop production. That is why we have to spend a little less, enough for our upkeep, so as to accumulate fund and enlarge production to meet requirements of greater importance. p 96

The army has not only to safeguard security, order and peace, but also to take part in production. p 98

.... our cadres are not yet equal to their task owing to their low cultural level, and their lack of organizational and leading capabilities. In other words, in this respect we do not yet keep pace with the development of modern economy. We must consequently maintain harmony in order to ensure a smooth development at all costs. p 104

Recently, the elaboration of the five-year-plan for the building of the material bases of our economy has aroused general confidence and enthusiasm, but after one crop failure some people already thought of revising the plan. We must foresee the eventuality of heavier crop failures while engaging in industrialization at a rapid *tempo*. p 105

..... criticism on this point should take into account the person or the enterprise—factory, State-farm, co-operative, etc.—we have to deal with. We must thoroughly know them and find out what hinders production. Only in the process of production can criticism be effectual, otherwise it will be superficial. We must carry out ideological work as the army men do after each engagement. Generalities of course must be put forward as a basis, but they do not suffice for the masses. Once we have an adequate conception of what is to be done, we shall base ourselves on it to examine our policies and to see whether our actions accord with it. Thus, we may realize that one or another policy worked out by certain economic branches have harmed production or hindered the people's sense of being masters of the society. Then, such policies and actions as well as their authors should be criticized. p 106

Struggling against corruption and waste we oppose bourgeois ideology. This is a class struggle in the ideological field. During the transformation of the bourgeoisie we made efforts to help the entire people distinguish

friends from foes. Now that this difference is clear to everyone, we enjoy favourable conditions to push forward the ideological remoulding in order to combat unsound thoughts prevailing among the people and within our Party. As the bourgeoisie in our country did not react vigorously we needed not have recourse to extreme measures. Over the past three years, its transformation has been undertaken very smoothly. For one thing, this is good; for another, this did not enable us to eliminate the ideology and vices of the bourgeoisie to an appreciable extent. With the enthusiasm of the entire people we can now eradicate them. This is a long-term work that we must do to forge ahead. P 107

We must not mechanically apply what we have learnt from books and strive to achieve socialist construction in accordance with our situation; avoiding unnecessary complications. We should, to this end, think over ways and means and display sound judgment so that what we do is right and sensible and satisfactorily meets the people's needs. We should guard against bureaucracy and commandism. As our workers and peasants can now realize their own interests and those of the collectivity, we must use persuasion to win them over, that is, to use criticism and self-criticism instead of administrative measures. For they sympathize with the Party and the State whose policies accord with their interests, and whose interests are one with their own. So, provided we display patience in our explanation the people will make common cause with us. Of course, there still are backward people who do not sympathize with us, but they are not many. p 110

WE MUST VIEW THE WOMEN'S QUESTION FROM A CLASS STANDPOINT

(Talk at a national conference of women activists, February 1959.)

It may be said that our women peasants are shouldering a bigger workload than men. p 113

.... if the women's movement is to make a major contribution to the revolutionary movement as a whole, it is essential that our labouring sisters should be deeply roused to class consciousness. Without a profound class standpoint, women are not able to fully participate in the general movement. p 115

For instance, we go to the countryside to explain to women peasants the advisability of joining farming co-operatives. If we do not realize that this is a movement designed to draw women into a class struggle between the two paths of development, a class struggle for the emancipation of

labouring women, and instead only view this drive in connection with the unequalities and disadvantages suffered by women in general, then such an understanding is grossly inadequate. p 116

When women have not yet become cadres, have not yet acquired the standpoint of the working class, nor reached political maturity, they are usually inclined towards sacrificing their own interests and feelings in favour of their husbands and children. Well, I may not be right in assessing so, but as I see it, our women cadres, being mainly of petty-bourgeois origin, are still, in spite of their revolutionary activities, generally under the influence of petty-bourgeois ideas, both in their thinking and style of work. That is why they have failed to approach the women's question as essentially a question of class struggle. Now that we have entered the stage of socialist revolution, a stage of open class struggle, the problem is no longer one of emancipating women in general, but of emancipating the most oppressed and the most exploited strata of labouring women. pp 117-118

We are now embarking on the co-operativization movement, the drive for the improvement of industrial management, in short, a deep-going socialist revolution. These revolutionary movements require that our women stand on the position of the working class. With the restoration of peace, our cadres are provided with a differentiated scale of wages and salaries which was unknown in the Resistance War. That is a necessity arising from the new situation and in application of the socialist principle of distribution according to the work done. Yet, objectively, this arrangement gives rise to a ticklish situation: people of a certain rank get a certain category of houses and salaries while people of other ranks get different kinds of houses and salaries. This has somewhat dimmed out our class consciousness which ought to have been further strengthened in the process of the socialist revolution. p 119

..... to give a strong impulse to the entire women's movement, we must, in the application of this method, proceed slowly, progressively in accordance with a detailed and exhaustive plan. For instance, our women cadres in Hanoi must acquaint themselves with each and every family in a given district of the capital, and in this way come to get a good grasp of the situation in each and every district. p 127

During the Resistance War, a woman, seeing that the wailing of her child might reveal to the enemy the hide-out of our troops, had drowned her child in order to save the fighters. To sacrifice maternal love for the

fighters' sake is indeed a sublime act of which only great hearts are capable. p 129

WE MUST HEIGHTEN THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF THE YOUTH AND LABOUR YOUTH UNION MEMBERS
(Speech delivered at the North Viet Nam Labour Youth Union Cadres' Conference held from January 19 to 27, 1959.)

In the past Resistance War, many of our youths accepted every sacrifice, endured all privations without a complaint. Not few were those who, as guides, spent long years in the jungles and living on grilled maize accomplished their mission, defying the worst dangers. But now, in peace conditions, even among those heroes, some have been worried by individualist considerations such as over wages, remunerations, positions. When we embark on socialist revolution their revolutionary spirit, which must be higher than in the previous stage, is lower among not a few of them. Each of our young men and women must build for himself or herself a bright future, a lofty ideal. pp 134-135

He who feels no enthusiasm for his work and daily occupations lacks revolutionary feelings. There are varied pleasures of which love is one of the most attractive for the youth. However, to progressive youth ardour for revolutionary work is much loftier than love. Many youths have sacrificed their love to take up a revolutionary job. Love meets the sentimental needs of two persons only whereas revolutionary ardour can satisfy the feelings of millions of people and mingles the feelings of individuals with the millions. There lies man's true and unbounded happiness. p 138

.... our youth must not only strive to arm themselves with ardent revolutionary feelings, but also endeavour to acquire revolutionary knowledge, study Marxism-Leninism. Thus, only can they become full-fledged revolutionaries. p 140

THE MORE WE LOVE MAN, THE BETTER WE LOVE OUR PROFESSION
(Speech delivered at the Festival of the Hanoi Teachers' College on June 29, 1962.)

The Party's leadership and Marxism-Leninism are unquestionably required but we should clearly realize that Marxism-Leninism has

penetrated deep into the Vietnamese people, that its revolutionary ideas and humanitarianism upheld by our people have blended into one, it has been instilled into the revolutionary tradition of our people to become a national force which enables our revolution to succeed more easily. In other words, it is because the Vietnamese nation has already been created and the Vietnamese people formed centuries ago, and have adopted Marxism-Leninism, that the August Revolution came out victorious, the great Resistance War could be conducted for nine years and the sacred struggle for national salvation can be put up now in the South of our country. Naturally, in the present epoch, the Vietnamese revolution must be at the same time a product of world revolution. Without favourable objective conditions afforded by the latter, it would meet with difficulties. Nevertheless, the victory of the revolution in any country cannot be the result of the exportation of the revolution from another country. p 152

.....ideological and cultural revolution to make Marxism-Leninism gain supremacy in our people's intellectual life, and endow our country with advanced culture and science.....The ideological and cultural revolution hold an important position inasmuch as it helps achieve the technological revolution and consolidate and perfect the newly-established relations of production. p 154

Our agricultural co-operatives do have the possibility of boosting production but the difficulty lies in management which is all the more inefficient as our cultural level is low.

Here, the lack of people with abilities in planning and book-keeping is general; the lack of business-like settlement of accounts in certain places gives rise to suspicion among co-op members. The foregoing deficiencies show how urgent the cultural revolution and education are, and that culture has become an important factor for the development of productive forces. p 155

When saying that labour is creative one just realizes this truth mentally, whereas it must be felt. Since long, many religions have dealt with humanitarianism. That there are the rich and the poor, that the nobles alone live in abundance, whereas the slaves lead a wretched life, it is asserted, is the will of God or Buddha. Such a viewpoint can by no means give rise to humanitarianism and if at all it cannot but be false. For if God or Buddha so disposed why should the toilers be respected and loved and labour glorified?

There cannot be humanitarianism so long as one does not clearly see the value of labour, profoundly realize that labour is creative and that without labour mankind cannot survive. True humanitarianism exists in so far as one grasps the significance of labour in man's life. Marxism-Leninism has dissipated religious, idealistic clouds over this subject and given back to man his own value, thanks to which love and friendship are restored among mankind and true humanitarianism develops and prevails. p 157

Our country is advancing to socialism, without going through capitalist development, therefore individualism is not deep-rooted in our people's feelings and way of thinking. p 164

THE TASKS OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN NORTH VIET NAM AND SCIENTIFIC WORK

Article written on the occasion of the 30th founding anniversary of the Party, February 3, 1960.)

The fundamental contradiction throughout the transitional period in our country is the contradiction between the capitalist path and the socialist path. To solve it is to tackle the problem as to "who will win" between capitalism and socialism and, simultaneously, the problem of bringing our backward agricultural country to a prosperous and strong socialist one. p 169

Our political system is a people's democracy led by the working class, based on the worker-peasant alliance. It is a socialist system, the most advanced in the world today.

But this progressive State power and political regime have not yet a firm economic mainstay. After land reform the bulk of the agricultural economy is based on small and scattered production and to a certain extent, beset with a spontaneous tendency to capitalism. The feudal land ownership is not yet completely wiped out in the mountain regions. The capitalist relations of production still in force are creating many difficulties to our economic guidance. Imperialist and feudal social vestiges are not yet swept away. p 170

The peasants' individual economy is in contradiction with the socialist regime. In the countryside there still remain the rich peasants' economy and the spontaneous tendency to capitalism (chiefly among the upper-middle peasants). Moreover, we have to reckon with the counter-

revolutionaries' and the imperialists' henchmen's sabotage activities. These are obstacles to the socialist transformation of agriculture. pp 171-172

The situation is different with the national bourgeoisie. The contradiction between them on the one hand, and the working class and the other sections of the toiling people on the other, is an antagonistic one. But in our country, owing to the existence of a strong people's democratic regime, a strong State economy and the weakness of the bourgeoisie, owing to the fact that the national bourgeoisie followed the working class in the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle, and that they are now willing to accept socialist transformation, this contradiction can be settled as a contradiction among the people. Through peaceful transformation we turn step by step the capitalist economy into a socialist one, and the capitalists into labouring people, thereby making their interests and aspirations after transformation gradually become one with those of the labouring people. p 172

Over the recent years, the fraternal socialist countries have helped us build a number of modern enterprises but the low technical level of our cadres and workers seriously restricts their productivity. At present, in the building of various works and enterprises, from planning, guidance in execution, assembling of machines to the settlement of technical problems in production we largely rely on the assistance of specialists from socialist countries. p 179

.... we must successively grapple with the two following main contradictions:

1. The contradiction between the advanced State power and political system on the one hand and the backward social relations and relations of production on the other; and
2. The contradiction between the advanced social system and the backward productive forces.

The settlement of these two contradictions requires that *the task of our whole Party and people in North Viet Nam at present should be to continue socialist transformation, strive to consolidate the socialist relations of production which have already taken shape, at the same time boosting socialist industrialization, speeding up cultural and technological revolution and rapidly turning our backward agricultural*

country into a socialist one endowed with modern industry, modern agriculture and advanced culture and science. p 180

Simultaneously, *a strong mass revolutionary movement to conquer science and technology must be created.* Science and technology originate from production. Frederick Engels said that even at the outset the existence and the development of science and technology have been determined by production. The main task of science is to serve production. The toiling people, who take a direct part in production, have accumulated rich experiences. We must bring science to the masses and sum up and enhance their experiences, thus making them grasp science and technology to speed up production. At present a seething movement for the study of technology and technical improvement is taking shape among our people. We must strengthen our leadership so that this movement may penetrate deep into the masses and spread far and wide. p 185

If we want our sciences to progress rapidly, we must *endeavour to learn the experiences of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union*, the first country in the world concerning scientific development. p 187

THE YOUTH ARE THE MAINSTAY OF THE REVOLUTION
(Talk at the Third Congress of the Viet Nam Labour Youth Union, March 1961.)

Revolution is something very great and difficult which, moreover, constantly changes and develops. Without the active participation of the youth, ardent and receptive to new ideas to translate them into reality, revolution cannot make rapid progress. Thus, young people must form not only a shock brigade but also the mainstay of the revolution. P190

Unless we have large agricultural co-operatives, we shall not be able to liberate and promote the productive forces, strongly push ahead the development of agriculture, create favourable conditions to achieve mechanization and radically change the agricultural character of our country. p 194

To boost production so as to have adequate food and clothing and on that basis, everyone will practise economy as best he can for accumulation and industrialization, is the only right course beneficial to the people's living standards, and to our children in future as well. By any means does it make life harder for the people. With our backward agricultural and

handicraft economy, should we spend all that we earn or more than we earn, we-would not only lead a poverty-stricken life but things may get still worse for us. We do not want to relapse into poverty. We want to be well-off. The entire people and the youth first and foremost must be aware-of this and struggle hard with a self-sacrificing spirit to actively accumulate more fund for socialist industrialization. p 196

Recently, as we are faced with economic difficulties, some comrades query: why is life still hard after six years of socialist construction? All of us know that we suffered a crop failure last year.... The crop failed partly because of the drought but mainly because of unfavourable weather, an untimely cold spell, waterlogging, etc. Our poor technical standard cannot help us conquer nature as yet.....the crop failure was precisely due to the fact that industrialization has not been achieved. But the situation differs from what it was under foreign rule in that nobody is starving because of the crop failure which results only in a temporary reduction of the food ration. Apparently, this cut seems to be abnormal under socialism, but if carefully analysed, it shows the superiority of our socialist system. Now, everybody is willing to reduce his food ration to avoid the recurrence of famine as in 1945 when two million people died of starvation. We are still hard-up. Yet one thing is certain: destitution and starvation are things of the past and our living conditions improve with every passing day. pp 198-199

In order to lead production effectively, you must grasp our political aims: for whom do we produce? what is the purpose of our production activities? At the same time, you must know how to carry out production. Neither of these two aspects of the problem can be overlooked. The failure to grasp our political aims is of course dangerous because it will lead us astray while the lack of knowledge on production and production technique, such as water-conservancy, preparation of seedlings, etc., will hamper the development of production. And so will the holding of too many meetings. That is why cadres should grasp politics, possess Marxist-Leninist ideology which is the ideology of the proletariat, and simultaneously master production technique. p 206

..... we must combat all that stands on our way, without forgetting, however, that prime attention should be paid to the educational aspect. *First of all, we must combat individualism*, the main obstacle to collectivism and to the acquisition of the sense of being masters. Individualism obscures and restrains collectivism: we must resolutely oppose it. Fostering the sense of being masters of the society also implies fighting individualism. These two aspects are closely related. At the same

time, we must fight all that is detrimental to the right of the people as masters. Manifestations of bureaucracy and commandism must be countered, as well as thoughts incompatible with production, embezzlement, corruption, waste, laziness, otherwise we could not cultivate the “thrift and diligence to build our fatherland” viewpoint and our viewpoint on production. The new takes shape and develops every day, every hour, but the old holds us back. Conservatism, the habit of not daring to think, to speak and to act boldly, must pitilessly be eliminated. The youth are very receptive to, and quickly aware of, the new; unfortunately, the old largely prevailing in their family life and in their environment in which they live, influences and restrains them. So, on the one hand, the youth themselves should be bold enough to carry into effect the new, and on the other hand, the Union and Party leadership must support and create favourable conditions for them to adopt what is new and drop what is outdated. p 210