

## Le Duan – Selected Writings, (new impression), The Gioi, Hanoi, 1994

### STRENGTHENING SOLIDARTIY AND UNIIY OF VIEWS AND ADVANCING TOWARDS FURTHER SUCCESSES

(Excerpt from the "Report of Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1960 in Moscow" to the Third Session of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee in December 1960)

The success of the Meeting constitutes *an extremely great achievement of the international communist movement*. p12

... the further strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement. pp12-13

It is consequently the banner of unity and victory of the whole international communist movement. p13

... the split in the international communist movement. p13

... we communists must base ourselves on the principal features of the general situation in order correctly to work out strategic and tactical tasks. p14

... the triumph of socialism and communism on a world-wide scale. p15

The complete triumph of socialism is certain. p15

... the struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence is developing vigorously. p16

Today, a world war is no longer a fatal calamity; a world war can be staved off, peace can be maintained, and many favourable conditions exist for the struggle for the defence of peace. p16

In our time the transition from capitalism to socialism is neither a spontaneous and accidental phenomenon, ... Thus, *the transition from capitalism to socialism is a process of revolutionary struggle, of class struggle, on a national as well as international scale*. p17

In the condition of a world divided into two systems, socialism and communism, peaceful coexistence is an objective necessity. It is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism in the world. p17

In the peaceful coexistence between the two opposing systems, class struggle will deepen the contradictions of imperialism which will emasculate and disintegrate it rapidly. p18

... it will not fold its arms, awaiting its downfall, but will frantically seek every means, fair or foul, to turn back the wheel of history. ... Therefore, in the present conditions, the class struggle on a world-wide scale does not subside but is getting ever fiercer; in its essence, it is a life-and-death struggle between imperialism and anti- imperialist forces. p19

The struggle for the realization of peaceful coexistence between the two systems, socialism and capitalism, on the one hand, and the energetic promotion of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries on the other do not clash with each other but on the contrary are closely connected with each other. Consequently we can affirm that in our time, the time of struggle of two opposing social systems, *the common struggle of the international communist movement embraces two aspects: first, a powerful struggle must be carried out for peaceful coexistence between the*

*socialist system and the capitalist system, so as to strengthen the socialist camp ever more steadily; second, parallel to this struggle, the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries must be actively developed, and all revolutionary potentialities must be made use of to overthrow imperialism.* p20

The *basic* issue of the struggle between the two world systems is that of securing success for socialism all over the world, the burning problem of our time is that of the safeguarding and consolidation of peace. Therefore, *the aims of the struggle of the world's people at present are peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. All these goals are closely interrelated. The struggle for their realization is a resolute anti-imperialist struggle.* p21

Though the socialist camp has grown sufficiently strong to sweep imperialism out of existence if it should launch a world war, we do not want to allow imperialism to kindle a world war. Why? Because the worlds' people desire peace and hate aggressive wars. Because we hold that a world war is not necessary for the revolutionary peoples to destroy imperialism. ... Should a world war flare up, although revolution would be ultimately successful, we would be faced with tremendous difficulties in construction of a new society. p23

However, the opposition to aggressive war and the safeguarding of peace cannot by themselves eliminate imperialism. To wipe out imperialism still requires a revolutionary struggle of the world's people. p24

... lopsided emphasis on the defence of peace and peaceful coexistence and lack of concern in the stepping up of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries or restriction of this movement for the sake of peace and peaceful coexistence will cause considerable harm to the masses and will also lead to alienation from the masses who have a great aversion for imperialism and are eager to get rid of its oppression and exploitation, and finally will damage the cause of peace. p25

... unilateral stress on the close relationship between the democratic task and the socialist one to the effect that socialism is the natural outcome of the gradual extension of democratic reforms under the capitalist rule without realizing that the sine qua non condition of socialist transformation is the carrying out of socialist revolution and the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat, will be a departure from the Marxist-Leninist fundamentals on the State and revolution. p26

The communist parties must grasp firmly and hold aloft the banner of nationalism, democracy and peace, and should not let the bourgeoisie utilize it to hoodwink the masses. They must carry through the national democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism, thereby creating the conditions required to switch over to socialist revolution. p27

As correctly pointed out in the Statement "it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of human society in our time". p28  
Statement of the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in November 1960.

... they must show great caution and advance step by step, and the intensity of their attacks must conform to the concrete situation, that is to say this mode of struggle must be resorted to; *beating back imperialism step by step and overthrowing it part by part.* p29

Meanwhile, however; we must also be fully aware that the possibility of preventing a world war does not necessarily mean to eliminate the danger of such a war. p32

Today, a most pressing task is that of resolutely averting the danger of a world war. *In order to do so in an effective way, we must resort to revolutionary means and rely mainly on the force of the masses.* p33

As pointed out in the Statement, "peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism". It must be waged in the political, economic and ideological fields, but not through a world war. pp34-35

We must coordinate closely the powerful forces of the socialist countries with the revolutionary movement in the colonial, dependent and capitalist countries, repulse imperialism gradually and overthrow it piecemeal, thereby weakening and disintegrating it gradually; only by so doing can we compel the imperialists to coexist peacefully the socialist countries. p35

But, as the new Statement has reaffirmed, "should the imperialist maniacs start war, the world's people will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it". p37

The Statement clearly points out that *this possibility will arise when the forces of socialism and peace all over the world have won absolute superiority over the forces of imperialism*; when the USSR has become the number one world power and China a mighty industrial state and when the other socialist countries have grown powerful, thereby achieving absolute political, economic and military superiority; when the disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism has been completed, the peace zone vastly expanded, the struggle for democracy and socialism in the capitalist countries has won great successes, some countries of the imperialist system have disintegrated and the rule of imperialism still subsists over only a negligible area. Then the forces of socialism and peace will absolutely prevail over those of imperialism and then the possibility of excluding world wars from the life of society will emerge. But on the other hand, war being the natural product of societies with antagonistic classes and being caused in our time by imperialism, as long as antagonistic classes exist in society, as long as imperialism exists, there will be fertile ground for wars. *Only when socialism triumphs all over the world will it be possible to do away with the social and national causes of all wars.* pp37-38

In order to achieve their dark aims, they join hands with the local reactionary forces and resort to such tricks as "aid", intimidation, division, subversion, establishment of aggressive military blocs and bilateral aggressive military alliances, etc, with a view to bribing and winning over the ruling national bourgeoisie. p42

The experience drawn by many countries has proved that the key to the problem of securing leadership of the revolution for the working class in national countries is whether *the Marxist-Leninist party adopts a right attitude towards the national bourgeoisie in power and the masses of the toiling peasantry.* p43

The communist and worker's parties in the capitalist countries must pay especial attention to a very important problem which is to realize the unity of the trade union movement and other democratic movements and achieve united action between the communists and the social democrats on a national and international scale through daily struggle against the reactionary labour leaders and the right wing social-democrat leaders. p47

... the communist and workers' parties *must envisage and prepare for both possibilities of transition to socialism, peaceful and non-peaceful*, in order to secure the initiative in any eventuality. Class struggles and revolutionary struggle are always complex. It is precisely for this reason that Lenin taught us communists that the revolutionary working class and its vanguard must endeavour to study all forms of struggle, peaceful and non-peaceful parliamentary and extra

parliamentary, and take advantage of the peaceful possibility to seize state power when the opportunity arises, while standing fully prepared for the non-peaceful possibility and ready to oppose revolutionary violence to counter-revolutionary violence. p47

Strict observance of both the principle of providing material incentives and that of seeking to raise the masses' ideological standard; p49

In the socialist system all countries are equal and independent and at the same time all have the duty to unite with one another on the basis of proletarian internationalism. ... The communist and workers' parties have the obligation to ceaselessly educate their peoples in a spirit of proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, and to resolutely struggle against all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. p50

To promote the great role of the communist and workers' parties in the struggle of the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, *the solidarity and unity of views of the international communist movement* must be continuously strengthened on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The new Statement has pointed out that to strengthen this solidarity and unity of views, we must continue struggling on two fronts: against modern revisionism, which is the main danger, and at the same time against dogmatism and sectarianism. p51

Over the past three years, the communist and workers' parties have dealt telling blows at modern revisionism. ... However *modern revisionism remains the main danger for the international communist movement*. The characteristic of modern revisionism is that it robs Marxism-Leninism of its revolutionary essence, denies class struggle, upholds peace and co-operation between exploiting classes and exploited classes, alienates itself from the revolutionary standpoint of the working class, negates proletarian revolution and dictatorship, paralyses the revolutionary will and vigilance of the masses, disarms the working class and disrupts their fighting spirit in face of the class enemy. The modern revisionists are trumpeting that the nature of imperialism has changed, that the source of war in our time is not imperialism, that capitalism is gradually growing into socialism, and that the realization of so-called "active coexistence" alone can lead to socialism on a worldwide scale. pp51-52

While struggling against revisionism as the main danger, we must go on fighting dogmatism and sectarianism. Robbing communist parties of the ability to develop Marxism-Leninism and apply it creatively according to specific conditions, servilely copying foreign experiences, unable correctly to assess the changing situation and new experiences, they divorce communists from reality, from the masses and lead them to negative or adventurist activities in the revolutionary struggle. The communist parties must wage a resolute struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism. pp52-53

All the communist and workers' parties are independent, equal, and at the same time duty-bound to support and assist one another and voluntarily abide by the assessment and conclusions unanimously reached by all the parties after democratic discussions at the meetings of their representatives. p53

Of the socialist countries the Soviet Union and China are the two biggest. In the international communist movement, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party are the biggest parties and have the greatest responsibility. Therefore, the solidarity between the two countries and parties is of especial importance for the destiny of the socialist system and the international communist movement. pp53-54

We will never cease strengthening the unshakable unity and friendship between our country and the Soviet Union. China and the other fraternal countries and between our Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communist Party and the other fraternal parties. pp54-55

HOLD HIGH THE REVOLUTIONARY BANNER OF CREATIVE MARXISM, TAKE OUR REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE TO COMPLETE VICTORY!

(Excerpt from the Speech delivered at the Nguyen Ai Quoc Party School on March 13, 1963 in Commemoration of the 80th Anniversary of the death of Karl Marx).

... all of Marx's theoretical and practical activities had only one ultimate aim: to abolish the capitalist system and establish a communist system. Scientific communism is the science of the struggle to accomplish this aim. *The theory on class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat* is a red thread which runs through scientific communism. p61

Only when antagonistic classes no longer exist in human society - in other words, only when socialism has achieved world-wide victory - will the class struggle die down. p64

In order to liberate itself as well as other working people from the oppression and exploitation of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must make revolution, smash the state machine of the bourgeoisie with revolutionary violence and set up its own state machine - *the dictatorship of the proletariat* - and use it as an instrument to realize the transition from capitalism to communism.

The attitude towards the theory of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat is the criterion by which a communist's loyalty to Marxism is to be gauged. In attacking Marxism, the imperialists and their lackeys often direct their blows at this theory. In the international communist movement, right opportunism revisionism, "left" opportunism, dogmatism, etc., always arise around the question of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In any circumstance therefore, the most important thing for every Marxist-Leninist is resolutely to uphold the Marxist viewpoint of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. pp64-65

Thanks to Marxism-Leninism, our Party came into being. It is because our Party creatively applies Marxism-Leninism to the guidance of the Vietnamese revolution. pp65-66

During the national people's democratic revolution which followed, our Party, grasping the Marxist-Leninist science of revolution, persisted in creatively applying the Marxist theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship to the conditions of our country and combated incorrect tendencies in the national movement and right and "left" deviations within the Party.

In the early period of its establishment our party also criticized the wrong tendencies of certain comrades. These tendencies were: obscuring the class nature of the Party as the vanguard of the proletariat, neglecting political struggles, divorcing the consolidation of the Party organization from the struggle against the enemy, and maintaining that the former should precede the latter. p69

The Party also criticized the feeling of pessimism and defeatism as expressed in the lack of confidence in the revolutionary strength of the masses, impatience as expressed in advocating a war of quick decision, the tendency to depend on foreign aid, etc. p71

The 1960 Moscow Statement points out: US imperialism is the biggest international exploiter, the chief bulwark of world reaction, an international gendarme, the main force of aggression and war, and the sworn enemy of the peoples of the whole world. p78

The epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism is, as Lenin said, one of life-and-death

struggle between moribund capitalism and triumphant socialism; p80

With the two systems of socialism and capitalism existing at the same time, peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems is an objective necessity, peaceful coexistence does not mean negation of the struggle between two contending social systems. According to the Leninist standpoint, it only means not to use war or the threat of war, not to resort to armed struggle in relations between countries with different social regimes. In conditions of peaceful coexistence, the necessary and objective struggle between the two social systems will definitely take place in the political, economic, cultural and ideological fields. Peaceful coexistence does not mean to limit the class struggle within each country at the capitalist system as well as the national liberation movement against old and new colonialism in the countries oppressed or invaded by imperialism. Peaceful coexistence is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism and a part of the struggle against warlike imperialism and for the defence of world peace. Peaceful coexistence conforms to the fundamental interests of the socialist countries, of all nations and of the whole of progressive mankind. The conditions created by peaceful coexistence will enable the socialist system to demonstrate more and more clearly its superiority in the economic, political, cultural, scientific and technological fields, rapidly enhance its prestige and international influence and make it more and more attractive to working people throughout the world. The realization of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems will deepen the contradictions of imperialism, thus creating favourable conditions to spread the class struggle in the capitalist countries and speed up the struggle for national liberation in the colonies and dependent countries. In turn, victory in the revolutionary class struggle and national-liberation struggle will greatly contribute to the realization and consolidation of peaceful coexistence. The struggle for peaceful coexistence between countries of the two systems, the development of the revolutionary movements in capitalist countries and the development of the national-independence movements are closely interrelated and reinforce rather than conflict with one another. pp87-88

After basically fulfilling the first task, the most important work of the proletariat is to build a new economic relationship and perfect it, promote the development of productive forces and create a labour productivity higher than that of capitalism. p89

We communists, however, maintain that economic struggle is only one aspect on the international class struggle at present, which remains *primarily a political struggle*. p90

Marxism-Leninism teaches that the fundamental question of every revolution is that of state power, and that the fundamental question of socialist revolution is that of the dictatorship of the proletariat. p92

Lenin said, "Those who recognize *only* the class struggle are not yet Marxists ... Only he who *extends* the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the *dictatorship of the proletariat* is a Marxist". p233

Lenin, The State and Revolution, Selected Works, FLPH, Moscow, 1952, Vol II, Part 1,

But practically all of them have a common problem, namely, that imperialist blocs in varying degrees retain their colonial interests, especially economic interests, and do their utmost to seize more privileges in these countries, either by old colonialist methods or by devious, neo-colonialist devices. These include economic and military "aids", military alliances, political pressure, and even subversive activities. p100

Externally, they move more and more over to the side of, and rely on, imperialism, accept its economic and military "aid", join the aggressive military blocs rigged up by imperialism, follow in the wake of the imperialist countries on certain question of foreign policy, hamper national-

independence movements and develop expansionism. Obviously, this capitalist road of development is only in the interest of a handful of people and does not meet the basic demands of the masses in the national-democratic revolution. For this reason, the working class, the broad peasant masses, other working people as well as people of the intermediate strata who desire genuine independence and democracy do not wish to take this road. p101

Experience has proved that the primary internal condition for a national country to advance along the non-capitalist path is a strong Marxist-Leninist party, and its ability to unite with and lead the broad masses of the peasantry, the largest revolutionary force, to form a solid worker-peasant alliance, and to unite with and lead other patriotic and democratic forces. p102

*The revisionists* seek in every way to serve US imperialism and to undermine the revolution of the peoples of the national countries. Exploiting the urgent desire of these people to realize socialism, they are advocating a "new" road, that is a road of class compromise and the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. p103

SOME PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE INTERNATIONAL TASKS OF OUR PARTY  
(Excerpt from the Speech delivered at the 9th session of the Viet Nam Workers' Party Central Committee held in December 1963)

Among the members of our Party there are some - a very small number, and mostly intellectuals - who hold the view that as our Party is small and was born in a former colony with a backward agriculture and a low cultural level, it has little ability to grasp Marxist- Leninist science and complex international problems. pp107-108

It is because the revolutionary fire in their hearts had died; became once their revolutionary sentiments had waned, their knowledge became useless, worse still, dangerous. p109

Therefore, we can say that the series of divergent views existing at present within the international communist movement reflect the two different attitudes towards the question *whether or not to make the revolution, whether or not to struggle for the interest of the toiling people and the oppressed and exploited masses, and whether or not to be determined to liquidate imperialism and capitalism.* pp109-110

... the October Socialist Revolution ... ushered in a new era for progressive mankind. p116

... those people lacked revolutionary determination; and lacking revolutionary determination, they were not resolute in looking for allies to overthrow the enemy; on the contrary they tried to devise theories in order to cajole and compromise with the enemy in the vain hope that their empty dreams would come true. p117

In theory as well as in practice, Stalin faithfully put into effect and developed Lenin's thoughts. He paid particular attention to and wholeheartedly supported and helped the revolutionary movement of the oppressed nations; and he highly valued the role of the national-liberation revolution in defeating imperialism and in making socialism triumph all over the world. His famous thesis is: *The national question is essentially the peasant question, and the peasant question is the fundamental and decisive factor of the anti-imperialist front of the national-liberation revolution. He made great contributions to the Chinese revolution.* He pointed out that the main trend of the Chinese revolution must be *to establish at all costs the leadership of the working class over the peasantry, to make hundreds of millions of peasants rise up, to arm the workers and peasants, and to set armed revolution against armed counter-revolution.* At the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in his most profound survey of various revolutionary currents in the present era,

Stalin made this appeal, *"Let the communists uphold the banner of national democratic revolution and march ahead!"* This appeal is a clarion call urging us to march forward to the front. pp117-118

... what is the main factor which has created the strength of the socialist countries and its decisive impact on the development of society? In my opinion this factor is the *political line, the revolutionary line, the line of building a new socio-economic structure, represented by the socialist countries.* p119

... have got a tested revolutionary line for their own liberation, a sharp and most efficacious weapon with which to shake and bring down the bulwarks of imperialism and eliminate the world capitalist system. p120

Thirdly, while the economy of the capitalist countries is bogged in a weak and rotten state and is undermined by cyclical crises and constant stagnation in many branches, in the socialist countries the socialist relations of production with ownership of the means of production by both the entire people and the collectives have paved the way for productive forces to develop unceasingly at a high tempo. p120

Relying mainly on their own efforts ... the people of each socialist country, no matter what economic level they start from, can also build a sovereign economy. p121

But the force attacking and destroying imperialism is not nuclear weapons, it is the revolutionary actions of the masses guided by a correct political line, a revolutionary line, and resolved to smash all fetters of slavery. ... imperialism cannot be destroyed and human society cannot move a step forward following the trend of the era - the transition from capitalism to socialism on the world-wide scale- if a correct political line to guide the people to persist in the revolution is not worked out or if the revolutionary movement lacks a correct political line to lead it to victory. p123

... thanks to the socialist production relations, although productive forces as well as gross output in the socialist countries are still relatively low compared with the advanced capitalist countries, the former have applied a most equitable and rational system of distribution, thereby securing employment for all the workers and constantly improving the standard of living of the toiling people; unemployment and other social scourges have been completely wiped out. In the socialist system there is no longer exploitation of man by man; here genuine democracy and genuine freedom prevail, labour is no longer considered as commodities, as dirt-cheap and unsaleable goods, as in the capitalist world; here man sees not only his material life guaranteed, but also his dignity restored and his loftiest and healthiest sentiments flourish. ... we should not use industrial and agricultural outputs, or per capita food quotas as yardsticks with which to measure the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system, and certainly not use them to measure the human value of the peoples of the socialist countries who, inspired by a noble ideal. are the masters of their own destinies and are endeavouring to work for the happiness of their own nations and of mankind. pp126-127

We must stand fast by the tenets of historical materialism and look upon the masses as the motive force of historical development. We must have long-term, fundamental strategic viewpoints, revolutionary fervour and rich revolutionary knowledge. Only then can our appreciation be correct. p128

... in the economic field imperialism is rich but not powerful. Due to the narrowing down of the market and the uneven economic development, the balance of forces between the imperialist countries changes constantly, and contradictions between the imperialist cliques grow more and more acute. The imperialists now find themselves in the following situation: in order to maintain

capitalism and cope with the imperialist system, the national-liberation movement and the labour movement in their countries, they realise that they cannot live apart but must unite, organize themselves into economic, military and political blocs; however, the blocs once formed are torn by internal strife and their members forced to fight one another. p140

We must look at the situation mainly from the viewpoint of strategy, of lasting and fundamental development, not the viewpoint of temporary tactics. Some comrades have wrongly analysed the international situation because they have wrongly analysed and assessed our own strength and that of imperialism, and, taking tactics for strategy, laid stress on expedient measures, and not on a long range fundamental revolutionary line. pp145-146

... some comrades have been influenced by modern revisionism when faced with a difficult and complex situation in the new stage of our country's revolution and with the complexities of the international communist movement. Although they are a mere handful, yet this is a bad thing and warrants attention. What are the precautions to be taken so that modern revisionism cannot filter into our Party? p154

The overwhelming majority of our cadres and Party members have a very high revolutionary spirit but in this acute class struggle some of them have shown signs of right deviations concerning several international as well as domestic problems. If the opportunity occurs, for instance if the revolution meets with difficulty this right-deviationism thought can become a good ground for modern revisionism to take root and develop. Our people's revolutionary work is a protracted, hard and complex one. Our Party must heighten its vigilance. In order to combat effectively the corrosion of our Party by modern revisionism we must see that revisionism is not allowed to grow, under any circumstances. To this end, our Party must carry out the following tasks. p155

1. Make the cadres and Party members understand thoroughly the Party's line – our Party's line is a revolutionary one; it is incompatible with modern revisionism. p155

2. Make the cadres and Party members still firmer in their proletarian, wipe out the vestiges of petty-bourgeois ideology and the influences of bourgeois ideology, and in particular, firmly oppose individualism, the ideological source of revisionism. p155

... it is necessary to continue fostering the staunch revolutionary will of the cadres and their true patriotic spirit in combination with the spirit of proletarian internationalism and to oppose bourgeois nationalism and great-nation chauvinism and narrow nationalism. We must ceaselessly foster in them industriousness, thrift, integrity, and uprightness, instil in them a high sense of responsibility towards the people, urge them to constantly strive to improve the people's material and spiritual life, considering it as the noble task of the communists, and at the same time struggle against all tendencies towards personal security and pleasure-seeking and prevent loose and immoral ways of living.

3. Strengthen the sense of organization and discipline of the cadres and Party members and oppose liberal and sectarian ideas. ...

4. Organize systematic studies of Marxism-Leninism and current affairs and vigorously criticize modern revisionism. p156

Through ideological struggles waged by Marxist-Leninists and, what is even more important, through the furtherance of the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the socialist countries and the rest of the world, modern revisionism will be defeated. p157

## THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS ESSENTIAL TASKS

He said: "In order to save the country and liberate the nation, there is no other road but the of that proletarian revolution."

Ho Chi Minh, Selected Works (in Vietnamese), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p705

The combination of Marxism-Leninism, the most revolutionary ideology of our times, with the fierce struggle put up by the working class, the most revolutionary class and the close ally of the peasantry, and with the patriotic movement of the nation in full revolutionary effervescence, led to the founding of our Party on February 3, 1930. p164

... in order to bring the struggle for national liberation to completion, defend the fatherland, and contribute to the great battle waged by the world's people for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. p165

By their magnificent victories over imperialism and feudalism and by the socialist revolution they are carrying out in the North, our working class and nation, led by our Party, are bringing the most active contribution, side by side with the peoples of fraternal socialist countries, to the historic process of change now taking place in the world. p166

Every step forward of our revolution and our people is a triumph for Marxism-Leninism, the invincible revolutionary doctrine, the shining truth of the new era. p166

President Ho Chi Minh was the great leader of the Party and the great leader of our nation. He embodied the close union of the ideal of independence and freedom with that of socialism and communism, of ardent patriotism with genuine proletarian internationalism. p168

The ultimate aim of the Party remains the realization of communism. p170

To carry out land reform while the war of resistance was going on was a very judicious policy of our Party, one with a creative character. p173

By building socialism, ... our people are supplying a vivid illustration of the greatest truth of our times: in the present era, national independence, democracy and socialism are inseparable. p175

As President Ho Chi Minh asserted: "Only socialism, only communism, can free the oppressed nations and the toiling people of the world from servitude" p176

Ho Chi Minh, Selected Works (in Vietnamese), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p794

For this reason the Communists now must seize hold of the national democratic banner and march forward, as had been pointed out by Stalin. p176

The first crucial problem of the revolution is correctly and fully to assert the *leading role of the working class*. p177

The reason why our Party has steered a correct political course throughout all periods and has led the Vietnamese revolution from one victory to another is because it holds from to the stand of the working class and has a thorough grasp of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary doctrine of the working class. p178

Unlike the peasantry in many other countries, the Vietnamese peasants never followed the lead of the national bourgeoisie, which was weak economically and flabby politically. It was because their

revolutionary ardour and aspirations went far beyond the bounds within reach of the bourgeoisie. The peasantry is highly revolutionary but cannot lead the revolution, for it does not represent any distinctive mode of production and has neither an independent political position nor an ideology of its own. ... While the strength of the working class is increased severalfold for having a great ally, the peasantry, it should also be understood that the latter's power can be brought into full play only in alliance with and under the guidance of the working class. p181

Experience has shown that in carrying out the Front policy one must guard against and oppose both the rightist and "leftist" tendencies. p182

... while one must strive to maintain and strengthen the Front's unity, there must necessarily be a struggle between the viewpoints of the various members of the Front, who represent different classes. One-sided unity, unaccompanied by struggle, in practice leads to the disruption of unity and the liquidation of the Front. If one knows how to conduct a principled struggle, i.e. one that is based on the common political programme and aimed at implementing it, far from breaking up unity and weakening the Front, one will have done the only thing that could strengthen unity and consolidate the Front. p183

Experience has shown that a revolutionary movement may mark time, or even fail, not for lack of clearly defined orientations and objectives but essentially because there have been *no appropriate principles and methods for revolutionary action*.

... Here, besides courage, one also needs wisdom; this is not only a science, but also an art.

No other field requires from the revolutionary a higher creative spirit than that of the methods for revolutionary action. Revolution is creation; without imagination and ingenuity, a revolution cannot succeed. p189

It is a matter of principle that, either in day-to-day policies or in the practice of revolutionary struggle, no matter in what way and under what circumstances, a revolutionary should never lose sight of the final goal. To consider the fight for small day-to-day gains and immediate targets as "everything" while looking upon the final goal as "nothing" - "to sacrifice the future of the movement to the present" - is to display the worst kind of opportunism, which can only result in the popular masses being held in eternal servitude. p191

Failing full notice of all these factors of changing concrete reality, a revolutionary may at best perceive the ultimate objective of the struggle but he will have no command over the means to achieve it; he will not find the ways, methods, and practical means to reach that goal, and so will be liable to commit serious blunders in his strategic and tactical guidance of the revolution. p192

The hall mark of the revolutionary movement led by the proletariat is its high organizational standard. All activities aimed at bringing the masses to the point where they will rise up and topple the ruling classes may boil down to this: to organize, organize, organize. The purpose of political propaganda and agitation is indeed to organize the masses; only by organizing them one way or another will conditions be created for educating them and building up the immense strength of the revolution, for once organized, their power will increase one hundredfold. It is for combat that the masses are organized; conversely, it is through combat that they are further expanded. Therefore, propaganda, organization, and struggle must go hand in hand, the common purpose being to form and enlarge the political army of the masses in preparation for the decisive leap. pp198-199

It is dangerous for the revolution to throw the masses into decisive battles either too late or too soon. Under all circumstances, the most important thing, the most basic guarantee against blunders,

is a thorough grasp, both in one's general analysis and in every decision one takes for action, of concrete reality. p201

... under all circumstances, the only road to power lies in revolution, not reform. p204

... in the course of a revolution, it often suffices that the leaders are in full possession of the fundamental orientation and certain basic factors and conditions and that they dare to act. As action evolves things will reveal their possibilities and trend of development, and at the same time the boundless creative power of the masses, the makers of history, will provide us with the orientation and methods for solving all practical problems. p207

They are men and women inspired by ardent patriotism and profound national and class consciousness, who not only dare to fight and are determined to fight but also know how to fight and win in the most advantageous way. p218

Each village, each hamlet, is to be turned into a fortress, each citizen to become a fighter, who seeks every way to fight the enemy, devises all kinds of methods, engages in military and political action and agitation work among enemy troops, and uses all weapons and all means available. p222

Those successes are the results of the invincible line of the people's war, of the application of an offensive strategy, of a military art which *defeats big forces with small ones, overcomes large units with small detachments and matches high quality against large numbers. We know how to curb the enemy's strength on the battlefield while developing our own military and political power to the full, how always to strike at the enemy from a position of initiative and offensive, and to create postures of strength from which to hit hard at the enemy and wear him down in a protracted war.* p224

To fight and defeat the American aggressors - such is the urgent requirement of the Vietnamese revolution and the world revolution, for our present life and the future happiness of all generations to come. This is the honour and pride of our Party and people and their duty to the fatherland and the revolutionary people of the world. Whatever sacrifices and hardships we may have to face, and however long and hard the war, we are resolved to fulfil this glorious mission entrusted to us by history. p226

It goes without saying that those achievements are only initial steps. In order to turn a backward agricultural country, in which small. production plays the essential role, into a socialist one with a modern industry and agriculture and advanced culture and science and ensure a rich material and cultural life to our people, we must exert the greatest efforts for the next twenty to thirty years. p228

... "*the greatest characteristic of our country in the transition period* is its direct advance from agricultural backwardness to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development". p229

Ho Chi Minh, Selected Works (in Vietnamese), Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1960, p772

The worker-peasant revolutionary power led by the working class immediately sets about discharging the historical duties of the dictatorship of the proletariat: to carry out a socialist revolution and build socialism. Thus, in our times, the national democratic revolution led by the working class is of necessity bound up with the socialist revolution. p230

There can never be genuine democracy, democracy for the majority, so long as the basic means of production and the reins of the State are held by a minority. ... The dictatorship of the proletariat is the power of the toiling people, the majority, pitted against the exploiters, the minority. p231

... either to advance to socialism, develop into capitalism, or linger for a time in the stage of small production. In order to build socialism, we must build up right from the beginning both new productive forces and new production relations, both a new economic foundation and a new superstructure. In these conditions, the *initiative* of the dictatorship of the proletariat, its *constructive and organizational role* and the *political consciousness* of the masses in creating the new society assume all the more importance. p232

The economic foundation of this use of revolutionary force, the guarantee of its effectiveness and success is the fact that the proletariat represents and creates a higher type of social organization of labour compared with capitalism. This is what is important, this is the source of the strength and the guarantee that the final triumph of Communism is inevitable". In countries advancing to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development, one has to abolish the capitalist economic sector and all other forms of exploitation, stem the trend of small production towards spontaneous capitalist development, smash all attempts by hostile elements to raise their heads, ensure order and security and strengthen the national defence potential. p233

The basic problem here is to convert small individual production into large-scale socialist production and build almost from scratch the whole material and technical basis, the economic foundation, and the superstructure of a socialist country by simultaneously carrying out a triple revolution: revolution in production relations, technical revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution. p234

One cannot accomplish socialist industrialization on the basis of a backward and dispersed agriculture while maintaining in existence a capitalist economic sector and an individual economy which spawns capitalism every hour of the day. For this reason, the revolution in production relations is a sine qua non step which paves the way for the development of the productive forces, quickens the pace of the technical revolution, and builds up the collective masterhood of the toiling people in the economic field. pp235-236

The revolution in production relations consists first and foremost in eradicating the capitalist economic sector and the attendant exploitation of man by man, transforming the individual economy of the peasants and craftsmen into a collective socialist economy, and instituting the collective socialist ownership of the means of production in two forms: ownership by the people as a whole and ownership by the various collectives. ... Hence, after, the establishment of the toiling people's collective masterhood over the means of production, we must solve a whole series of important questions: How to manage collective labour and property so as to impart the fastest pace to enlarged reproduction, carry out the technical revolution at the quickest tempo, achieve the most rational re-division of social labour and the highest labour productivity; how to organize the system of social production so as to ensure both unified central leadership and the exercise of the right of the various branches and regions and of all the working people as collective masters; how to effect distribution so as to secure adequate accumulation for enlarged reproduction while improving the people's living standards; how to encourage industriousness while fully displaying the social spirit of socialism; how to see to the material welfare of the people while developing culture, education, science and technique; what economic and administrative measures to apply in order to consolidate and improve the various socialist economic organization while expanding the field of action of socialism, drawing individual producers into co-operatives, tightening market control, fighting speculation, redressing all defects in the management of land and labour, etc. ... These problems we must solve in order to construct and perfect the collective masterhood of the working people in economic management and in the distribution of the products of labour, and to complete the task of socialist transformation. pp236-237

As we start from small production, what we badly need is that which Lenin called "electrification".

Only on the basis of electrification can we consolidate the socialist economic regime, the worker-peasant alliance and the dictatorship of the proletariat, eradicate small-producer mentality and habit, strengthen and develop socialist ideology, bring the toiling people material welfare and a civilized life, and make them masters not only of society but also of nature. p238

That is why the productive forces of our country must and can at the same time develop gradually, according to the law of change from small to large scale production, and by leaps, direct to mechanization and automation, first of all to mechanization. ... we must, on the strength of the supremacy inherent in the socialist economic system and the active help of the brother socialist countries, as well as international exchanges, bend all our energies towards building a big industry with modern technology, make economic and technical leaps, and through these leaps advance towards the modernization of the whole of our national economy. p239

To build socialism means not only building a new economy and a new society but also forming new, socialist men, investing them with true value and realizing conditions for them to develop all-sidedly and become the conscious makers of history. To change social existence is the basic condition for remoulding social consciousness. The new man will only come into being in the process of building the new society, through practical activities, through the revolutionary movements of the masses. But the transformation of man, his ideological remoulding, is not and cannot be a spontaneous process. Besides, "to build socialism there must first of all be socialist men." And so, together with economic revolutions, one must of necessity accomplish an ideological and cultural revolution aimed at bringing about radical changes in the ideological, spiritual and cultural life of the whole of society, of the broad popular masses. For our country in particular, the passage to socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development is a new road forward which requires a high creative spirit and political consciousness. However, the ideas and habits of our society still bear the stamp of small production, and our people's cultural, scientific, and technical level is still low. Hence the particular importance of the ideological and cultural revolution.

The socialist man possesses noble virtues which reflect his communist view of life. He is boundlessly loyal to the cause of the working class and the nation, and in his life and work displays a sense of collective masterhood: "All for each, and each for all". The spirit of collective masterhood we are striving to foster rests on the stand of the working class. It not only opposes the spirit of individual masterhood of the capitalists and the small producers but also the "collective" spirit of the guild type, which divorces one's small collective from the unified leadership of the proletarian State and pits the interests of one collective against those of others. In each man the spirit of collective masterhood must be displayed first and foremost in his respect for labour, production, and public property: this is the most correct class stand after the proletariat has seized power and become the master of society. It is totally alien to the hireling mentality and the "functionary" style; it is opposed to all manifestations of indiscipline and irresponsibility in work and in everyday life; it flays the speculators, liars, botchers, parasites; it castigates all manifestations of bureaucratism and of divorce from reality and production. One must be fully aware that only work of the highest standard can make one a full-fledged master and that only on the basis of high labour productivity can one attain to a rich material and cultural life and achieve socialism.

It is not enough to be conscious of being the master, one must also be possessed of scientific knowledge. Only then can one become the master of society and nature, complete socialist transformation and build communism. Without revolutionary fervour there can be no revolutionary action; but revolutionary fervour by itself can at best destroy the old but cannot build the new. To build socialism means to combine all scientific knowledge - social sciences, natural sciences, techniques - with a view to scaling the peak of civilization. Hence the socialist man must be one with an advanced cultural, scientific and technical standards, one who can understand and apply the

laws of society and nature, inherit and develop in a creative way all cultural and scientific achievements accumulated by mankind through the energy and strength of thousands of generations.

The socialist man is one with ardent patriotism, profound love for his fellow-countrymen and comrades, unflinching courage and an indomitable spirit, deep attachment to independence and freedom. He would "rather endure any sacrifice than lose his country and be a slave". He is filled with revolutionary heroism not only in the defence of his fatherland but also in the creative work of building the new society. At the same time he is deeply imbued with proletarian internationalism. He knows how to harmonize in a judicious way the legitimate interests of his nation with the common good of the international workers' movement and opposes all tendencies towards narrow nationalism and great-power chauvinism.

The socialist men of our country must not only be able to assimilate the newest achievements of modern civilization, but also to inherit and develop the fine qualities that are representative of the Vietnamese mind and soul forged during four thousand years of history.

To educate and train such men constitute the task and content of the ideological and cultural revolution. The more results it attains, and the quicker its pace, the more strongly it will impel the revolution in production relations and the technical revolution. pp240-242

To construct a large-scale production system, socialism certainly cannot accumulate capital through robbery and exploitation but essentially by developing production and increasing labour productivity. It cannot just go on accumulating capital but must also look after the welfare of all strata of the people and effect distribution in accordance with socialist principles. p245

The first step with a cardinal significance is then to rapidly turn the agriculture based on individual holdings and monoculture into a collective and many-sided one, and, on the basis of increased labour productivity, proceed to a re-division of social labour in accordance with the new orientation in production, transfer part of the agricultural labour force to industrial development, gradually diminish necessary labour and increase surplus labour, the only source of accumulation. To this end, right from the beginning, industry must be made to act on agriculture and agriculture must be closely co-ordinated with industry, both central and regional. This relationship between industry and agriculture can only be established through the building of a centrally run economy and the various regional economics. pp245-246

... we must strive to promote the growth of agriculture and light industry and promptly make the first leap forward in these fields. Each advance of heavy industry must aim at furthering agriculture and light industry, for without the action of the former there can be no progress of the latter two. Besides, as heavy industry serves agriculture and light industry and helps them to advance, it is creating conditions for its own priority development. p249

... greater efficiency in economic management, strengthening of ideological work and better organization of daily life so as to ensure that everybody works zealously, observes good work discipline, and makes full use of his eight working hours. p249

Agricultural production should make vigorous progress so as to meet the needs of the entire people, first of all in food, and ensure to them a better diet. It must supply raw materials to light industry and goods for export with a view to serving the technical revolution. It must satisfy the requirements of national defence on all fronts. In the whole country as well as in each region, only by determining our requirements in an accurate and concrete way and relying on the existing possibilities of our agriculture can we work out the best orientation in production, carry out regional

specialization and rational planning of production, give a strong impulse to the technical revolution, and put a new face on agriculture in the whole country. p255

For the immediate future, the strategic task of agriculture comprises these three targets: "5 tons of paddy, one farmer, two pigs." "Five tons of paddy per cultivated hectare" does not only provide enough food for the rice-growers but also for our whole society. It does not mean that the food question will be solved solely with rice. We must also grow subsidiary food crops, vegetables and other foodstuffs in appropriate proportions according to the peculiarities of each region.

"One farmer per cultivated hectare" is a measure not solely aimed at providing adequate manpower for intensive cultivation but also at a new division of labour which will make it possible to develop agriculture and industry while reserving part of the labour force for turning out export goods.

"Two pigs per cultivated hectare" will supply not only meat for home consumption but also manure for intensive cultivation. Part of the meat will be reserved for export. To bend every effort towards these three targets is to strive to turn monoculture into a multi-sided agriculture, bring the regional economics into full play and redistribute regional labour as a basis for a new, nationwide, division of labour. p257

And so in order to fulfil the two fundamental economic tasks of the initial stage - capital accumulation for industrialization and satisfaction of the people's needs - our still backward agriculture must go through a process of deep and many-sided revolutionary transformation. This includes the transformation of production relations coupled with technical

. improvement; all-sided agricultural development combined with regional specialization; and intensive cultivation and crop rotation coupled with extension of cultivated acreage. Such a revolutionary transformation of agriculture cannot be the work of the peasantry alone, but must be the common concern of the working class, the whole socialist State, all branches and all levels. Like industry, agriculture is a basic branch of the national economy, rests upon a regime of socialist collective ownership (though to a lesser degree) and contributes to enlarged social reproduction. Hence, it should not be made light of in our work of giving guidance - either general or operational - to our economy, for a slow and unbalanced development of agriculture will certainly have a bad effect on the whole cycle of social production, particularly in the initial stage when we regard agriculture as the basis for priority development of heavy industry. Therefore, our state organs, both at central and at regional level, and particularly in the industrial, financial and commercial branches, should serve it better and act on it more vigorously so as rapidly to bring about fundamental changes which foreshadow other changes in the whole of our national economy. pp259-260

... fundamental unified standards must be set for consumption in the whole country, for this is a principle of socialism and an imperative requirement of the socialist regime of collective ownership. p263

The setting up of small rural mechanical workshops have freed millions of workdays; yet, in many places, these have not been channelled into new occupations. New wealth has not been created for society and the productivity of agricultural labour has not been raised. If these shortcomings in economic management are not overcome in time, the introduction of science and technique into agriculture will be hampered, the new division of labour hindered, and the building of the new economy slowed down. p265

To build a centrally run economy while concurrently developing the various regional economies is the best way to associate town and countryside and quickly do away with differences between the two. p266

One should not fear that by extending to the various regions the centrally run economy may weaken, nor that centralization may check the growth of the regional economies. p268

To manage the economy is to regulate a living organism which develops according to objective laws. A management system can only be considered appropriate if it fully reflects the laws governing the evolution of the economy as a whole and also its peculiar manifestations in each region, each sector, each unit, and in each period. ... The strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat comes precisely from its ability to comprehend the law of development of things and advocate measures that meet the exigencies of this evolution. p271

We must step up planning work while judiciously utilizing market relations and making a wider application of cost accounting. Material incentives must be brought into play while political and ideological education should be intensified and the socialist consciousness' of the masses heightened. pp271-272

... the problem facing us at present is: how, in our planned economy, can we and should we effect planning work? To what extent should we utilize market relations and such levers as credit, prices, wages and profit? There lies one of the fundamental questions of economic management in our country at present. p272

Many requirements of social life, especially daily necessities, are too numerous and diverse for our State to fully foresee and satisfy. This situation demands that our State, while directing the economy, should *skilfully combine the plan with the market* and supplement the former with the latter. We can and must not only regulate - through the State Plan, which may be considered the second programme of the Party and is a law enacted by the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat - the fundamental economic relationships and essential balances, but also utilize the mechanism of the market with a view to controlling economic indices and adjusting certain economic activities of secondary importance not included in the reckonings of the Plan. We must not only devote the greatest attention to planning work and to the indices of the Plan, but also strictly control the activity of the market so as to promote its positive role while checking its negative influence on planned economic management.

The practice of economic building in the other socialist countries as well as in our own proves that in economic management, we must *correctly utilize such levers as* prices, wages, profit and credit, and fully enforce the regime of cost accounting and the socialist mode of doing business. The commodity money relationship is a product of history which is closely bound up with a given level of development of production. When developing on the basis of private ownership, it goes with class differentiation and accelerates the division of society into rich and poor. But once the levers of the economy are in the hands of the proletarian State, once the exploiting classes have been abolished and the small producers have taken the road of collective work, then a judicious and rational development of the commodity-money relationship coupled with a re-division of labour and the technical revolution will become a positive factor in promoting the growth of production and organizing a new life. Therefore, to bring into play the law of value, practice cost accounting and use the levers prices, profit, wages and credit, are extremely important economic problems. The law of value and the practice of cost accounting make it possible to gauge the economic effectiveness of economic and technical measures, assess the quality of work in each enterprise, region, branch, and each level, mobilize all latent economic possibilities and encourage innovations, thrift and industriousness in the interest of the State and the nation. The work of economic building in such a country as ours, which is still poor and where labour productivity is low and financial resources limited, demands that still greater attention be paid to business efficiency if we are to satisfy our immediate needs while effecting enlarged reproduction. We must, not only on a national scale but

even within each branch, at each level and in each basic economic unit, accumulate profits for enlarged reproduction, and all branches, levels and units must show definite progress after each cycle of production. However, we should not view profits and losses with the petty mind of the small individual producer. In our present conditions the greatest profit lies in expanding production, multiplying branches and trades, increasing the quantity of products, and raising labour productivity in each branch and in the whole of our national economy. Only on that basis can we speak of profits and reconcile profit-making with the socialist nature of our economy. On the one hand, we must in so far as is possible make profits in each branch and each period; on the other, we should take the development of the whole of our economy over a long period into consideration in order to examine the question of profits and losses in a comprehensive way. pp274-276

... the very nature of the socialist economy and the necessity of raising labour productivity and expanding production demand that we should pay great care and attention to the people's welfare, meet all their basic needs, and be determined to put an end to all unnecessary shortages and complications in their daily life. p278

These two evils should be looked upon as unpardonable offences, for they not only drain us of our material wealth but also impair the new production relations and affect the thoughts and feelings of the new, socialist man. p278

An important task of economic organization is to correctly determine the *relationships between the Party, the State and the masses* in economic management. Being the leader and the general staff of the army of economic builders, the Party must work out the fundamental line and policies, establish major principles and measures, mobilize the masses for a powerful offensive on the economic front, and control all activities of the State-organs. The Party's leadership is a historical necessity. It ensures a correct orientation to our economy, safeguards the interests of the various strata of the people, and ceaselessly strengthens the role of the latter as masters. pp280-281

Symbol of the people's sovereignty, the State is the organ of power which manages the national economy in their name. Hence, for the Party's economic line and policies to be carried into effect, one must bring into play the managerial and organizational functions of the State. p281

In the last analysis, both the Party's leadership and the administration's managerial role aim at ensuring the right of the people to be the collective masters in all spheres of social life. However, in order to muster the strength of the entire people for economic construction, and to prevent all manifestations of bureaucratism and abuse of power, we must devise adequate forms of direct mass participation in economic management and in the control of the activities of Party and State organs.

Being the "school of communism", the school of economic management, the school for the education of the working masses, the trade-unions must drive home to the workers the political tasks of their enterprises and the positions and importance of the latter in the system of production, the people's life, and the destiny and future of the country. They must ceaselessly raise the workers' consciousness and capability of being the masters and urge them to effectively participate in all productive activities and in the life of their enterprises. The organs of economic management must pay due regard to the opinion of the trade-unions, for this means that they are listening to the voice of a mass political organization and respecting the right of the masses to be the collective masters. p282

*Our Party is a new type of proletarian party holding firm the invincible banner of Marxism-Leninism; a proletarian party which faithfully and fully represents the vital interests and legitimate aspirations, of the working class, the toiling people, and the entire nation; a Marxist-Leninist party with a close-knit organization, a tradition of unity and oneness of mind, and intimate ties with the*

The history of our Party over that period highlights the creative application of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of our country. Born and growing up in a society with a majority of peasants, our Party has drawn into its ranks a large number of members of the peasantry. Yet it has constantly and wholly preserved its character as a revolutionary party of the working class, first and foremost because it is imbued with Marxist-Leninist ideology and shows absolute loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and because its political and organizational line is a Marxist-Leninist one, that of the working class. Like a beacon, Marxism-Leninism, the most radically revolutionary doctrine and the only one that is scientific, has shown our Party how to solve all problems of the Vietnamese revolution and work out correct revolutionary lines and methods. We were thus able to defeat the reformism of the bourgeoisie and the narrowly nationalistic tendency of the petty bourgeoisie as well as its claim to "stand above classes," foil the provocations and sabotage attempts of the Trotskyites and other counter-revolutionary elements, overcome political wavering and Right and "Left" deviations within the Party, and successfully perform all revolutionary tasks in all periods.

Our Party attaches great importance to the study of the revolutionary experience of the fraternal countries and parties, considering it an absolute necessity for a proletarian party wishing to discharge its responsibilities. But it always regards the concrete practice of the Vietnamese revolution and the living realities of Vietnamese society with its original features - historical, sociological, and economic factors, national traditions, etc. - as a starting-point in applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the universal laws, and the experience of the fraternal countries concerning both the national democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. The tremendous victories reaped by the Vietnamese revolution are precisely due to the independent and creative manner in which its lines and methods have been elaborated. pp288-289

The absolute necessity for the proletariat to seize power is due to the fact that, without overthrowing the ruling class and setting up the dictatorship of the proletariat, the latter will not be able to see the class struggle through. This means to abolish not only the exploiting classes but even the sources of exploitation, not only class antagonisms but even class differences. It means not only to eradicate the causes of poverty and destitution but also create a life of abundance and happiness for the people; in short, to build a wholly new society - communist society - a classless society, in which material welfare and a rich spiritual life are enjoyed by all. pp290-291

In socialist revolution and the building of socialism, it is even less permissible to make light of objective laws. Engels advised us "constantly to keep in mind that socialism, since it has become a science, demands that it be pursued as a science". The dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary fervour of the people are extremely important motive forces without which one can never talk of building socialism. But it would be a very serious blunder to think that they are enough for building socialism without having to take any account of objective laws and economic facts, which are sometimes very "obstinate and intractable. " While emphatically stressing the role played by subjective factors - man, the vanguard party, the masses - Lenin repeatedly reminded the Communist parties never to base their policies on wishful thinking, never to take their sentiments as a starting-point for revolutionary strategy and tactics. His entire political activity affords us a shining example in this connexion. One well-known instance is when he advocated a transition from war communism to the New Economic Policy. In the elaboration of this policy and its implementation, he took great pains to persuade Communists full of revolutionary zeal but ignorant of economic laws that, far from meaning a restoration of capitalism, it was the only policy that would enable Russia to defeat capitalism and embark on the transitional stage to socialism. pp292-293

To advance direct to socialism without passing through the stage of capitalist development means that we have not gone through the school of large-scale mechanized production. This is the main reason for the weaknesses shown by our Party and our State in organization and management. pp295-296

An erroneous line would cause the orientation of the revolution to deviate and lead to the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But neither can there be socialism, genuine socialism with a large-scale mechanized system of production, if we commit mistakes in organization and management, and introduce into our organizational and managerial activities small-producer conceptions and methods to which we have been accustomed for many generations. p296

... it cannot make up for what we are lacking badly, namely the ability to organize the building and expansion of the economy, the development of culture, and services working for the betterment of the people's living conditions - the basic tasks incumbent upon a party in power, upon the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

At present, many of our comrades at all levels, from the central administration down to the basic units - factories, State farms, co - operatives - and in both Party and State organs, are insufficiently aware of the importance of organization. They divorce politico-ideological work from organizational activities. They substitute politico-ideological generalities - even "desk work" in the case of some comrades - for organization. This is painstaking work which "calls for great efforts, thorough study and investigation, much pondering and experimentation in the search for the right methods. It requires one to get down to brass tacks, closely watch the execution of assignments, redress defects in time and solve new problems arising from changes in the situation, etc - in short tasks and activities beset with hardships and difficulties. p297

It is the best-organized society, the highest social organization in history. That is why the triumph of our cause depends a great deal on the organizational ability of the working class, represented by our Party, and of the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the main instrument for the building of the new society. p298

Either to downgrade or relax the leadership of the Party is to weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat. But to burden the Party with governmental jobs is to saddle it with work that is alien to its function. Far from strengthening its leadership, this will weaken it. To do things in place of the various government departments and prevent them from fully playing their organizational and managerial role will directly impair the leadership of the Party. To increase the Party's organizational ability, one must first of all raise its capacity to lead and utilize the machinery of the State with all its specialized, professional and technical agencies for directing economic and cultural construction and meeting the people's needs in conformity with the Party's line and policies. pp300-301

Either in the overthrow of the old regime or the building of the new, revolution is always the work of the masses. Under the leadership of the Party, the working class and the labouring people are the masters of society. They undertake the building of a new society through the dictatorship of the proletariat, of which the State is the most powerful and effective instrument. Hence to make light of the role of the State is to downgrade that of the masses and encroach on their sovereignty. To uphold it means to exalt the part played by the masses in the management of the country and society, to make them participate in the building of a new society in the best organized way and bind the Party and the masses together through the broadest organization. There is and there must be no antagonism between the sovereignty of the masses and that of the organs of State power. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the only master of society is the people, the toiling masses, who include the working class, the collective peasantry, and the socialist intelligentsia. State power is the

instrument, the organization, through which the people exercise their right as masters of society. The strength of the proletarian party in power - that of the dictatorship of the proletariat in both the repression of hostile forces and the building of the new society - lies first and foremost in the fact that, through an ever fuller development of socialist democracy, the Party and the State organs are closely bound to the masses in all facets of social life and ensure their ever broader participation in the shaping of the new society.

It is to be regretted that a number of comrades have not grown fully aware of the true nature of the relationships between the Party, the State and the masses. In some places, unwarrantable acts have damaged relationships between the Party and the masses, the State and the people, and the Party and the State. These shortcomings must redressed speedily and resolutely. One must fully understand that for a party in power, the greatest danger to avoid is not only to adopt an erroneous line but also to indulge in bureaucratism, commandism, and arbitrariness, which divorces the Party from the masses and weakens the dictatorship of the proletariat. The strength of the Party lies in its close ties with the masses. State power is strong because it truly belongs to the people and is exercised by the people and for the people. The stronger the State, the more labouring people it enlists in the management of the country, and the stronger the Party grows as leader of society. With a fully developed socialist democracy resting upon a socialist economy having a solid material and technical basis, our socialist regime will stand as firm and unshakable as a rock. Such are the orientation and objectives of our Party. pp302-303

in applying this knowledge to realities so as to work out its line and policies in a judicious and imaginative way. The Party must be strong in the whole of its structure, from top to bottom, in its committees at all levels and in all its specialized departments. Its entire body must be vigorous, from the nerve centres to every component cell, in order to ensure that its line and policies are thoroughly grasped at every echelon, both by the leading centres and the various branches, both by Party members and mass organizations and the people at large. The entire Party must make the greatest efforts, every cadre and member must exert himself to the utmost so as to fulfil brilliantly ever greater and heavier tasks.

In this work of strengthening and building up the Party, the *raising of the quality of the cells and basic organizations* assumes particular importance. The cell is the Party's basic organization, the tie between the Party and the masses, through which its line and policies are implemented and in which its militants and cadres are trained. p304

A cell cannot be recognized as a good one if within its domain, production is not progressing, labour productivity not increasing, the people's democratic rights are restricted, obligations, towards the State are not fulfilled, and the people's life is not stabilized and gradually bettered in every respect. p305

The Party and the cell can only be strong if each member is a good Communist. The Party should be composed of the best and most enlightened elements of the working class, the collective peasantry and the socialist intelligentsia. They are representative of the development and progress of society, show absolute loyalty to the cause of the working class and the Party and are closely bound to the masses. p306

While, admitting new, truly excellent forces, we must resolutely expel from the Party retrograde and degenerate elements, detested by the masses and unworthy of being members of a vanguard revolutionary party. There are not many such elements, but if they are not driven out of the Party, its fighting capacity will be impaired and its relationships with the masses damaged. p307

In order to weld the Party and the masses into a single whole, another important measure is for the

cells and basic organizations to hold periodical meetings in suitable form, in the course of which the Party will perform self-criticism before the masses and listen to their criticisms and suggestions. Criticism of the cells by the masses is very important and very necessary for the consolidation and building up of the Party. The cells and Party committees at all levels should give encouragement and guidance to the masses for voicing their candid opinion of the Party. For the admission of new members, the appointment of members of Party committees at the level of the cell and basic organization, etc., we must ask the masses for their views to help make our choices and decisions thoroughly well-grounded. p309

The older intellectuals, educated by the Party and tempered by a long revolutionary process, have shown visible progress in their political and ideological stand and have rendered great services to the people. But all intellectuals, including those sprung from the working class and the peasantry, have weaknesses which they should seek to overcome, both through their own efforts and thanks to education and help from the Party, so that they could devote all their talents and energies to serving the great revolutionary cause of the people. p312

... the Party must help the workers and peasants become gradually acquainted with modern science and technique so as to boost production, push the technical revolution, forward, and organize civilized life. We must cast off biases against intellectuals, culture, science and technique. p312

The strength of a Marxism-Leninism party lies in its unity and oneness of mind - its *ideological and organizational unity*. Of all the fine traditions of our Party, this is the finest. p313

The Party will never tolerate any manifestation of factionalism, the gravest crime against the revolution. Being the vanguard of the working class and the most active element of society, the Party has but one single will. p314

This does not mean that there is no freedom of thought within the Party. On the contrary, democratic centralism requires and ensures the right for all members to discuss and decide. All Party affairs and to put forward, within the Party organization, all ideas on all problems of concern to the revolution. Within the framework of the Programme and Rules worked out by the entire Party, the full exercise of the democratic right of all members and the full training of their intellect make up one of the most important guarantees of the Party's vitality. The smothering of ideas is wholly alien to a proletarian party and to Marxist-Leninist ideology. However, freedom of thought can absolutely not mean turning the Party into a debating club. The Party is an army which, on the battlefield, must act as one man. Hence, the principles whereby the minority should submit to the majority, a lower echelon to a superior authority, a part to the whole and all Party members to the Central Committee - the highest leading organ between two Party congresses - are fundamental principles of democratic centralism. To violate them is to impair the iron discipline of the Party and to sabotage its unity. Lenin said: "Whoever brings about even the slightest weakening of the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during its dictatorship) is actually aiding the bourgeoisie against the proletariat". p315

Lenin, Selected Works, Vol 3, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967, p357

Collective leadership is the highest principle in the Party's leadership. This by no means lessens the personal responsibility of the leaders. At present, some comrades in a number of leading organs are not paying due regard to the principle of collective leadership. On the other hand, certain comrades rely on the "collective" to look after everything and put the blame on the "collective" for every one of their own errors and failures without admitting their individual responsibility. We must put an end to this state of affairs. p316

Self-criticism and criticism is a fundamental method for strengthening the unity and cohesion of the

Party and a law governing its development and progress. p317

Besides, on account of various complicated factors many Party members are still under the influence of non-proletarian ideologies. p317

... President Ho Chi Minh used to urge us to engage in self-criticism and criticism, especially criticism from below, so as to bring about increasing vigour for the Party and continuous progress for its cadres and members. p318

Our Party is the vanguard of the working class. It represents the most dynamic element of society in its development. So it can have only one ideology, that of the proletariat: Marxism-Leninism. Strengthening our proletarian ideology, we are *resolved to combat petty-bourgeois ideology*, whose most common manifestation are, in the political field, rightist and "leftist" wavering, essentially the former; in the ideological field, individualism in many hues; in the methodological field, subjectivism, one-sidedness, etc. While it is essential to overcome petty-bourgeois ideology, we must at the same time *resolutely oppose all influences of bourgeois ideology which may infiltrate the Party and sweep away all vestiges of other non-proletarian ideologies*.

All manifestations of non-proletarian ideologies are alien to our Party's ideology. We must firmly eliminate them, as we would microbes seeking to invade a healthy organism. p319

The arduous and fierce class struggle now taking place on a worldwide scale urgently calls for the restoration and consolidation of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Only then is it possible to bring together all revolutionary forces in the world to oppose imperialism, frustrate all schemes for military aggression and all divisive manoeuvres of \_the imperialists against the socialist countries, and baffle all their attempts to suppress and sabotage the international communist and workers' movement. p315

Ever since its foundation, our Party has considered solidarity with the international proletariat and the revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries a most important duty and a basic principle and has regarded it as one of the decisive factors in the victory of our own revolution. This correct internationalist line has been consistently followed by our Party in the entire course of the revolution. It has, on the one hand, won us increasing support and assistance from the world revolutionary movement, and on the other, inculcated in our people the noble feelings of proletarian internationalism, preserved them from bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism, and frustrated the perfidious divisive manoeuvres of the imperialists and their valets. Besides, it has urged our people to contribute actively to the revolutionary struggle of the world's peoples.

Acting upon President Ho Chi Minh's last recommendations, our Party will bend all its energies, as it has always done in the past, towards restoring and safeguarding unity and cohesion within the socialist camp and among the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We will continue to consolidate and tighten the unshakable bonds of friendship between our country and the nations of the socialist camp, especially the Soviet Union and China, and strengthen co-operation and mutual assistance in all fields with the fraternal countries. pp326-327

Our people feel eternal gratitude to the brother socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union and China, for their immense and priceless help, a noble example of proletarian internationalism. p329

THE NEW STAGE OF OUR REVOLUTION AND THE TASKS OF THE TRADE UNIONS.  
(Le Duan 's speech at the third Viet Nam Trade Union Congress, February 11-14, 1974).

... to lay the material and technical foundations of socialism, consolidate socialist relations of production. p334

*In this connection, a clear realization as to what stage we are in on our way to socialism is necessary; we should have a clear view of what has been done and what has not been done and remains to be done in the immediate and more, remote future.*

The greatest achievement of the North's socialist revolution has been the elimination of oppression and exploitation, the liquidation of the exploiting classes as such and the replacement of small-scale and scattered production by co-operation. The class of individual farmers ground down for thousands of years by poverty and ignorance has been replaced by a new class - the collective peasantry. p334

Under the leadership of the working class whose representative is our Party, the working people of the North have become masters of our society and State and of their own fate. p335

Thanks to the superiority of the new relations of production, the North's under-developed economy stood the bitter test of war and played its part in the signal success of the resistance against US aggression, for national salvation. No other social system could have survived in such conditions, let alone accomplished what we did in those gruelling years. p336

When referring to our working class's and people's successes and achievements, we never forget the substantial, precious and many-sided contribution to them of the fraternal socialist countries, first of all the Soviet Union and China, of the world's working class and working people and of all countries and peoples who love independence, freedom, justice and peace. p337

There must be full realization that the working class as the ruling class, as the leading class of the State, is the vanguard class in the transformation of the old society and in the moulding of a new society. p337

... the North's economy faces great difficulties and problems requiring radical solutions. There is a lot to be done immediately and urgently. Otherwise, it will be impossible even to inch forward on the road to socialism. Otherwise even what are called the initial fruits of socialism will be in jeopardy. p338

Nearly a century of colonial domination has caused our people to realize clearly what independence and freedom really mean to them. Socialism, this truth of our times, has brought out in bolder relief the fact. that independence and freedom are invaluable. p339

The great, varied and ever-increasing requirements which are placed on our economy, which is poor and unbalanced in nature, and whose problems have been compounded by our mistakes and shortcomings in leadership, guidance and management, only highlight its imbalance and fundamental weaknesses. p340

There have certainly been serious mistakes which we must severely criticise and resolutely make good. p341

*There lies the paradox of our development. All things considered, the crux of the matter is that we have not been able to lay the material and technical foundations of socialism.* p342

Therefore, we are faced with a grave choice: either rapidly create the "material framework" of

socialism or keep whatever new things have been engendered by socialism in a permanent state of debility and instability. Either move quickly forward, or reverse back to individual production, bankruptcy and destitution. p342

There is only one course of action to choose; *give a strong impulse to socialist industrialization; advance quickly to large scale socialist production.* p343

To develop the forces of production, we must rely on the new relations of production, which must be readjusted and consolidated, and whose superiority must be brought into play. ... the new relations of production have not been consolidated (in the state-owned sector or in the collective sector, but chiefly in the collective sector). This is due to many causes. So, a series of measures must be undertaken simultaneously. p343

There cannot be, there will never be, socialism in a society based on small production. ... The triumph of socialism over capitalism can only be regarded as definitive when it is able to give birth to a social productivity higher than that of capitalism; ...

Large-scale socialist production is a system of social production based on the socialist ownership of the means of production existing in the form of ownership by the entire people and collective ownership, and with large-scale industry as its foundation. ... a national economy under the centralized and unified leadership of the State of proletarian dictatorship. pp344-345

Large-scale production is the negation of small production with its scattered and petty character, with its rudimentary tools, with its small output of each product, with each producer "turning out enough for his own use", at best with a small surplus which he can barter at a small local market. p345

We have to create a large-scale production with an efficiency not only superior to that of small individual production but also to that of large-scale capitalist production. Otherwise, there will be no ultimate and total victory of socialism. p346

With the realities of life helping us to acquire a clearer and clearer idea of this, and with the Party's correct line, we believe that this extremely complex and tough task still be brought to fruition. p346

The path to large-scale socialist production, the shortest way to socialism, is to wield with a firm hand the dictatorship of the proletariat and to carry out three simultaneous revolutions: a revolution in the relations of production, a technical revolution, and an ideological and cultural revolution. p347

Thus, we should not wait until a developed modern industry comes into being to launch large-scale agricultural production nor should we try to advance to large-scale production from agriculture. p348

... our job is not capitalist industrialization but socialist industrialization, since our aim is large-scale socialist production and not large-scale capitalist production, and since we carry out our undertakings with the revolutionary enthusiasm of the working masses who are the collective masters of the country concerned with the steady betterment of their own welfare instead of being exploited by capitalism. p349

... the slogan in the present socialist revolution is agricultural co-operation and socialist industrialization. Without the former, the worker-peasant alliance is inconceivable. p350

*The worker-peasant alliance ... the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat will become more solid.* p351

The revolution designed to take small production to large-scale production will not only be the process of creating the socialist mode of production, of consolidating and expanding the economic foundation of our politico-social life, but also that of discarding die-hard conservatism, lack of concentration, casualness and "Indiscipline inherent for thousands of generations in small production. In short, it is an all-sided revolution. p351

The motive force which speeded up the emergence of large-scale capitalist production was the unquenchable lust for profit of the capitalists, the desire to exploit, exploit more, exploit always. That of large-scale socialist production is diametrically opposite. It is the eagerness for revolution, more revolution and uninterrupted revolution. It is the will to emancipate labour, to win the right to collective mastery for the toilers. It is the dictatorship of the proletariat with three revolutions: revolution in the relations of production, technical revolution, and ideological and cultural revolution in which the 'technical revolution holds the key position. It is the self-imposed, selfless, heroic and creative labour of the working class, collective peasantry, socialist intellectuals, and of all workers by hand and brain, led by the Party of the working class, following the objective laws of development of society. If we carry out these three revolutions strictly step by step in every production base, in every branch of activity, in every locality and throughout the country, we shall rapidly create the motive forces required to bring about large-scale socialist production. p352

Being a school of communism in general, the trade unions must, in particular, be a school for training the whole mass of workers, and eventually all working people, in the art of managing socialist industry (and gradually also agriculture). p353

... there should soon be documents having legal force which stipulate concretely the responsibilities and rights of the trade unions to participate in the management of the economy and the State. p354

The bases of union activities are the trade union organizations in the enterprises. Therefore, to strengthen the role of the trade unions in the enterprises is the most important direction in the work of improving union work. It should be done in such a way that the unions in the enterprises can work with full capacity as representatives of the workers and employees' interests in these enterprises, in any field dealing with their production, their labour, their material and cultural life. It is necessary to discover and make full use of various measures suitable for workers and employees to take part in the management of enterprises, in discussing and deciding on production plans, in realizing plans for application of new techniques, labour plans, wages and bonuses, plans to build workers' housing, and other undertakings concerning the collective social and cultural welfare of the enterprises. There should be fixed and ensured for the trade unions the right of organizing the mass control by workers and employees of the various aspects of the realization of production plans, the implementation of managerial systems, the protection of the socialist property as well as the implementation of labour rules and regulations. In towns and industrial areas, the trade unions may also organize the control and supervision of the implementation of policies on the food distribution, and of prices of consumer goods. The above-mentioned control activities aim at finding out for the Party and Government acts contrary to the lines and policies laid down, helping the managerial organs to overcome shortcomings, contributing to the consolidation of socialist relations of production, of the socialist State system.

By nature, the relationship between the trade unions and the State in general, and between the trade unions in the enterprises and the directors of the enterprises in particular, is a harmonious one. Because both are organizations of the ruling class, both have a common goal: to develop society

and economy, to constantly raise living standards and broaden the rights of the working people as collective masters. On this basis, the directors of enterprises - in their capacity as representatives of the State, with great rights and responsibilities in the whole development of the enterprises - for the sake of fulfilling their own tasks, need to win the close collaboration of the trade unions, to respect trade union rights, which will soon be expounded very concretely in the Rules on the rights and responsibilities of unions in the enterprises, to be worked out by the trade unions and ratified by the State. For their part the leading bodies of the enterprise unions have the task of ming trade union rights first and foremost to reach the goals set for the enterprises by the State by increasing productive and economic effectiveness and successfully achieving the norms of the plans of the enterprises. pp354-355

The signing and implementation of collective contracts should be regarded as the content for the education of the masses in the sense of *linking their personal interests closely with the interests of the enterprise and the State*. p356

*The present primary task of the trade unions is to launch among the workers and employees a surging revolutionary movement of emulation to work and produce, to raise labour productivity and strictly practice thrift and carry out successfully the resolution of the 22nd session of the Party's Central Committee*. p357

To say "the trade union is a school of socialism and communism" means first of all that it must educate the working people in the socialist and communist ideology. But it is by no means an ordinary school. The educational work described here can only be done successfully in the course of and on the basis of a movement for productive labour of a mass and revolutionary character with a view to successfully building socialism. The central point of this educational work is to foster in every worker a really new and correct attitude toward work. pp357-358

filled their 1973 plan, healed an important part of the wounds of war and speedily restored and developed production.

Many people have not yet become fully conscious that they are the ruling class, the masters of society. The trade unions have the task of awakening these people. pp358-359

*Socialism is the replacement of hired labour with labour for oneself, for the society of which one is master. This is the greatest change in the history of mankind*. p359

Any person reaching working age and having the capacity to work should work. The person of working age who is not yet provided with legitimate work should be placed under the manpower authority of the State. With regard to the idle and jobless elements, indulging in trouble making, we must compel them to work or punish them severely. The principle "work much, earn much; work less, earn less; and no work, no earnings", a basic law of socialism, must be strictly carried out. p360

On the basis of such norms, we can broadly apply payment on a piece-work basis. p362

We are now badly in need of more and more able cadres of working class stock. Being "a school of management", the trade unions must actually be the biggest source of supply of management cadres for the industrial branch, for the national economy as a whole, and for the State machinery as well. p363

Our line of socialist industrialization helps us to quickly accumulate capital while gradually raising the people's standard of living, a fact which reflects right from the beginning the superiority of

socialist relations of production. To raise the people's standard of living constantly is a requirement of the basic economic law of socialism which reflects the lofty goal of socialist production. But that goal cannot be attained without the means for it. That is why the first requirement of the basic economic law of socialism is to increasingly develop production with ever higher technique on the basis of the working people's right to be the collective master. As the goal and result of the development of production, the improvement of the people's living standards will consequently become a motive force impelling production forward. But living standards can never surpass production capacity. If one consumes all one produces, this means there is no accumulation at all for industrialization, for extended reproduction; in this way one cannot raise living conditions in a fundamental and steady manner. Therefore, in the first stage of industrialization, in order to correctly solve the relation between accumulation and consumption, we cannot help giving priority to accumulation. Thus there must necessarily be sacrifices, hardships in the immediate future for the sake of a bright morrow. p366

## ROLE AND TASKS OF THE VIETNAMESE WOMAN IN THE NEW REVOLUTIONARY STAGE

Le Duan 's speech at the Vietnamese Women's Fourth Congress (March 4-7, 1974).

... continued to take the North steadily forward on the path of socialism. Our struggle has made a worthy contribution to the common struggle of the world working class and peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. p373

Although women in our country have made greater advances than ever before and become masters of society and of the State, they have not brought into play all their capacities, since they still meet with many difficulties in terms of working conditions, educational and vocational standards and family burdens. The labour force of women is very abundant, but it is not reasonably distributed and employed. p378

Among the people, and even among the cadres, there are still remnants of backward feudalistic ideas such as paying more consideration to men than women not duly respecting and protecting the legitimate rights of women, not setting out the free women from "family slavery", and, worse still, the committing of brutal and inhuman acts on women. p379

... in the socialist revolution, to emancipate women is in essence *to ensure their fullest participation as collective masters in all three respects: to be masters of society, to be masters of nature and to be masters of themselves*. This is the content of the struggle for the emancipation of the women in the period of transition to socialism. p380

Work without technique or without high productivity is rudimentary work at variance with the nature of our socialist labour. p384

In fact, there can be no family happiness, if there is still class exploitation, if people are still suffering and if the whole society has not yet achieved complete well-being. ... Once the society is happy, naturally the family is happy too. p387

Our new culture, the socialist culture, has inherited and developed this noble tradition of humanism of the national and popular culture. p390

The whole society cares for women in childbirth and in the bringing up of children. Society has to take this responsibility for the sake of its own existence and common happiness, for the interests of social progress and the future of mankind. p392

... must step up political propaganda and education, raise the women's socialist consciousness, arouse their sense of collective ownership and of self-reliance, so that they may understand thoroughly the close relationship between the building of socialism and the emancipation of women. p393

To strongly promote women's role and ability as collective masters, the Party, the State and the mass organizations should pay more attention to the task of training and fostering women cadres so as to have many capable women cadres with important responsibilities in the leadership and management of various branches at various levels. p395

The State must complete all policies and regulations relating to the lives of our women; the State organs and the trade unions should build and efficiently run nurseries, kindergartens, canteens, medical stations, maternity homes, public bathrooms and wells, and enlarge the network of distribution of consumer goods and home service groups in cities and townships. The Party committees and administrative bodies at all levels, and the mass organizations, should take the most practical and concrete measures to help our women surmount immediate problems in family life, and gradually alleviate the burdens of housework, especially shopping and cooking. Those are the most practical tasks to achieve the emancipation of women, ensure their right to collective mastery and equality between men and women. p396

#### SOME PROBLEMS OF CADRES AND ORGANIZATION IN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Complete loyalty to the ideals of socialism and communism, to the interests of the working class and the nation, to the political line of the Party; the severest sense of organization and discipline; close contacts with the masses; and the ability to fulfil the tasks assigned - these are fundamental, unvarying requirements in the qualifications of cadres, in whatever period. p412

That was possible because our Party was tempered in the national democratic revolution, firmly grasped the theory of the national people's democratic revolution, was armed with a wise revolutionary line and methods and had a thorough knowledge of the content and requirements of the political tasks in each period of the national democratic revolution. p413

... there has not always been full consistency of theory and practice, of principles and actual deeds. p413

... a correct line is the basic condition in bringing the revolutionary tasks to success. p414

... if we have a strong mass movement arising from and developing along a correct line, ... noxious tendencies not only have little chance of swaying our cadres but also are very likely themselves to be swept aside. ... there are always those who are alert enough to tell right from wrong and are able to defend the truth. p415

Organization is the *basic measure* to ensure the application of the line. p415

In the building of a new society, in all spheres of our work, we must fully grasp the concrete problems and tasks posed by life and must decide on concrete solutions and successfully deal with these problems and tasks. To do so, we must exert our mental powers, must be cultured and find the proper methods. p417

The Party and its members and cadres must have a thorough knowledge of all aspects of social activity, master all processes of social development, in order to direct every effort toward the ultimate goal of winning complete, final and thorough success for socialism in the historic struggle

to settle the question "who will win?", socialism or capitalism, the socialist path or the capitalist path. p419

The Party must organize all spheres of life in accordance with the principles of socialism and create a single, organic system which will enable it to utilize and mobilize all the material and spiritual potential of society with a view to developing economy and culture and improving the material and moral life of the people at the fastest possible rate. pp419-420

## 2. Class stand and revolutionary qualities

In the Marxist-Leninist view, the inevitable success of socialism does not stem from the natural disposition of man or from some moral principles, but from objective laws of development of society. The Party line is actually the reflection and application of the laws which have been enunciated in the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. The socialism we are building can be achieved only on the basis of these laws, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. That is our class stand, the foundation of our concept of morality. p422

Only with a Party armed with the vanguard theory of Marxism-Leninism can the working class become the vanguard class at the helm of the revolution. And only then can the class stand of the working class really take shape. Without knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, of revolutionary science and of the vanguard theory of the proletariat, there can be no class stand of the vanguard class. p424

All manifestations of deviation from Marxism-Leninism and the Party political line are contrary to the working-class stand. To struggle uncompromisingly against these manifestations is to embody the stand of the working class. We do not recognize any other criterion as far as stand is concerned. p425

In comparison with the advance of the peasant from the status of a toiler exploited by landlords to that of a free private farmer, the change from being a private farmer to a collective farmer represents a much more significant leap forward. p427

All requirements of a Party member in matters of class stand and morality are also clearly stated in the Party Constitution. When we speak of Party cadres, this implies all members of the Party, because every Party member has the duty to exercise Party leadership in his field of work, and, in this sense, a Party member is by definition a cadre. All criteria, requirements and tasks defined in the Party Constitution for each Party member represent the basic and highest principles of a communist's class stand and morality. p428

... we must first of all examine his level of study and assimilation of Marxism-Leninism, his knowledge and understanding of the Party line and policies, his determination to make efforts and his practical ability to implement this line and these policies as well as his ability to fulfil the tasks assigned and to persuade and organize the masses to join him in implementing the line, policies and all tasks laid down by the Party. p429

As far as the Party is concerned, the basis for unity within the Party can be nothing other than the Marxist-Leninist outlook on the world, the political line and resolutions of the Party and the Party Constitution. p434

An organization may be either highly revolutionary or highly conservative. It is most revolutionary when it fully corresponds with the needs of life. It is most conservative when it develops a tendency to inertia while life is constantly changing and moving forward. *The big industrial organization has a highly revolutionary character whereas the handicraft organization has a highly conservative*

*character. p444*

Only workers in large-scale industry can see the strength of organization because the strength of organization actually derives from large-scale industry. The centuries-old influence of Confucianism also prevents us from seeing the strength of organization. Confucianism has left in us the vestiges of a kind of egoistic, individualistic morality, and ugly product of the feudal system of ownership and the caste system. Everything in this "moral code" is completely contrary to our revolutionary outlook on life, to the needs of our great organizational work aimed at building socialism. Only Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary science of the proletariat, the class whose strength lies in its organization, can see the strength of organization, the strength of the organized working class and working people. p446

No revolutionary movement can take place without being prepared and promoted by ideological campaigns. The deeper the revolutionary changes we want to effect, the deeper and more extensive the ideological campaigns we must undertake. pp447-448

The Party exercises its leadership over the State. It does not replace the State in ruling. We have the dictatorship of the proletarian State, not the dictatorship of the Party. The proletarian State is essentially the exercise of the working people's right as collective masters of society under the leadership of the working class and through the Marxist-Leninist political Party. p451

... not for a moment should we forget that our State is a proletarian State, a people's State, and that the only master of our society is the people. The State cannot be a patron standing above the people. On the contrary, it is actually the people composed of the working class, the collective farmers and the socialist intellectuals which forms their own State functioning under the leadership of the Party with the aim of building a new society. The building of a new society is the cause of the broad masses of the people themselves.

That is why it is our task to carry out permanent education to raise the political and cultural standards of the masses. On the other hand, we must found a system of most appropriate organizational relations and methods of work in order to draw the broad masses of the people into the management of the State and the economy and of all social affairs. Only by means of large-scale, meticulous, persistent and creative organizational work, only through constant study, thinking out, experimentation, control and repeated changes in the various forms of organization and management of the State organs and the various economic, mass and social organizations in conformity with the requirements of the laws of social existence and development can we found a system of correct and viable relations. And only then can our daily watchwords such as "a co-op is a home, and the co-op members are its owners", or "workers must take part in the management of factories" and, in a broader sense, the right of the masses as the collective masters be translated into a living reality. Otherwise these remain slogans and statements. pp454-455

And the movement will not cease to give rise to new cadres, able organizers springing from the masses, from the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals - people who, by their self-denying work and their creativity, have made the most notable contributions to socialism and proved their strong attachment to the socialist ideal. These are new men of socialism whose most prominent characteristic is their consciousness of being the collective masters and their ability to assume this role, their new attitude toward work, their high sense of organization and discipline. Closely linked with their collectives in the struggle for the common cause they constantly foster and develop their fine moral qualities and their intellectual powers in accordance with the requirements of a man who is the master of society, master of nature and master of himself.

Deeply imbued with the sense of collectiveness, they understand that their own material well-being

and moral happiness and their own future lie in the common welfare and future of all, in the development and in the advance of the whole collective and the whole society. Having identified themselves with the whole society, imbued with the spirit of "each for all and all for each", they know what is good for the collective, society and themselves and what is bad for the interests of the collective, society and their own interests and, consequently, place all their energies and talents at the service of the collective and society. They resolutely defend the interests of the collective and society and thereby win the esteem and admiration of all. pp456-457

There must be a plan to select the objects of our training and expand classes for the training of managing cadres coming from the ranks of technical workers who have shown an aptitude for management, from young demobilized army officers and political cadres of the army, from front rank workers and co-operative farmers from all those who have been well tested and have recorded outstanding achievements in production and fighting. Besides full-time schools and classes, it is necessary to develop vigorously such forms of study as on-the-job or correspondence courses. Only in these ways can we satisfy the urgent and increasing demands of training. p459

... they must be firmly armed with Marxism-Leninism and the line and policies of the Party. p459

In a word, without a firm knowledge of Marxist-Leninist science (especially of dialectical materialist methodology, historical materialism, and economics), without a firm grasp of the Party line and policies, we will be left in the dark groping, will easily lose our political bearings and will lack foresight, initiative and creativity in our work. p460

That is why a very heavy task incumbent on us is to train a large and powerful contingent of scientific and technical cadres *sprung from the working class and peasantry, from the ranks of revolutionaries*. p462

Technology can be imported but the question is that there must be men to use that technology. That is why we must have a big contingent of scientific and technical cadres completely loyal and dedicated to the socialist cause, eager to move into work on the scientific and technological front, for the sake of the prosperity of the country and the happiness of the people, deeply imbued with the Marxist-Leninist outlook on the world and scientific methodology, with an adequate knowledge of the realities of our country and firm grasp of the theoretical foundations of the relevant branches of modern science and technology. p463

Each cadre, first of all, each Communist, must be an example to the masses with regard to the unfailing loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, to the socialist and communist ideal. He must show the highest sense of organization and discipline, a great deal of revolutionary enthusiasm and ardour for work, clear sightedness in action and the firmest will in daily endeavours for the success of the revolutionary cause. p465

A cadre must create for himself the habit of thinking independently and the capacity to analyse, in the process of endeavouring to carry out his tasks, the class significance, the socio-economic effect of each measure being applied. p467

We must learn in such a way that all the knowledge we accumulate will help in the formation, strengthening and constant raising of our proletarian ideology, our Marxist-Leninist outlook on the world and our Communist outlook on life, in such a way that the communist ideal and the scientific knowledge of communism really become the personal beliefs of everyone, the motive force and the compass for all our daily activities. p469

In the conditions of a Party holding State power, and of the implementation of the socialist law of

distribution according to work done, it is natural that in the life of cadres there arises the question of position and remuneration which should be solved by the Party and State policies in a rational way. p470

... the *ideology of the proletariat of being the collective masters*, which is basically opposed to individualism and bourgeois and petty-bourgeois liberalism. p471

But if they are a monolithic army in which millions keep the same pace and act as one man, the revolution is invincible, proletarian dictatorships is invincible.

Even the slightest slackening of discipline suffices to create a fissure for the enemy to thrust his hands into. p471

Socialism is the abolition of the capitalist regime and the system of private ownership in general, the source of inorganization in production leading to sharp contradictions and conflicts in the whole of social life, This regime and system are being replaced by the collective, socialist, system of ownership of the means of production which makes possible and requires organized, centralized and unified production on a nation-wide scale by millions of persons according to a calculated plan and by means of large-scale mechanized industry. p472

... proletarian dictatorship must go through a period of protracted and arduous struggle between the organizational and disciplinary character of the proletariat on the one hand and the very dangerous power of spontaneous development of the state of inorganization and anarchy of the petty bourgeoisie on the other. p473

It is because our economy still bears the marked characteristics of small production in all respects: technology, organization of production and methods of production, that there is still ground for the state of dispersion, liberalism, spontaneous development, inorganization and anarchy, to flourish. The struggle against this state of things, which runs completely counter to socialism, must be carried on with the greatest firmness and perseverance. Otherwise, socialism cannot triumph. p474

## TOWARDS A LARGE - SCALE SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE

... you have said that the price problem is one of the causes for the co-operatives' lack of enthusiasm in production. ... The State must resolutely readjust them. But we should note that the State sells industrial goods to the peasants at fairly cheap prices. p480

It does not allow anybody - whatever his position and whatever contribution he has made to the national salvation cause - to use it as a pretext to demand special rights and privileges. p481

Failing to act will be a big shortcoming. p484

Agriculture has been beset with difficulties and complications, which are due not only to objective causes, but also to shortcomings and weaknesses committed from top to bottom from the Party's leadership to the organs of State direction and management. For this reason, notwithstanding the good results obtained increasing yields and creating model co-operatives, we must make severe criticisms and self-criticisms of our shortcomings if we want to make greater progress. p485

These scientific conclusions are no longer abstract theories nor laboratory experiments but can already be widely applied to production, provided that we have the right organization, a good system of technical management, and strict production discipline. Each locality and each co-

operative must study these general scientific conclusions and turn them into concrete conclusions and concrete formulas suited to their specific conditions. p487

The immediate practical question is the problem of developing agriculture along the line of large-scale socialist production. These model co-operatives no longer remain in the domain of research, they are now the deeds of the masses in the fields. p488

*We must determine what must and could be done in the years ahead, what is to be done by the State and what the people in the various localities should be encouraged to do with their own means.* p490

... we have essentially completed the task of organizing the peasants into co-operatives and have repeatedly consolidated the new relations of production. The co-operatives have brought into full play their positive aspects in production, combat, and satisfying the people's needs. However, in the movement of co-operation and agricultural production there now appear negative manifestations as illegal encroachment and wasteful use of land, failure to put into practice the principles and system of socialist management and to carry out distribution in a just and rational way, according to the work done. This has, in some measure, prevented the superiority of the new system from being brought into full play. p492

Peasant co-op members must be fully conscious of their role as collective masters; they must exercise their rights and constantly enhance their capacity to play the role of masters. p493

... make the initial step toward becoming a large-scale socialist agriculture. p493

According to Marx, socialism and communism can only emerge on the basis of a highly developed by industry. Failing this, there can be no talk of socialism if one does not want to fall into utopianism. ... Decidedly we cannot use force to compel them to adhere to the new system. p495

The per capita area of cultivated land, the lowest in the world, was and remains an extremely acute problem in developing the economy. p497

We should ask ourselves whether, in the present conditions of our country, it is in accordance with the laws of social development to take the peasantry and agriculture immediately to socialism (i.e. without waiting for a developed industry)! And if so, is there any particular law on this problem for our country and countries like ours in the future? p498

So, in the agricultural field, what are the most progressive factors in our time?! In my opinion, it is the system of socialist collective ownership, the science of labour organization, economic management, water control, the use of fertilizers, seeds, new implements and so on. Only by endeavouring to progressively master all these and gradually put them into effect can we take our individualistic backward agriculture forward to large-scale socialist agriculture. p499

That is why the peasantry, acting on the call of the Party, has volunteered, together with the working class, to go forward to socialism and give up individual production, to move eagerly and rapidly along the path of agricultural cooperation and build a new system, the system of socialist collective ownership. ... We therefore cannot sit idly by waiting for the creation of heavy industry before establishing these relations. History enables and compels us to go forward to these relations immediately. ... We cannot miss this historic opportunity, we must seize it, carry out agricultural co-operation without delay, and use the worker-peasant power and the co-operative regime as motive force to push ahead with other revolutionary transformations in agriculture and quicken the birth of a large-scale production and industry. To start the process of socialist construction by establishing

the system of collective ownership – this is a peculiarity of the process of our country's historical development and an important theoretical point of social sciences in Viet Nam. pp500-501

I think that these are important theoretical concepts regarding the development of our agriculture in its initial stage. Advanced co-operatives are vivid examples proving the correctness of these concepts. p502

If co-operation does not bring the peasants a happier life than individual production, then the co-operatives will not remain strong and the ties binding the peasants to their co-operatives will gradually be loosened. p502

The acreage exposed to flood and drought should be limited to a minimum; p504

In my opinion, the most difficult question and at the same time our weakest point lies not in the shortage of labour or land, but most of all in our lack of adequate organization and of diligence, dynamism and perseverance. p505

... exports not only contribute to accumulation for socialist industrialization but also serve as an important measure for the increase of labour productivity in agriculture and improvement of the peasant's living conditions. p508

... to launch the initial re-organization of production and improvement of agricultural management in order to turn our agriculture, which has been collectivized but still suffers to a serious extent from a guild character, fragmentation and other negative aspects, into an agriculture in which methods of specialized and intensive cultivation are practised and which is developing all-sidedly in the direction of large-scale socialist production. p509

Everybody (except the disabled) must do some work to contribute to the common effort, at the same time no one must find his material and spiritual life uncared for by society. p510

There should be a division of labour and close co-operation between these brigades which should be bound by collective contracts under the guidance of the co-operative managing committee. p513

It is able not only to care for the material life of its inhabitants but also to provide cultural activities, education and health, to build a socialist countryside and to closely combine on a rational basis, economic with cultural activities and with national defence. p516

The advance from small production to large-scale socialist production is a process of combining socialist transformation with socialist construction, a deep and broad revolutionary change in all aspects of socialist life, from the economic structure to social labour division, from infrastructure to the superstructure, from the working people to the working tools, from the level of technique and the level of production to the style and habits of work. p519

We must resolutely check and eliminate all negative aspects of our society and intensify the struggle between the two roads in all fields of activity. p520

The leadership of the Party organizations and the activities of the administrative committees and the various mass organizations, as well as organizational and legislative work, must ensure strict observance of these tasks, and steps must be taken to prevent and duly punish all encroachments upon the right of the masses to collective mastery. p521

Small production by itself begets capitalism daily and hourly. However, in our country, the peasants

have, at an early date, given up the road of individual farming and quickly taken the path of collective farming. p522

Along with raising the Party members' cultural standard and ability, *we must resolutely combat all manifestations of arbitrariness, abuse of power, bureaucracy and aloofness from the people, corruption and misappropriation, fear of difficulties and hardships, violation of labour discipline, State laws, the Party Constitution and the co-ops' rules, laziness in study.* We must help every Party member understand that the aim of joining the Party is not to seek positions and material advantages but to shoulder heavier duties, heavier responsibilities, endure more sacrifices and to be a loyal servant of the people. pp523-524

Our Party is a living body, subject to the simultaneous process of growth and elimination. On the one hand, we must know how to foster, select and admit to the Party those who are good at working and fighting and are really conscious of the nature of the Party and the communist ideal. On the other hand, we must resolutely expel from the Party all speculators and opportunists, those who have degenerated and lost all qualifications as Party members and consequently are despised and disliked by the masses in order to make the Party pure and healthy. To fulfil this task, we must carry out criticism and self-criticism within the Party, step up control work in the Party, first and foremost in each Party cell. At the same time, we must initiate a movement to get the masses to join in building our Party, thus strengthening the close ties between the Party and the masses. p524

#### FORWARD TO THE FUTURE

Speech delivered at the meeting held in Hanoi to celebrate victory, 15 May 1975

... an era of brilliant prospects for the development of a peaceful, independent, reunified, democratic, prosperous and strong Viet Nam, an era in which the labouring people have become the complete masters of their destiny and will pool their physical and mental efforts to build a plentiful and happy life for themselves and for thousands of generations to come. p528

Our Party has skilfully and successfully combined the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism - the culmination of the intelligence of mankind - with the extraordinary revolutionary energy and the inexhaustible creativeness of our people, with the tradition and quintessential qualities of our nation, to work out a correct, creative, independent and sovereign line, mobilize, foster and bring into play all potentials of the country and all forces of the nation, and to combine these with the strength of our times into a tremendous aggregate force, able to defeat all enemies. p531

... we express our most profound gratitude to the Soviet Union, China and the other fraternal socialist countries, and to all communist and workers' parties. p532

This victory is the victory of socialism, the highest ideal of mankind and the most profound aspiration of the labouring people. p533

There can be no genuine independence and freedom for the nation unless the labouring people are freed from oppression and exploitation. p533

The victory of Viet Nam, therefore, is not only a victory of national independence and socialism in Viet Nam, but has also a great international significance, and an epoch-making character. ... Today, imperialism, even US imperialism, cannot grab a single square inch of any socialist country; neither can it push back the movement for national independence in the world, nor hinder the advance toward socialism of various countries. p534

In the spirit of national reconciliation and concord, our people have shown leniency to all those who

have strayed from the right path and who are now returning to the people, no matter what their past was. Provided they sincerely mend their abilities to the service of the homeland, their place among the people will be guaranteed and all the shame put on them by criminal US imperialist will be washed away. pp537-538

A nation which has recorded such splendid exploits deserves to enjoy peace, freedom and happiness. Such a nation surely has enough determination and energy, strength and talent to overcome all difficulties and reach the great heights of our times, to turn a poor and backward country heavily devastated by war, in which US imperialism has perpetrated so many crimes, into a civilized, prosperous and powerful country, an impregnable bastion of national independence, democracy and socialism in Indochina and Southeast Asia. p540