

LE DUAN



ON THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN VIET NAM

VOLUME III

**FOREIGN
LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
HANOI — 1967**

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IN VIET NAM*

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On the socialist revolution in Viet Nam comprises a number of writings and speeches by comrade LE DUAN, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, between 1957 and 1962.

We publish them in three volumes :

Vol. 1: THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION
IN VIET NAM (General questions).

Vol. 2: INDUSTRIALIZATION
AND AGRICULTURAL
CO-OPERATIVIZATION.

Vol. 3: IDEOLOGICAL WORK,
WORK AMONG WOMEN
AND YOUTH, EDUCATION
AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

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FOR A RADICAL CHANGE IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK *

THE MAIN TASK IN IDEOLOGICAL WORK:
TO POPULARIZE AND IMPLEMENT THE
RESOLUTION OF THE PARTY CONGRESS

Comrades,

Today I shall talk about some questions relating to propaganda and education. As I was asked to do this only yesterday and as I was very busy, I had no time to draw up a plan. I am afraid, therefore, I shall speak by fits and starts.

We usually say that thinking takes the lead in every work. You have undoubtedly realized the important role of ideological work. In our Party's life no branch of activity is so old as propaganda and education, which has been carried out ever since our Party came into being, whereas all the others were created only

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

after the seizure of power. This explains why the propaganda and educational branch is the most experienced of all. Unfortunately, as no adequate review has ever been made, good things are left in oblivion. In 1953, I remember, village cadres who came to Viet Bac* related plenty of exemplary achievements. For instance, when our comrades returned to the villages where all our bases had been disrupted, thanks to their agitation work they succeeded in rousing the people up again to encircle the enemy and drive him out. How ingenious and elaborate it was! Today, with a higher cultural level and ample means, our cadres should have done better. In fact, however, in not few villages it is much worse than before. Why? With political power in our hands, we do command more facilities for agitation and ideological work, but then there also appear negative factors besides positive ones. Then, as it occurs, our revolutionary consciousness and our efforts to mingle with the masses and win them over slacken and give way to commandism and bureaucracy, thus neutralizing the revolutionary effect of our Party's propaganda and educational work. Moreover, though we possess many means, we happen to hold erroneous views on basic problems, stripping propaganda and educational work of its revolutionary content. Propaganda and educational work serves ideological revolution, it is an ideological struggle. I do not thereby deny the fact that, at present, in many places, achievements have been scored as in the

*Liberated zone in the hill regions.

Duyen Hai engineering plant and the Dai Phong agricultural co-operative. On the whole our work there is satisfactory, a proof that ideological work, too, is well done. Generally speaking, our propaganda and educational work has made progress. What I said above is meant to substantiate that it could have achieved better results, and that we ought to have preserved and promoted valuable experiences instead of letting them fall into oblivion, to the great detriment not only of the propaganda and educational cadres but the entire Party and people.

So much for the method and ways of doing propaganda and educational work. As for its ideological content, it changes with the requirements of the revolution in each period.

What do we mean saying: thinking takes the lead in every work? As I understand, this amounts to what Lenin said: "Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement." In other words, when someone undertakes to do something, consciously or not, he must have thought and reasoned over it from his own viewpoint and stand. Facing the same problem, people have differing reasonings and reach differing conclusions, depending on their stand.

The relation between the objective laws of nature and the active role of thinking is a very intricate problem, a vague understanding of which prevents us from grasping many other problems. Marx said that in the final analysis the development of society is determined by economy. Economy reflects the relation between man and man in production, and these

are objective and independent of their will. It follows that in the final analysis, the development of society is determined by objective factors independent of man's will. Marx also said that the history of mankind is made by man. A man differs from an animal in so far as he is capable of thinking, so to speak of man is to speak of a thinking creature. When a spider weaves a cobweb to catch flies, it acts instinctively, whereas a man, who builds a house to live in, does it on purpose according to a certain plan. In other words, he must first of all foresee what he is to do, he must think. Man always acts upon an idea. As is known, thinking is the reflection of existence; however, it has its own independence. Man does not act blindly and passively under the pressure of objective conditions, he enjoys a relative freedom of his own. He cannot create or repudiate any objective law of nature, but within the scope of objective economic laws, he envisages things in the abstract, reflects and decides on his actions to make them serve his aims. In objective conditions and under objective laws, the results of man's actions may widely differ, depending on his capacity to view things in the abstract, and apply objective laws to realize his aims. In given historical conditions, things do not necessarily evolve in one direction, but usually in many differing ones, and this again depends on man's will. Moreover, to attain a certain aim, there is not necessarily one way but usually many; for instance, to reach a central point, one may proceed from the top or the bottom, from the left or the

right. That is the meaning of what we say: thinking takes the lead in every work. As a consequence, thinking must abide by the objective laws of social development, by economic laws; at the same time, it must play a leading role. In this, there is no contradiction but unity. Social development stems from the dialectical unity of objective and subjective factors. That is why, in our ideological work, we, who stand for materialism, dialectical materialism, may fall into idealism if we exaggerate the effectiveness of thinking, regarding it as something omnipotent, isolating it from the objective environment, from its material basis. Inversely, we shall fall into mechanic materialism if we ignore the leading role of thinking, its important role, and consider it an appendage of objective factors. Thinking takes the lead in every work; without Marxist thinking, communism cannot be brought into being.

Above are universal truths, which I quote from Marx and Lenin. Now I shall deal with our concrete problem.

What shall we do and how shall we proceed in our ideological work? I won't speak of the world situation in general, nor of the revolution in South Viet Nam, but chiefly of the revolution in North Viet Nam. The fundamental task of our ideological work is to popularize and implement the resolution of the Third Party Congress, which was unanimously approved. I think that on some points, not all our cadres have a thorough understanding. Moreover, practice still does not suffice to enlighten these points. I shall therefore tackle them elaborately to help you study them carefully.

Ours is the most radical revolution in our history. It is a process embracing several revolutions. We have achieved a revolution of a political nature, and been carrying on two others simultaneously, one for the transformation of relations of production and one for technological development. Our economy was mainly based on manual labour. Now that socialist transformation has been achieved in the main, giving rise to new relations of production, the same situation prevails, hence the necessity of a technological revolution. The technological revolution aims chiefly at developing productive forces, transforming the relation between man and nature, and between man and man as well. For instance, with a primitive plough, a peasant acts upon nature not better than a horse while a ploughing machine is as strong as 15 or even 20 horses. Technological revolution brings about far-reaching changes in all other fields, and that is the significance of socialist industrialization. Together with the technological revolution, we must start a cultural and ideological revolution to make our people's thinking fit with our new relations and mode of production, and simultaneously raise their cultural level, so that they may master new techniques. Thus, we have embarked on three revolutions. To bring them to success we must show the masses what is to be done.

TO RAISE CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IS AN IMPORTANT PROBLEM

First of all, I would like to say something about the relations of production, but not much as we have in the main completed their transformation. At present,

we have new relations of production with two forms of ownership — ownership by the whole people and collective ownership — both being established on a weak material and technical basis, which generates many difficulties. I think it necessary to clear up this point. When we carried out socialist transformation, we did not have a comprehensive view of the problem and did not adequately take into account the specific conditions of our country. In a conversation yesterday with a comrade about learning from the experiences of the socialist countries, the transformation of relations of production in China and the Soviet Union was touched upon. During this period, in China, they had to struggle against a powerful social force. You know that this country had gone through the 1911 revolution, after which the bourgeoisie was in power for some decades and resisted very doggedly their being overthrown. Socialist transformation, therefore, involved pretty bitter class struggle. Failing this, many difficulties would have arisen for the bourgeoisie would have taken advantage of serious crop failures to create turmoil. As transformation was satisfactorily carried out the situation was well under control. In the Soviet Union, a sharp class struggle took place in the process of transformation, owing to the relentless opposition of both the industrial and rural bourgeoisie. If it was right to do so in the Soviet Union and in China, the same cannot be applied in Viet Nam. Why? The matter is so intricate that we must keep very close to our realities to understand it. In our country, the aggregate capital of the four thousand capitalists falling within the scope of transformation was not large enough to

build a modern factory. On the whole, the urban bourgeoisie was very small while in the countryside the rich peasants accounted for less than 0.5 per cent of the population, and held as the main means of production no more land than that of the working peasants.

Those were Viet Nam's specific conditions when we started socialist transformation. What then is the object of socialist transformation in our country? The resolution of the Party Congress clearly points out: Socialist transformation is class struggle to abolish the exploiting classes and at the same time a revolution to shift a small production to a big one. In Viet-Nam it did consist of these two aspects, the latter being predominant. Since the urban bourgeoisie and the rich peasants did not make up a sizable and potent force as in other countries, it was not necessary at all to put up a bitter class struggle. On the other hand, as our economy was mainly based on a small and individual production of the peasants and handicraftsmen, our key task in socialist transformation was to turn that production into a big, socialist one. That is one of our realities. In the Soviet Union, the transformation of agriculture implied the confiscation of the rich peasants' land and farm-implements and their handing over to the peasants grouped in co-operatives to which the State gave more machines. Such was not the case in Viet Nam where the peasants once grouped in co-operatives did not receive any more land or farm-implements of any kind. And that is another of our realities. Co-operativization at its first stage is only a pooling of land,

farm-implements and cattle and — when the co-operative embraces a whole hamlet — a reorganization of the labour force, a new division of labour. Transformation thus undertaken already brings about a new productive force which yields better results in combating natural calamities, exploiting nature and raising productivity and income. Nevertheless, if we stop at that, and do not proceed further with a technological revolution, we shall not be in a position to increase productivity and income beyond a certain limit and, as a result, consolidate the new relations of production. Consequently, transformation in agriculture aims at creating a new productive force through the reorganization of the labour force, a new division of labour, and at improving agricultural techniques to successfully fight natural calamities, exploit the potentialities of tropical agriculture, and develop agricultural production. Such is the object of socialist transformation which our ideological work should make clear instead of uselessly dealing with generalities or repeating the object of socialist transformation in the Soviet Union or in China. He who brands a middle peasant who builds a cistern as a would-be capitalist displays an inconsiderate attitude, proves incapable of grasping the object of socialist transformation and only prejudices the peasants' zeal in production and hampers their productivity. This is very dangerous. If, as we undertake transformation, the output decreases instead of rising, no one can understand what transformation really aims at, no matter what we can say. When explaining co-operativization, we must clearly show its advantages and

back them with concrete proofs and instead of speaking peremptorily, we must help the peasants realize that co-operatives are worth joining. Hence, the need of a correct exposition of the object of co-operativization. I do not mean thereby that socialist transformation does not involve class struggle or is just a simple problem. Of course, it is intended to bar the way to spontaneous capitalist development in order to preserve the bulk of working peasants and handicraftsmen from exploitation and impoverishment. But this, too, does not mean to hinder the working peasants from attaining a life of plenty. On the contrary, while checking spontaneous capitalist development, socialist transformation aims at taking the people to abundance and happiness. The main purpose of transformation, consequently, is to bring about a new organization of the peasants' labour force, a new division of labour, which will create new forces and new capabilities to struggle against nature, reclaim waste land, increase the number of crops, obtain a higher yield, and develop production beyond the possibilities of individual farming. On that basis, it has to secure a new life for our people. That is the trend of the overall situation. In some places, however, there still prevail sabotage activities by a number of landlords or former imperialists' valets who have not been re-educated. We must, naturally, heighten our vigilance to deal with them in time.

On the other hand, transformation has to grapple with political and ideological problems. Man's thinking is determined now by economic, now by political factors. Of course, the latter, in the final analysis, originate from the former. But the direct factor is not

always economic, at times it is political or ideological. For some people the refusal to join co-operatives springs from differing reasons — economic, ideological or spiritual. A few religious believers wrongly fear that they would become apostate. Generally speaking, the peasants join co-operatives because they think that these can achieve higher productivity than their individual enterprise. But each of them may have quite a different motive to do so, which we have to know perfectly in order to carry out our ideological work properly. With those religious followers who worry about losing their faith, explanations over economic advantages of co-operativization, however lengthy, would bring us nowhere. Therefore, we have not only to grasp the theory and object of socialist transformation and the specific conditions of our country, but to know as well the particularities of each case, each person, to handle them properly. Another example: some cadres criticize individual peasants as individualists and bad elements. We should not inveigh against them, for as working people, they have the right to earn their living as they like. We should instead show them that they are entitled to enjoy this legitimate right but their labour will be more profitable for them if they work collectively. When setting up an agricultural co-operative we should see to winning over only those who will gain to join it, and temporarily leave aside those very few who will not benefit from their admission. It will be to nobody's interest to admit those handicraftsmen whose productivity cannot be raised by co-operativization or whose activities will bring about no new appreciable productive force. That is why there

still remain individual producers in socialist countries. We set up co-operatives to achieve higher labour productivity and not because individual undertaking is blameworthy. We have to understand that capitalism does not stem from every individual undertaking and in whatever condition. We should not exaggerately and groundlessly fear capitalism. We call upon our peasants to join co-operatives for the sole reason that individual farming is not profitable, that co-operativization enables them to fight natural calamities, increase the number of crops, reclaim waste land, raise their productivity, and run more trades, so many things that individual farming cannot do. However, there are other aspects worth considering. The other day I went to a hamlet where the per capita land holding is only 180 square metres. It then occurred to my mind that given our present poor technical capacities it would be better temporarily to let part of the peasants there till their land individually — co-operativization would create many difficulties — to raise production and resettle an appreciable number of them in other places. To live on those 180 square metres a peasant must strain every nerve day and night. Once in a co-operative, he will work during definite hours, and those 180 square metres cannot feed him. Therefore, we must act cautiously where land is too scarce. The relations of collective production must be based on a big productive force. Mechanized production naturally requires collective work. So long as production depends on manual labour, there is ground for individual undertaking. If we do not carry out industrialization to provide machines to the existing co-operatives, co-op members may

waver when difficulties crop up. Hence, the transformation of our agriculture urgently calls for a technological revolution. Ideology, though, plays an important role, especially when mechanized production is still deficient, to stabilize the situation in case of difficulties. If our ideological work makes the peasants understand that collective work contributes to raise labour productivity, that they should unite their efforts with the workers' to build socialism and push ahead socialist industrialization — which will within a few years bring about a new technique, higher labour productivity and a better living standard — then they will be prepared to face difficulties ahead and will realize the need for a more patient collective work. Thus, they will be more immune from vacillation. Such are a few points about transformation of relations of production.

Now I shall say something on *class relations* in our country. While waging a revolution to transform the relations of production in North Viet Nam we should take South Viet Nam into consideration. During the transformation period, we have to bear in mind that our people as a nation are implementing two revolutionary tasks. In the North, the socialist revolution aims at eliminating the bourgeoisie as a class and turning capitalist ownership into ownership by the whole people. However, the bourgeoisie here is weak and has fought imperialism on our side. Meanwhile, the Southern bourgeoisie adheres to the National Front for Liberation which is rallying the people in the struggle against imperialism. The bourgeoisie in the North and its counterpart in the South being the same class of one and the same country, they have influence

on each other and any measure against the bourgeoisie in the North affects its counterpart in the South. Therefore, in the transformation of the bourgeoisie in the North, we must reckon with our Southern compatriots' revolutionary struggle and act in such a way as will best rally the bourgeoisie within the National Front for Liberation against the American imperialists in South Viet Nam. Hence, we have used moderate measures: repurchasing of the property owned by the bourgeoisie, and uniting with it in view of common progress. After transformation in the North there will exist no more capitalists enriching themselves by exploitation, the former capitalists will become, to their honour, patriotic citizens in an independent country, co-operating with the working people to build it into a prosperous and civilized one. Now, as regards the means of production, socialist transformation has been completed in the main, but ideologically it has to be carried on. Bourgeois ideology is to be found not only among the bourgeoisie itself, but also among individual producers (for individual production tends to develop into capitalist production) among them are petty bourgeois elements and intellectuals. In capitalist societies, the intellectuals' interests are affiliated to the capitalists' because the intelligentsia there holds outstanding positions. In Viet Nam in general, and in the North in particular, the bourgeoisie is weak, but bourgeois ideology among intellectuals is not so weak. Some of them constantly contended for State leadership but had to reconcile to their weakness in face of the entire people who have accepted the Party's leadership for some decades. Representative of these bourgeois

intellectuals was the *Nhan van** group. Bourgeois ideology will survive for long and will manifest itself at any favourable opportunity.

At present, in the South, the comprador bourgeoisie is conniving with the American imperialists to cling to power and entertains the ambition to rule over the whole country. In given circumstances this may give rise to agitation among the bourgeoisie in the North. We must be vigilant. A most complex problem, ideological remoulding, entails intricate class struggle, hence the importance of raising our class consciousness.

Besides struggles, the class relations problem involves another aspect of consequence—alliance. We have to enter into alliance with other classes to build socialism. In the countryside the key problem in class relations lies in the strengthening of solidarity between middle and poor peasants. In the main, unity of mind prevails between poor and middle peasants, yet on some particular points differences still exist. This is due to the fact that our co-operatives are for the moment at the lower level and part of the middle-peasants remain outside. Unity of mind must definitely be reached. Only so can we boost the peasants' ardour in production. Though we have to combat spontaneous capitalist development among a number of middle peasants, too much stress will restraint their eagerness and productivity. Our State farms being small, most agricultural produce is supplied by the co-operatives

* A reactionary group in the literary circles of North Viet Nam in 1956.

and a middle-peasant-type economy, very important for socialist industrialization. Because the poor peasants' economy does not yield enough food for their own consumption, let alone market agricultural produce. Failing this, there cannot be industrialization. For this reason our Party has set forth the task of bringing the living standard of the peasantry as a whole to the present level of the upper middle peasants towards the end of the First Five-Year Plan. The middle peasants' productivity has an influence of its own, and any action likely to lower it is harmful. As a matter of fact, the attitude of some comrades in some places is such that middle peasants fear to become "well-off" and work just enough to live on, instead of pushing their production ahead. Moreover, a wrong interpretation of our class line — poor peasants allegedly enjoy more political rights than middle peasants — makes the latter afraid of being deprived of political rights, and the former of becoming middle peasants. We must combat spontaneous capitalist development but what is capitalist must be clearly stated and speaking inconsiderately must not be allowed, so as to avoid a fall in productivity. Within the new relations of production, owing to the weak material and technical basis, side by side with the positive aspect which constitutes the keynote, the negative aspect remains; as many positive features have no time enough to develop, the influence of negative ones makes itself felt. This cannot be overlooked, and production and productivity closely watched, otherwise production will decrease.

The co-operation between the workers and the peasants is an expression of the solidarity between two fraternal classes. They form the the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the main force building our socialist economy. But, as the mode of production and the labour productivity of these two classes somewhat differ, each of them still keeps its own peculiarities. For instance, apart from the land tilled collectively in the co-operative, the peasants retain small plots for individual exploitation, and run side-lines. For the time being, both of these occupations account for about 40 per cent of their income, and — a noteworthy fact — they supply a large amount of marketable farming products because the bulk of the co-operative economy is destined for co-op members' consumption and the remainder sold to the State. A small part of the agricultural products needed by the workers is procured by State trading stores and the rest at the free market. If the peasants offer them at a high price the workers will protest, in case they have to sell too cheap they themselves will not agree. Disunity then may arise. Therefore, we must have a correct policy to bring into being the worker-peasant alliance. This policy must be reflected in our price policy which, in turn, gives a concrete expression to the toilers' labour. This problem is awaiting a solution. At present, in order to materialize the worker-peasant alliance, we have, first and foremost, to push ahead industrial and agricultural production, build socialism and make industry efficiently serve agricultural development and vice-versa.

Such is one of the most intricate problems facing us now in regard to class relations. It must be tackled satisfactorily in every respect, our efforts being concentrated on the struggle against imperialism to achieve the peaceful reunification of our country and the building of socialism in the North. We must make everybody realize this point.

IDEOLOGICAL WORK MUST BE DIRECTED AT SERVING TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

We must thoroughly grasp the problems of industrialization.

Now I'll speak about the second point : the necessity of a technological revolution. The central task of our revolution at present is the building of the material and technical basis of socialism. Every work should revolve around it. We have to understand that the passing of one system to another is the shifting of one mode of production to another and the application of a new technique. Handicraft is the mode of production of feudalism, large-scale industry that of capitalism and also socialism—the lower stage of communism. Ours is a small individual production, based on manual labour. Under feudalism, small production can only advance to large-scale capitalist production, but in our era of transition from capitalism to socialism, small production can progress to large-scale socialist

production with the help of the socialist camp endowed with a modern industry. We are taking this road. We go directly from small production to large-scale socialist production, bypassing the stage of capitalist development. This socialist production will take large-scale and heavy industry as its basis. The basic object of this shift is to turn manual labour into mechanized labour. To this end, we must have electric power, iron and steel. When we say that electricity takes the lead, we thereby mean that we have to develop it to serve mechanization, and not we should achieve electrification first. Mechanization requires heavy industry, that is a machine-building industry. What is this for? Precisely to equip agriculture, light industry, transport and communications, and capital construction. We must equip agriculture with machines, for only mechanized agriculture can produce food in abundance and contributes to raise man's living standard. The equipment of light industry is necessary as it turns out nearly all commodities we need every day. The mechanization of transport and communications, and capital construction serve industrial and agricultural production. With the assistance of the socialist camp, we can right now undertake this enterprise, although we still dispose of an undeveloped heavy industry. During the last seven years in effect we built a number of light-industry factories, and by 1965 we shall be able to produce most of our staple commodities. The same holds good for agriculture: we cannot make ploughing machines as yet but we must and can import them. That is the way we proceed at the first stage of industrialization, which

should not last indefinitely, for the life of a whole society cannot depend entirely on foreign aid.

We start from small, individual production directly towards great socialist production. Thanks to the help and co-operation of the socialist countries, we can build modern enterprises and equip our economic branches with modern technique. But semi-mechanized production still plays a very important role. Viet Nam's technological revolution proceeds both by leaps and bounds and step by step at the same time. It goes by leaps and bounds because some branches adopt modern technique and step by step because small enterprises will be turned into medium-size ones then large ones, with manual labour giving way to semi-mechanized then mechanized labour.

We shall achieve industrialization within some decades during which our technological revolution will not only shift manual labour to mechanized labour, but will keep in touch with the current technological revolution in the world. The Soviet Union is now carrying on such a technological revolution to build communism. After five or ten years, we will buy not only the machines we now see, but most up-to-date ones from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, we will import the latest technique on automation, chemistry, etc. Thus, the under-developed countries have the advantage of enjoying the most modern technique.

Our industrialization is aimed at supplying equipment to our own economy — that of the North and also of the South in future, for our country will surely be reunified. It will thus serve thirty to forty million

people throughout the country. With such a point of view, we must definitely build a relatively complete heavy industry and an independent economy. So stated the Third National Party Congress. This means that we shall set up, not all branches, but such important ones as engineering, metallurgy, electric power. Those will serve as the basis of our economy. We can certainly do it for we enjoy the help and co-operation of our socialist camp. This is a particular condition that the capitalist countries did not benefit from when they embarked on industrialization. I have had the opportunity to read a document on Japan on this subject. This country had to spend nearly sixty years and import almost all its raw materials while the per capita annual food average in the first years of industrialization was only 125 kilos. As for us, we have more raw materials than Japan, and the per capita food average is about 300 kilos. There are good grounds for believing that in some decades we shall possess an advanced economy.

Standing for an independent economy, we shall not dispense with co-operating with the socialist countries. Far from this. We are well aware that without the help and co-operation of the socialist countries a rather small and economically backward one like ours can by no means achieve socialist industrialization. When we have achieved it, that help and co-operation, instead of decreasing, will be broadened. What then is the significance of the building of an independent economy? We all know that large-scale industry implies, not the construction of small village or regional workshops, but big plants which, given the present-day technical level,

require a capital accumulated by our entire people. To build industry the bourgeoisie in capitalist countries had to mobilize the wealth of their nation and set up trusts, cartels, joint-stock companies, etc. Together with the concentration of capital on a nation-wide scale, industry requires international co-operation and division of labour. Large-scale industry, therefore, has both a national and international character. The international character itself is not the same for capitalist and socialist countries. That is why, we must point out what is national and what is international in our industrialization: these two aspects complete each other, but the national aspect must be predominant. Because each country is an economic unit and, as such, has an economic setting, economic conditions, a technical level and a division of labour of its own. Starting from differing economic bases, all the socialist countries will attain similar goals. They differ from capitalist countries in that they help and co-operate with one another, while the latter compete with one another. Such help and co-operation, however, do not preclude at the present stage the peculiarities of each nation so as to merge all these separate economic units into a single one. While enjoying the assistance of, and co-operation with, other countries, we have, as our main job, to work out a most rational organization and division of labour in our economy by which we can make rapid progress. Our country has undergone major changes. In the past, our people worked individually in separate families; now, it can be said, the whole Vietnamese society is one family. If formerly everybody worked for himself, now all

people work for the common good of the society, and the wealth thus produced is distributed, as a principle, according to the work done. But the same does not apply for the socialist countries in their relations ; there are only exchange, co-operation and mutual assistance between various independent economic units. Consequently, we must mainly rely on ourselves to carry out industrialization. Over the past several years, our fraternal countries extended us boundless assistance, giving us hundreds of millions of *dongs* without return. Such an assistance exists only between socialist countries, something understandable while we are at the first stage of industrialization. As economy grows up will there be any reason why we should continue receiving such one-way assistance ? It is wrong to rely on one-way assistance from fraternal countries. This is selfishness, parasitism, not communism. All the wealth produced by the people of a country is first and foremost to improve their own livelihood ; as for the assistance to fraternal countries without return, it should be extended only when they meet difficulties, especially in the first period of their national-construction. Only by so doing can every country contribute to the reinforcement of the whole camp.

Socialist industrialization demands *fund accumulation*. Nowadays it requires a huge capital. For example : the building of the Thai Nguyen iron and steel complex with an annual capacity of only 200,000 tons of steel, costs 600 million *dongs*. With a population like ours we need 10 million tons of steel every year.

Undertaking industrialization at a time when half of our country is fighting against the Americans, we

must take into consideration the revolution in the South. While concentrating our fund, we must pay attention to the gradual improvement of the people's livelihood, because this is an urgent requirement of the working people and also because we must fulfil a great political task—the peaceful reunification of the fatherland. Unless we raise the Northern population's living standard we cannot make our Southern compatriots turn their mind to the North and fight eagerly. Thus, fund accumulation is a very intricate problem. We must strive to practise thrift, correctly solve the relation between accumulation and consumption. Many in our Party, among our people and especially our peasants, have not thoroughly understood this problem.

But thrift alone cannot basically solve the question of fund accumulation. The best way towards this goal is to increase social wealth rapidly. Fund will augment with the same tempo as social wealth. And as labour creates all kinds of social wealth, our source of accumulation lies in the labour of our seven million toilers, among them only some hundred thousand serve in industrial enterprises, whereas the overwhelming majority are peasants. In agriculture the average per capita land holding is three *sao*; few countries are as poor as ours in crop-land. As a result of this scarcity of land and a backward farming technique, we can put by only from one-tenth to one-fifth of what we produce. This is our greatest difficulty, the most specific feature of our country. When the Soviet Union started industrialization the per capita average was 640 kilos of cereals, 200 kilos of potatoes, 31.4 kilos of

meat, 185 kilos of milk; so it could export a great quantity of wheat and other agricultural products in exchange for machines and other equipment required by industrialization. In addition, our population increases rapidly. Hence, there must be effective measures to enlarge the area under cultivation in order to get rid of the "three *sao* shackle" and raise the per capita land holding in the countryside to 4 *sao*. Moreover, we strive so that one *sao* can feed us and the yield of the other three *sao* can be exchanged for instruments of production fertilizers, and other industrial goods. That is why the Third Party Congress has stated: We must liberate manpower in the plains, organize land reclamation in Viet Bac and Tay Bac, exploit all the resources in mountain and coastal areas, and improve technique. The resolution of the Fifth Session of the Party Central Committee pointed out very basic problems with regard to the laying of a new material and technical foundation for agriculture, viz. building of hydraulic works, production of fertilizers and insecticides and improvement of farm-implements. The solution of these problems will help largely multiply annual crops and increase land productivity. The improvement of farm-implements constitutes the first step of our technological revolution. With it a work which has to be done in three days can be finished in one day. As long as our industrialization is not completed, the amelioration of farm-implements to gradually increase productivity assumes paramount importance.

In this way, to accumulate fund for industrialization, we must attach great importance to the development of agriculture.

Now I am speaking a little more about the relation between industry and agriculture. Agriculture must serve as a basis for industrialization, whereas heavy industry is the foundation of our national economy as a whole. It is impossible for our country not to do so. Because food shortage prevents the promotion of industry, because the development of agriculture enlarges the consumption of the products turned out by heavy industry such as fertilizers, insecticides, farming machines, etc., and, as a result, gives an impulse to heavy industry. Because with a thriving agriculture the peasants can afford to spare money for consumer goods, thus pushing light industry ahead. Moreover, it is to be noted that 80 per cent of the raw materials required by light industry is produced by agriculture, and that the development of light industry will create conditions for heavy industry to progress. When carrying out industrialization all capitalist countries took into consideration the establishment of an agricultural basis. On the one hand, they develop agriculture at home, on the other, they exploit agriculture in the colonies. We cannot take their path. For us industrialization involves the building and advancement of industry, and, simultaneously, the furthering of agriculture. To give priority to the development of heavy industry means to concentrate funds on heavy industry ; however, we must see to it that an adequate proportion is devoted to agriculture for both long-term and short-term plans. If too little funds is invested in agriculture, it will develop slowly, thus offering unreliable basis for industrialization, but if too much is earmarked for it to the detriment of heavy industry, agriculture

will not be able to advance either. Therefore, a rational and well balanced investment of time must be ensured in industry and agriculture in each period. Nevertheless, priority must be given to the development of heavy industry to promote that of other economic branches.

The peasantry must be made to understand that industrialization is a common cause.

I have just dealt with a number of problems on industrialization, which are not very clearly understood by us all. Over the past years, as many people did not understand what industrialization was, wrong ideas cropped up. The cadres who carry out ideological work to help secure the success of industrialization must thoroughly grasp the content of all relevant problems so as to correctly explain practical matters. If explanatory work clearly shows what industrialization practically implies the peasants will understand that crops must be multiplied and production boosted to meet the requirements of industry, that agricultural products have to be exported in exchange for machines we needed in industry, and why in the events of crop failure the peasants should reduce their ration. Then, let them consume 15 kilos of rice per month instead of 20, so that the workers may have also 15 kilos. Ideological work must make the peasantry realize that industrialization is also their own business so that they support it and feel elated with it. This inter-relation is not easy to grasp indeed. We have to expound it

convincingly, very patiently ; on the other hand, cadres and Party members must set good examples. It is very likely that now the people do not understand, and that they will. There are policies which the people do not understand, but seeing that cadres and Party members implement them, they follow suit. During the Resistance War, when the slogan "all for the battlefield" was set forth everybody put it in practice, because at that time besides our people's traditional patriotic spirit, our propaganda and explanatory work was done satisfactorily and our cadres proved to be exemplary by their devotion and sacrifices.

In regard to sacrifice, some points have to be elucidated. During the Resistance War, we called for sacrifice as the nation's very existence was at stake and the question of life and death then became a burning one. At present, too, the spirit of sacrifice must be highlighted, with the difference, however, that importance should be attached to the interests of all, that is, distribution should be equitable and rational, the fairest distribution now being based on the work done. Now, to cut our State expenses and spare money for the building of socialism, for our own future, is to accept sacrifices. The rest of our income will be distributed to everybody according to the work he has done. In this respect complex problems are outstanding. The difference in wages between pretty good technicians and ordinary workers is not very appreciable. A family with two skilled workers can earn about two hundred *dongs*, or as much as a minister. The lowest wage of a worker is 27 *dongs*, that is roughly one fifth of the highest wage. This is a feature particular to our country. But the

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

advance of our country. Interests and duties should be dealt with simultaneously. At the same time there should be correct policies to make ideological work easier. If our explanations are sensible and logic and if we grasp the laws of thinking, we will be able to convince everybody. Now, though not living in want a number of cadres — even in Hanoi — are in confusion. This is very dangerous. When a difficult situation arises, each primary branch of the Party, each Party member has to wonder what their responsibility requires them to do? If every Party member thoroughly explains the situation and the government's policies to deal with it, the people will understand, however great the difficulties facing us. But, if, on the contrary, our cadres are in confusion and complain, the entire society will be in a flutter. Small wonder that our ideological work is not very satisfactory.

Our ideological work should now concentrate on serving technological revolution. Socialist transformation once basically completed, we must devote our efforts to construction and technological revolution to boost production. The success of this technical revolution requires among other things, technical cadres, new ideas, investment. Investment, the pooling of our wealth and manpower for construction constitutes the main problem. Unless we thoroughly grasp this point, our ideological work will follow a wrong direction. Man acts according to his thinking, and once he understands the significance of his deed, he will act even at the cost of his life. During the Resistance War, so many persons dared to make the sacrifice of their lives for they had clearly realized the necessity to save their country. A

hero who uses his own body to prop a gun or stop a loophole, is doubtlessly prompted by a noble ideal, not by individual interests. It is the same with a collectivity. Ideological work has clear-cut economic, social and political contents. Once we grasp these contents and properly handle the laws of thinking, we shall be able to make the masses work wonders, and march forward even in most difficult times.

WE MUST GRASP AND CORRECTLY APPLY THE LAWS OF THINKING

Now I am dealing with the ideological and cultural revolution briefly and on a few general points only. The Third Party Congress has pointed out that along with a technological revolution, we must carry out an ideological and cultural revolution. Propaganda and educational cadres are those who have most to do in this revolution. We all know that specific laws govern nature, society and thinking. As thinking has its specific laws, we must grasp and correctly apply them in the ideological and cultural revolution. Though, as a product of existence and economic conditions, thinking is governed by specific laws, it plays an active role, possesses an independent character, and in its turn influences existence and economic conditions. The overall thinking of a man forms his world outlook and his outlook on life. Due to differences in economic conditions and in relations of production all classes

under capitalism have a world outlook and an outlook on life different from that of the classes under feudalism. Our ideological revolution aims at giving everybody a new outlook on life compatible with the new economic conditions, new relations of production and technique — a socialist outlook.

Let us not only grasp theories but also link our feelings with theories.

Man's outlook on life constitutes a question of both reason and feelings. Reason and feelings are closely related and, in a given outlook, united. For example, in our country loyalty to the king sprung from reason and sincere feelings. True, the king was regarded as the representative of the nation and when he died people wept. Man's mind and feelings are built up with the help of philosophy, literature, art, politics, etc. Ideological and cultural revolution has precisely to bring activities on these fields into play. There is no question of using violence or administrative measures; one has to rely on the people's consciousness and free will. The same principles govern ideological revolution and criticism and self-criticism. The problem is to determine what to destroy and what to build, both of these aspects having to be closely connected. We build the new and destroy the outdated. The question of what to destroy and what to build is a very delicate and complex one. For example, such qualities as industriousness, thrift, integrity, righteousness, have

differing contents in differing societies. Both the feudalists and bourgeois intelligentzia spoke of them, but gave them differing contents. Nowadays, we, too, speak of the same qualities and understand them in our own way. We should study carefully what is good and has to be retained and what is bad and has to be rejected. So ideological and cultural revolution first and foremost requires of us theoretical knowledge, and awareness of the trend of social development, which ideology is needed by the new society, what must be wiped out of, and retained from, the ideology prevailing in the old society. Thus, the shift from small individual production to large-scale, collective production, which is a great revolution with regard to the relations of production and productive forces, requires that the people be educated in the spirit of being collective masters, and consequently, freed from the spirit of being individual masters. How to proceed? To get rid of the spirit of being individual masters does not mean to reject all that belongs to the individual. Socialism and communism never advocate the rejection of personal interests, but see to it that personal and common interests tally with each other. At present individual production still remains a source of the people's livelihood. We encourage everybody to strive for progress so that the livelihood of each and all may be bettered. For instance, a graduate from a secondary technical school who wants to become a high-ranking technical cadre may be prompted by both common and personal interests. Short of a correct attitude in criticizing his individual motive, if at all, we shall not be objective and prove ignorant of man's psychology. When I do some something to bring about

common interests, these interests include mine; if I sacrifice myself for a common cause, this includes my own interests. By nature man has something of his own, there is no abstract man. One cannot suppress the individual, or society will lose all its significance, its foundations. What we want to destroy is individualism, which cares only for personal interests to the detriment of common interests, and induces man to get rich by means of exploitation. Therefore, in building the spirit of being collective masters we must know what to destroy and what to retain in accordance with the objective conditions. Ideological revolution is the transformation of man's spirit and feelings, the building of a new spirit and new feelings. Now among people who speak of this revolution many, in point of fact, just repeat what they have learnt in books or what other people say without having thought it over by themselves. Reason and feelings thus do not tally with each other. Ideological revolution is a long-term work which requires harmony of reason and feelings. Indeed, to understand man uses reason, and to act he needs feelings which in turn strengthen reason. Therefore, ideological work demands both theoretical knowledge and its connection with feelings, that is why among other things literature and art assume paramount importance. The object of art is man's feelings. To speak of the content of art is to speak of the specific laws governing feelings, hence we must use art to foster feelings. On the other hand, philosophy, generally speaking, appeals to reason, so it, too, should work in concert with literature and art to settle ideological problems. Some comrades complain why art must serve the Party's policies. Their complaints are

groundless, for policies are nothing but lines and guiding principles aimed at accomplishing revolutionary tasks and the objective requirements of social development. In view of the implementation of these policies which are motivated by reason, man's feelings must play their role, hence the need of literature and art. When we say that art and literature serve the Party's lines and policies we mean that ideological remoulding must be linked with the accomplishment of revolutionary tasks, and in this way politics, ideology, culture and economy are closely connected with one another. In practice, difficulties may crop up and complex situations arise. Sometimes, our reason is right but our feelings are wrong, and we go astray. There are people versed in social sciences who speak and act correctly when inspired by seething revolutionary feelings, but commit mistakes when these decline and give way to peace-seeking aspirations. I take Kausky as an example. When still a true and clear-sighted revolutionary he had foretold that the centre of the revolutionary movement would shift to Russia. But his feelings had changed when the revolution broke out there and he became a peace-seeker, a reactionary hostile to the Russian revolution. Thus, though having reached a certain degree of development, reason takes a wrong course if it is not closely linked with feelings.

Adequately to transform the old into the new, the main thing is to develop the good side of man.

Workers and peasants generally have not much theoretical knowledge. However, as they hate oppression

and exploitation, they long for socialism that they deem sensible and just. Consequently, if we want to convince them our reasoning should also appeal to their feelings. We must realize this point above all else when we carry out our ideological and cultural revolution, and help people grasp the evolution of things, entertain ardent feelings and accord their personal interests with those of the society. We cannot allow ourselves to reject all that belongs to the individual ; he who maintains the contrary is a sophist. Instead, we have to say to every one : you should take part in the common business, serve the common business because it serves your own. We should not fail to say so to the peasants in particular, and show them where lie their interests. During the Resistance War and over the past few years we have done a great deal for the formation of a new man. Ideological work must serve the requirements of the revolution at each stage, each period. Man is a product of history, a member of the society. When a given society has evolved into another, unless we base ourselves on the features of the man of the former society to build a new one, we shall fail in our task. For us all to understand the Vietnamese is not so easy a job and we cannot say that we perfectly know his characteristic features. So it is up to each of us to see through our self, which implies a comparison with others'. Short of a sufficient knowledge on this point we cannot realize the object of the ideological revolution and what it involves. I thereby mean that we have to better understand the Vietnamese and Vietnam's history. Ours have always been a heroic people, possessed of a

tradition of unity and single-mindedness in the face of foreign invasion. This explains why we succeeded in fighting off much stronger enemies. History is there to bear witness, from Le Loi to Quang Trung, as in our Resistance War. Though largely different nowadays as to the content this tradition has simply developed on the same basis. We must proceed from it to do our ideological work, making a thorough scientific analysis of every problem we deal with. Let's take a few examples. In the opera *The Three Brothers Dien*, three brothers' families, according to the pattern after which unity inside large families under feudalism was expressed, lived under the same roof. Now that our way of life has changed, why do we still show this opera? Another opera—*Luu Binh and Duong Le*. A mandarin sent away his wife to help a friend in his place, with whom she was to live for a time. In our days, who would do such a thing? What was highly lauded would be inhuman on the part of a husband. President Ho has quite apt words to say what he means. He says, for instance, "loyal towards the fatherland" and "pious* towards the people". Thus, far from divorcing from the past, he introduces a new content into an old concept. We now should speak of loyalty and piety which have permeated the feelings of every Vietnamese and can prompt them to sacrifice even his life. That is the way we should adopt in re-education. There was something inappropriate for us Vietnamese in the method we used

* Loyalty to the king, and filial piety were regarded as cardinal virtues under feudalism (*Publ.*).

a few years back, such as inconsiderate and too-strongly-worded criticism. For instance, when somebody said that he joined the revolution in view of his personal interests, immediately he was taxed with an individualistic motive. That is a wrong, absurd way of criticizing, which throws confusion in our ranks. He who is actuated by personal interests may well sacrifice them when necessary. We have remedied this shortcoming recently, by pointing out what to cultivate and what to oppose, with cultivation as the main aspect. We cultivate the spirit of collective masters and oppose the spirit of individual masters. It is right to eliminate what is to be eliminated, but we should do so tactfully so that every one strives to progress consciously and light-heartedly. Avoid that way of doing ideological work which makes people feel as if they have grown coarser and meaner. Everyone has his fortes and his foibles ; it would be wrong if you only see his weaknesses and exaggerate them while ignoring his strong points ; such a method should be sternly criticized. Our ideological revolution now aims at building up a new outlook on life and, above all, the spirit of being masters of the society, which not all of our cadres thoroughly understand. One day that I visited a political school I asked the students, " You have learnt a great deal of politics, what's the result ? Is your overriding political problem the cultivation of a socialist ideology, that is, comradeship and mutual assistance in your study ? You grapple with everything but this, for you regard politics as 'obstruse theories'. If we lack affection and mutual assistance in our daily life

and work, without any reason find fault with, or cause trouble to, one another, and waste our time over trifles in Party meetings, then what's the use of studying politics?" Such a situation prevails because our ideological work misses its most important objective now—the cultivation of socialist collectivism.

Ideology and material interests.

Here a problem arises concerning ideology and material interests. That we must pay due attention to material interests is, theoretically, perfectly correct. For we have not achieved communist construction but are still building socialism. We should bear in mind that the problem is not the same under socialism as under capitalism. In a capitalist society it commonly happens that those who toil hard get little whereas idlers earn much; people care for anything but material interests for which they harm and contend against one another, and the stronger get the upper hand. All this reflects the relation between the exploiters and the exploited. Under socialism the harder you work the more you earn. The whole problem is essentially one of justice. That is why from the ideological point of view we should make clear the principle of material interests, distribution according to the work done and, at the same time, that these stem from justice. However, undue emphasis on material interests would lead to their being looked upon as in a capitalist society, to a rush for securing them with all the complexities

that it would entail, and to a situation in which the enjoyment of material privileges would constitute the *raison d'être* of man's life. This would bring about gravest results. Such a situation prevails among a number of youths of some socialist countries and is being redressed. We should avoid one-sided views in ideological work. Our activities in this field aims at helping everyone to take clear-cut views of things and the trend of their developments, and to act correctly. What we say must be based on specific situations in each period, in each region, and never forget to whom we speak. In North Viet Nam the enemy is relying on a number of superstitious and religious believers to sow discord among us. If our comrades are not quite aware of the peculiarities of thinking and talk with them about material interests only, their efforts will bring them nowhere ; they should on the contrary assure them that socialism will guarantee to them the exercise of their freedom of belief. And if they spend their time to explain that man is the ape's offspring they will prove very naive, make no contribution to re-education work which is their political task, and, worse still, engender misunderstanding and rancour. Many people believe in religion, in God and Buddha ; though nothing proves that their faith is well-grounded, its strength is such that they can safeguard it until their death, whatever happens. We must be aware of this reality and pay due attention to ideological problems rather than merely talk about material interests. In order to do good ideological work we must grasp our political task and go deep into man's thinking, according reason with feelings.

HOW TO PROCEED SO THAT IDEOLOGICAL WORK PENETRATES THE MASSES

Party primary branches and Party members are the main catalysts in ideological work.

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

Not because we have no propaganda media to guide them but mainly because they repose confidence in the

Party's leadership, esteem it and act upon its advice. Such is not exactly the case in other countries, where people having lived through a period of bourgeois democracy, usually conceive things in the light of their Constitution and laws and through propaganda. Therefore, our ideological work has to be channelled through the Party and the Labour Youth Union to penetrate the masses. To make the latter correctly understand and implement the Party's line and policies Party members, first of all, must grasp them. Propaganda and educational work should enlist the service of the Party primary branches and Party members at the grass-root level, because Party branches are now the bases from which the Party's line and policies radiate in the masses, because Party members are in closest contact with the masses and because both constitute the most important and the most basic force to do ideological work. Of course, it is necessary to set up a propaganda and educational apparatus but the main thing is to bring Party branches and members into action. In the provinces, Party Executives and their Standing Committees as well as the Secretary and Deputy Secretary must grasp the work of the Propaganda and Educational Commission. The latter has to carry out its activities in close co-operation with ideological workers in the various Party branches, in the Labour Youth Union and Women's Union to wage a daily struggle in the ideological field, and cultivate new thoughts among the people. What we lack is not personnel to do that as we have more than one million Party and Labour Youth Union members, but a machine to bring this large force into play.

Our Party's rules have clearly stated that every Party member must do propaganda work, for while educating others he educates himself. In view of this one has not only to read but also to wage ideological struggle. Any Party member who fails to do propaganda work cannot really educate himself. Only by maintaining close links with the masses can we keep abreast with the revolution. Revolutionary feelings are latent among the masses, inherent in the realities of production, and it is in the struggle for production that revolutionary ideas are born. Consequently, any Party member who stands aloft from the masses and does not make propaganda among them, cuts off his ties with the bases of the revolution. Hence, to turn Party members into good propagandists and ideological workers the question is to make them work among the masses in order to raise the latter's level, thereby elevating their own knowledge, too. At present, most of our Party primary branches, those in government offices included, fail to do so. Usually, they meet not to carry out political and ideological education, but to settle administrative matters. That is why we must draw up a plan to consolidate our Party branches in this respect, especially those in the countryside, economic enterprises, construction sites and State farms within two or three years through the implementation of specific works. For example, before engaging in a summer crop we must see to it that our ideological work helps ensure a good harvest. Formerly, when we waged armed struggle the ideological work of the political commissar was aimed at enabling army-men to master combat technique and fight well. Now in

production it is aimed at making the producers get production knowhow and do it as best they can. Therefore, how to have enough water, seeds and manure, how to plough, harrow and transplant seedlings, and so forth, do not rest only with the Rural Affairs Committee. Ideological work must bring home to everybody the necessity of carrying out these jobs. As we did to cope with the enemy so we do in production. We must make our toiling people fight against nature with as much courage and creativeness as they showed in their past armed struggle. Hence, propaganda and educational cadres have also to grasp economic laws and production techniques to a certain extent, to apply their knowledge on this field in their work.

Propaganda and educational cadres must constantly foster their revolutionary virtues.

Propaganda and educational cadres should bear in mind that to fulfil ideological work satisfactorily, apart from understanding the Party's political task in each period, the rules of thinking and whom they have to work on, they must constantly foster their revolutionary virtues. In other words, they must have the determination to bring their job to fruition, and a clear mind; they must be faithful to the Revolution, ardent in revolutionary activities, otherwise their words do not accord with their deeds and carry no weight. Thus, propaganda and educational cadres must form the core and the brain of the revolutionary movement. As thinking takes the lead in every work

they must go ahead, tell everybody what he has to do in each period and set to work himself so as to set examples. Indeed, they have made great efforts but still lack effectual methods of work and should strive harder to find out better ones. They must clearly realize their responsibility and act accordingly, keeping clear from bureaucracy. Whenever they talk with people, whether in a co-operative or a factory, they have to bear in mind that they represent the Party. Such a responsible attitude will help them better fulfil their work. Today I only advance some general views for your consideration. I suggest that we shall go deeper into the matter to bring about a radical change in the Party's ideological work.

WE MUST FOSTER NEW THOUGHTS TO BUILD UP SOCIALISM*

I. SIGNIFICANCE OF AGITATION WORK FOR THE SPRING 1961 POLITICAL REMOULDING DRIVE

Comrades,

The Party Central Committee will launch a large-scale political remoulding drive within the Party and among the entire people to build up and consolidate new thoughts in order to make socialist revolution progress more vigorously. Building new thoughts is a very difficult undertaking. To set up a factory or the material basis for socialism, to abolish a regime or any material foundation is a difficult enterprise indeed, but not so difficult as the cultivation of an ideology, for this is a very complex problem. Ideology is an abstract

* Speech delivered at the meeting to brief propaganda and educational cadres on the political remoulding drive, convened on March 10, 1961 by the Secretariat of the Vietnam Workers' Party Central Committee.

thing not easy to grasp. It reflects a given social existence or the material basis of a given society. To be effective ideological work must start from this social existence or material basis, that is, from objective reality. But ideology has its own active features. For instance, under French rule, to wipe out the imperialists and feudals, first of all we had to carry out ideological work, education and propaganda among the people, to help them adopt an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal standpoint. What was the material basis of our society at that time? As we lost our independence, our economy obviously depended on the imperialists'. This material basis gave birth to an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal ideology. But, owing to other complex factors, all our people did not hold the same view. Some advocated an anti-imperialist struggle while others a "French-Vietnamese entente". That is why propaganda and educational work was a necessity.

The forthcoming political remoulding drive is aimed at performing a task set by the Third National Congress of the Party, that is, to stage an ideological revolution within the Party and among the people and cultivate new thoughts in accordance with the objective requirements of the Vietnamese revolution, of our people's life.

Some people think of political remoulding as of something which has been created just a few years ago. In reality, *it is nothing else than propaganda and educational work, criticism and self-criticism* that our Party has been carrying out ever since its founding. We have propagandized and educated the people, made criticism and self-criticism to overcome shortcomings

and errors. Without intensive propaganda work and, consequently, without the people's correct thinking, our revolution could not be brought to success. What is new is that this political remoulding drive will take place on a larger scale than before; however, it will continue the same work—propaganda and education, criticism and self-criticism within the Party and among the people. This is a very hard ideological struggle. To inculcate new ideas upon a person does not merely consist in speaking to him, but in essence to wage an ideological struggle. The enemy also makes propaganda among the masses. He considers it a very important weapon for his domination, but as his interests go counter to those of the masses, he mainly rules them by laws. The masses never obeying them, he resorts to violence. The case is different with us. Now, in our country, power belongs to the toiling people; ours is basically a toilers' society. Except when we deal with the imperialists and their stooges, in leading our State we do not essentially use violence but democracy, education, propaganda, criticism and self-criticism to march forward. The capitalists and imperialists force the people into submission. It is not so in a communist or socialist society. As all the toilers are masters, the function of the State is chiefly to educate and organize them for the building of a new society, and at the same time, for the repressing of anti-socialist forces. With the labouring people, our main problem is propaganda, education, criticism and self-criticism, in order to acquaint them with the work to be done, develop their fortes and overcome their foibles, so that

society can progress. Therefore, criticism and self-criticism is one of the fundamental laws of a socialist society. We all have gone through ideological remoulding which we now undertake with a better understanding. This time we set out not only to remould the thoughts of us Party members, but also to help the people as a whole grasp new ideological weapons to go forward.

The State also uses these weapons to unite, organize and guide the working people to advance vigorously to socialism. With this in view the coming ideological remoulding drive will exert a powerful influence on the masses and create among them a material force capable of mobilizing and organizing them. Unlike the imperialists who resort to law to force everybody into obeying them, we mainly use criticism and self-criticism to take the people forward. In 1947, comrade Jdanov said that criticism and self-criticism is a necessity driving the socialist society forward. At present, we are abiding by this necessity in leading our State and our Party.

We should bear in mind that though criticism and self-criticism constitutes an ideological struggle which is a necessity, the method used differs from one country to another. What strikes most foreign visitors in the U.S.S.R. is the great beautiful life of the Soviet people. The Soviet Union has not only an ever-developing socialist material basis, but more important is the fact that she has given her people a thorough education, and built up a new man. The content of her education system also includes criticism but the way of applying it differs from what we have been

doing in the past few years. In the German Democratic Republic socialist ideology is also very widely popularized, but, here too, the method is different. Literary and artistic forms, and popular culture are used to educate the people in a delicate manner. Of late, when visiting China I saw that ideological work has been very cleverly carried out. Over the recent years, China has met with great natural calamities, but the Chinese comrades have successfully taught the masses to keep calm and to look straight at difficulties. 650 million people like one man, advance enthusiastically. This is to say that each country has its own way of doing things, and all of them can obtain far-reaching results. Here, the problem is to form a new man, a real man, in the course of history, not an abstract man, one with his national traditions and his way of living compatible with his own nation. To this end, we must see whom we are dealing with—a Vietnamese, a Russian, or a Chinese. These have different traditions and accordingly different minds. Consequently, the educational method must also vary. A same pattern is not suitable for all, or yields little results. Since now as before we have to educate the people, give them new thoughts, how to proceed properly is a question we have to think over. Anyhow we must succeed in this task. The success of the August Revolution was due among other things, to a good propaganda work. Now we must see to it that this is more appropriate to our country. The day before yesterday, I told comrade To Huu * that we have learnt much

* Secretary of the Central Committee, in charge of propaganda and education.

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

This ideological remoulding drive is meant as one for propaganda and education, criticism and self-criticism within the Party and among the people. How should we proceed? In revolutionary activities ideological problems must always occupy the first place. To carry out socialist transformation for instance we must educate the people so that they agree with us on it. If the people do not find it indispensable, it cannot be undertaken successfully. They have seen that it is right to abolish classes, but they have not yet realized clearly what they have to build afterwards. Another example: infusing the sense of collectivism in the peasants. At the beginning of socialist transformation, they did not understand what the sense of being masters really meant. Then they just felt that it would extricate them from misery, oppression and exploitation. They did not yet grasp what they had to build after transformation — though this had been expounded before — this sense did not guide all their activities. To be steady it has to be tried and tested for a long time and requires a certain material basis. As usual, ideology lags behind life, but ideological work must take the lead.

Now I am going to deal with *the guiding principle of this remoulding drive which is to build up and consolidate* new thoughts. The problem is to grasp four standpoints which Party members and our people as a whole know to a certain extent. But they have to understand them thoroughly. We advance to socialism

without passing through the stage of capitalist development. After the overthrow of the imperialists and feudals, we shifted from small production, not from a developed capitalist production, to large-scale socialist production. In our country the bourgeoisie is weak and small, the great majority of the population consisting of petty producers that the national-democratic revolution has made masters of a small property. At present, each tiller has three *sao* * of cultivable land, not mainly due to the state of small production itself, but rather to the struggle of the entire people, to the revolution, which also accounts for the rapid increase of their income. This is a characteristic feature in Vietnam. We must base ourselves on it to draw up a correct method in our propaganda and education.

Our society being formerly ruled by the imperialists, the intellectuals, the petty bourgeoisie and even the landlords were imbued with the bourgeois ideology. As for the overwhelming majority of the toiling people, while bearing the impact of the imperialists' ideology, they were still more influenced by the feudal ideology since for several thousand years they lived under feudal oppression and exploitation. Now liberated, they want to go forward. Their desire to make progress or to improve their living conditions does not mean that they want to develop capitalism. Unless they wish to become exploiters, they cannot be taxed with bourgeois thoughts. It is natural that all toilers long for a better life, which does not mean that they want to become exploiters. It is different, however, with the rich

* 1 *sao* : 360 sq.m.

peasants and the upper-middle peasants who are prone to exploitation. They nurture bourgeois thoughts whereas those who toil and moil have the ideology of the working people and respect labour. It is precisely thanks to this that the toilers have embarked on the path of socialist revolution. *So, for them, what matters most is the building of new thoughts, and not the transformation of backward ones.*

Let us revert to the economic basis. The outbreak of socialist revolution in capitalist countries springs from the lack of harmony between the outdated relations of production and the highly developed productive forces. In other words, large-scale production has been socialized while the relations of production still belong to the regime of private ownership; therefore, these must be smashed to build up new ones compatible with the productive forces. In Viet Nam the productive forces are not developed to such a degree as they no longer correspond to the existing relations of production and require that these should be broken. In fact, the small handicraft production which has occupied the main position in our country, does not tally with the socialist political system established after the restoration of peace. This political system requires a large-scale production. That is why we must transform the old relations of production to pave the way for a large-scale socialist production... This perfectly corresponds to the objective reality. And after the economic restoration period our Party's policy is to take socialist transformation as the central task with transformation of agriculture as the main link. On the basis of our having basically achieved

socialist transformation, and relying upon our people's capabilities, our natural resources and the disinterested help of fraternal countries, we have set out to establish the material basis for socialism. It is necessary to realize that the socialist transformation of small production differs from that of private capitalist economy. To transform small production is not to abolish the small producers' ownership but to help them acquire a right of ownership larger in scope and higher in form, whereas to transform the capitalist economy is to suppress the bourgeoisie's right of ownership which we regard as unjust. As for the peasants' ownership, we do not liquidate but turn it into a large collective one. Formerly, each peasant had an average of three *sao*, now that he belongs to a collective organization, his land is part and parcel of the common property — the property of the collectivity of which he is a member; he thus lives more comfortably and loses nothing at all. Therefore, the transformation of small production includes the *establishment of new relations of production*. Construction involves two aspects: the building of a material basis and the setting up of relations of production. Here I deal only with the second aspect. What are relations of production? They usually mean relations between man and man, in so far as he possesses means of production or does not, in so far as he exploits or does not. History has known several forms of relations of production. In the stage of slave ownership the relations of production relied on the exploitation of the slaves' surplus-labour, under feudalism — on exploitation of land rent, under capitalism — on exploitation of surplus-value, whereas under socialism

they are characterized by distribution according to the work done. Recently, we have abolished individual relations of production and established new collective ones according to which distribution is based on the work done, free from exploitation. These relations rely on collective labour, and will help accelerate production to its full development. Collective labour creates a new productive force which increases the quality and quantity of products. In this sense, socialist transformation of agriculture and handicrafts in our country, that is, turning individual production into collective production, is in the main construction work. *Just as in economy, in thinking transformation is essentially construction work.* Of course, if we want to build we must put aside what does not suit us. Ideological remoulding includes both construction and destruction but *construction constitutes its principal object.*

To set the problem of ideological education in this way conforms to the objective reality of our economy, otherwise we would score bad results. For instance, it is absolutely right to show the peasants the two paths of development and convince them to follow the right one. But in so doing we must proceed in accordance with our situation; it would be very dangerous to hold that our peasants are all capitalist-mind people. It would be utterly wrong to think that he among them who wants to build a water tank have bourgeois leanings or he who rears some hens* wishes to become a capitalist. The latter may simply

* Apart from their occupations in their co-operatives (Publ.).

think of getting a better shirt with his hens. This is a legitimate desire whereas the lust for exploitation stems from a bourgeois thought. To the peasant, we must say that if he continues indulging in individual production he is exposed to impoverishment and exploitation. We must advise him to take the path of collective production. A peasant toiling alone produces little, but one hundred working together will greatly increase per capita production and as a result, their income. This change in quantity leads to a change in quality. It is the same with means of production; if we gather them and carry out a new distribution of work among their owners, we shall generate a qualitative change. However, quantity must be increased to a given point so as to create a new quality. For instance, a co-operative will remain what it is if it comprises fifteen or twenty households only, but a change will take place once it is enlarged and groups 100 or more households as in the case of the Dai Phong co-operative. That is precisely the reason for socialist transformation in agriculture. If we clearly expound this to the peasant, he will readily accept transformation. We must make him fully understand what he has to do to heighten his revolutionary consciousness. It happens that the explanations given by certain comrades on our line and policies are incorrect. Nevertheless, confident in the Party, the peasants follow them without, of course, enthusiasm. Though 85 per cent of the peasant households entered into co-operativization, there lacks an atmosphere of revolutionary upsurge and enthusiasm in the countryside. This is due in part to our shortcomings in

propaganda and educational work. Our forthcoming ideological remoulding drive should take into account this situation above anything else to build up new thoughts and criticize and eliminate those hindering our advance. Educational work should be conducted according to whom we have to deal with. We should talk differently with peasants, factory workers and intellectuals or bourgeois elements and mind that the latter had learnt a lot under French rule. Propaganda work must be always done in this way.

Here above I have told you the significance of this remoulding drive, the guiding principle and method by which we shall have to abide by. Now I am going to speak of the *new thoughts* which must be inculcated. In ideological education, we cannot speak of ideology in a general way and treat it apart from the objective reality. For we would fall into idealism and thus commit errors in this as in any other work. We must rely upon dialectical materialism to do ideological work. Propaganda work must be based on objective conditions, it cannot be done as one pleases. I should say that new thoughts should be elaborated for each branch of activity, each locality and each person; then every branch must base itself on them to right the wrong committed in implementing the Party's and government's line and policies. We must pay attention to the elaboration and fostering of new standpoints as required by the objective reality, without which our society could not make headway. Any material basis has its own political and ideological superstructure. The political superstructure of our society is the proletarian power set up by the revolution. As for the

ideological superstructure, though it actually exists, many shortcomings have been committed in its construction and in making it suit the present objective conditions. Much care is needed to complete it. In North Viet Nam socialist transformation has been fundamentally achieved. Its economy consists of two main systems of ownership — collective ownership and ownership by the entire people. Besides, there remains private ownership which is of minor importance. Rich peasants still exist but they do not live principally on exploitation. Upper-middle peasants profiting by exploitation are few. This particular state of things should not be generalized; it would be dangerous to do so. Concerning joint State-private enterprises, though they appear to yield some interests to private owners, they practically belong to the system of socialist economy. The law of socialist economy is governing our economy. Almost all the social wealth is produced by the peasants' collective economy or the State economy. Private economy only provides supplementary products to satisfy part of the needs of the farmers who exchange them with State or collective enterprises or among themselves. It is not a source of exploitation. However, the law of socialist economy governs our economy in an inadequate manner, owing to the latter's weakness. Why so? Because our productive forces are still at a low level. Only 20 per cent of the gross industrial and agricultural output derives from modern industrial production. This notwithstanding the obvious fact that the fundamental economic law of socialism is exerting its influence on our present economy. To lead it we must grasp this economic law and

act accordingly. To this end, it is necessary to have correct thinking.

What is this correct thinking?

First of all, the sense of being masters of our country. To speak of proletarian dictatorship which is an objective law of the toiling people's role as masters of their country, is to speak of socialist revolution and socialist construction. *And by proletarian dictatorship we mean that our line and policies must stem from the proletarian standpoint. To the toiling masses, proletarian dictatorship guarantees the right of being masters, the power to repress internal exploiters and to oppose external enemies: proletarian dictatorship is applied mainly to establish the toiling people's right as masters and to organize labour. To ensure this right it is necessary to repress the reactionaries. In North Viet Nam at present, we stand for peaceful transformation of the bourgeoisie. This differs from what was done in the Soviet Union, where proletarian dictatorship had to resort to ruthless repression to smash the bourgeoisie as a class. The most important task of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Viet Nam is to make the toiling people masters of their country.* Here it is worth noting that dictatorship must be ensured by the proletariat, while the State belongs to both the workers and the peasants and not to proletariat alone. We say: proletarian dictatorship but the State of the workers and peasants. By this we mean that ours is the line of the proletariat and that the *workers, peasants and toiling people are the masters of the State.* This worker-peasant bloc includes also the intellectuals who serve the workers and peasants; there is no question of taking them slightly.

The role of the toiling people as masters and proletarian dictatorship — this is a necessity which is not easy and simple at all to materialize. We, Party members, have not yet grasped and applied it properly in implementing our policies. The toiling people, too, are not quite aware of it. That is why we must make the whole Party and the entire people clearly understand this necessity.

The second standpoint concerns production. The basic economic law under capitalism is profit making by all means, even in law, in literature, in mapping out political lines; everything is centered on seeking capitalist profits. As for the fundamental economic law under socialism, it points to the development of production and the satisfaction of the toiling people's material and cultural needs. During the stage of primitive communism, production was also aimed at serving the people's material requirements; in the socialist society, it differs in so far as it is no longer based on rudimentary tools but on an unceasingly improved technique. We must clearly see this to realize the great importance of socialist industrialization, without which it would be impossible to unceasingly develop production on the basis of a modern technique. Utmost attention must be paid to production. This does not mean belittling cultural activities. Production constitutes the most basic of all social activities without which not only material but also cultural requirements could not be guaranteed. In our Resistance War, when we put forward the slogan "All for the front", we did not at all neglect culture, education, and other branches, we only meant that the most fundamental problem was

to defeat the enemy. Unless so culture could no longer exist. Therefore, to produce material wealth for the satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs on the basis of an advanced technique, is the basic law of socialism. Every cadre, Party member, worker, peasant and intellectual must thoroughly grasp it. Only with a full understanding of it can our views, policies and action be correct. This is the *standpoint on production* which has to become the prime mover of our activities.

To push forward production *the third point to bear in mind is to be industrious and thrifty in building our country*. Not only a style of work and a virtue, industriousness and thrift are also a necessity under socialism. To develop production the capitalists must accumulate and concentrate capital. For they have to rely on mechanized, not manual, labour to increase exploitation and thus they need capital to build factories. As we want to advance to socialism we must embark on industrialization and, to this end, accumulate funds through labour and thrift with a view to building the material basis of socialism. Failing this, great socialist production would be out of question. To industriously and thriftily build our country constitutes a process of accumulation and concentration of funds to build industry. The aid we receive from the socialist camp has a limit. As we have to rely mainly on ourselves, industriousness and thrift must be carried out at all costs. This necessity must be thoroughly grasped by all Party members and our entire people. Do you want your livelihood to improve? Do you want to build socialism? Do you want manual labour to be

replaced by mechanized labour? The answer must be found in that whether you are industrious and thrifty or not.

The fourth point is: to advance rapidly, vigorously and steadily. This guiding principle is not created by us but dictated by the objective requirement of our society. It is also a law of development of our socialist economy. We no longer work individually and in a scattered manner, but collectively. Instead of working by hand as before we now dispose of a modern technique and can therefore advance rapidly, vigorously and steadily. Only so can we ensure the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the people.

The four points elaborated above, which should be viewed as a necessity, form the content of our coming ideological remoulding drive. We must strive to inculcate them in Party members and the people as a whole. In other words, these should be armed with thoughts compatible with the present objective requirements of our society. To this end, all that is not in line with them must be eliminated. In cultivating new thoughts, we must at the same time rectify backward ones.

II. TO CREATE THE SENSE OF BEING MASTERS AND THE SENSE OF COLLECTIVISM

Let us tackle the problem of being masters of one's country. This is the main aspect of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this connection, we must deal with

our standpoint regarding the leadership of the proletariat and the worker-peasant alliance. A given society is represented by a given class. Any class playing a leading role in a society has to rely on its objective position in economy. The bourgeois revolution was led by the bourgeoisie, though it was the masses of the people who carried it out. The objective conditions at that time allowed the bourgeoisie to do so. Large-scale production made its appearance together with capitalism and rendered the proletariat the most revolutionary class, owing to its economic and social position. Engels said that had it not been for the system of slave ownership, the socialist system would not exist, which means that at a certain historical stage it is difficult to concentrate capital without oppression and exploitation. Oppression and exploitation are bad, but they were an objective historical necessity. At a given stage, capitalism will be wiped out and replaced by socialism. The leading role in a class society at a given stage belongs to a given class: to the bourgeoisie at the capitalist stage, to the proletariat at the socialist stage. Viet Nam does not go through capitalist development and advances straight to socialism, owing to the fact that the proletariat has led the national-democratic revolution and the peasantry has followed it, and that we benefit by the help of the socialist camp. In this revolution the peasantry accepted the leadership of the proletariat not only out of its hatred for imperialism and feudalism, but also because it supported the abolition of the landlords' land ownership advocated by the proletariat. It followed the proletariat and not the bourgeoisie for it realized that the former was the

most patriotic class. Moreover, it recognized the leadership of the proletariat with its political meaning and also with its economic content. Our peasantry was aware that thanks to the Communist (Bolshevik) Party Russian peasants had land to till. Our proletariat has led it to overthrow imperialism and feudalism, and seize power. Though this power is based on class alliance it is in essence held by the proletariat. *To speak of power is fundamentally to speak of violence.* Who uses violence? The proletariat — which does not share power with any other class. With the possibility of using violence it detains what is essential in power. And as power is held by the proletariat, we can shift to the proletarian revolution after the triumph of the national-democratic revolution. Power means violence, without which our Party, no matter what it wields, has no authority and strength. We can thus clearly see that the problem of being masters of the society is first of all that of leadership of the proletariat. To speak of proletarian dictatorship and of the sense of being masters is first of all to speak of the leading class.

By leadership we do not only mean the elaboration of line and policies but, first and foremost, the wielding of real force, the force we actually keep in hand, without which there can be no effective leadership. Where do we find this force? Mainly in the *peasantry* which is the biggest and the principal revolutionary force of our country. Our line and policies come from the Party of the proletariat, but our real force originate from the peasantry. In our nine-year Resistance War our army was recruited from the peasantry. Therefore,

proletarian dictatorship means leadership of the proletariat which must be based on the worker-peasant alliance. Of course, our line and policies must come from the proletariat, our ideology must be the ideology of the proletariat, the proletariat must take the leadership. However, unless there exists a close worker-peasant alliance, the proletariat cannot be master of the society. Some Party members have not yet clearly understood this point. In the national-democratic revolution the peasant problem was easily understood by all, but in the socialist revolution some of our comrades seem to have no clear ideas about the position of the peasantry. They lay too much emphasis on the fact that the peasants are small producers, and, as such, possess tendencies apparently conflicting with socialism. In some respects, and to a certain extent, they are right. From other angles their view is wrong and should be redressed. Our proletarian power was set up by the workers and peasants after the August Revolution and the nine-year Resistance War. Without grasping this characteristic we cannot understand the nature of our power. Under the leadership of the proletariat we seized power in the countryside first, then relying upon the peasantry we strengthened and brought it to towns. It was acquired through the struggle waged by both the workers and the peasants, the latter being the main force. In the Soviet Union, when the proletariat had seized power the workers were more largely represented in the State machine, whereas in Viet Nam the peasants prevailed over the workers in this regard. This does not mean that in our country political power loses its proletarian character. In our social system

this proletarian character does not disappear, it is consolidated instead. Why? Because the peasants in Viet Nam are unlike those in capitalist countries. For thirty years now, especially during the nine-year Resistance War, they have struggled as the main force of the revolution to set up the worker-peasant power. That is why we should not understand the peasant problem in a superficial manner. In the past few years some comrades regarded the peasants as mere private owners. This is not correct. We must distinguish the speculator-peasants from the labouring peasants. It is crystal-clear that the latter have together with the workers established and defended our power. Therefore, we agree with those who hold that we must build socialism in the interests of our sixteen million toiling people, not exclusively in those of the proletariat. We must say that it is for the sake of our sixteen million toiling people that we build socialism, under which the peasants and workers are equal in rights and duties. It is not correct to understand otherwise. The sole difference lies in their ideological consciousness. The working class has never been, and will never be, disloyal to its ally, it does not hold such a sectarian view. Any discrimination in this respect would be inconsistent with the revolutionary practice in Viet Nam. It would be indeed incomprehensible that once power has been taken over we would discriminate against a class which, together with us, has shed blood and shared hardships during nine years of war to set up this power. Such a discrimination would be dangerous if it was translated into our policies. However, from the point of view of ideological consciousness we should not gloss over this

difference. Small producers' ideology still bears the mark of private ownership and individualism whereas that of the workers is collectivism. I fully agree with comrade Mao Tse-tung who said that in China any undertaking should be prompted by the interests of the six hundred and fifty million Chinese people. This is reasonable, correct, and adequate, considering China's objective situation. In North Viet Nam I think we must also say : whatever we are to do must be prompted by the interests of the sixteen million Vietnamese people. It would not be correct to say otherwise. That is why by masters of the country we mean the workers and peasants led by the working class. This basic standpoint must underlie all our policies ; an inadequate understanding of it would raise many complex problems. Two most important points stand out : the leadership of the working class and the worker-peasant alliance. If we must possess the standpoint of the working class, we must also have a concrete and thorough conception of the worker-peasant alliance to translate both of them into all of our line and policies. Regarding the peasant question we must pay great attention to the middle peasants. In Western countries they are very individualistic, selfish and sometimes opposed to revolution, for, born under capitalism and brought up by it they have century-old ties with it and stick to private ownership. Our middle peasants are different. They made up 45 to 50 per cent of our Party membership, which was an objective reality, not a fortuitous case. Because they had a very low living standard, they were exploited by imperialism and feudalism and most often went bankrupt. In the Resistance War

they played an obvious role and many joined the Party (it is true that a certain number was admitted without due consideration). After land reform, generally speaking, poor and middle peasants became closer and as the position of the latter no longer remains what it was, we must adopt a correct attitude towards them.

With regard to the middle peasants, Lenin had put forth three slogans: co-operation with the middle peasants during the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal period; reliance on the poor peasants, and neutralization of the middle peasants during the period of proletarian revolution; and co-operation with the middle peasants in socialist construction. Lenin attached much importance to this co-operation in the latter stage of the revolution. This is a policy of great consequence.

What then is our attitude towards our middle peasants? Generally speaking, we should not differentiate them from our poor peasants as far as interests and duties are concerned. At present, on the one hand many poor peasants have become middle ones and, on the other, 85 per cent of the peasantry have joined low-level co-operatives. The passage from individual production to collective production constitutes an extremely important step made by the middle peasants. By so doing they are determined to alienate themselves from individual production and to follow the collective, socialist path. They have become collective farmers. With both the middle and the poor peasants joining the co-operatives, should we still discriminate between them from the point of view of their *interests and duties* in the co-operatives? No, we should not—except as regards ideological consciousness and the Party's

leadership — otherwise, instead of boosting production, we would hinder it.

Therefore, we should not speak of the people's role as masters of the society in abstract terms. When speaking of the leadership of the proletariat *we have to deal with its standpoint*, likewise when speaking of Party building in the countryside *we should distinguish poor peasants* from middle peasants. But we should not differentiate between them when dealing with their interests and duties in the society as well as in the co-operatives. Thus only can we bring about unity within the co-operatives in order to impel production. Proceeding from this standpoint we must have adequate policies, and pay due attention to the middle peasants' interests. Our motto is to struggle so that the living conditions of the peasants in general catch up with those of the upper-middle peasants. This is the path towards wiping out the difference between poor and upper middle peasants, which will no longer exist when the living standard of all peasants reaches that of the upper-middle peasants.

In short, when speaking of the toiling people's role as masters I want to stress one point, that is, *the proletariat's standpoint and ideology, and relevant to this, the worker-peasant alliance*. Unless we give concrete contents to this role and adopt consistent policies we cannot have a clear-cut conception of it. It should imply not only political interests but also economic interests, closely linked to them. Then only can we push ahead the revolution. Some comrades do speak of the worker-peasant alliance and proletarian standpoint but in their practical activities they do not consolidate

this alliance. How can they strengthen the proletarian standpoint and the worker-peasant alliance so long as they do not allow the peasants to sell their hens or give some kilogrammes of rice to their relatives. Such thing causes misunderstanding making people think that when struggling against imperialism and feudalism the peasants could enjoy certain interests, but after embarking on socialism they lose their right as masters of their country. At present, in some localities the toiling peasants seem to think so. This is very dangerous. According to reports by comrades from Thai Binh and Nghe An provinces a lot of mistakes have been made to the prejudice of the peasants, thus creating many complications. As together with the peasants we struggled to win back our right as masters of the society we must respect it. They may ask us, "Having participated in resistance war for nine years, have we the right to be masters of our country? We produce rice and want to give it to our relatives, why are we not allowed to do so? We do not exploit anybody, why are we not allowed to use the rice we produce as we please? We should see every facet of the question and convince the peasants that it is in the nation's interests that he sells paddy to the State. During the Resistance War, though living in want they fed cadres. Now they agree with socialist construction. Of course, we must resolutely oppose the speculators who are dangerous but few and, at the same time, guard against treating every one as a speculator. I repeat that the toiling people's right as masters should be respected. It would be painful for us communists who have been

struggling for tens of years to bring it to the workers and peasants to see it violated now.

Our present power is the dictatorship of the proletariat. A number of Party members still imbued with the petty-bourgeois ideology rely on the authority of the proletariat to take arbitrary decisions. We must do everything in our power to guarantee the people's right as masters. For this purpose we have a Constitution, and the leadership of the Party from its primary branch upward. The Party's line and policies fundamentally guarantee this right, but in carrying them out some cadres have deviated from them, others applied them wrongly out of subjectiveness. This is due to our cadres, and also to the peasants and workers being not fully conscious of their right. Even in Hanoi, not every worker can realize that he has his representatives to lead the affairs of the whole city and that he himself is also responsible for its management. That is why we must oppose individualism. On the other hand, we should make it our duty, first and foremost, to ensure the people's right as masters of the country, and guard against violating it ourselves. This must be expressed, above all, in our policies. Still few toiling people have the opportunity to attend performances in the Hanoi Grand Theatre. The Party Central Committee has demanded that the Hanoi Party committee see to it that they may go more often to this theatre and take part in the meetings held there in order to better realize their rights and how their livelihood in this respect has been improved. Otherwise they cannot see that they are masters of their city. In the Soviet Union the workers live in big villas belonging formerly to the

bourgeoisie. The best things there are reserved for the workers and the labouring people. Our conception of the people's right as masters is not yet clearly translated into deeds. Our workers have not yet fully realized this right of theirs, that is why we have to further educate them, and give them more power.

In this connection, there still exist erroneous conceptions and complex problems. For example : Some people often say that light industry yields more profit. For whom and from whom do we reap profit ? For the State, they say. Good ! Of course, this is also a means to accumulate funds for the State, for the workers and peasants. But from where do we draw profit ? The capitalists invest in light industry and net big profit from the toiling people. If we imitate them we then consider the State as the master, and the toiling people as the customers rather than the masters of the State ! This is an unsound conception. We must be aware that the role of light industry is not to accumulate vast funds — which falls on a developed light industry turning out goods for export to draw profit from abroad — but to satisfy the people's needs in consumer goods. To increase accumulation we must raise labour productivity, that is, to equip the workers with new technique, manufacture more means of production, develop heavy industry. Heavy industry ensures enlarged reproduction, which creates possibilities for ever larger accumulation. Let's make a calculation. The monthly wage of a worker is some score of *dong* ; the peasant has 3 *sao* of land only. After paying for their food they have a little money — and sometimes nothing at all — to spare at the end of the year. What and how

much can light industry cater for with such a low purchasing power? Surely, we would not draw much profit from a light industry should we develop it. If we want the workers and peasants to be able to pay for their food and other necessities — which are on the increase—and to spare more every day we must achieve socialist industrialization, and give priority to the development of heavy industry. As for light industry it must aim at meeting the people's needs as far as possible. By so doing only can we derive profit. But what is to be done to improve unceasingly the people's living conditions? More fund must be concentrated on industrialization and at the same time, efforts must be made to produce the largest quantity possible of consumer goods to satisfy the toiling people's needs rather than reckon profit and losses in a shortsighted manner, provided we do not curtail the fund earmarked for heavy industry. Very likely, by lowering prices we shall raise the number of consumers, develop production and solve the employment problem. This will be in itself a profit. It occurs that the peasants need means of production but cannot afford to buy them. Conditions must be created for them to acquire these means in order to boost agricultural production, which will benefit the society. This is the genuine conception of socialist business. The economic law under socialism opens up new prospects for economic development that we do not thoroughly grasp. Of course, light industry produces wealth by itself, but what permits to create wealth is, first of all, heavy industry. Only by developing this can we further enlarge reproduction to satisfy the people's ever-increasing needs. In the final

analysis, to reap as much profit as possible we have to make the best of our labour force and our natural riches to promote construction and production. Without a clear understanding on this point, our economic work will be greatly limited. Up to recently our Bank has not realized that, in our socialist system, currency must be utilized to organize productive labour. Fish abound in our sea. With five hundred big boats we would have been able to get much more fish, but as the Bank did not pay due attention to the question we lacked money to have them built. There was no shortage of labour force for this work, thousands of toilers still have no work enough to do. In the same way we have plenty of wood in our forest and yet we lack it for our own use. Our shortcomings lie in our failure to understand clearly that we are masters of our country.

Of course, our role as masters must be understood in many fields: political, economic, cultural, etc., each of them fraught with many difficulties that we have to overcome. We should think it over and over again to understand it more properly, which is naturally no easy problem. Indeed, on the one hand we are masters of our country, on the other, objectively, our economy still consists of two kinds of ownership, we still resort to buying and selling, and fund accumulation still meets with many difficulties. Nonetheless, without striving to have a correct understanding of the question, we shall remain in a passive position, thus restricting our capabilities in production, consumption and in raising the people's living standard.

At present in North Viet Nam, American and Diemist agents have definitively no right to be masters. The capitalists who are being transformed gradually into toilers will enjoy it step by step; for them it is limited now. So long as they stick to exploitation, there is no question of their benefiting this right. The workers, the peasants and almost all the brain workers are masters of the society. Why not to mention the women? I don't want to discriminate against them for they are also workers, peasants and intellectuals. The right to be masters belongs to all labouring people, the exploiters excluded.

Furthermore, when I say that the labouring people are masters I mean that they are *collective masters*. In Viet Nam, there existed the right to be individual masters, which belonged solely to the capitalists and landlords. Since the labouring people have become masters of the society, they are collective masters. Formerly, we took care but of ourselves and our family, now we look after the whole people and are the managers of our fatherland. This is in line with communism. The labouring people are brothers and sisters of the same family. Together, they build their country so that old people may rest, children may go to school, everybody has a job to live on and is educated. They are bent on bringing into being a new life in which all citizens are equal, irrespective of their nationalities, social activities, whether they are men or women. Only by proceeding from the proletarian stand can such a glorious task be fulfilled because the proletariat alone has the sense of collectivity and, therefore, can make everybody master of their society. Only by helping

everybody grasp this point can we arouse a powerful revolutionary mettle. We must make him clearly realize his rights and duties and set him at rest about his and even his children's future. Then, all people will eagerly stand ready to overcome hardships and difficulties.

What hinders us from playing our role as collective masters is individualism. The behaviour of an individualist stems systematically from strictly personal motives. Fighting individualism does not mean at all suppressing the individual. We should bear in mind, however, that the latter can exist and develop only within the collectivity and that he finds the best conditions to serve himself in serving the collectivity. So we should not criticize what is legitimate in the individual. For instance, he who cares for his health or wishes to become an educated man, is not an individualist at all. Neither can be taxed with individualism a peasant family who want to raise fowls at home* to improve their living conditions; instead, this is advantageous to the society. A skilled factory technician who has something to say about his unreasonably low wage is not actuated by individualism, he is right to do so. Without individuals there is neither society, nor collectivity. The producers have a given aim—to serve themselves and others—without which nobody wants to produce. This is natural, for production itself must have an objective. Our last resistance war was aimed at saving our country, so everyone was ready to do his best to kill the enemy, braving

* Apart from their work at the co-operative (*Publ.*).

hardships and death. Now in socialist building, production must also have an objective—the satisfaction of the people's needs—which must be attained. It is incorrect to grant anybody a wage lower than that he deserves or to pay for a commodity less than what it costs.

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

from the masses. Formerly during the Resistance War, we lived together, and together endured hardships, so everybody was ready to sacrifice for this ideal. Now that our State power has been consolidated, wages are paid according to the work done and cadres have different living standards. Therefore, the Party's ideal should be more frequently recalled and inculcated in Party members. Those comrades who, for duty's service, and according to our distribution system, live in comfortable houses and ride in motor-cars, must never lose sight of this ideal, make further efforts or they will be spoiled.

To build up a collective spirit we must oppose individualism. Among the masses we must struggle against the following trends: to think exclusively of one's own interests and forget the common interests, not to consider one's own interests in relation to the common interests. We must make people understand that their interests rest within the common interests, that without the latter the former cannot exist. Cadres must know to sacrifice their personal interests for the common interests.

Now let us speak of salaries. As our production is still at a low level, distribution must be based on the work done, hence high and low salaries. It is true that cadres and Party members receive different salaries, but this bears no resemblance whatever with what prevails in the bourgeois society, in which the capitalist's income is tremendously higher than that of the worker. At present, our salary-scale presents no great differences. In the mining areas, not few workers get 150 *dongs* monthly apart from 50 or 60 *dongs*

earned by his dependents whereas the salary of a minister or a member of the Party Central Committee amounts to 200 *dongs*. In some mines, as many as three or five hundred families count two or three members having such an income. This is to say that because of our country's low production, material incentives are needed and differences in income still exist. These differences are aimed at a fair and rational distribution in a given situation. We must clearly realize and make people understand that this is an objective necessity, advantageous to the society, instead of letting the difference in remuneration overshadow our sense of being masters of our society.

III. — STANDPOINT ON PRODUCTION

Our standpoint on production is different from that of the capitalists. The capitalists produce for profit while we do for the satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs. Thus, our objectives and theirs are completely at variance.

When the bourgeoisie made revolution, there had already existed a capitalist economic basis, but as the superstructure of the then society did not suit the latter it overthrew this superstructure by a revolution. The developed capitalist countries which embarked on socialist revolution, disposed also of a large-scale capitalist production, but as the capitalist relations of production did not correspond to the productive forces they had to be abolished.

There was no such situation in our country. We did not start building a socialist economy on the basis of a highly developed capitalist one. Our economy mainly relied on small production and it was from this that we proceeded. We did transform the capitalist relations of production but these were insignificant. Here, we must take into consideration a point of great importance, namely *the transformation and development of production in our country bears no resemblance to what is to be done in a developed capitalist country.* All the funds of the bourgeoisie cannot suffice to build an enterprise of the size of the Hanoi engineering plant for example. *As we advance chiefly from a small production economy, the main question is to start from small size enterprises to build big ones.* We do not gather together for the sake of collective work, but for the promotion of production. If collective farming does not yield more than individual farming it would not be worthwhile to go in for collective production. Recently, after the transformation of handicrafts in some localities where the cadres did not grasp this significance, production has decreased. We undertake the transformation of small production to develop it, and not for transformation's sake. In transforming capitalism we aim at liquidating exploitation, and turning private means of production into collective ones. The most important problem is to bring small production to large-scale socialist production; all other problems spring from this. To this end, we have carried out co-operativization of agriculture and handicrafts, chiefly agriculture. Here, an extremely important question arises, which we must clearly

understand. We know that the division of social labour is mainly based on technique and instruments of production. Production consists of two aspects; relation between man and man and relation between man and nature, which are dialectically linked with each other. To produce, man has to exploit natural resources for his subsistence and to act on nature, he must use his labour force, and at the same time create implements and other means of production which also derive from nature. When the implements change they make man's impact on nature more efficacious and yield more wealth, thus changing the relation between man and nature. This change in its turn will lead to a change in the relation between man and man. So, the relation between man and man changes with the instruments of production. Therefore, Marx said that the shifting from an economic system to another is the shifting from one technique to another. Handicraft tools engender the feudal system whereas the implements for large-scale mechanized production give rise to the capitalist system. The shifting from manual labour to mechanization is a very great revolution in the development of production. We, in Viet Nam, are advancing from small production towards large-scale socialist — not capitalist — production. For this purpose we must dispose of new instruments of production and new productive forces; in other words, we must mechanize our production. Co-operativization on the basis of utilizing old implements and manual labour does increase production but not beyond a certain limit. If a co-operative — in which naturally work is done collectively — entirely relies on hand-tools for

its normal functioning, these cannot fit, or, if at all, not for a long period. In the long run, they will inevitably make room for others. Without replacing them by machines, we would not be in a position to satisfy the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of the labouring people. We must have such new instruments as ploughing and harrowing machines serving as the firm basis for the development of the co-operative. Hand-tools can be used individually, they do not make collective work necessary for the farmers. That is why when we speak of production, we should see a problem of paramount importance for us now, namely, technical revolution. After revolutionizing the relations of production and wiping out exploitation, the greatest remaining problem is technical revolution without which there is no question of stepping up production. Socialist construction aims at meeting the material and cultural demands of the people on the basis of an ever-developed technique. To this end, we must proceed towards mechanization, then automation and the utilization of atomic energy in production, otherwise communism cannot be built up.

Thus, a new productive force must be created in each historical stage to set up a new regime. That is why, after economic transformation, the problem facing us is to carry out socialist industrialization. *What is industrialization? It is to mechanize all our economic branches, replace manual labour by mechanized labour.* Here lies the object of socialist industrialization, and also of technical revolution. Technical revolution means reorganization of labour and improvement of instruments of production, which are two

things linked closely with each other. Over the recent years, we have considered socialist transformation as the main link, created new relations of production in agriculture and handicrafts, abolished capitalist relations in industry and trade and, at the same time, paid due attention to socialist construction. However, little has been done in socialist construction because it can start vigorously only after the completion of socialist transformation and also because our capabilities are still limited. At this new stage we cannot content ourselves with maintaining and consolidating the relations of production. What is to be done now in the countryside is to boost production. Failing this we cannot consolidate the relations of production themselves — something that we shall not achieve by simply urging people to work collectively. We have to develop production and make the instruments of production better correspond to the new relations of production. The problem of setting up co-operatives with 200 households from those having only 30, of turning lower-level co-operatives into higher-level ones, does not consist merely in perfecting the relation between man and man but in improving the relation between man and nature, and only by so doing can we consolidate the relation between man and man. For instance, in a 200-household co-operative, when all engaged in cultivation, the relation between man and nature differed from what it is now that, say, 100 till the land and another 100 do wood-cutting. This difference impels production which, in turn, consolidates and promotes the relation between man and man. The settlement of this relation just

prepares conditions for our advance and once it has taken shape, stress must be laid on production or we shall go astray. Indeed, at the beginning we cannot speak of development of production without referring to class relations. But when the new relations of production have been established, we must shift emphasis on production to consolidate the relations of production. Unless we carry out socialist industrialization we cannot strengthen these relations of production. Barring industrialization, these new relations in our countryside doubtless will not last long, for natural calamities cannot be overcome, or production cannot keep pace with the requirements of development. Hence, the need for new production forces as a basis on which to consolidate and maintain the new relations of production and impel production. These new production forces reside in the means of production, and the tools supplied by industry.

Industry and agriculture are the two most important branches of production. Such other branches as communications, transport and trade should serve industrial and agricultural production. *What then must be the relation between industry and agriculture?* Here, there exist many problems that we must view from many angles. For instance, when we say that production serves the people's material and cultural needs, which, of agriculture, and industry, is more important? From the point of view of man's requirements agriculture plays a more important role because man cannot live without food and clothes.

On the other hand, to have means of living, man must bring influence to bear on nature. Without

industry this influence will be very limited, so will the quantity of the means of living. Production develops mainly since industry exists. Without mechanized tools, with manual labour only, production is negligible. Only when mechanized, can industry enable man to create plenty of riches. Therefore, the more industry develops, the more wealth is available. This is precisely what we mean when we say that industry constitutes the leading branch of the national economy. Industry comprises heavy industry and light industry. The former turns out means of production and the latter consumer goods. Like agriculture, light industry meets consumption; therefore, when we say that industry is the leading branch of the national economy we mainly refer to heavy industry. Thanks to industry, production develops and gives man ampler possibility to struggle against nature. His strength being limited, to struggle efficaciously against nature and produce wealth in abundance, there should be an additional force generated by machines, by heavy industry. In this respect it is crystal-clear that economy can develop powerfully so long as it disposes of a material basis, a heavy industry. Thus, industry forms the foundation of the national economy. For instance, in agriculture, ploughing and harrowing machines, etc. form the material basis to generate a stronger impact on nature than manual labour so as to produce wealth in great quantities and rapidly. A more highly developed production, large-scale production, requires a modern material basis, mechanized tools. We often say that we must advance towards a modern agriculture, a modern industry, and modern means of communication and transport. What

do we mean by all this? A new material and technical basis, without which there is no question of large-scale production.

In Viet Nam, we say that *agriculture is the basis for industrial development*. What does this mean? Agriculture is a branch producing means of living, we cannot go without it. It is not quite correct to say that we are going soon to have an economy based on socialist industrialization; we should rather say that we shall have an economy endowed with a socialist industry and a socialist agriculture. We should not refer only to industry, which would be vague, for we cannot live on industry alone as we constantly need agriculture. Agriculture always aims at satisfying the most important of man's requirements. Even the Soviet Union which has a very developed industry cannot dispense with a developed agriculture. The Communist and Workers' Parties of all the socialist countries pay constant attention to agriculture. On this point, we differ from capitalism. The bourgeoisie relies on industry to exploit the people and get wealthy and make agriculture depend on it. Over the recent years, all socialist countries have drawn a far-reaching experience: due attention should be paid to agriculture. This is stark clear because we cannot help thinking of the food problem.

Now that agriculture accounts for the overwhelming part of our economy, how shall we proceed towards socialist industrialization? It is not correct to say that we must rely entirely on the socialist camp. We do need help from the socialist countries; however, we must mainly advance from our agrarian economy, bring

agriculture to collectivization, step up production and, on this basis, develop light industry, accumulate more fund than we do now to build up heavy industry which will constitute the foundation of our whole economy. In other words, we rely on agriculture and the seven million peasants to build up industry. Here lies the market for manufactured goods, the people's main purchasing power, the source of raw materials and many other things. On this basis, we redistribute our labour force and readjust fund accumulation for the building of our heavy industry. When we say that agriculture serves as the basis for the development of industry, we mean that agriculture provides indispensable means of living, and that we capitalize on it to build up industry step by step. Agriculture, however, does not form the foundation of our socialist economy; the latter must rely on heavy industry which, having the strongest impact on nature, constitutes the greatest source of wealth.

What then is the relation between industry and agriculture? Agriculture produces means of living indispensable for man whereas industry turns out consumer goods and means of production. To speak of industry is basically to speak of heavy industry. The production of heavy industry must constitute the foundation of a socialist economy. Thus industry and agriculture influence each other. In the present period agriculture has a strong impact on, and pushes forward, every branch of our national economy, including industry, but as the latter develops its influence on agriculture increases. Now this still partial influence will become ever more

powerful so that industry, agriculture and communications and transport may progress together. The importance of agriculture and industry varies at each stage, and each of them has its own historical position.

Thus, both industry and agriculture satisfy the people's material and cultural needs and must necessarily make continual progress. Without a powerful development of agriculture there can be no rice, no meat and life will not be possible, and without industry — particularly a developed heavy industry — we shall lead a miserable life. As man's productive forces are limited, production would be insignificant without mechanization. That is why after the basic completion of socialist transformation, due attention must be paid to the building of our material and technical basis, that is, we must carry out *socialist industrialization*. *This is the central task of the transitional period*. But in developing industry *we must never forget that agriculture is the basis for the development of industry*.

Without grasping the meaning of socialist industrialization we cannot see the most important problem: technical revolution, that is, the revolution to shift small production to large-scale production, the revolution in labour organization and instruments of production. Failing this, we cannot push ahead our economy. Clearly enough, our industry cannot advance without the development of agriculture. Without food we cannot live, let alone promote production. Agriculture must progress not only to supply enough food, but also to enable us to spare manpower for other branches. Light industry, for instance, requires manpower. But it also needs raw materials that we are not in a position to

supply in sufficient quantity, and have to import them. So long as we have nothing available for exchange with the fraternal socialist countries to meet its requirements, light industry cannot make headway. Furthermore, to promote industry, especially heavy industry, we must import equipment and for this, export agricultural products apart from a small quantity of ores, since ours is an agricultural country. When speaking of agriculture, we do not refer only to paddy but to all agricultural produce, including industrial crops, animal husbandry, etc. We must develop all these lines and not any one exclusively. The wealth produced is used first for the satisfaction of the people's needs and for exportation, and second — with the progress of light industry and agriculture — for the creation of an amount of means of production permitting us to redistribute the labour force in all branches of the national economy and to spare part of it for heavy industry. This enables us to promote the economy as a whole and particularly heavy industry whose development, in turn, impels that of agriculture and light industry. Our present light industry owes its progress to the help of the socialist countries. Such is the initial process but in future we should do otherwise if we want our economy to forge ahead powerfully.

However, the development of the productive forces not only depends on the reorganization of the labour force but chiefly on the means of production and technique. To have new productive forces we must rely on the development of heavy industry. Therefore, our central task is socialist industrialization, that is, to provide machines to the branches in which work is so

far done by hand, and to create bases to turn out mechanical instruments of production.

Such a standpoint regarding production shows us the necessity of making ever-increasing investments. What I mean here is the investment of labour force which produces material wealth, and not merely money. Such an investment is necessary to promote heavy industry, light industry and agriculture.

Thus, to carry out industrialization there is no other way than to accumulate fund. But accumulation does not exclude consumption. We produce with a definite aim, for consumption. The enthusiasm of the producer lies in the prospect of consumption. The worker produces to earn something with which to buy food and other consumer goods. It is the same with the peasant who tills the land. Production aims at serving consumption, and if consumer goods are acutely lacking, it loses its significance and the producer, his enthusiasm. Therefore, our neglect of improving the producer's livelihood will amount to missing our aim. However, if we consume all that we produce we shall not be in a position to develop production. That is why we have to spend a little less, enough for our upkeep, so as to accumulate fund and enlarge production to meet requirements of greater importance. Everybody understands that we want to ensure larger consumption in future. Any production which does not serve the improvement of the livelihood will lose its lofty meaning. Some comrades wonder why now we all speak of personal interests whereas in the Resistance War we sacrificed them. This is justified. Then, our sole concern was to save our motherland from aggression. But now that peace is

restored it would be a day-dream, an error, to gloss over the people's, the producer's material interests. This would amount to negating the objective of production and then how could things run smoothly? However, material interests include immediate and long-term ones. Failing to grasp this, we would deprive production of its *raison d'être*. Furthermore, the material and cultural life of the Vietnamese people having always been low, they must boost production for their own welfare and for the nation to progress. Any production that does not serve the material interests of the workers and the peasants, and does not care for their ever-increasing living standard, cannot develop. In our society, there are advanced people but it will take much time—some decades, a century or even more for all to be equally advanced people. There exist advanced, average and backward people — this being understood in a relative sense. Our *raison d'être* itself is not a vague ethical concept. Everybody has his own interests. One cannot speak of happiness without tackling such vital problems as food and clothing. How can one feel happy if one's living standard is continually decreasing? Improvement of the livelihood and fund accumulation should go together. Doubtless the producers will be encouraged if they realize that today their living standard is a little higher than yesterday, and that tomorrow, with more fund accumulated, they will be still better off. We must make our workers and peasants understand that without industrialization the danger of bad crops will remain a permanent one, but that, with good fertilizers and hydraulic works, we will certainly be able to combat natural calamities, do away

with famine for ever and secure a stable livelihood. This is very clear. Therefore, when speaking of division of labour we must always refer to the accumulation of the labour force. Lenin said that we must pay attention to the toilers' material interests. This is a hard-boiled truth.

All branches of our activities are responsible for the development of production. The cultural branch daily trains technical cadres who are the most precious "means of production" because they are men mastering technique. Poetry and prose should also aim at serving production. The army has not only to safeguard security, order and peace, but also to take part in production. Army-men must realize that, while fulfilling their duty to stand ready to fight and protect production if production does not develop and their living conditions do not improve, the workers and peasants will not feel dedicated to our regime which will thus lose its stability. We must do so that the labouring people are really attached to our regime, sacrifice even their lives for it, and resolutely struggle against those who lay hands on it. To this end, it is necessary to promote production. Army-men must avoid all that can exert a bad influence on production; they must adequately and rationally use the credit earmarked for military purposes, save money and avoid waste. Without an adequate production, there can exist no sound political and military bases. So our comrades in the army must also grasp our standpoint on production when using the money given by the State. A recent resolution of the General Military Council says that army-men have to supply by themselves with part of their means of

living such as vegetables, meat, etc. If everyone consumes a little less than he normally does, the resulted savings will raise an important capital; and if at the same time he produces a little more, a substantial contribution will be made for the creation of a material basis for our economy.

Another point in the production problem: we must be vigilant against the enemy's sabotage. Every day the enemy seeks ways and means to destroy our production. These are extremely complex activities, for the enemy undertakes them covertly and in many fields. The saboteurs can damage a wheel in one or another factory, something the imperialists have in mind every day. At present, the situation in some coal-mines, factories and other enterprises being still intricate, attention must be paid to bad elements. The enemy's present strategic task in sabotage activities is to undermine our production. We must work out and enforce strict regulations capable of helping us to prevent them. We must acquaint ourselves with production, find out where sabotage may occur and, on the other hand, keep close contact with the popular masses.

The last point is the fulfilment of the 1961 plan, which will pave the way for further headway. Without a good production industrialization cannot be achieved, which will affect our entire economy. It is precisely, therefore, in the field of production that we can best gauge the ability of our cadres, because it constitutes our most important task the accomplishment of which is decisive for the march forward of our revolution as a whole.

IV. ON INDUSTRIOUSNESS AND THRIFT IN NATIONAL CONSTRUCTION

Industriousness and thrift are not only virtues which should permeate our style of work, they constitute guiding principles for our economic development. Without industriousness and thrift there could be no accumulation which, alone, would enable us to achieve socialist industrialization. Industriousness implies better work with every passing day, and thrift, more rational expenditure, no waste. A few examples. As I see it, now that there exists the possibility of exporting peanut oil to get machines in exchange, it would be more advantageous for our socialist industrialization to abstain from pea-nut goodies for a certain period, though they are delicious. This is thrift. Instead of making oil out of the milk of Thanh Hoa coco-nuts, which would provide us more fund, we just use it as refreshment. This is waste. Things of this kind are many. Thrift, however, does not command us to abstain from some more meat. Why do we produce it? For our consumption. We need meat to preserve our health and better serve production. So, to be thrifty does not mean to curb our living standard, but to do what is rational and beneficial to us. However, this should not be carried out indiscriminately. To be industrious also requires thrift to save everything that can profitably be spared for the time being. Thus, we should economically consume what can be exchanged for the machines we need. Besides, we have to bring into full play our labour force. It is a waste not to

grow more mulberry-trees, rear more hens and pigs when means are available for such occupations. Now that co-operativization has been carried out in the countryside we must make a house-to-house visit to get acquainted with the condition of the peasants, and help them rationally use their labour force. In some localities they still drink pond water and do not want to dig wells to have clean water. We must make them realize that health is required to produce more commodities and that labour force must be better used to impel production.

Therefore, to be industrious is to work zealously, to be thrifty is to save labour force and all that can be saved, in order to accumulate more fund for economic development.

Some people say that light industry accumulates fund rapidly and that for this reason we must speed up its development. This is not quite correct a view; like other branches of production, light industry creates surplus goods and brings about quick returns which helps accumulate and concentrate fund more rapidly than heavy industry. However, in the last analysis, to achieve substantial accumulation the fundamental problem is rapidly to raise labour productivity in all branches of social production. Therefore, it is heavy industry, as the supplier of equipment to all branches of the national economy, which constitutes the largest source of accumulation. Formerly, thirty persons were needed to till six hectares a day, now we must find ways and means to raise labour productivity so that twenty persons or less can do the same work, while the remainder will be shifted to other

jobs. The content of industrialization is that of accumulation and only when everybody works with an ever-increasing productivity can we realize substantial accumulation.

Another problem: the rapid industrialization of North Viet Nam will create more favourable conditions to accelerate industrialization in the South*. If we have ample industrial potentialities and more machines and other means of production for agriculture, North Viet Nam will be able to advance more vigorously on the path of co-operativization. This, as we usually say, is one way of paying attention to South Viet Nam. If our living standard rises with every passing day, this will impress our Southern compatriots. To be industrious and thrift is not to rough it but to pave the way for a more stable livelihood, avoiding unnecessary expenditures. What we can save at present, however little, is intended to make us advance rapidly, vigorously and steadily towards larger consumption in future.

V. ADVANCING RAPIDLY, VIGOROUSLY AND STEADILY TOWARDS SOCIALISM

These are our ways and means to march towards socialism. They lie within the scope of the *laws governing society, that is, within things themselves*. Socialist revolution must advance rapidly, vigorously and steadily and this is its law. Only by grasping this law can we proceed smoothly. Formerly, we worked individually, now we work collectively, which enables us to

* After national reunification (*Publ.*).

achieve high and rapid concentration unseen under other regimes. Under capitalism, each capitalist works for his own profit, that is why though some sort of concentration exists, production remains in a state of dispersal. This is the first point. Second, now that 80 per cent of our gross output are still turned out by rudimentary tools, production in any branch will increase rapidly if it will be done by machines. The replacing of manual labour with mechanized one in a manufacture constitutes a leap in quantity and quality. There are two leaps: one from dispersal to concentration, the other from manual labour to mechanization. Failing to understand them we cannot realize our economic requirements, and as a result we shall be driven into passivity, bound to check the rate of development of production and incapable of arousing enthusiasm among the entire people. The shift from manual labour to mechanization, from dispersal to concentration as much as the revolutionary mettle of the newly liberated man, and the ardour generated by his conscience of being the master of the society, contribute to make our advance more rapid and more vigorous. Even then, disharmony may occur in production. Anyhow our advance, unlike that of capitalism, must be steady, that is harmonious. Agriculture must be in harmony with industry, otherwise we shall not have enough, say, sugar-cane for our sugar-plants, tobacco for our cigarette-mills, food for our factory workers, etc. At present, co-operativization has been basically achieved, but industry has not yet supplied agriculture with new implements, etc. Clearly, there is discrepancy between agriculture and industry. Therefore,

we must advance more rapidly, so that food may be guaranteed to industrial workers, and industry, in turn, may vouch for the swift development of agriculture. But our cadres are not yet equal to their task owing to their low cultural level, and their lack of organizational and leading capabilities. In other words, in this respect we do not yet keep pace with the development of modern economy. We must consequently maintain harmony in order to ensure a smooth development at all costs.

Advancing rapidly, vigorously and steadily considered by our Party as a guiding principle, is an objective requirement; it does not spring from any arbitrary decision of our Party. Things themselves have such a tread of development and it is natural that we regard it as a guiding principle in economic construction. Socialist economy has two important characteristics: high tempo and harmony. The planning committee and all the branches of industry must grasp these two characteristics, and the leadership at all levels bear them in mind. Sometimes things progress rapidly but personally we are not willing to do so. Owing to our habits and style of work inherent in small production based on manual labour, we do not see that there actually exist favourable conditions for a rapid advance, and consequently we dare not think of it, or—if at all—give it little thought. This gives birth to conservatism and hesitancy. We lack broad views on a large-scale mechanized industry for the whole country. We carried out the three-year economic plan with, sometimes, a certain measure of hesitancy because we did not thoroughly

grasp an objective requirement, namely that the masses wanted to make headway in order to improve their living standard. It is true that the Party leads our revolutionary movement but the masses, too, push it forward vigorously. However, there are conservative and wavering elements among the masses. Recently, the elaboration of the five-year-plan for the building of the material bases of our economy has aroused general confidence and enthusiasm, but after one crop failure some people already thought of revising the plan. We must foresee the eventuality of heavier crop failures while engaging in industrialization at a rapid *tempo*. As we had not realized this eventuality, we wavered and dared not boldly build up that material basis. That is wrong. The problem now is to impel industry and simultaneously pay due attention to agriculture in order rapidly to develop our economy.

Above are the four standpoints to be inculcated during this ideological remoulding drive. They are linked with the objective law governing our economy. I have pointed out newly-shaped ideas to be promoted and those hindering the development of production to be overcome. When cultivating new ideas we have to fight hostile ones, including those of an individualist nature among the bourgeoisie and the small producers. The former are prone to exploitation, corruption and waste whereas the latter are self-complacent, reluctant to embark on large-scale production and to work collectively, thereby proving to be conservative and hesitant. Unlike the small producers and the feudals in this respect the capitalists seek reforms to increase

their exploitation. However, they still show conservatism by refusing to change their own mode of production. This general truth applies to the Vietnamese bourgeoisie, whose overwhelming majority made their fortune out of small production; progressive elements among them agree to, and support, the march forward, but backward ones are reluctant to take this path.

Therefore, criticism on this point should take into account the person or the enterprise—factory, State-farm, co-operative, etc.—we have to deal with. We must thoroughly know them and find out what hinders production. Only in the process of production can criticism be effectual, otherwise it will be superficial. We must carry out ideological work as the army-men do after each engagement. Generalities of course must be put forward as a basis, but they do not suffice for the masses. Once we have an adequate conception of what is to be done, we shall base ourselves on it to examine our policies and to see whether our actions accord with it. Thus, we may realize that one or another policy worked out by certain economic branches have harmed production or hindered the people's sense of being masters of the society. Then, such policies and actions as well as their authors should be criticized. The Party Central Committee has not yet drawn any conclusion on this score. For instance, we have to import two million *dongs* worth of tobacco a year while we can produce enough for our consumption. Whose fault is this? The leadership in agriculture or in trade? Nobody knows for the time being. Anyhow, this is a mistake. Another example: we have not enough sugar-cane with which to supply our mills now in the

building. This, too, hampers the development of production. We must criticize all those shortcomings, find out their causes and arrive at a conclusion. In this ideological remoulding drive we must redress them. Later on, any obdurate attitude leading to similar shortcomings will be met with adequate measures.

Struggling against corruption and waste we oppose bourgeois ideology. This is a class struggle in the ideological field. During the transformation of the bourgeoisie we made efforts to help the entire people distinguish friends from foes. Now that this difference is clear to everyone, we enjoy favourable conditions to push forward the ideological remoulding in order to combat unsound thoughts prevailing among the people and within our Party. As the bourgeoisie in our country did not react vigorously we needed not have recourse to extreme measures. Over the past three years, its transformation has been undertaken very smoothly. For one thing, this is good; for another, this did not enable us to eliminate the ideology and vices of the bourgeoisie to an appreciable extent. With the enthusiasm of the entire people we can now eradicate them. This is a long-term work that we must do to forge ahead. While building new ideas we should do away with wrong ones. A sprouting seed grows stronger if we tend it carefully, but if at the same time we help it get rid of its shell it will grow still more quickly. The same can be said of other things whose development requires constant cares and the breaking of their "shells".

Lastly, single-mindedness must be furthered within our Party so that the revolution may progress more

firmly, vigorously. Our society has reached a stage at which the main mover of development is not contradiction between man and man, but unity of the people. Indeed, among the people there still exist contradictions, which must be solved so that unity may prevail. However, the main feature at present is single-mindedness and this is an important thing. Contradictions push society ahead, but unity also accelerates social progress. Therefore, our policy must always aim at building up and strengthening unity to impel the advance of our society. On this point, socialism and capitalism differ. Lenin said that social development is conditioned by unity among the producers. The greatest problem we have now to settle for socialist construction in North Vietnam to progress, is to solve the contradiction *between man and nature*, that is, to carry out socialist industrialization and technological revolution, for the satisfaction of the people's needs requires a vigorous advance of the productive forces. This does not mean underrating the relation between man and man and over-estimating the relation between man and nature. Our agricultural producers' co-operatives developing to the size of 200 households, would mark time were it not for a new material basis. If we want to take them farther we must give them new technical means instead of only tackling the relation of production, that is, the contradictions among co-op members themselves. Though unity in the co-operatives is necessary for the promotion of production, the main point is to set up a material basis for it, to introduce a new technique compatible with a large-scale production. This holds good not only for an agricultural

co-operative, but for our social production as a whole : The solution of the contradiction between the slow development of the productive forces and the people's ever-increasing needs will make society progress. So long as we make the toiling people completely single-minded we can satisfactorily solve this contradiction. Now unity is far from being perfect. We must constantly strengthen it. There lies the superiority of our society. That is why the policies worked out by all branches must aim at furthering this unity and guarantee the right to be masters to all the toiling people. Naturally, contradictions always exist, but the point is timely to settle them so that unity may be strengthened with every passing day. Failing this, new contradictions will arise from our own mistakes and not from objective realities. For example, the peasants must sell food and other agricultural products to the State. The latter in turn must supply them with goods at reasonable prices. Contradictions will crop up if goods are not available. There are backward peasants reluctant to sell paddy to the State. This contradiction must be solved. Sometimes we exaggerate trifles and create complications for ourselves. We should mind a point of considerable consequence to penetrate deeper into Vietnam's realities and strive to keep clear from dogmatism. We have to learn from the fraternal countries extensive and valuable experiences. The most important thing, however, is how to apply them in the specific conditions of our country; servile imitation and disregard of our own realities are very dangerous as they lead to untoward complications. When tackling socialist construction, Lenin, clever as though he was,

considered it a very difficult task, and that it had to be studied carefully and undertaken cautiously. As our Party lacks experience we must proceed still more cautiously and study more carefully. We must not mechanically apply what we have learnt from books, and strive to achieve socialist construction in accordance with our situation, avoiding unnecessary complications. We should, to this end, think over ways and means and display sound judgment so that what we do is right and sensible and satisfactorily meets the people's needs. We should guard against bureaucracy and commandism. As our workers and peasants can now realize their own interests and those of the collectivity, we must use persuasion to win them over, that is, to use criticism and self-criticism instead of administrative measures. For they sympathize with the Party and the State whose policies accord with their interests, and whose interests are one with their own. So, provided we display patience in our explanation the people will make common cause with us. Of course there still are backward people who do not sympathize with us, but they are not many. The bourgeoisie alone, who does not serve the people, uses violence to force them into obedience. As for us, we are advancing to socialism strong with the toiling people's revolutionary enthusiasm and approval, not with coercion. We must be vigilant and pay attention to the saboteurs who defame us, and to the reactionaries who can misuse the people. Though few they pose a great danger, and so we must repress them to further our unity. Ideological education should go hand in hand with repression of saboteurs and reactionaries.

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

I. THE POSITION OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AT PRESENT

Viet Nam being an agricultural country, the overwhelming majority of its women are peasants. Under French domination women constituted a dog-cheap source of manpower for the owners of mines and factories, which accounted for the great number of women workers. Further, ours was a feudal country, where, as a rule, women were subjected to the direct heaviest oppression and exploitation. These are the characteristic features of Vietnamese women in the past. This also explains why our revolutionary movement counted in its ranks many outstanding women fighters. The Resistance War, the land reform drives and the period of peaceful reconstruction have all underscored the important role of women. I have

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

no intention to dwell upon their capabilities and achievements which are well known to you.

What I wish to deal with are some questions relating to women's activities. I presume that all the delegates have studied the Resolution of the 14th Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee. You are all aware that we are now embarking on the path of socialist revolution. This is a most thorough revolution. It is even more deep-going than the national-democratic revolution we have gone through. Therefore, it must generate a nation-wide revolutionary movement. The same applies to the women's movement which must become part of this movement. The political task of the women's movement must be an integral part of the political task now facing the whole nation, i. e. we must rouse our women to active participation in the socialist revolution wherein they are to play a most important role.

Formerly, during the national - democratic revolution, the main thing was to take up arms against the enemy. To combat the aggressors for the sake of national salvation was then the common task of the entire Vietnamese people. In those days, women also joined the guerillas and gave battle to the enemy. But that was on a rather limited scale, because direct combat activities require great physical strength. And so, generally speaking, frontline fighting was the task of men. Our women made great contribution to the Resistance War mainly by increasing production, carrying supplies to the front or undertaking other activities in the rear.

But things are now quite different with the present socialist revolution, the purpose of which is to eradicate capitalism, to free the productive forces, to raise labour productivity and effect the socialist transformation of all non-socialist components of the economy. Ours being mainly an agricultural economy, the main task of the drive for socialist transformation in the immediate future is to turn our backward agriculture into a co-operativized, and subsequently, mechanized and modern agriculture. Who are the labourers that directly carry out the socialist revolution in the countryside? They are the poor and middle peasants, half of whom are women. It may be said that our women peasants are shouldering a bigger work load than men. A great number of them have thus taken a direct part in the socialist revolution now unfolding in the countryside. Another drive is going on in factories, the drive for the improvement of industrial management. As masters of their factories, the workers — many of them are women — must take part in this drive. In this way, women workers also play a direct role in the socialist revolution. In urban centres, trade and handicraft are branches with a fairly large number of women. Therefore, our sisters also take an important part in the socialist transformation of private capitalist industry and trade and in the co-operativization of small trade and handicraft.

Thus, we clearly realize that women have an important position and a great role to play in the socialist revolution, just as they have actively participated in the revolutionary movement over the past decades. But what about the women's movement itself? As I

see it, not only now but also in the past, our women mainly take part in the general movement whereas their own women's movement remains rather weak and suffers many shortcomings. Therefore, what I wish to say today is that our women should not merely take part in the general movement but should also build up *a revolutionary movement of their own*.

As integral parts of the general revolutionary movement, there now are revolutionary movements of workers, peasants, youths, women, etc. The youths and army-men have had their own distinctive movements, though these are still beset with shortcomings. But the same cannot be said of the women's movement. That is perhaps the greatest shortcoming, and we must take a hard look at it.

II. AGITATION WORK AMONG WOMEN MUST BE FUNDAMENTALLY BASED ON OUR CLASS LINE

I have just heard your views on the women's movement in the context of the drive for co-operativization. I have the impression that you have not yet firmly grasped the line of agitation work among women. Why so? First of all, because you have had no clear idea as to the political task of the women's movement. Also because, in your discussions, you have divorced the women's movement from the context of the general movement. One should realize that, fundamentally, the women's movement is none other than a class struggle. The socialist revolution aims at abolishing all

forms of economic exploitation and at building up a socialist economy free from the exploitation of man by man. That is a class struggle, a struggle between the socialist and capitalist paths. All labouring people, women included, must take part in this revolutionary struggle. Therefore, if the women's movement is to make a major contribution to the revolutionary movement as a whole, it is essential that our labouring sisters should be deeply roused to class consciousness. Without a profound class standpoint, women are not able to fully participate in the general movement.

During the period of transition from capitalism to socialism there still remain certain survivals of some thousand years of feudal and capitalist domination. There still are serious instances of oppression of, and unequal treatment towards, women. Therefore, if we want to give a vigorous impetus to the women's movement, all our labouring women must be made to realize that the oppression of women has its class origins. The deeper their class consciousness, the more profound will be their awareness of their interests. And so, *without a class standpoint, it is impossible to build up a distinctive women's movement.*

Generally speaking, whatever handicaps and disadvantages women have still to suffer under socialism, whether in the family circles or in social life, they constitute only remnants of the defunct feudal and capitalist regimes. That is not specifically a problem between men and women, but a matter of class oppression, feudal or capitalist, towards women. If there are specific conflicts between men and women, which are rare, they usually derive from the influence of feudal

and bourgeois ideologies. Handicaps and disadvantages suffered by women have essentially a class content. From your reports, it seems to me that this point has not been clearly realized. There is no adequate understanding of this point not only among women comrades, but among male Party members as well. The deeper the class consciousness of Party Committees and male Party members, the more attention they will pay to the women's question. To pay little attention to the women's question is tantamount to neglecting the most numerous and the most oppressed section of the labouring people, and thus bespeaks an inadequate class stand. *Therefore, the women's question is basically a classe issue.*

For instance, we go to the countryside to explain to women peasants the advisability of joining farming co-operatives. If we do not realize that this is a movement designed to draw women into a class struggle between the two paths of development, a class struggle for the emancipation of labouring women, and instead only view this drive in connection with the inequalities and disadvantages suffered by women in general, then such an understanding is grossly inadequate. Another example: many male comrades still underrate the capabilities of women. This is due to the influence of feudal ideas. If these comrades have an adequate class stand, they would be able to better assess the capabilities of women. So long as one does not get rid of the oppressing and exploiting classes' conceptions, one inevitably fails to fully appreciate the real value of the labouring women. *So to approach the women's*

question in a penetrating manner, it is essential to start from the position of the working class.

In addition to a lack of clarity in the matter of class standpoint, there has also been a certain tendency to confuse the movement for the emancipation of women in general and the specific women's movement led by our Party. The movement for women's emancipation came into being long ago. Such movement also existed under capitalism. These were guided by the bourgeoisie with a view to emancipating not the women masses as a whole but only a minority belonging to the upper strata. For us, the problem is in essence to emancipate the masses of labouring women, and to put into effect the slogan of "equality of rights between men and women" on the basis of the women's really conscious demand to take part in wielding political power and running the State apparatus, and thus become real masters of the country.

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

emancipating women in general, but of emancipating the most oppressed and the most exploited strata of labouring women.

There has been a time when we tackled the question in this way. That was during the land reform when we aroused the peasants to struggle against the landlords. That struggle did improve our class standpoint. But even then we were standing on the position of the working class. During the land reform drive, we did arouse the women peasants and educate them in class struggle, but in certain cases individual interests were over-emphasized to the detriment of class education. As a result, after land reform, there were jealousies over individual interests among women peasants in a number of places. Another manifestation of the low level of class consciousness of our women is their lack of unity and solidarity which is found not only at the grass-root level but also among leading cadres. Yes, there is pretty little unity and solidarity among our women cadres. Why so? Because women cadres have not yet acquired a sound class standpoint. Also because their minds are still weighed down by petty-bourgeois thinking and individualism. This has its definite social origin, too. Under feudalism, women were quite secluded from one another, whereas men, to some extent, had some common activities and laboured together. For ages, women have worked singly, each in her own home. And so the emergence of a women's movement requires a great revolutionary change in the thinking of women. We should help Vietnamese women acquire a common class standpoint, have a liking for joint labour and other activities, and

care more for the common good. Otherwise this individualistic way of life would form a great obstacle to the women's movement.

I do not suggest that all that pertains to the individual and the family must be discarded. I only mean that we should do away with individualism. We are now embarking on the co-operativization movement, the drive for the improvement of industrial management, in short, a deep-going socialist revolution. These revolutionary movements require that our women stand on the position of the working class. With the restoration of peace, our cadres are provided with a differentiated scale of wages and salaries which was unknown in the Resistance War. That is a necessity arising from the new situation and in application of the socialist principle of distribution according to the work done. Yet, objectively, this arrangement gives rise to a ticklish situation: people of a certain rank get a certain category of houses and salaries while people of other ranks get different kinds of houses and salaries. This has somewhat dimmed out our class consciousness which ought to have been further strengthened in the process of the socialist revolution.

This general situation also finds reflection in the women's movement. Proletarian thinking which ought to have been further strengthened has in fact weakened. Over the past few years, women in both urban and rural areas, have become part of the working class forces, but a distinctive women's movement has yet to emerge. You have written books and newspaper articles about husbands, wives and other subjects. One

finds in these writings a great deal of thoughts and feelings. Yet, have these writings helped arouse the thinking of women and give them a deep class consciousness? Yes, but not much. Because the line of agitation work among women is not correct.

What, then, is the correct line? That is the Party's class line dealing with the women's movement. It requires that we go to women workers in the factories, to women peasants in the countryside, to labouring women in the various urban districts, so as to find out the situation and work out a correct and judicious approach to the problem.

III. SPECIFIC PROBLEMS

The women's question is a class issue. Besides, there still are other problems specific to women. So far, women have been the most oppressed people, not only in terms of class relations, but also in terms of old customs and moral standards. Therefore, in our agitation work, we should deal not only with the class interests, viz. Oppression, exploitation and hardship common to all labouring strata, but also with the specific aspects of oppression towards women. As an example, we may cite "the three allegiances and four virtues"*. That is the cursed chain which shackled

* Allegiance to the husband, father and eldest son; the four virtues: fine homework, demeanour, speech and behaviour.

down women in the feudal society. That is a specific aspect of oppression towards women, a feudal and paternalistic pattern of domination and oppression. Therefore, it is a class issue. Our class standpoint would remain inadequate so long as we fail to help women liberate themselves from the shackles of obsolete feudal ethics. Hence, while arousing women to class consciousness we must dwell at length on these specific forms of tyranny which in substance, are also a matter of class oppression.

Women cadres will not be able to rouse the women masses if in their endeavour to promote the common good they neglect the specific interests of women. We must struggle against the unjust, irrational and immoral treatment of women by the past regimes. How properly will these problems be solved would depend on the manner in which women are to be aroused. The question is fairly complex: the contradiction which is of an internal character, does, however, involve the confrontation of two hostile ideologies. Underestimating women, holding them in contempt and oppression, are the conception of the enemies of the working class. But today, they are thus treated by none other than the fathers and husbands of our women, their dear ones. The question is not simple, because women set great store by filial and conjugal ties of affection. They do not want to hurt these feelings. However, to maintain these feudal ties would amount to preserving a ruthless and odious pattern of social relationship. For instance, a father compels his daughter to abandon her lover and marry another person. To disregard the father's order is considered as a breach of filial piety,

but to obey him would mean infidelity and thus to reconcile fidelity in love with filial piety, the girl has no other way out than to commit suicide. Feudal family relationship sometimes leads to such a heart-breaking situation. We must set things right. If it is a contradiction between women workers and the bourgeoisie, or between women peasants and the landlords, then the solution will be easier. Now, this struggle between the new and the old operates both in the society and inside each family. Without a correct way to deal with it, not only will the women's movement meet with increased difficulties but even those engaged in the struggle would waver and hesitate. Therefore, we must work out correct methods and act cautiously in settling this contradiction.

Thus, my point of view is : a women's revolutionary movement should go hand in hand with a revolution among women themselves. We must ponder over and sum up experiences regarding the contents and forms of the revolution for the emancipation of women. We must come to an accurate assessment of the contradictions to be solved by the women's movement. We must further *enhance their revolutionary ardour*. That is indeed the basic question at the moment.

Our women have a long record of revolutionary activities. But their revolutionary feelings are now less than adequate, and lack effervescence and vigour. We must arouse their spirit, infuse in their minds effervescence, vigour and a determination to stand up and break their shackles. Without revolutionary ardour and buoyancy in spirit and feelings, there can be no upsurge of the women's movement. Who then must be

animated by a buoyant revolutionary spirit? In the first place, the "general staff" of the women's movement — the executive committees of the Women's Union at the central, provincial district and village levels. This "general staff" must be a revolutionary one if a revolutionary movement is to emerge among the broad masses.

How is the life of women with large families and a low income in Hanoi? Are the city and district executive committees of the women's organization fully aware of their plight and to which extent relief and assistance have been given them? If they are not, then their revolutionary spirit is indeed far from adequate. In the past, our revolutionary militants had to risk jail sentences, ranging from ten, twenty years to life imprisonment in struggling for a two-cent increase of the workers' wages. Now that we have a State apparatus and many facilities, how is it that little attention is given to improving the living conditions of the masses? Because our revolutionary fervour is deficient.

What have we to do at present for our revolution? To accept sacrifices and selfless labour. Our cadres must overcome difficulties, bear hardships and work among the people with revolutionary zeal, thus only will it be possible to give further impetus to the revolutionary movement. It is no less necessary to enhance our revolutionary fervour than to define the contents of our revolutionary movement. Vietnamese women are endowed with a high sacrificing spirit. They usually care less for themselves than for others and prove to be exemplary indeed in their conjugal and maternal devotion. But this benevolence, which has so far been

confined to the family circles, should now embrace the whole society. In other words, our women should readily make sacrifices for the revolutionary cause in the same way as they have done for their families. They must care for the masses as much as they do for their families. Only so can our women cadres give a strong impulse to their movement.

VI. IDEOLOGICAL APPROACH AND METHODS OF WORK

It is clear from the above that many difficulties should be overcome if the women's movement is to surge forward. Our Party must make further study of, and give more thought to, these problems so as to provide leadership to the women's movement. But concrete matters must be tackled by the Party's specialized agency, i.e., the Women's Union. Guidance and decision-making are the responsibility of Party committees at various levels, but studies and initial proposals must emanate from the Women's Union. Otherwise, it will not help the Party leadership. As you know, the Party leads the people through its Party members, groups and mass organizations. Some comrades argue that the women's movement has made little headway just because scant attention is being given it by Party committees at various levels. True, many Party committees have not paid adequate attention to this matter. But *the main initiative and efforts should come from women themselves*. Can our women prove equal

to the task? I am sure they can because they are intelligent and capable. During the Resistance War, a woman fighter could kill some enemy soldiers. In production work, our women have also displayed considerable initiative in raising output. With such assets as creativeness, a rich fund of dynamism, and a high spirit of sacrifice, our women can, by their own efforts, give a strong impulse to the women's movement. If so far the record has not been up to the mark, that is because of certain deficiencies in the outlook of our women cadres and their placing excessive reliance on the Party committees at various levels. The Party leads their movement but women should not passively depend on it. If they do not take the initiative in looking after their own movement, then, one must say, they are still suffering from inferiority complex. This is the same with the youth. I attended a recent meeting of the Labour Youth cadres and there also, the biggest complaint was that little attention was paid to the youth problem by the local Party committees. True, certain Party committees have failed in their duty and should mend their ways, but the youth and women must see to their own movement. That is why I feel it necessary to deal with the methods of work as well. The first question is to strengthen the women's executive committees at various levels. To this effect, two following steps should be taken:

a) *Unity* among members of the executive committees of the Women's Union at various levels is a prerequisite to good leadership. Unity ensures creativeness and a correct understanding of the women's movement. Obviously, if each and every executive member holds

a different view, leadership would be practically impossible. In the initial period, differences of views are natural and inevitable, but eventually there must be unity. In day-to-day life, there are certain trifles which may hinder unity. But if we let these trifles interfere with our political work, then this may adversely affect our unity in thinking and eventually harm the women's movement itself. Therefore, we must do away with these minor misunderstandings between individuals and forge closer unity in view of the Party's interests. Once we base our behaviour on our common class stand and on comradeship, there can be no insoluble contradictions between individuals. What are the feelings worthy of a revolutionary militant? At least, he or she must feel affection for his or her comrades. Otherwise, he or she would feel affection for nobody. In addition to conjugal and maternal love, there also must be comradesly affection. If one holds one's comrades in affection, then surely all misunderstandings and differences can be solved. Now, do you feel affection for your comrades? This is a very simple question. Yet, if the answer is "no", then you are no longer a revolutionary, and have indeed sinned against the revolutionary cause. Because devotion to the revolutionary cause presupposes a rich fund of humanism, and love for the labouring masses. It is therefore most unreasonable for comrades living close to one another and working shoulder to shoulder for a common cause to harbour dislike and misgivings for one another. Only unity and affection would enable us to jointly further the cause of the revolution.

b) Secondly, the leadership must be close to the masses, and to this end, it must *have hard core activists*

at the grass-root level. Hard-core activists are the link between Party committees and the masses. During the land-reform drive we had learned to select and use hard-core activists. But later on, the practice was neglected. The time has now come to revive it. Effective leadership of the women's movement could be achieved only if the executive committees at various levels carry out their work through a network of hard-core activists. Unless we educate our activists at the grass-root level, we cannot secure a deep understanding of the situation of the masses. We must make effective use of the hard-core activists in order to develop contacts with the masses and arouse their spirit. At present, the women's movement is not developing at an equal pace in various parts of the country. Therefore, we must make a deep study of the matter and find out a village with the most advanced movement to develop the latter and then spread the experience to other areas. We all know this method of work, but have not yet put it into application. However, to give a strong impulse to the entire women's movement, we must, in the application of this method, proceed slowly, progressively in accordance with a detailed and exhaustive plan. For instance, our women cadres in Hanoi must acquaint themselves with each and every family in a given district of the capital, and in this way come to get a good grasp of the situation in each and every district. To succeed, this work may require three months, five months or even one year of efforts. It would be advisable for the Central Executive Committee of the Women's Union to specifically assure direct leadership of the women's movement in some

provinces, say, Hanoi, Hadong. There is no reason why the Central Executive Committee whose head office is in Hanoi, should not have a direct hand in the women's movement of the capital. Besides, activities of the women's movement in Hanoi are pretty multifarious: work in the factories, in the city's districts and suburban areas. Women working in various branches and services are also facing many problems. The Central Executive Committee of the Women's Union would do well to include a woman factory worker and a woman peasant to get its leadership closer to the real situation. I presume you have already given thought to this point. I think this is a correct step to be taken, because to make a more accurate assessment of a mass movement requires that we have activists working on the field and strive to get a good grasp of the situation. Even if our line and policies are correct, we cannot acquaint ourselves thoroughly with the situation if our organizational work and methods of work prove to be deficient. Hence our women's movement should gradually do away with formalism. Forms are necessary, no doubt, but what is more necessary is to get down to the grass-root level to find out problems to be settled and give timely guidance.

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These views of mine may sound somewhat too severe. But we should be exacting towards ourselves, and clearly realize the weaknesses of our movement and take measures to overcome them so as to come forward and fulfil our task. I think Vietnamese women

are capable of great achievements. During the Resistance War, a woman, seeing that the wailing of her child might reveal to the enemy the hide-out of our troops, had drowned her child in order to save the fighters. To sacrifice maternal love for the fighters' sake is indeed a sublime act of which only great hearts are capable. I think that women are motivated by the finest patriotic feelings and that the great beauty of our nation is embodied, first and foremost, in our women. When I was in jail, I had the opportunity to see that most of our cadres had excellent mothers. What does that mean? That precisely means that our mothers and sisters have the finest and noblest feelings.

Generally speaking, as our women are actuated by great thoughts and feelings, a great women's movement is bound to emerge in Viet Nam. But the content of these great thoughts and feelings must also evolve. In the past, they found expression in patriotism, in a staunch readiness to sacrifice one's conjugal and maternal love for the sake of national salvation. At present, in addition to patriotism, they should embrace love for labour, attachment to the cause of human emancipation and the abolition of class society. We must develop our women's great traditions with a new content, so as to build up the women's movement. The duty of our women is not merely to push forward the revolutionary movement but also to form new generations. With their great and heroic traditions, I am convinced that Vietnamese women will certainly succeed in bringing about a broad-based and powerful women's movement as part of the general revolutionary upsurge of our nation.

WE MUST HEIGHTEN THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF THE YOUTH AND LABOUR YOUTH UNION MEMBERS *

Comrades,

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I pay a visit to you and would like to expound my views on some questions. The Central Committee has been attentively following your Conference and is happy to know that you have achieved good successes. It asks me to convey to you its warm congratulations.

Now, I am going to deal with the following questions:

1. Continue heightening the revolutionary ardour of all the youth and Labour Youth Union members.
2. Firmly grasp the goal of struggle of the Labour Youth Union.
3. Clearly realize the role of the Labour Youth Union in the revolution.
4. Endeavour to strengthen the leadership of the Labour Youth Union executives at all levels, consolidate and enlarge the Union.

* Speech delivered at the North Viet Nam Labour Youth Union Cadres' Conference held from January 19 to 27, 1959.

I. CONTINUE HEIGHTENING THE REVOLUTIONARY ARDOUR OF ALL THE YOUTH AND LABOUR YOUTH UNION MEMBERS

Over the past four years since the restoration of peace, the Viet Nam Labour Youth Union, continuing the heroic tradition of the National Salvation Youth Union in the Resistance War, has recorded glorious achievements.

The youth movement in the countryside, factories, army, schools and public offices has made progress. In all the movements conducted by our people, the irrigation movement, the "clean villages and fertile rice-fields" movement, the socialist labour movement, the anti-illiteracy movement, and, in particular, the movement among army units to make rapid advance and overfulfil their plan, etc., the Labour Youth Union has proved worthy of its vanguard role. That is an honour for the Union, for all our youth, for our Party and people as a whole. *Our Party is very proud of its glorious Labour Youth Union.*

However, besides these many achievements, our youth movement still has many weak points and difficulties to overcome. In general, *it has not evenly and vigorously developed.* We must sum up our experiences in time, find out our shortcomings and their causes in order to redress them and push the movement forward.

There may be many reasons for such a situation. But I think the gist of the problem lies in the fact that a sizable number of youths and Union members lack

revolutionary spirit required by the present heavy revolutionary tasks. No one can rightly doubt that our youths are endowed with a very high revolutionary spirit. They have made heroic sacrifices during the Resistance War, displayed zeal in the land reform drive as well as in economic rehabilitation to heal the war wounds. But it must be noted that in face of the present revolutionary changes new objective conditions have emerged without a clear understanding of these changes, a section of our youth may fail to realize the object, content and requirements of the revolutionary tasks. As a result, their revolutionary spirit, which should have been further promoted, has somewhat downgraded.

In the Resistance War, our youths were aware that their immediate enemy was the colonialist aggressors and the feudal traitors. Sharing the sufferings that an enslaved people was bound to endure, our youths were moved with deep hatred for the enemy, and determined to engage in a life-and-death struggle. After the restoration of peace, our immediate enemies — the imperialists and feudalists — are no longer in sight, the former having been driven out of North Viet Nam and the latter, overthrown. We are staging a new revolution the object of which is to transform the age-old backward agricultural economy, turn a small and scattered production into a large-scale and modern one, so as to liberate and develop the productive forces, gradually improve our people's livelihood and lead them towards a new life. In such a revolution, inadequate understanding of the tasks to be fulfilled may well prevent a section of our youth from

seeing clearly their immediate enemy against whom they have to fight.

A revolutionary movement is unfolding in the countryside, which consists in grouping individual peasants into mutual-aid teams and co-operatives. This is in itself a revolution, which will change the age-old mode of production and way of life in the countryside, and destroy to its root the cause of exploitation and unending poverty of the peasants in order to build a new, happy life. Yet a section of our youth have not seen the context of this revolutionary change, bound as they are to the old ideology and the old practices in production. To them joining the co-operatives or not makes little difference for they will continue to plough the fields and plant seedlings as before, and as always their revenues will depend on the work done. There is nothing revolutionary in the co-operative movement, they reason, and remain lukewarm.

A similar situation is being witnessed among a number of young factory workers. They do not realize that the factories which formerly belonged to the imperialist employers have been returned to the people, that hired toilers, subject to exploitation, have become masters of their factories and are working for themselves. They do not see that their efforts no longer cater for the imperialist capitalists but, instead, raise the living standard of the labouring people, and boost national economy. It is precisely because they are not aware of the revolutionary changes in all that that a number of young workers are not really devoted to production, and do not endeavour to improve technique and the organization of labour.

The same can be observed at schools. A number of students and pupils, who have all along dreamt of becoming one day engineers and physicians to enjoy an easy-going life, feel disappointed now that they are told that they will be labourers in the service of the people. They are asking themselves: "What then has the revolution brought me? Isn't it lowering my position?" They do not realize that those who, toiling for the imperialists, receive wages higher than the ordinary working people's, merely served as slaves, well-paid slaves. The high wages paid them by the imperialists was nothing but a part of the money the latter had exacted from our workers, peasants and other labouring people. Today our students and pupils are applying themselves to study not to serve exploitation and oppression as before but to become part of the labour force of our people, now masters of the country. We all study to serve the fatherland and the people. Failing to understand such a glorious task in the present surging revolutionary movement of our entire people, those students and pupils feel as if their interests were impaired and do not display much enthusiasm.

In the past Resistance War, many of our youths accepted every sacrifice, endured all privations without a complaint. Not few were those who, as guides, spent long years in the jungles and living on grilled maize accomplished their mission, defying the worst dangers. But now, in peace conditions, even among those heroes, some have been worried by individualist considerations such as over wages, remunerations, positions. When we embark on socialist revolution their revolutionary spirit, which must be higher than in the previous stage,

is lower among not a few of them. Each of our young men and women must build for himself or herself a bright future, a lofty ideal. Anyone who fails to do so is not a progressive youth. This, however, does not mean carving out a position for oneself. Individual interests are small things, no lofty and sometimes bad things.

Should they become the objective of one's efforts, such an objective cannot transcend smallness and vulgarity. Why not to make the great cause of the people, of the nation, one's own cause? Only by embracing this great cause can the youth build a lofty ideal for itself and undertake glorious actions. Moreover, it is the activities of all the members of the society that ensure the existence of each. Therefore, the best way to show our gratitude to society is to work for all. "Each for all and all for each", that is our only correct attitude.

To be a peasant, a worker or a salesman at a State store is not without a prospect for a bright future. In fact, haven't such heroes or elite labourers as Trinh Xuan Bai, Le Minh Duc and Nguyen Tan Anh, set so brilliant examples of high revolutionary devotion to the people and the fatherland? Aren't they credited with splendid achievements?

In order to lead forward Labour Youth Union members and all our youth and to help them courageously accomplish the great cause of the people, it is necessary to continue heightening their revolutionary spirit. Failing this they could not fulfil their heavy but glorious tasks at this stage of the revolution.

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To be a revolutionary, two primordial conditions are required: to be animated by strong revolutionary feelings, and to have adequate knowledge of revolutionary science.

Of these two conditions, the first is the foremost because with strong revolutionary feelings, one will have enough determination to acquire one's revolutionary knowledge.

At the start of our Resistance War, we had almost bare hands to cope with the aggressors. But later on, we succeeded in creating everything that might help us to defeat the enemy. The secret of the success lay in the revolutionary spirit of a whole collectivity and of each of us. It happened that in military campaigns a few fighters managed to destroy many machineguns, capture a dozen enemy soldiers and kill scores and even hundreds of them. Basically, this was made possible by revolutionary spirit.

With a high revolutionary spirit, there is no difficulty that cannot be surmounted and no enterprise that cannot be successfully undertaken. In any village, if the local youth organization is prompted by a high revolutionary spirit, the movement there will overcome all difficulties and forge ahead vigorously. With a high revolutionary spirit we can create the means we need because whatever means are created by man. Now the Labour Youth Union has 590,000 members. If all of them display adequate revolutionary spirit, the Union will constitute a tremendous force that can tide over every difficulty, however great it may be.

At present in the northern part of our country, we are carrying out the socialist revolution, and solving the question of who will win between the capitalist path and the socialist path. In this revolution, not only have we struggled to abolish exploitation of man by man and the old relations of production, but also to do away with erroneous conceptions, bad customs and habits left over by a production based on exploitation, a small and individual production, in order to free man from social prejudices and superstitions that have for so long a time contained his activity and creativeness. We are struggling not just to transform society but also to transform nature and make it cater for man's needs. This is a great, extremely profound revolution. Without a high revolutionary resolve, without a daring will, in face of the difficulties left over by the former regime or resulting from nature itself, our youth will not be able to do anything great.

To the youth, I think, nothing is more attractive than revolution. In our young days, whenever we talked with one another in groups of three or four about revolution, we felt elated as if we had been lent wings, and we wanted to bring all our main and might to move heaven and earth. Yet, today not few young men and women feel tired of attending conferences to discuss most important problems facing the nation. This is because they still lack revolutionary spirit and ardour in their daily activities. Now any work of the youth in the labour organization of our people has a revolutionary and profound significance as it contributes to the transformation of an age-old life beset

with sufferings into one of plenty and happiness tomorrow.

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

Revolutionary feelings do not come by themselves, they are acquired in the process of revolutionary struggle. The lack of revolutionary feelings in anyone among us derives from his being insufficiently steeled in revolutionary struggle. Revolutionary feelings should be constantly fostered. On the other hand, as revolution is an uninterrupted process of development our feelings have also gone through an uninterrupted transformation. The life of President Ho Chi Minh, our cherished leader, is one lived through an uninterrupted revolution. All Union members and our youth in general must take it as a great and living example.

Revolution is an uninterrupted struggle between the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces, between advanced thoughts which impel us forward and backward ones which tend to pull us back. Counter-revolutionary and backward forces are very obdurate. Sometimes they lie in ourselves and generate a struggle

between individualism and collectivism. Without a tempered revolutionary spirit, whenever difficulties crop up, backward individualistic thoughts in ourselves have the upper hand and hold us back. That is why revolution should be first and foremost ideological, and criticism and self-criticism, constantly carried out. This is a very difficult and arduous struggle. Without the heroic will of a communist, without the firm resolve of a revolutionary, we cannot win this battle. If we let individualism get the upper hand, we shall no longer be revolutionaries. So long as collectivism triumphs, we can continue our march forward.

However, having revolutionary feelings is not enough if we want to be a revolutionary. We must also possess revolutionary knowledge, the knowledge about revolution. In making revolution, we want to be masters of the society and nature, to command their course of development so that they serve man. Without the knowledge of laws governing revolution how can we lead it? That is why Lenin taught us, "Without a revolutionary theory there will be no revolutionary movement". Chairman Mao Tse-tung also spoke of keeping a warm and cool head at the same time, meaning that revolutionary ardour should be combined with scientific knowledge.

Revolutionary knowledge helps us to see clearly the goal of our struggle and the course we should take to attain it. If we have ardour and take a wrong way we may tumble and even cause big losses to the revolution.

Revolutionary knowledge also helps strengthen our revolutionary feelings. If we do not see clearly our

goal and consequently achieve no result in our revolutionary activities, our revolutionary feelings, far from heightening, may decline.

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

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In short, the most important question for our youth at present is to foster their revolutionary spirit. It is my hope that the Labour Youth Union will regard ideological and educational work among the youth as the most important one in the period to come, and that it will do it more intensely among its members and the youth at large in order to raise their revolutionary ardour, and consequently to impel the youth movement forward.

I also hope that on their part, all young men and women in our country will do their best to foster their revolutionary feelings, heighten their revolutionary zeal and improve their revolutionary knowledge so as to be worthier of their vanguard role.

II. FIRMLY GRASP THE GOAL OF STRUGGLE OF THE LABOUR YOUTH UNION

In our revolutionary struggle we must clearly define our goal, otherwise we shall go astray.

What is the ultimate revolutionary goal of the Labour Youth Union ? It is to build communism in Viet Nam as well as in the world. This is also our Party's ultimate goal. Nowadays, communism is no longer a far-off ideal, it has become a practical problem. The Soviet people are enthusiastically engaged in emulation to fulfil and overfulfil the Seven-Year Plan (1959—1965) with a view to building the material and technical basis of communism on a scale unprecedented in history. Although socialist revolution in the North has only begun I think I may say with conviction that you, the present young generation, will be the builders of communism in our country. It is necessary to make our Union members and the youth at large understand this great and glorious task so that they bend all their moral, mental and physical strength on the realization of this goal.

On our way towards that ultimate goal, we must concretely define our immediate objective in each given sphere for each given period. At present, the immediate revolutionary objective of our Party and people throughout the country is to push forward socialist revolution, build socialism step by step in the North, and struggle to liberate the South with a view to national reunification. That is also the immediate objective of our youth. Of late there has emerged among the youth a revolutionary movement to engage in socialist transformation and construction. That is a very good thing. But a section of our youth has not yet a clear understanding of the task set for our struggle for national reunification.

We must realize that owing to the considerable growth of our forces through the August Revolution and our extremely heroic nine-year Resistance War, we have been able to drive out the imperialists and completely liberated the North. We must also see that in spite of this, we are not strong enough to emancipate the whole of our country and, as a result, the South still remains in the hands of the American imperialists and their henchmen. To liberate the South and reunify our fatherland, we must substantially strengthen our forces in all fields. By building and consolidating the North we are creating conditions for an early reunification. In their work and study the youth must be conscious of the great glory of our nation and, on the other hand, always bear in mind the humiliation and pain of having half of their fatherland under enemy occupation. This should be a motive force capable of enhancing our revolutionary feelings and redoubling our energies now that we have to endure hardships and overcome multiple difficulties in building and consolidating the North into the basis for our struggle for national reunification.

The recent 14th Plenum of the Party Central Committee has laid down for the three forthcoming years the tasks facing our country as a whole and each branch in particular—industry, agriculture, culture, education, public health etc. The Plenum's resolution is the concrete program of action of our entire Party and people for the said period. The Labour Youth Union has the responsibility to march in the van to implement it. The Union organization of each village, factory, school, public office and army unit, etc. should,

on the basis of the tasks laid down by the plan, define its concrete objectives. For instance, it should see what the youth for which it is responsible can achieve to contribute to the realization of the plan concerning production, the improvement of the people's living conditions, the raising of their political, cultural and professional standards, etc. As for each Union member, he or she should determine the goal of his or her struggle in the period covered by the plan.

Failures and successes are registered in the process of any revolution. But the ultimate failure of the revolution must be avoided and its final success, ensured. For this reason, we must carefully weigh the pros and the cons when setting our goal of struggle to make it suit the requirements of the task of the whole Party and the capabilities of the youth in each locality and army unit. Unless the goal of each Union organization and Union member is set by themselves, it cannot be adequate and attainable. And once this goal has been defined they must realize it at all costs.

III. CLEARLY REALIZE THE ROLE OF THE LABOUR YOUTH UNION IN THE REVOLUTION

Under the Party's leadership, the youth must form the vanguard force in the revolutionary movement of the masses. A vanguard force from the point of view of ideological and revolutionary consciousness and combativity. If its ideological and revolutionary

consciousness is lower than that of the other strata of the people it cannot assume its vanguard role. That is why, we must attach paramount importance to raising socialist consciousness among the youth.

Generally speaking, young men and women are full of ardour, capable of daring thinking and undertaking. As socialist revolution destroys the old to build the new, they are able to take the lead in this revolution.

In order to assume this vanguard role, our youth must possess not only high socialist consciousness but also adequate organizational abilities and self-imposed discipline in study and daily work.

Along with the old social structure, socialist revolution changes the outdated mode of production organized in dispersal and turns it into a scientifically organized one in accordance with the requirement of modern industry.

Without adequate organizational abilities and adequate discipline the youth cannot break the age-old and narrow organization, which has for generations tied up our people, to build a more scientific, rational organization. Therefore, inculcating in it the sense of organization and discipline is also a big problem.

In addition, in order to assume its vanguard role, it is indispensable for the youth to enjoy good physical conditions. We must train it into a generation of strong men and women capable, as people usually say of "moving mountain and filling up river", capable of undertaking difficult and big enterprises which are beyond the reach of others. The nine years of the Resistance War have proved that our youth is worthy of

its vanguard role. For a man, the highest sacrifice is that of his life. Our youth have sacrificed everything, even their lives for the survival of the nation. With such a glorious tradition, it will surely overcome all difficulties and hardships and devote their all to the cause of socialist construction and national reunification. The vanguard character of the youth is not brought about by birth, it must be built up through a long process of struggle ; it requires unceasing efforts in study and training from the Union Central Committee member down to the rank-and-file member and non-member youth.

While assuming its vanguard role the Labour Youth Union remains a mass organization. The tasks set forth by the revolution are to be accomplished by all the youth, not by the Union alone. Among them, there are vanguard, "middle-of-the-road" and backward elements. Union members must get in closer touch with all of them to lead forward the backward elements. By so doing we broaden the movement and help all the youth make progress. If Union members alone advance while the broad masses of the youth lag behind, they will fail to play their vanguard role. Thus, to play its vanguard role the Union must firmly grasp the mass line, get in close touch with the masses of the youth, be aware of their interests and aspirations, and educate them. At present, in the Northern part of our country, there are differing categories of youth : those in the former liberated zones and occupied zones, those in the mountain and religious areas, the rural and urban youth, etc. That is a very intricate situation. So far we have not paid due attention to

investigating into the aspirations of each of these categories so as to adopt more suitable forms of education. As a result, we have not been able to initiate a really vigorous and broad movement, which has to some extent diminished the vanguard role of the youth. This shortcoming must be remedied in time.

IV. ENDEAVOUR TO STRENGTHEN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE LABOUR YOUTH UNION EXECUTIVES AT ALL LEVELS, CONSOLIDATE AND ENLARGE THE UNION

Beside substantial achievements and progress, the activities of the Labour Youth Union, from the central, provincial, district to the grass-root levels are meeting with many difficulties. The Party Central Committee will help the Union overcome these difficulties. But it is important that the Union does its best to solve them by itself. As I see it, the fundamental difficulty at present lies not in the lack of objective conditions for the youth's activities but in the fact that the revolutionary spirit of the Union members and the youth as a whole is not equal to their task; their revolutionary knowledge is still poor, and they have not clearly realized their goal of struggle as well as their position in the revolution. These are basic questions to be settled first.

Now I am dealing with the organizational problem. The Labour Youth Union is the right hand of the

Party, the mass organization closest to the Party. Under the latter's direct leadership it has to mobilize, organize and educate all our youth to bring revolution to a successful end. It must rely on the Party's line to carry out its activities independently and properly. Unless it is built into a solid organization the Union cannot effectively serve as the right hand of the Party and be in a position to fulfil the tasks it is entrusted by the Party.

The revolutionary movement of the youth is a mass movement in villages, factories, public offices, schools, army units, etc. Leading the youth in those places is first of all the grass-root organization of the Union — the Union branches. It is important first and foremost to consolidate the Union branch into a worthy representative of the Union Central Committee and to make it the interpreter of the will and aspiration of the youth in the area or army unit concerned. We must see to it that the Union branch is capable of ensuring the implementation of the Union Central Committee's line and policies and, at the same time, solving the urgent problems facing the youth. In so doing it has to base itself on the specific conditions prevailing in the area or army unit concerned. In this way we can achieve close co-ordination between the leadership and the masses of the youth. The aim pursued in struggle and in organizational work is to make the Union branch capable of independent activities. This is one of the key problems for the leadership.

Well, can Union organizations at the grass-root level be strengthened along this line? I know that many of them have achieved this. Those still lagging behind

should strive to accomplish this task at any rate, within three, five or ten months. Those branches which have succeeded in so doing should be cited and pass on to others their experiences.

Provincial and district organizations of the Union must help consolidate Union branches. They must closely follow the activities of each branch and sub-branch, dispose of maps with differing markings to distinguish, in this respect, good localities from average and bad ones, and work out concrete plans to strengthen Union branches in the course of each drive of activities. For instance, they have to decide how many Union branches are to be consolidated and how many more in the next. If we can do this, the youth organization will certainly grow much stronger.

As regards the leadership of the Union Central Committee, I think the most important thing is to follow the youth movement closely, to base itself on it so as to find out in time the creative experiences of the masses, sum up, popularize and develop these experiences and, thereby, impel the youth movement forward.

The Union's journal *Tien Phong* (Vanguard) must be used as an effectual instrument for leadership. It must be made more representative of the youth movement, and timely bring to the fore the youth's creative experiences and urgent problems. All areas and army units must promote the cadres' and Union members' responsibility towards the journal, encourage them to read it, write for it, organize its distribution, and turn it into the militant tool, the organizer, the leader and teacher of all the youth.

What is the position of the Union in relation to the Party?

The Labour Youth Union is an organization of young Communists. The Party differs from the Union but there are also similarities between them. The ideal of the Party is also the ideal of the Union and the Party' and the Union's line and tasks are one and the same. The Union is the heir to the glorious cause of the Party, the reserve force to replenish its ranks, its young shoots.

The Union will go ahead as far as the Party progresses and inversely. That is why the Party pays great attention to the Union's work, and to making the relations between the Party and the Union closer with every passing day. In the meetings of its primary branches, the Party allows Union branch secretaries to attend so that they may later popularize its policies among all Union members.

However, in some places and in some periods, the care of the Party Committees at various levels for the Union's work remains inadequate. This shortcoming must be redressed.

Among Union members, many are worrying about their admission to the Party. To broaden its organization, the Party admits to its ranks those Union members who have proved worthy of it and fill the conditions required. The Party Central Committee has issued a directive in this connection but the implementation is still slow in many areas. This is a shortcoming; the Party Central Committee will see to its being remedied.

**THE MORE WE LOVE MAN,
THE BETTER WE LOVE OUR
PROFESSION ***

Dear comrades,

I am very glad to attend your social. I know that your College is credited with many achievements; all other colleges and the population in the neighbourhood, too, are aware of them. The Party Central Committee is very satisfied with your successes and warmly acclaims them.

I know little of your profession, but I think that teachers work like political cadres. Political activities consist firstly of propaganda and education among the people to awaken their revolutionary consciousness; teaching is propaganda and educational work among younger generations. We have this point in common and can talk with each other. That is why I would like to expound views on this matter.

* Speech delivered at the Festival of the Hanoi Teachers' College on June 29, 1962.

I. OUR PEOPLE HIGHLY VALUE HUMANITARIANISM AND KNOW HOW TO BEHAVE AS MEN

We all admit that the Vietnamese are eager for study. In former times, in town like in country, at the birth of an infant, its parents' two concerns were to give it sufficient food and some education so that "it might later know how to behave as a man". Naturally, to live one must eat, but that is not all. One must also know how to behave as a man. Therefore, our forefathers, however poor, did their utmost to send their children to school, not to make them mandarins, but to educate them how to live as men. It is perhaps due to the fact that they highly value humanitarianism and know how to live as men that the Vietnamese people have struggled successfully for their own existence and grown into an independent nation. Humanitarianism has largely contributed to the formation of the Vietnamese nation in the process of its formation and given it a powerful vitality which accounts for glorious pages in our history.

Since Marxism-Leninism has become an ideology which leads the world people, our Party has applied it to Viet Nam's conditions to bring the people's revolution to success. Why has our nation, a small and weak one, been able to achieve its revolution? This cannot be attributed superficially to the Party's leadership and Marxism-Leninism alone. Other colonial people also have their leading Parties, follow Marxism-Leninism and enjoy favourable conditions but have not

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

Our people are keen on study by tradition. To enslave us, the French imperialists sought ways and means to keep us in ignorance. However, they were unable to maintain their domination because they could not smash the Vietnamese people's indomitable spirit and vitality which stem from their millenary national traditions. The French colonialists regarded obscurantism as the most efficient weapon to subdue our country. After the triumph of the August Revolution, in view

of our national salvation and construction, our Party attached greatest importance to the liquidation of the disastrous consequences of this policy. To this end, President Ho Chi Minh set forth urgent tasks : opposing foreign invasion, checking famine and eradicating illiteracy. These fundamental tasks answered the requirements of the Vietnamese situation and in practice they were our three most powerful weapons to vanquish the enemy.

Teaching has always been considered an extremely important profession. When under foreign domination, our patriotic intellectuals would take to teaching, regarding it as the most honest profession. Under any political regime, the Vietnamese people have invariably maintained very close relations with the patriotic intelligentsia and the teachers as its best representatives. The masses have respect for them and look upon them as the pride of the nation. Patriotism and revolutionary spirit penetrated the masses through their patriotic intellectuals. We can be proud that since 1930, under the banner of the Party of the proletariat, the teachers have joined the ranks of revolutionary militants and a great many of them have been tried in criminal courts by the imperialists right in the first years of the revolution.

II. HOW URGENT CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION ARE !

In this period of socialist revolution, education plays an extremely important role. The Party Third National

Congress has formulated the general line for the North of our country to advance to socialism. Socialist revolution is a process including three revolutions: first, revolution in the relations of production to liquidate the exploitation of man by man; second, technological revolution, chiefly to develop the productive forces, turn small handicraft production into large socialist production, and transform our backward agricultural country into one with modern industry and agriculture; and third, ideological and cultural revolution to make Marxism-Leninism gain supremacy in our people's intellectual life, and endow our country with advanced culture and science. These three revolutions are closely interrelated. The ideological and cultural revolution hold an important position inasmuch as it helps achieve the technological revolution and consolidate and perfect the newly-established relations of production.

Our country is still poor, but we already have very sound relations of production: the exploitation of man by man and its source have been eliminated in the main. However, these new relations of production are still based on a small productive force and on manual labour; they can only be ensured on the background of a large socialist and modern production. The mutual co-operation in the socialist camp can help us build up the material and technological bases for socialism, but our greatest difficulty lies in the lack of cadres, skilled workers and technicians. Hence, to take the socialist revolution to success and tackle the technical revolution, we cannot but attach particular importance to the ideological and cultural revolution.

As you all know, now our machines operate with only 50 per cent of their capacity, and thus, because of our poor knowledge, we practically lose one half of our property. Owing to our people's cultural and technical level and the lack of qualified technicians, labour productivity in agriculture remains low. The same thing is being witnessed in the co-operativization movement. Our agricultural co-operatives do have the possibility of boosting production but the difficulty lies in management which is all the more inefficient as our cultural level is low.

Here, the lack of people with abilities in planning and book-keeping is general; the lack of business-like settlement of accounts in certain places gives rise to suspicion among co-op members. The foregoing deficiencies show how urgent the cultural revolution and education are, and that culture has become an important factor for the development of productive forces. Technique and cadres assume a decisive part in this development. They require knowledge of man, that is, of the toiling masses. Culture and knowledge will boost the productive forces. To have a large mechanized production there must be heavy industry. To increase — so to speak — the productive forces in the cultural field, there must be another "heavy industry" — teaching. This "heavy industry" must advance rapidly, powerfully and in the right direction.

After these considerations, I wonder why many among you still regard teaching as "a career without prospects". Such a view is at variance with our national history and the cherished aspiration of our people,

and runs counter to the very fundamental requirement of the revolution at the present stage. You taught well in the past few years ; if some of you do not yet feel quite at ease with teaching, it is perhaps because they have not fully realized the particularly important position of the the educational branch.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that labour creates history. The great thinkers of yore could not discover this truth. History has never been the work of certain heroes, but that of the toiling people. Labour conceived in this way deserves being glorified. According to the law of social development, once the division of labour has taken shape, manual workers and brain workers, and this and that branch of activities, come into existence. Like any other profession, teaching brings its contribution to the birth and progress of society. We cannot conceive things otherwise or we would underestimate and prejudice man's value. You who are or will soon be teachers should all the more grasp this truth because therein lies man's dignity.

III. THE FUNCTION AND RESPONSIBILITY OF TEACHERS IS TO FORM NEW MEN

Teachers give knowledge to pupils, and meanwhile forge them into men. There is knowledge on nature and on society. All pupils must be made to grasp general knowledge firmly and fully. Knowledge is a tool to protect and develop the life of man, but the raising of

the standard of knowledge must go hand in hand with the forging of men. To this end, what is to be done first is to inculcate humanitarianism in them, because it is the ethics of life, of man. Some intellectuals have set out against the people because they lack humanitarianism and hence, patriotism and love for their fellow-countrymen.

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

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

I stress this point because by profession the teachers create what is most precious in man. Their task is in effect to cultivate the pupils' minds. You have to work upon men whose minds are pure, and whom

history and society will entrust with heavy and very glorious tasks in future. Therefore, to become good teachers you should understand man profoundly and more than anyone else understand the Vietnamese, their history and all their glorious national traditions. With thoughts and feelings of our epoch and our own national legacy as a basis, you will cultivate the knowledge and feelings of pupils in accordance with the new stage of history. To teach is to give children scientific knowledge and at the same time to forge them morally. The source of virtues and ethics lies in the love for man. During the Resistance War against the French colonialists, our troops and people did not ill-treat French prisoners of war. On the contrary, they shared their own scanty ration with them. This was due not only to the Party's lenient policy which had impregnated the army and people, but also to humanitarianism deep-rooted in our people. It would be very harmful if at school we give children a certain amount of knowledge without instilling in them love for man. Back home do they love their parents and brothers and sisters? In society do they love their friends, respect the old and love the young, esteem and respect the toiling people? After leaving school will they behave as men of dignity should do? This is a concern of their parents and also a problem that headmasters and teachers must think of and solve. What worries us all is that now ethics and virtues are not given due weight in our curricula. This shortcoming must be redressed.

Pedagogy is a very difficult and complex science because its goal is forming man. We know that nature has its own laws, so has society and man's feelings

and thinking. Teaching natural sciences, we can use theorems and formulas. In forming man, and cultivating his feelings, we cannot resort to formulas. Children may become good or bad. The task of the teachers is to foster their strong points and restrict their weak points.

Teachers must educate children in humanitarianism. This task they cannot fulfil if they themselves are not humanitarian. Therefore they give them not only formulas, sentences and words, but must also instil in them their own virtues. If they themselves have no revolutionary feelings, however conversant they are with Marxism-Leninism, they cannot satisfactorily accomplish their task. To inculcate humanitarianism in the pupils means to cultivate their patriotism and their love for socialism, for their countrymen and for labour, and foster their courage, honesty and proletarian internationalism. Feelings are not simply a physiological reaction but mainly a social product with a class content. They always bear a class stamp — love like hatred, joy like sorrow. Therefore, there is no patriotism, no love for labour, no courage and honesty independent of the ideology of a given class. Without the firm standpoint of the working class, the peasantry and toiling people, there can exist no humanitarianism. To form a new outlook on life, we have to mind both the mental and emotional aspects which are closely and harmoniously related to each other.

When we say that exploitation is bad and must be condemned, we just view the question in the light of reason. Only when we combine reason with our feelings

can we deeply understand the question and undertake revolutionary actions resolutely to fight exploitation. The liquidation of poverty and backwardness is a work, the greatness of which, some people, very likely, cannot realize. But when we profoundly sympathize with a mother who, unable to get enough food and clothing for her children, cannot but leave them to the mercy of cold and hunger, and when we consider this an unexampled suffering and shame for mankind, then only can we realize that the struggle for all mothers to have sufficient food and clothing for their children is a greatest endeavour. Therefore, we will never shun this fight, no matter how much sweat and blood we have to shed in order to do away with poverty and backwardness. If our soldiers who sacrifice themselves to save our country do heroic deeds, isn't the struggle to free mankind from poverty and suffering a heroic cause ?

The function and responsibility of teachers is to form new men , and train children into a generation politically conscious and boundlessly loyal to their fatherland and the interests of their people, who will bring happiness to the people and to themselves. Teachers should fully and profoundly grasp general knowledge and at the same time, attach great importance to politics. Of course, politics is required in all branches, especially yours because you form new men, men with socialist consciousness. By the way, I think it necessary to impart to you the concern of President Ho Chi Minh and the Party Central Committee. Our educational branch has developed satisfactorily and scored many achievements. Generally speaking, you are good

teachers, but most of you are still too young. You have been given scientific knowledge but not much tempered in life and tested in revolutionary struggle. You are more or less inexperienced in life and do not yet fully realize how bitter the sufferings of our people are. In mentioning this, it is my hope that in the course of your work, you will endeavour to further enhance your knowledge and virtues, accumulate more experiences drawn from living realities, and bind your teaching activities with social life. You should always remember that after graduation, you will remain students as you will have to learn so as to heighten your virtues, and accumulate more knowledge. The teachers' training colleges and the educational branch in general must find out means to help the teachers fulfil their tasks. The more satisfactorily they are trained, the better they will serve.

IV. TO FOSTER THE PUPILS' DIGNITY, TEACHERS SHOULD RESPECT IT

The educational branch and the teachers must also give due attention to the pupils' health. On this score, we still display many shortcomings. Most obvious is the lack of hygiene and I think this is a great shortcoming. Since the restoration of peace, we have done many good things but the hygiene service still lags far behind. In the countryside many localities are still very

dirty for feeding, dwelling and the prevention of common diseases there are not paid due attention. I don't know what you think of this state of things. As for me, I consider it a shame for us all. Of course, it is due to poverty and backwardness inherited from the former regime, but it seems that headmasters and teachers do not attach enough importance to hygiene and the pupils' health, regarding it as an extra-mural subject. As a result, they do not teach children how to observe hygiene prescriptions and to take care of their health; they do not use schools as centres to apply hygiene and propagate it among the people. Headmasters and teachers should do this work better and if hygiene is well taught and applied at school, then they will, together with other branches, greatly contribute to the liquidation of backwardness mentioned above.

Another thing of which so many pupils' parents complain a great deal is that their children have to spend too much time for study and meetings and have very little left for rest. I know a teacher who talked politics at school for four or five hours on end. What result can yield such a teaching method? At present, it turns out that pupils devote much time for political work while their study is not satisfactory and their health not good. Who is responsible for these shortcomings? The educational service, the Party Committee concerned or the Labour Youth Union? I suggest the educational branch, the teachers' training colleges and all teachers to look into the problem more closely and put forth ways and means to improve the situation.

To discharge their responsibility well, teachers must entertain good relations with their pupils, and earnestly do their work ; at school, order and discipline should be enforced but this does not prevent teachers and pupils to be friends. Pupils owe respect and love to their teachers, who in return should love them and treat them with regard. Though only eleven or twelve of age pupils have a sense of dignity and self-respect. To foster them we must respect them. Ill-treatment, reprimand, punishment and scolding are all wrong. On the contrary, friendship should be built up for good relations between teachers and pupils are based on it. The former must so behave as the latter find in them guides and friends. Guides ready to advise them on what in books or lessons they do not understand, and friends comprehending what they feel or think about. Relations between teachers and pupils are nothing else than those between friends. Teaching, better than any other profession, makes friends, and renders the life of those who practise it most prolific in feelings. Therefore, it is a very fine and noble profession. For teachers, not to love their profession means not to love man. The more they love man, the better they love their profession. The formation of man involves ideological struggle, a struggle waged to do away with the old and the bad and to build up the new and the good. These two aspects are closely linked with each other. But the main teaching method is to know how to foster virtues. Teachers' tasks are similar to gardeners', they should be carried out carefully, minutely, patiently and cautiously. Pupils' wrong feelings will gradually disappear as their virtues and sound feelings are cultivated.

It is like the germ of paddy. If we take proper care, it develops strongly enough to break the husk. If, on the contrary, we try to break the husk, we harm the germ and it will grow into a stunted plant. Teachers have to sympathize with their pupils to remould them ; they have to teach them not with the help of reason alone but feelings, too.

The training of the younger generation is the work of the Party, for which the entire people and society are responsible, but the main part is to be played by schools. Only when they are well trained at school can children become good men in society. Our country is advancing to socialism, without going through capitalist development, therefore individualism is not deep-rooted in our people's feelings and way of thinking. Quite the reverse, they are by nature very humanitarian, they love their fellow creatures and their native land. If the education al branch can train good teachers and if teaching at school is bettered, we can hope that a new generation will emerge, mastering knowledge and culture along socialist and communist lines, and having the soul and style particular to the Vietnamese.

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To free our country from poverty and backwardness is a difficult work, however, we can manage to make rapid progress, to build the material and technical bases of socialism and with these guarantee to our people sufficient food and clothing and study. We do

not in the least belittle the improvement of livelihood, but we must pay particular attention to the formation of new men, men with socialist consciousness. The Party and the people pin their hope on teachers and expect them to fulfil their glorious mission — the formation of a new generation in order to build socialism. To this end, teachers must unceasingly train themselves to set to their pupils shining examples in all respects.

V. WE ARE RIGHTLY PROUD OF OUR FAR-REACHING PROGRESS IN EDUCATIONAL WORK

As I do not understand your profession very well, today I only expound some of my views for your consideration. I hope that at this social you will fully assess the strong points in educational work to promote them and profoundly realize the shortcomings to redress them and help the educational branch make still greater progress and become more worthy of its position in the ideological and cultural revolution. I hope that you will make efforts to raise your professional capacity and accumulate more experiences.

Wherever you teach, you should have close relations with local Party committees and mass organizations to make our educational work advance unceasingly. Up to now, Party committees at various levels have not clearly realized its importance. With closer relations, educational work will be certainly improved, schools will increase their effectiveness in national construction

and the raising of the people's living standard. We are rightly proud that our educational work has made big strides. We now use our mother tongue in education, this is one of the most basic conditions for its development.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I thank you for having fulfilled your tasks towards our children, and wish you, both lecturers and students who will be graduated shortly, still greater successes in your work, a glorious work that the Party and the people have entrusted to you.

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

I

THE TASKS OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN NORTH VIET NAM

To lead revolution our Party does not start from subjective aspirations, but from a scientific theoretical basis reflecting the objective laws of development of nature and society.

Indeed, over the last thirty years, the Marxist-Leninist scientific theory, which represents the most advanced scientific achievements of mankind, has always served as the compass for every action of our Party and the torch illuminating the path of the revolution in our country.

By grasping Marxism-Leninism and creatively applying it to the practice of our revolution, our Party has

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

recorded great victories. Marxism-Leninism helps us analyse the characteristics of our society and its class contradictions, and work out correct revolutionary lines, guiding principles and tactics. The success of the August Revolution and the victory of the Resistance War were due to our Party's scientific handling of such fundamental problems of the Vietnamese people's national-democratic revolution as the relationship between the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks, the working class' leading role, the peasant question, the worker-peasant alliance and the national united front, insurrection to wrest power, armed struggle, the building of the people's power and people's army, international solidarity, etc.

The glorious triumph of the Vietnamese revolution proves the universal and scientific character of Marxism-Leninism and our Party's ability to master scientific knowledge.

After the restoration of peace, North Viet Nam has shifted to the socialist revolutionary stage, although, at the beginning, we had to achieve part to the remaining tasks of the people's national-democratic revolution, chiefly land reform. The task of our Party and people in the North is to do their utmost to bring North Viet Nam to socialism, carry on the struggle for national reunification, and complete the national-democratic revolution throughout the country.

Socialist revolution is the greatest, the most profound and thorough revolution in history. Its tasks consist not only in liberating our country from the exploitation of man by man, but also in turning our backward

agricultural country into one endowed with modern history, modern agriculture, and advanced culture and science. It has not only to lead the people in the North to a new, well-off and happy life, but also to make it a strong base for the struggle for national reunification.

Socialist revolution sets to our Party and people new tasks and engenders new contradictions to study and solve. What are now the main contradictions in the socialist revolution in North Viet Nam and the ways to settle them?

We all know that thanks to our Party's sole leadership in the people's national-democratic revolution, to the strengthening of the worker-peasant alliance under the Party's guidance and of the people's power set up after the August Revolution, thanks to the increasing might of the world socialist system, after the restoration of peace we have favourable conditions peacefully to shift to a new revolutionary stage, bypassing the stage of capitalist development to advance directly to socialism.

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

But owing to the specific conditions of our country this contradiction takes on different forms in each period.

At the beginning of the transitional period, when the contradiction between our people and the imperialists and feudalists in the North has been basically solved, another main one crops up in North Viet Nam's society: *the contradiction between the advanced State power and political regime on the one hand, and the backward social relations, the antiquated relations of production on the other.* As we carry on socialist revolution with the people's democratic power (in essence the proletarian dictatorship) firm in hand we need not stage an armed uprising to overthrow the ruling power and build up a new one. Ours is among the most progressive regimes ever known in history. It is the main tool wielded by the working class and the toiling people to transform a backward economy and establish a new one.

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

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

In such a situation, without concentrating our efforts on solving the above main contradiction in North

Viet Nam's society, we shall not be in a position to push it and its economy ahead.

The method to handle this contradiction is to carry out socialist transformation, turning the peasants' and handicraftsmen's small production economy and the capitalist economy into a socialist one. This is also the way to solve the contradiction between the capitalist path and the socialist path in North Viet Nam.

In grappling with socialist transformation we must rely on the ever-stronger people's democratic power and the continuous development of the State economy which plays the leading role in the whole national economy.

The 14th Party Central Committee session decided that: "Our present fundamental task in North Viet Nam is to speed up socialist revolution, with stress on the socialist transformation of the peasants' and handicraftsmen's individual economy, and that of the private capitalist economy, while striving to develop the State economy which constitutes the leading force of the whole national economy. When carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction we must resolutely smash all the counter-revolutionaries' schemes and acts of sabotage."

Agriculture holds the most important position in our economy. Therefore, socialist transformation of agriculture must be considered the main link.

The peasants' individual economy is in contradiction with the socialist regime. In the countryside there still remain the rich peasants' economy and the spontaneous tendency to capitalism (chiefly among the

upper-middle peasants). Moreover, we have to reckon with the counter-revolutionaries' and the imperialists' henchmen's sabotage activities. These are obstacles to the socialist transformation of agriculture. But we enjoy many favourable conditions owing to the fundamental harmony of interests and aspirations between the socialist State and the poor labouring peasantry, between the working class and the labouring peasantry. The socialist State represents the interests of the toiling people whose overwhelming majority are the labouring peasantry, because not only the working class but also the toiling peasantry long for socialism. This single-mindedness accounts for the relatively smooth progress of agricultural co-operativization.

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

Harmony of economic interests as well as the political and moral single-mindedness between the State and the people, and between the various strata of the toiling people themselves, are the expression of the absolute superiority of the socialist society. This is a powerful motive force which enables socialism to progress rapidly.

In socialist economy there exist two forms of ownership: ownership by the entire people and collective ownership. They illustrate the different ways taken by the working class and the labouring peasantry to advance to socialism. The former embarks on large-scale socialist industrialization to advance to socialism, while the latter starts from individual economy and goes through co-operativization. The existence of these two forms of ownership is an objective necessity for the socialist society. Though differing from each other, they are in harmony with each other, influence and impel each other to progress.

But this harmony which forms the fundamental feature includes a non-antagonistic contradiction between the State and the people, between the various strata of the toiling people themselves, and between the two forms of socialist ownership. This contradiction stems from the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology and the vestiges of the feudal ideology which cannot be wiped out overnight; it is also due to the influence of the old society's habits, and the still vague conception of the toiling people concerning immediate and long-term interests, individual and collective interests. Bureaucratism and other weak points and shortcomings

remaining among part of our cadres and State organs can also give rise to this contradiction. It is unwise not to foresee the contradictions likely to crop up between the State and the toiling people as well as between collective interests and individual interests and the ones belonging to the entire people, in order timely to solve them correctly, to further strengthen the unity among the people and push ahead the revolution. On the other hand, if we lay a strong emphasis upon these contradictions we can commit mistakes when carrying out the Party's guiding principles and policies or provoke new ones, or embitter them whereas a settlement can be reached by negotiations among the people.

Besides these contradictions among the people antagonistic ones still exist in North Viet Nam between the enemy and ourselves. The reactionaries — agents of the American imperialists and the Ngo Dinh Diem clique—are secretly and daily undermining our socialist construction in multifarious forms. They must be duly punished.

The process of handling the contradiction between ourselves and the enemy in North Viet Nam is also one of solving the contradiction between our people on the one hand, and the imperialists and feudalists on the other on a nation-wide scale. As long as the American imperialists and their flunkies rule in South Viet Nam this contradiction still exists in the North under one form or another, therefore we must unceasingly heighten our vigilance and stand ready to thwart all their dark schemes.

After fundamentally solving the contradiction between the advanced political regime and the backward relations of production, we face a new situation with, coming to the fore, *the contradiction between the advanced socialist regime, and the backward productive forces.* In our country, which has a backward economy, this contradiction has appeared right after our embarking on socialist revolution. And the further socialist transformation is stepped up, the broader the relations of production become, the more clearly it manifests itself. It will be still more acute after socialist transformation.

According to the common law of social development, the productive forces clash with the backward relations of production which check their growth. The antiquated relations of production must be wiped out, and new ones built up, to help the development of the productive forces. But in the present specific conditions of the North of our country, the development of the productive forces lags behind that of the new relations of production.

After the basic achievement of socialist transformation, North Viet Nam is still a backward agricultural country. The percentage accounted for by industry in the national economy is still low — about 34 per cent in 1960 — and by modern industry even lower — about 10 per cent the same year. Technique, by and large, is backward. The bulk of production is still ensured by manual labour and rudimentary tools, productivity is very low, so is our cultural, scientific and technical level. We suffer from a great shortage of technicians and skilful workers. Such an economic situation does

not accord with the requirements and aspirations of our people who want rapidly to turn their country into a prosperous and strong socialist one.

To solve the main contradiction which has newly emerged in the North Vietnamese society — the contradiction between the advanced social regime and the backward productive forces — we must endeavour to develop the productive forces, and build up the material and technical basis of socialism. *Only by carrying out socialist industrialization simultaneously with the cultural and technical revolution can we set up this basis.*

Socialist industrialization is the process of transforming our backward agricultural country into a socialist one endowed with a modern industry, a modern agriculture and an advanced culture and science. During this process *we must take heavy industry as a foundation, give priority to its development and boost agriculture and light industry.* V. Lenin taught us that the material basis for socialism cannot be anything else than a large-scale mechanized industry capable of reorganizing agriculture.

Only by promoting heavy industry, first of all the engineering industry, can we provide modern technical means to the various lines of our national economy to re-equip them with new material and technical bases.

Only so can we gradually replace manual labour by mechanized labour, liberate the productive forces, rapidly raise productivity, and on this basis, improve the people's living conditions, accumulate fund for the State and secure enlarged reproduction for the society.

Only so can we supply agriculture with machines, improved farm implements, fertilizers, insecticides, etc. and solve the hydraulic problem, to make it develop strongly, thereby raising the position and leading role of the working class towards the peasantry, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance and strengthening the basis of the people's democratic power.

Only by promoting heavy industry can we exploit the abundant natural resources of our midlands and highlands, wipe out the economically and culturally backward situation of the regions inhabited by the national minorities and consolidate solidarity between the nationalities in Viet Nam. The exploitation of these areas also helps us solve the problem of redundant labour in the plains.

Only by promoting heavy industry can we strengthen our national defence potential and preserve our independence and unity.

Heavy industry holds an extremely important position in the whole national economy, and this must be asserted. As we build it in the condition of the socialist camp being a world system possessed of a highly developed heavy industry, we can profit by the assistance of and the co-operation with, the fraternal socialist countries *rapidly to build up an adequate heavy industry for our economy*, and to develop the branches that we have the greatest possibility and the best condition to do so, with a view to satisfying our people's requirements in food, clothing and dwelling, and contributing to the international co-operation within the socialist camp.

Now in Viet Nam, agriculture plays a role of great consequence in socialist industrialization. Failing to impel it, we cannot establish the necessary basis for the advancement of industry, for agriculture is the supplier of food and raw materials, the market for manufactured goods and an important source of fund accumulation for industrialization. Ours being the only socialist country in the tropical zone, we must do our best to develop agriculture in order to contribute to international co-operation and exchange tropical agricultural produce for the equipment we need in industrialization. Agriculture is also the supplier of staple consumer goods; we must make every effort to promote it and use all the latent capabilities to raise the low living standard of our people.

In the whole national economy, industry plays a decisive role to push ahead all the other branches. But industry and agriculture cannot develop independently, both should be closely co-ordinated. Without relying on agriculture, industry cannot possibly be speeded up and inversely. Therefore, *during the process of socialist industrialization with priority being given to the promotion of heavy industry, utmost attention should be paid to agriculture.*

While carrying out socialist industrialization and giving priority to the development of heavy industry we must not neglect our task regarding the cultural and technological revolution. Industrialization will offer the possibility of supplying our various economic branches with new equipment. This cannot be used properly if we do not raise the people's cultural and

technical level and train a large contingent of technicians and skilful workers.

Ours was a semi-feudal and a colonial country, which accounts for our people's low cultural, scientific and technical level. This is now a great obstacle to socialist construction.

Over the recent years, the fraternal socialist countries have helped us build a number of modern enterprises but the low technical level of our cadres and workers seriously restricts their productivity. At present in the building of various works and enterprises, from planning, guidance in execution, assembling of machines to the settlement of technical problems in production we largely rely on the assistance of specialists from socialist countries. Our country abounds in natural resources but until now our limited basic and synthetic research work does not allow us to know them all.

In the process of socialist construction our urban and rural areas have undergone gradual change for the better, the people's living conditions improved step by step, while the requirements of the cultural, educational and medical branches are on the increase. We must endeavour to develop education, science, literature and art, medicine, physical culture and sports, etc. in order to guarantee to our people a radiant and healthy cultural life. This is part and parcel of socialist construction.

In the specific condition of our country, we should not wait until the economic revolution is basically achieved to start cultural and technological revolution.

Instead, the latter should be pushed ahead simultaneously with the former to create favourable conditions for a rapid economic development. Of course, we must grasp firmly the working class' ideology and rely on the Marxist-Leninist theoretical basis, to go in the right direction when carrying out the cultural and technological revolution.

In brief, during the transitional period to socialism in North Viet Nam, to solve the fundamental contradiction between the capitalist and the socialist paths and to bring our backward agricultural country to socialism without passing by capitalist development, we must successively grapple with the two following main contradictions :

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

2. The contradiction between the advanced social system and the backward productive forces.

The settlement of these two contradictions requires that *the task of our whole Party and people in North Viet Nam at present should be to continue socialist transformation, strive to consolidate the socialist relations of production which have already taken shape, at the same time boosting socialist industrialization, speeding up cultural and technological revolution and rapidly turning our backward agricultural country into a socialist one endowed with modern industry, modern agriculture and advanced culture and science.*

II

THE PARTY'S TASKS ON SCIENTIFIC WORK

The general situation as is described above points out the importance of science, and the great requirements incumbent upon it.

Under socialism science is a tool, a lever used by the proletariat and the toiling people to transform nature and society and to push the latter forward. It must be put under the Party's leadership. Therefore, the Party's general tasks embrace the tasks of scientific work.

Clearly enough, the fulfilment of the Party's immediate tasks such as to continue transforming the old relations of production, to build up and consolidate new ones, speed up socialist industrialization, push forward the cultural and technological revolution, cannot be alienated from the furtherance of scientific work in both natural and social science.

Our backward agricultural country advances to socialism bypassing the stage of capitalist development; socialist transformation and construction in North Viet Nam begin after the formation of the world socialist system, and in the condition of our country being temporarily partitioned in two zones. It is no easy thing to integrate the general principles of socialist construction and our national characteristics in order to find out appropriate forms, methods, steps and tempo. Science, particularly social science, must help us study and solve all these problems.

The further we engage in socialist construction, the more important the role of natural science, first of all

technology. Natural science and technology are the synthesis of experiences in man's struggle to conquer nature and develop production over generations. Closely linked to production it promotes its development. It helps improve the techniques of production, modernize equipment, raise the labourers' technical level and experiences in production, apply new methods for the organization and management of labour to ceaselessly increase labour productivity which, according to V. Lenin, is the most important and the fundamental factor for the success of the new socialist regime.

To liberate our labour force and gradually replace manual labour by mechanized labour, *we must set great store by natural science and technology, make it get ever-closer to, and serve more efficiently, agricultural and industrial production, communications and transport, capital construction, as well as the strengthening of national defence and the people's health.*

We all are aware of our low level in science and technology. We must, in a short historical period endeavour to make our science keep pace with that of the advanced countries in the world, to do away with our country's backwardness. This is an extremely heavy but most glorious task of our Party and people, and of our scientific workers.

In view of the great importance of science and technology, our Party's urgent task is to master it and further strengthen its leadership over scientific and technological work. At present, unless our Party committees at all levels and Party members study it earnestly they cannot lead it aptly. As the majority of

our Party and State cadres have been tempered in the revolution and Resistance War, and have accumulated some knowledge of political and armed struggle, their class standpoint and ideological level have been raised a step further. But in face of the new requirements of the revolution our knowledge proves inadequate in many domains. Now that our main work is economic transformation and construction and development of production, our cadres' scientific and technological knowledge necessary for the direction of economic and production work is very insufficient.

The new situation and new task it commands requires *a great change in thinking within the Party, so that the entire Party correctly realizes the importance of science and technology, resolutely concentrates efforts on mastering it to lead socialist transformation.*

Recently, a change for the better has taken place in our Party. Party committees at all levels and Party leading cadres have paid due attention to economic leadership, co-ordinating it with political and ideological leadership. Many cadres have realized the necessity of enhancing their cultural, scientific and technological abilities to improve their leadership. But not few comrades still content themselves with political leadership in a general way, unwilling to toil and moil on the study of professional matters, science and technology. A number of political cadres still regard scientific and technical work as the business of scientific specialists or shrink from difficulties and lack determination to learn and master science and technology. Those are wrong views.

In our country, all specialized branches are under the Party's leadership. To materialize this, Party cadres in every branch must grasp the science they deal with in their work to become good in both political thinking and scientific knowledge. Of course, studying science and technology does not go without difficulties for our cadres, especially because of their low cultural level. But for us, communists, possessed of a revolutionary determination, are there any difficulties that cannot be overcome, any fortresses that cannot be conquered? If we do not study to master science and technology we shall lag behind social development and become unequal to the tasks entrusted by the Party.

The speeding up of the development of science and technology requires a large contingent of scientific and technical cadres. Few as they are now, they cannot satisfy the ever-increasing demands of scientific research and activities. Therefore, simultaneously with the fostering of the existing cadres, we must urgently train new ones. As they form a valuable asset of the Party and the State, we must look after them, see to their progress, bring them into close touch with the Party and the masses, and keep them abreast of our social realities and productive activities. Attention must be paid to supplying them with what they need in scientific research and to creating favourable conditions so that they may have time to go deeper into it and develop their abilities to serve the revolution.

A number of scientific cadres trained under the old regime are still influenced by the bourgeois ideology—individualism, science for science's sake, science alienated from politics, from practice, etc. We must help

them get rid of these manifestations of the bourgeois ideology and make a larger contribution to socialist construction.

In our country, the formation of new scientific cadres from among workers, peasants and the best elements of other classes that are absolutely loyal to socialism and possessed of fairly solid scientific knowledge, assumes a particular importance. We must use widely different methods and measures to train as many of them as possible: opening of more schools at home and sending of students to the socialist countries for study, apprenticeship and research, intra-mural and extra-mural training, etc. Over the recent years, stress has been laid on the formation of scientific cadres, but shortcomings are still many. Adequate attention must be paid from now on.

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

Association for the Dissemination of Science and Technique develop its activities more strongly to raise the masses' scientific knowledge. Scientific work just as other can score good results only when conducted according to the mass line. Science develops rapidly so long as it has become the property of the broad masses of the people.

To promote scientific work, the Party must *strengthen its leadership over scientific research bodies and those in charge of them.*

There now exist the State Scientific Committee for the whole country and technical committees helping Party Committees at all levels to guide scientific and technical work in their respective areas. Attached to the State Scientific Committee are various research institutes, the scientific and technical research bodies of the Ministries and Colleges, too, constitute important scientific research bases. Moreover, industrial enterprises and agricultural co-operatives have their own technical teams or groups. There must be a distribution of work, close co-ordination and co-operation between all these bodies. Scientific research has to be carried out by a large collectivity and many differing branches. It is necessary to guard against departmentalism and parochialism which make one care about oneself without co-operating with others. The Party must strengthen its leadership over scientific research bodies, give them cadres, material means, technical equipment, etc., and help them do more practical work.

To this end an adequate plan for research work is required. At present, we have a two-year plan and

are preparing for a five-year one. In the main it fits with the State plan for economic and cultural development. This is a good thing. But we have to think of a perspective plan setting the goal to attain to keep pace with the scientific and technical level of advanced countries in the world in a given historical period.

In the branches of social science utmost attention must be paid to *political economy* because it responds to our immediate requirements in economic construction and transformation. We should not, however, underrate the other branches—literature, history, philosophy, etc.—which play also an important role.

In natural science, *great importance must be attached to the branches of practical science* which directly serve industry, agriculture, communications and transport, capital construction, national defence, public health, etc. We must also *pay due attention to basic science* for they form the theoretical foundation of other sciences.

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

A comprehensive plan should be actively set up to encourage scientific cadres to devote themselves to study. Only by learning after the socialist countries' experiences, can we, in a relatively short historical period, catch up with the scientific level of the advanced countries. Of course, when studying those experiences, we must always think of the realities of our country—a tropical one. We should carefully study

the problems set to science by the tropical zone to solve them adequately.

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The foregoing are the Party's immediate tasks on scientific work. Of course they are others. But, the most important question is that the whole Party should be determined to grasp science in order to lead socialist transformation and construction. Cadres and Party members must clearly realize the importance of science and technology and devote themselves to scientific and technical study and research, so as to rapidly do away with the backwardness of our country and turn it into one endowed not only with a vanguard political regime but also a modern economy, and an advanced culture and science.

THE YOUTH ARE THE MAINSTAY OF THE REVOLUTION *

Dear comrades,

Dear representatives of the youth and Labour Youth Union,

First of all, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, I wish to extend you my warmest greetings. At the opening session, I have heard the report of the Union Central Committee which gave a clear account of the splendid achievements scored by the Union. I hail your successes. Union members can be proud of being heroic and loyal sons of the people, the right hand of the Party. This is due to the fact that you have upheld your glorious traditions.

This morning, you have heard Uncle Ho. Long ago, he founded the Revolutionary Youth Association, the predecessor of the Indochinese Communist Party. With the founding of the Party over thirty years ago, a revolutionary movement emerged and since then the

* Talk at the Third Congress of the Viet Nam Labour Youth Union, March 1961.

struggle of our people and Party has also been the struggle of the valiant Vietnamese youth. You still remember, I am sure, that in 1930, most of the comrades in the Central, zone and provincial committees and primary branches were youths only from eighteen to twenty or twenty-one years of age. That young generation enthusiastically took part in revolutionary activities and set up the first revolutionary bases of our country in the 1930-1931 movement which culminated in the Nghe Tinh insurrection, the 1936-1940 and 1940-1945 movements, the August Revolution, the nine years of the sacred Resistance War and the six years of economic and cultural rehabilitation, transformation and development. In each of these revolutionary periods we notice that those who shouldered the heaviest yet most glorious responsibilities were mostly young people.

Today, when recalling these historical facts, I do not mean that the role of the youth is not important at all now that older comrades hold important posts in government bodies. Indeed, like their elder comrades, young people now must have a high sense of responsibility towards the people and the Party. They should clearly realize their historical role. Revolution is something very great and difficult which, moreover, constantly changes and develops. Without the active participation of the youth, ardent and receptive to new ideas to translate them into reality, revolution cannot make rapid progress. Thus, young people must form not only a shock brigade but also the mainstay of the revolution.

I. ALL FOR PRODUCTION, ALL FOR SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION

Dear comrades,

According to the resolution of the Third Party Congress, the two strategic tasks now facing us are the building of socialism in the North and the liberation of the South and the achievement of peaceful national reunification.

As our country is temporarily divided into two zones with different economic, political and social systems, there are, temporarily, two different laws of development, two different revolutionary tasks for the two zones. However, our people being one nation, we have responsibilities towards both zones. Therefore, these two tasks are tightly connected and we should not separate one from the other nor overlook either of them.

As you are taking a direct part in building socialism in the North, I am going to dwell on the revolutionary tasks of the North. It does not at all mean that we slight our duty towards the revolution in the South. At present, in the North we have basically completed socialist transformation and are beginning to build socialism as the central task while completing socialist transformation. The Third Party Congress has made it clear that we must lay the material and technical basis of socialism, carry out socialist industrialization. That is the central task in the whole period of transition to socialism in the North of our country. As many comrades have not yet fully grasped the significance, content

and development of socialist industrialization, I should like to make some elucidations.

First of all, let us realize that we are not advancing towards socialism from a large-scale capitalist production but from a small, backward agricultural economy. If we fail to understand this characteristic, we won't be able to visualize the development of socialist industrialization and socialist revolution in Viet Nam. What does socialist industrialization mean?

It means to supply agriculture, industry, communications, transport, etc., with an up-to-date technical basis. In our present economy mainly based on agriculture and handicraft, only 50 per cent of the production are ensured by machines and the rest by hand. Socialist industrialization aims at turning these 80 per cent of manual labour into mechanized labour and at transforming our backward agricultural country into a socialist one with a modern industry and agriculture, an advanced culture and science.

Some comrades in the countryside think that industrialization can be achieved only in factories. They fail to see that it serves agriculture itself. It takes a 15 h.p. ploughing-machine one day to plough three and a half hectares. But if we use draught animals, it takes more than 30 men. Thus, with a ploughing-machine we need only one man, the rest can do other work to increase material values for the society. To this end, there must be heavy industry, the key-branch of which is engineering. Only on this basis can we turn our small production into a large-scale production, handicraft

workers into industrial workers, and realizes "mechanization and electrification", the motto of socialist industrialization.

After three years of economic transformation, we have established in the North advanced relations of production — socialist relations of production with two main forms of ownership: States-ownership and collective ownership. We have basically done away with the exploitation of man by man, yet the material and technical basis remains backward. We still mainly rely on manual labour, that is the sharpest contradiction which prevents our socialist relations of production from being firmly established, economy and culture from developing quickly and vigorously. Without large-scale industry, it will be very hard to consolidate and improve our new relations of production. That is why the Labour Youth Union's motto is to turn our backward and small production into an advanced, large-scale production, and to mechanize most of the production process within ten or fifteen years. This is the target of the entire people but it must be achieved first and foremost by the glorious Labour Youth Union.

To attain this goal, we must rely on our agricultural economy. Of course, we can be partly dependent on the large-scale industries of the fraternal socialist countries, but we must rely mainly on our own efforts, our own agriculture. There is no other choice, no other alternative. Consequently, agriculture occupies a very important place and forms the basis of socialist industrialization.

At present, 85% per cent of peasant households have joined low-level agricultural co-operatives. We shall merge small co-ops into larger ones with 150 to 200 households, turn low-level co-ops into high-level ones which must and can be completed within some years. Unless we have large agricultural co-operatives, we shall not be able to liberate and promote the productive forces, strongly push ahead the development of agriculture, create favourable conditions to achieve mechanization and radically change the agricultural character of our country.

The youth in factories, State farms, and co-ops assume equally important responsibilities in socialist industrialization. Socialist industrialization is a great work indeed. Both young workers and peasants constitute a great force. They should not underestimate each other's role. Short of such an understanding there will emerge the tendency towards preferring the towns to the countryside. And if everybody likes to live in towns, the building of our country into a socialist one with a modern industry and agriculture will be inconceivable.

When we say agriculture is the basis of our economy, we have in mind not only the land, but chiefly the manpower. It is necessary therefore to instil revolutionary enthusiasm in the peasants if we want industry to develop smoothly.

Some comrades in rural areas think wrongly that industrialization will make the peasants' life more difficult. Such an erroneous view springs from the failure to realize what socialist industrialization will bring about, that it helps improve the people's living

conditions, supplies up-to-date equipment and liberates manpower in the countryside. There are about 7,000,000 labouring people there. With an average of three *sao* * per capita life is extremely hard. We must strive so that there will be half a *mau* ** per capita, and about four million farm-hands whose labour productivity will be twice or three times higher than it is at present. The remaining three million will take part in industrial production and in the making of means of production and consumer goods. Only by doing so can we end the peasants' present hardships, and give them adequate food and clothing and a comfortable life.

Socialist industrialization requires accumulation of fund. How then can accumulation be effected? We are facing difficulties on this score: our backward agricultural economy yields just enough to make both ends meet and little can be saved for accumulation capital.

For instance, to build the Thai Nguyen iron and steel complex, we must earmark 600 million *dong* ***, the value of a summer crop in the North or five years' income of our present industry. The annual output of the iron and steel complex is between 300,000 and 400,000 tons but industrialization needs millions of tons and a great many large factories. Therefore, accumulation is an urgent need, especially in our present work conditions. Hence, great devotion, a high sacrificing spirit is expected of every youth. You are aware,

* One *sao* : 360 square metres.

** One *mau* : 3,600 square metres.

*** DRV currency unit.

I am sure, that the Bac Hung Hai water conservancy project cost us 7 million *dong*. If 7 million peasants put by one *dong* per month, i.e., a little more than three *xu* a day, we shall have enough capital for two Bac Hung Hai projects in a year. With two conservancy projects of the Bac Hung Hai size, how much good will be done to our agriculture! Such is the way to accumulate capital for industrialization. To boost production so as to have adequate food and clothing and on that basis, every one will practise economy as best he can for accumulation and industrialization, is the only right course beneficial to the people's living standards, and to our children's in future as well. By any means does it make life harder for the people. With our backward agricultural and handicraft economy, should we spend all that we earn or more than we earn, we would not only lead a poverty-stricken life but things may get still worse for us. We do not want to relapse into poverty. We want to be well-off. The entire people and the youth first and foremost must be aware of this and struggle hard with a self-sacrificing spirit to actively accumulate more fund for socialist industrialization.

In the Resistance War *, we had a motto: All for the resistance for national salvation. Thousands of young men volunteered to join up and fight the enemy in defiance of hardships and sacrifices, which zeal was at the bottom of our victory over the French and American imperialists. Our present glorious days are due to the sacrifices of these young volunteers. In this

* Against the French colonialists (1945-1954).

period of socialist construction, industrialization, the youth should not flinch from difficulties. On the contrary, they should work all the harder for the prosperity of our country. Now "All for production, all for industrialization" must be the motto of young people in the North.

We shall surely achieve industrialization.

Another important matter bearing upon our socialist industrialization is our poor scientific and technical standards. We are not able to handle satisfactorily some of the machines supplied by our fraternal countries, operating them at about 50 per cent of their designed capacity only, which constitutes a waste of one half of their efficiency. So, youth must consider it their duty to master science and technique. If we want to set up a modern industry and agriculture to build socialism, we have to conquer science and technique. This is a hard work, as hard as producing material values. But we must do it, be ready to undergo hardships and overcome difficulties to grasp science and technique in order to fulfil a glorious task: socialist industrialization.

Another matter about which some of our comrades have no clear understanding is whether manual labour is important. We can say that it is very important. For without manual labour, it would be impossible to build socialism. At present and for years to come, without manual labour, society cannot exist. But while holding that manual labour is valuable, we should not underrate brain labour. Some comrades loath to learn argue that "manual labour is valuable" and slight the importance of

studying science and technique. This is an erroneous view. Manual labour is the basis of production. But the deeper the manual workers' scientific and technical knowledge, the greater will be their possibility of alleviating the strain of manual labour, of promoting production, and the firmer our position as masters of society and nature. That is why we must thoroughly understand the importance of manual and brain labour, the close relationship between them and treat them properly.

Recently, as we are faced with economic difficulties, some comrades query: why is life still hard after six years of socialist construction? All of us know that we suffered a crop failure last year and ran short of about one million tons of paddy. The annual production averages five million, which is enough to feed sixteen million people living in the North. The paddy deficit means that the usual ration of 3,000,000 people cannot be supplied. The crop failed partly because of the drought but mainly because of unfavourable weather, an untimely cold spell, water-logging, etc. Our poor technical standard cannot help us conquer nature as yet. The crop failure has somewhat reduced our ration to eight-tenths of what it was. Some other comrades query: why is there such a state of things after six years of socialist construction? These comrades do not understand that the crop failure was precisely due to the fact that industrialization has not been achieved. But the situation differs from what it was under foreign rule in that nobody is starving because of the crop failure which results only in a temporary reduction of the food ration.

Apparently, this cut seems to be abnormal under socialism, but if carefully analysed, it shows the superiority of our socialist system. Now, everybody is willing to reduce his food ration to avoid the recurrence of famine as in 1945 when two million people died of starvation. We are still hard-up. Yet one thing is certain: destitution and starvation are things of the past and our living conditions improve with every passing day.

Production is our glorious task, our main battle-front. What does it aim at? Supplying us with food, clothing, houses and schools. Failure to realize this aim would not arouse enthusiasm among the producers. We must take long-range views and make it plain to everybody that he is working for himself and his countrymen. We must pay due attention to raising the living standard of our people and our youth, and to enlarging production as well. We should not fail either to understand that production serves both consumption and reproduction on a larger scale, which form two aspects of one problem. The continual development of production will bring about better living standards every day. But, given our undeveloped production, they can only improve gradually, and the achievement of socialist industrialization alone can lead to a leap in our living conditions. That our crop may fail, our living may meet with temporary difficulties owing to our backward agriculture, is only a matter of course. That is why the Youth Labour Union members, the masters of our future society, must accomplish their duties with a self-sacrificing spirit, take an active part in production and practise thrift.

II. THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE LIVING STANDARD IS AN IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE OF THE REVOLUTION

We have to fulfil two important tasks: ideological education and improvement of the living conditions of the people and the youth.

Our people still live in want. The youth, especially the rural youth is still living a hard life. What then have we to do to further raise their living standard?

At present, apart from the land pooled into co-operatives, each household keeps a plot of land for itself. After eight to nine hours of work in his co-op, each member has time to do other things to improve his livelihood. The Party has set for itself the task of raising the living standard in the countryside to that of the upper-middle peasants after the first Five-Year Plan. That is an ambitious target which must and can be attained. The Dai Phong co-operative has proved that this is feasible. Right now, every youth must work out a plan himself and execute it zealously, urgently and with creative and workable ways.

Every family can rear half a dozen hens, which lay eggs every day, tend a vegetable garden with a score banana-trees, some papaw-trees and also dig a small pond to rear fish. Moreover, many can breed pigs or go in for other by-trades. With our own efforts and together with the co-ops guaranteeing our food and other sources of income, we are in a position to improve gradually our living standard. The job will take one or two years to reach the standard of upper-middle

peasants, instead of five if we strive hard. Unworkable in urban centres such an undertaking is quite feasible in rural areas. The situation described above shows such a possibility provided we do our best. The youth must take the lead and propagate their experiences with a view to a widespread movement towards this end all over the country. In factories they have earnestly to see to the betterment of their own living conditions. There are no large towns in Viet Nam. The towns and industrial centres under construction themselves have their own rural areas. There should be close co-operation, definite division of responsibilities and mutual help among young people in factories and in agricultural co-ops in growing vegetables, rearing poultry. They should make the most of the available facilities, create favourable conditions, rather than passively rely on others' help or shrink from difficulties. During my visit to Hongai, I found that there was still much waste land, that our sea was teeming with fish, yet our boys and girls did not think of using their spare-time and the facilities available to do something likely to improve their livelihood. I met comrade Nguyen Thi Con with whom I had an exchange of views on the living conditions of the young people in her factory. Physically weak, she was put in charge of many machines. How can she preserve her health to serve production? Health preservation is a question to which we must pay attention and, therefore, consider the problem of food supplies. For example, it would be a very good thing to provide our workers with soya-milk after work. That we can do because we have land for soya and sugar-cane cultivation.

We must also think of food-processing. Boiled sweet potatoes, for example, are not much to our taste. But won't we have a more tasty and nutritive broth if we stew them with fish which we have in plenty?

In short, the youth should grasp the importance attached by the Party to the improvement of the people's livelihood, and set a good example by seeking and applying the best ways and means to raise it to that of the upper-middle peasants within one or two years, instead of five. This work will assume a great significance, both economically and politically. For the struggle for the people's livelihood is part and parcel of the communists' ideal. Where there is revolution, there must be an end to poverty. That is the substance of all revolutions. Studying and talking politics in a general way is not enough. A Labour Youth Union member who witnesses the destitution of his neighbour without concern, without feeling indignant with the enemy who is at the bottom of it, is not a true revolutionary-minded youth.

III. THE YOUTH IS A PROP FOR OUR NATIONAL REUNIFICATION STRUGGLE

Production, however, is not everything. As our country still remains divided, the U.S. - Diem clique are persecuting our people and youth in the South. They are preparing for war and directing their agents secretly to undermine our socialist construction in the

North. The whole Party and people assume another important task, which they should never forget, and that is to defend the Fatherland, production and peace. While taking part in production, our young people must nurture bitter hatred for the U.S.-Diem clique, heighten their vigilance and stand ready to fight. In the Army they are training day and night to safeguard the security of our country. The Party, the people and the youth are proud of the achievements of their heroic People's Army. I welcome the Army's youth representatives present at this Congress. Nevertheless national defence does not rest with the Army's youth only, but with the youth as a whole. We must take part in military training to contribute to the consolidation of our national defence, to the safeguarding of peace and security and to the achievement of national reunification.

You are not taking a direct part in the struggle in the South, but I would like to remind you that at this very moment hundreds of thousands of young South Vietnamese are heroically fighting against the U.S.-Diem clique. Over the last few months millions of people and young men have attended demonstrations and meetings in protest against the U.S.-Diem regime. Each time, five to ten young men are arrested, tortured, mutilated or disembowelled, but far from shrinking back they are determined to go ahead, a behaviour which does honour to our youth. The duty of young people in the North is to take an active part in production to make their best contribution to socialism in order to alleviate the pain and shorten the suffering of the South Vietnamese people and youth.

Thinking of our Southern compatriots and youth will end our worrying about the choice of a job, about whether one in a town is better than another in the countryside or not. A young communist must ponder over the sacrifices of his comrades down there to put right his erroneous thinking, prejudicial to socialist construction and the national reunification struggle, to his revolutionary mettle and feelings.

IV. STRENGTHEN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE LABOUR YOUTH UNION

Dear comrades,

In its message of greetings, the Party Central Committee has instructed you to strengthen the organizational work of the Union and its leadership on the basis of democratic centralism. Over the past few years, the work of the Union has brought about satisfactory results thanks to its members' efforts and the Union's leadership at all levels. But there still are many shortcomings. I was told of late that many Union members did not read the *Tien Phong*. That is really a big shortcoming. The leadership of the Union is exercised not only through its branches but through its journal. A journal is a very effective propaganda and organization medium. We have not made a full use of it, nor properly encouraged the youth to read it, thereby to help them understand thoroughly the ideology, the line,

directives and tasks of the Union. Every Executive Committee member, every Union member should read the *Tien Phong*. This has to become a matter of discipline for him. He who does not do so fails to fulfil an important duty, that is, to study the lines of the Union propagated by its journal. Here we can see that part of the Union work at the grass-root organizations is not satisfactorily done and that the Union has not them well in hand. The building and controlling of grass-root organizations is of great importance, because revolution is the business of the masses, the masses form the foundation, the corner-stone of the revolution. They can wage it so long as they understand what they have to do, otherwise nothing good can be done. In the emulation movement for making manure, improving farming implements and so on, we did try to consolidate the Labour Youth Union but not hard enough. At present the Union's grass-root organizations are not sufficiently strong. Provincial and district executive committees must be aware of what is being done there, and report to the Central Committee to keep it informed of the situation. Framing instructions and documents with the help of books, and not on the basis of realities, is likely to divorce leadership from the requirements of the Revolution. That is a tedious and hardly effective method. The leadership must definitely have village organizations well in hand. Responsible comrades in the villages must keep close contact with the masses. Leadership should not be exercised through speeches but through production activities, through practical actions so as to know what the people's concern and wishes are, what

difficulties they face and how to help them overcome, whether explanations are needed on one or another problem. Having village organizations well in hand we shall have the situation of the masses under control. At present, in point of leadership our greatest problem is to guide the masses in production. If in the Resistance War, fighting the enemy was our main task, now construction and production constitute our first pre-occupation. If Union executive committees at various levels do not include young men knowledgeable on production, they will prove unable to assume their responsibility just as formerly we would not have been in a position to lead the Resistance War without knowledge on military affairs. In order to lead production effectively, you must grasp our political aims: for whom do we produce? what is the purpose of our production activities? At the same time you must know how to carry out production. Neither of these two aspects of the problem can be overlooked. The failure to grasp our political aims is of course dangerous because it will lead us astray while the lack of knowledge on production and production technique, such as water-conservancy, preparation of seedlings, etc., will hamper the development of production. And so will the holding of too many meetings. That is why cadres should grasp politics, possess Marxist-Leninist ideology which is the ideology of the proletariat, and simultaneously master production technique. You must be aware that the youth is the Party's right hand, that through the intermediary of the Labour Youth Union the Party leads the youth, propagates the Party's line and policies among them, and mobilizes them for

the implementation thereof. The youth constitute the greatest productive force. The Union leadership must help the Party raise problems so far unseen. The Union must go deep into production and enhance the effectiveness of its and the Party's leadership. So, by consolidating the Union's leadership we also strengthen the Party's. The Union should adequately carry out the line and policies of the Party and help it be aware of the situation and improve its policies. It should see to it that Party committees at all levels play a worthy role in production and other tasks. More capable young men must be given office in leading bodies at all levels.

V. FORWARD TO THE BRIGHT HORIZON LYING BEFORE US

I am going to say a few words about ideological education. The Party is going to launch an ideological remoulding drive to impart to the whole Party, the entire people, including, of course, the Labour Youth Union members, the following viewpoints :

1) *The sense of being the masters of the society, the sense of socialist collectivism.* — We are now masters of our country, yet our awareness of this right of ours is still vague and superficial. We have therefore to strengthen it so that the workers, the peasants and the entire working people can display all their revolutionary mettle in national construction. The workers are not only masters of their factories, the peasants, of

their fields and co-ops, the intellectuals and students, of their offices and schools. All of them are masters of the whole country. Socialist industrialization serves not just industry but agriculture and other branches as well. The State wealth does not belong to any particular class. It is the common property of the working people. Schools and factories, for instance, are at the disposal of everybody. To bring this home to the people with a view to enhancing their sense of being masters of our community is of great importance now.

2) *All for production, all for the people.* — Everybody, every branch must be imbued with this viewpoint. Even in the army where fighting is the main job, production must be given due consideration. This viewpoint finds expression not only in the practice of thrift, but also in the efforts to seek ways and means to take part in production. That the Party's Supreme Committee in the army holds that army men should participate in production to be partly self-sufficient in food, is perfectly correct. Every branch must grasp this viewpoint. Failing this, in some branches, some areas, we have committed a number of serious mistakes detrimental to the people's revolutionary enthusiasm and zeal in production.

3) *To be thrifty and diligent for the sake of national construction.* — Our economy being poor and backward, we have no other way than to practice thrift and display diligence to build up our country. We have to produce much and at the same time economize our wealth and labour. For example, if we want to export bananas in exchange for machines, we should consume less bananas. The same applies for other

products. Only by doing so can we procure more machines to develop production. As we lack food and clothing, we should practise thrift and avoid waste. As I said, if everybody puts by three *xu* a day, in one year we shall have enough fund to build two water-conservancy works like the Bac Hung Hai project. Without thrift and diligence we cannot build socialism and enjoy a bright future.

4) *To advance rapidly, vigorously and steadily towards socialism.* — That is the principle guiding our advance towards socialism, which our entire working people must be imbued with. Our production can proceed rapidly from dispersion to concentration and from employing manual labour in the main to mechanization. This is an objective reality. We must combat conservatism, and see new possibilities: formerly 7 million people working each for himself could hardly achieve anything of consequence; now that they are organized they can work wonders.

Our agriculture which lags behind industry does meet the requirements of industry in food, raw materials (cotton, tobacco, etc). On the other hand, industry does not keep pace with agriculture. Agricultural co-operativization has been completed. In one or two years, virtually all co-ops will become large-size and high-level ones requiring more improved implements, machines, fertilizers, etc., which so far industry has proved unable to supply in sufficient quantity. Both agriculture and industry must advance rapidly, vigorously and steadily too, so as to avoid discrepancy between the various branches of the national economy.

Those are the four viewpoints to cultivate. To this effect, we must combat all that stands on our way, without forgetting, however, that prime attention should be paid to the educational aspect. *First of all, we must combat individualism*, the main obstacle to collectivism and to the acquisition of the sense of being masters. Individualism obscures and restrains collectivism: we must resolutely oppose it. Fostering the sense of being masters of the society also implies fighting individualism. These two aspects are closely related. At the same time, we must fight all that is detrimental to the right of the people as masters. Manifestations of bureaucracy and commandism must be countered, as well as thoughts incompatible with production, embezzlement, corruption, waste, laziness, otherwise we could not cultivate the "thrift and diligence to build our fatherland" viewpoint and our viewpoint on production. The new takes shape and develops every day, every hour, but the old holds us back. Conservatism, the habit of not daring to think, to speak and to act boldly, must pitilessly be eliminated. The youth are very receptive to, and quickly aware of, the new; unfortunately, the old largely prevailing in their family life and in their environment in which they live, influences and restrains them. So, on the one hand, the youth themselves should be bold enough to carry into effect the new, and on the other hand, the Union and Party leadership must support and create favourable conditions for them to adopt what is new and drop what is outdated.

When discussing how to explain some points in the new Party's rules, for example, the definition of the

term "worker", some comrades say that a Vietnamese worker owns no other means of production than his hands. That is wrong because the Vietnamese worker in the North now is the master of the means of production. To say that a worker now owns no means of production is to see things from an old viewpoint. The Vietnamese workers in the North are not only masters of their factories and the State, but also of science and technique. Graduated engineers after five or seven years of study do not lose their quality as workers, as some comrades put it, they have simply become skilled workers with higher technological knowledge. With an old outlook it is impossible to discover the new, to see things clearly. Hence, the necessity for our youth of a self-examination to see whether they still use old ways of thinking, and in case they do, they should get rid of them to advance towards the bright horizon lying before us.

VI. LIVE, WORK, AND STUDY AS THE COMMUNISTS DO

Now, I will say a few words about living, working and studying the way communists do. Heated discussions took place among you in this subject. It was a good thing and a big problem. During the thirty years of its arduous and heroic struggle our Party has set countless examples.

As there is not much time, I am going to tell you only the story of a communist I personally knew. An

orphan, native of Hai Phong, Nguyen Van Hieu, lived with his aunt and took part in revolutionary activities since he was sixteen or seventeen. He was arrested, sentenced to life imprisonment and deported to Poulo Condore penitentiary. At the time of the French *Front Populaire* movement, he was set free and went on with his activities. In 1940, comrade Hieu, comrade Nguyen Van Cu and I shared a house. Then members of the Party Central Committee, comrade Cu and I were arrested with documents of the C.C. "You should not confess that these documents are yours," comrade Hieu said. "I'll say they are mine. You are responsible comrades of the Party. If you happened to succumb to tortures, it'd be a great loss for the Party. As for me, let them beat me to death, I won't say anything and should I die, it wouldn't be much of a loss." After several months of atrocious torturing, the imperialists could not extort anything from Hieu. Bazin, the ill-famed police boss who perfectly knew that the documents belonged to me and comrade Cu could not make comrade Hieu speak. Again we were deported to Poulo Condore. On our arrival there, we had one hundred and forty prison mates, but after some years only fifteen survived. We had no clothes and a wretched food, and were undergoing no end of corporal punishment, tortures and diseases. Comrade Hieu was down with T.B. We obtained some clothes for him. Lying in the same cell as I, he told me one day, "I am afraid it'll soon be over. I am wondering whether I can still do something good for the Party. The only thing I can do is to pass on my clothes to help you sustain your health and work for the Party." His word moved me

to tears. I declined his offer. " You don't want me to do something for the Party, do you? ", he said between sobs and tears. He died the next day.

Dear comrades,

During the last minutes of his life, afflicted with disease, on the verge of losing for ever the most precious thing — life — communist Nguyen Van Hieu still thought of the Party, of what he could do for it. His life should be a bright example for all of us. I myself never cease thinking over what I have done and what I have to do for the Party. The Party's purpose is none other than to serve the working people, the youth. In the past, many of our comrades gave their lives to the Revolution, just because they wanted to build a genuinely happy life for the working people, for the younger generations, for you. That is why, today, at this Congress, I should like to remind you, cadres of the glorious Labour Youth Union, the Party's right hand, that " you must live and work for the Party ". So, as I see it, the substance of the motto: " Let us live, work and study as communists do " is: Never to submit to the enemy, to stand ready for sacrifices, more sacrifices, and to do one's best for socialist construction and national reunification.

Everybody has to think to do so. In the South, young people have to confront the enemy every day. When arrested, the communists are not shot immediately but are put to torture and are even disembowelled. Yet, they do not submit. Condemned to poverty and oppressed for a long time, we now are rightly proud of being the masters of our country, capable of building it into a strong and prosperous one, and sure to fulfil the glorious task entrusted to us by the Party and the

people. Formerly each Vietnamese was master only in his own family. Now the whole North, the whole of our fatherland, is our family, and every young man among you is a master of it. That is the way we should think and make everybody think, except, of course, the exploiting classes. But if the latter accept socialist transformation and want to become working people, they too will be the masters of this common family. As for you, youth of majority and minority nationalities, you must be of one mind in the building of a happy Viet Nam.

Now, I should like to say a word to the girl comrades. Due to her part in the heroic struggle against foreign aggression. Lady Trieu is our nation's glory in the history of struggle of our people in general and of our women in particular. Our people proudly hand down from one generation to another the following words :

“ Let whom who wants to see climb up the mountains,

“ See Lady Trieu riding an elephant without a howdah. ”

Continuing and promoting the old tradition, our girl comrades, guided with solicitude by the Party, must uphold it ; they must and can outdo their male counterparts and sing in chorus with them :

“ Let whom who wants to see climb up the mountains,

“ See Vietnamese girls build a free life.”

We should prove worthier of the historical tasks assigned to us by the Party and the people.

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